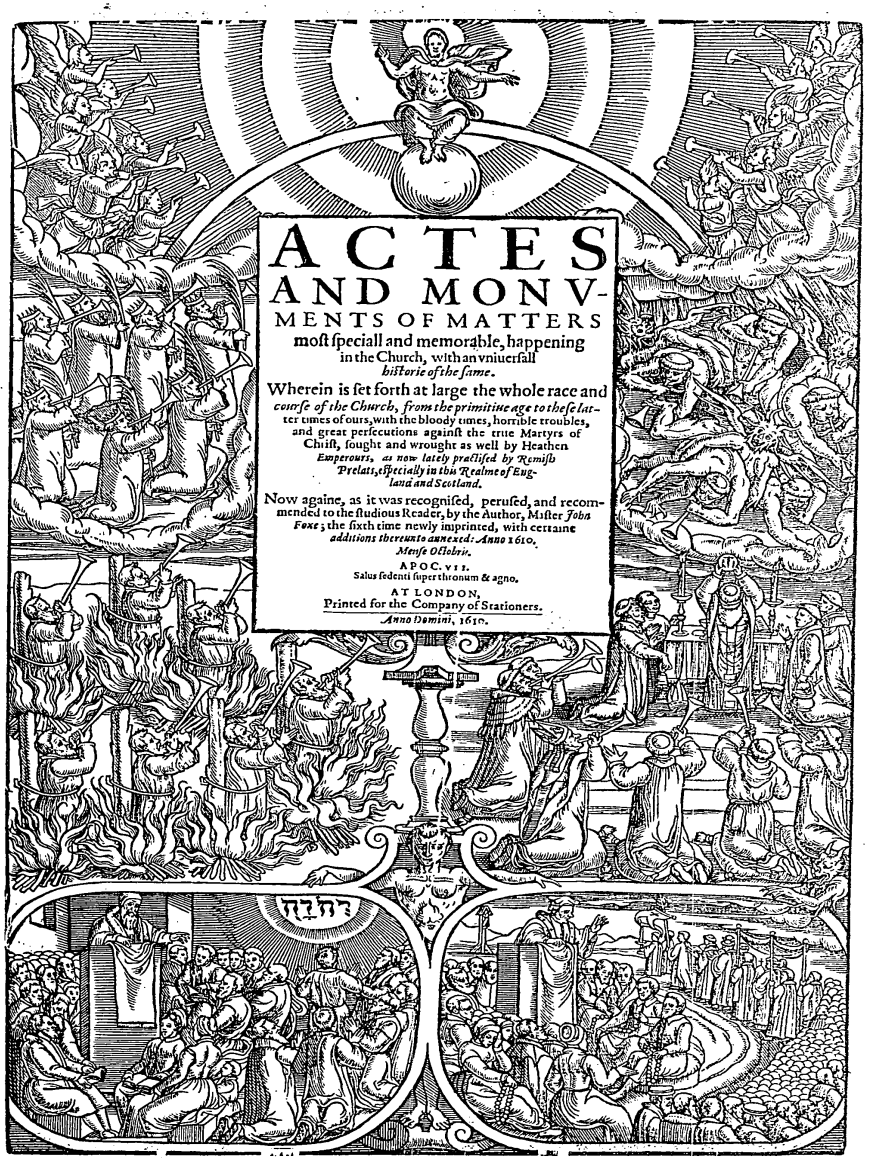
C 11227 LF
17723 2v

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION



# ACTES AND MONVMENTS OF MATTERS

most speciall and memorable, happening in the Church, with an vniuersall *historie of the same.*

Wherein is set forth at large the whole race and *course of the Church, from the primitiue age to these latter* times of ours, with the bloody vnes, horrible troubles, and great persecutions against the true Martyrs of Christ, fought and wrought as well by Heathen *Emperours, as now lately practised by Romish Prelats, especially in this Realme of England and Scotland.*

Now againe, as it was recognised, perused, and recommended to the studious Reader, by the Author, Master *John Foxe*; the sixth time newly imprinted, with certaine *additions thereunto annexed: Anno* 1610.

*Mense Octobri.*

APOC. VII.

Salus sedenti super thronum & agno.

AT LONDON,

Printed for the Company of Stationers.

*Anno Domini*, 1610.

# The Kalender.

| ¶ January hath 31. dates. *The Moone xxx.* | | | | Date of their death. | Yeare of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | A | 1 | Circumcision. | | |
| | b | 2 | *John Wickliff Preacher, martyr.* | | 1387 |
| 11 | c | 3 | John Alton, confessor. | | 1382 |
| | d | 4 | William Sawtry priest martyr. | | 1400 |
| 19 | e | 5 | Swinderby a Priest, martyr. | | |
| 8 | f | 6 | Epiphanie. | | |
| | g | 7 | *Sir Roger Acton knight, martyr.* | | 1401 |
| 16 | A | 8 | John Browne Gentleman, martyr. | | 1413 |
| 5 | b | 9 | John Beuerley preacher martyr. | | 1413 |
| | c | 10 | Richard Silbecke, martyr. | 14 | 1413 |
| 13 | d | 11 | John Castellane doctor, martyr. | 12 | 1521 |
| 2 | e | 12 | Thomas Whittle, Minister, martyr. | 27 | 1525 |
| | f | 13 | Bartlet Greene Gentleman, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 20 | g | 14 | John Tudson, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| | A | 15 | Thomas Went, mart. | 27 | 1556 |
| 18 | b | 16 | Thomas Browne, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 7 | c | 17 | Isabel Foster, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| | d | 18 | Joane Warne, aliàs Lashford, martyr. | 27 | 1556 |
| 15 | e | 19 | John Lomas, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| 4 | f | 20 | Anne Albright, aliàs Champnes, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| | g | 21 | Joane Catmer, mart. | 31 | 1556 |
| 12 | A | 22 | Agnes Snoth, martyr. Joane Sole, martyr. | 31 | 1556 |
| | b | 23 | Will. Materer, mart. Conuersion of Paul. | 31 | 1556 |
| 1 | c | 24 | Stephen Kempe, martyr. | 15 | 1556 |
| 9 | d | 25 | William Hay, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 17 | e | 26 | Thomas Hudson, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | f | 27 | William Lowicke, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 6 | g | 28 | William Prouting, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | A | 29 | Nicolas Finall, mart. Matthew Wadbridge, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| 14 | b | 30 | *John Philpot, martyr.* | 16 | 1557 |
| 3 | c | 31 | Thomas Stevens, martyr. | | |

| February hath 28. dates. *The Moone xxix.* | | | | Date of their death. | Yeare of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | d | 1 | William Thorpe priest, confessor. | | 1407 |
| 11 | e | 2 | Purification of our Lady. | | |
| 19 | f | 3 | John Claydon, martyr. Richard Turmine, martyr. | | 1413 1413 |
| 8 | g | 4 | Zisca a confessor. | | 1416 |
| | A | 5 | *Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham, martyr.* | | 1418 |
| 16 | b | 6 | Richard Houenden, martyr. | | 1430 |
| 5 | c | 7 | Thomas Bagley priest, martyr. | | 1431 |
| | d | 8 | Paul Crawes, martyr. | | 1431 |
| 13 | e | 9 | Thomas Rhedon, martyr. | | 1436 |
| 2 | f | 10 | Rainold Pecocke, bish. confessor. | | 1437 |
| | g | 11 | *Sir Roger Ormy Priest, martyr.* | | 1441 |
| 10 | A | 12 | Elenor Cobham gentlewoman, confessor. | | |
| | b | 13 | Mother of the Lady Pong, martyr. | | 1490 |
| 18 | c | 14 | Thomas Norice, martyr. | | 1507 |
| 7 | d | 15 | Thomas Echles martyr. | | 1510 |
| | e | 16 | Thomas Bungay martyr. | | 1511 |
| 15 | f | 17 | *D. Martin Luther confessor.* | 18 | 1546 |
| 4 | g | 18 | Pope of Cay, martyr. | | 1512 |
| | A | 19 | Peake, martyr. | | 1512 |
| 12 | b | 20 | George Carpenter, martyr. | 8 | 1527 |
| 1 | c | 21 | *John Rogers Preacher, Martyr.* | 4 | 1555 |
| | d | 22 | *Laurence Sanders preacher, martyr.* | 8 | 55 |
| 9 | e | 23 | *John Hooper bishop, martyr.* | 9 | 55 |
| | f | 24 | Matthias Apostle. | | |
| 17 | g | 25 | *Rowland Taylor Doctor, martyr.* | 9 | 55 |
| 6 | A | 26 | *Robert Farrar bishop, martyr.* | 22 | 55 |
| | b | 27 | Agnes Potten, martyr. | 19 | 1556 |
| 14 | c | 28 | Trunchfields wife, martyr. | 19 | 1557 |

# The Kalender.

| ¶ March hath 31. dayes. *The Moone xxx.* | | | | Dayes of March dedic. | Years of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | d | 1 | William Taylour martyr. | 2 | 1422 |
| | e | 2 | John Wiclefianus a doctor, martyr. | | 1479 |
| 11 | f | 3 | Doctor Wefelius, alias Baſilius, confeſſor. | | 149- |
| | g | 4 | Henrie Sutphen, martyr. | | 1524 |
| 19 | A | 5 | John Hougley, martyr. | | 1526 |
| 8 | b | 6 | Petrus Flefedius, martyr. | | 1528 |
| | c | 7 | Adolphus Clabachus, martyr. | | 1528 |
| 16 | d | 8 | Patrike Hamelton martyr. | | 1528 |
| 5 | e | 9 | Thomas Hitton, martyr. | | 1530 |
| | f | 10 | *Thomas Bilney, martyr.* | | 1531 |
| 13 | g | 11 | Dany Focker, martyr. | | 31 |
| 2 | A | 12 | Edward Freeſe, confeſſor. | | 31 |
| | b | 13 | Va'entine Freeſe, and his wife, martyr. | | |
| 10 | c | 14 | Father Bate, confeſſor. | | |
| 18 | d | 15 | Rawling White, martyr. | 5 | 31 |
| | e | 16 | Thom. Tombins, martyr. | 15 | 1555 |
| 7 | f | 17 | Thomas Higbed gentleman, martyr. | 25 | 55 |
| | g | 18 | Thomas Tawſton gentleman, martyr. | 25 | 55 |
| 15 | A | 19 | William Hunter, martyr. | 25 | 55 |
| 4 | b | 20 | William Pigot, martyr. | 28 | 55 |
| | c | 21 | Stephen Knight, martyr. | 28 | 55 |
| 12 | d | 22 | John Laurence Miniſter, martyr. | 29 | 55 |
| | e | 23 | *Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canturburie, martyr.* | 21 | 55<br>1556 |
| | f | 24 | Robert Spicer, martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| 9 | g | 25 | Annuntiation of our Ladie. | | |
| | A | 26 | William Coberley, martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| 17 | b | 27 | Saundrell martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| 6 | c | 28 | Rich. Crafhfield, martyr. | 15 | 1557 |
| | d | 29 | Cuthbert Simpſon, martyr. | 28 | 1558 |
| 14 | e | 30 | Hugh For, martyr. | 28 | 58 |
| 3 | f | 31 | John Oruenith, martyr. | 28 | 58 |

| ¶ Aprill hath 30. dayes *The Moone xxx.* | | | | Dayes of Aprill dedic. | Years of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | g | 1 | Robert Pathes martyr. | | |
| | | | Archer martyr. | 4 | 1519 |
| | | | Bowkins martyr. | | |
| 11 | A | 2 | Thomas Bomb, martyr. | 4 | 1519 |
| | b | 3 | Wrigham martyr. | 4 | 1519 |
| 19 | c | 4 | Landale martyr. | 4 | 1519 |
| 8 | d | 5 | Pfiſtris Smith widow, martyr. | 4 | 1519 |
| 16 | e | 6 | James Baynham gentleman, martyr. | 30 | 1532 |
| 5 | f | 7 | John Awcocke Confeſſor. | 2 | 1555 |
| | g | 8 | George Marſh preacher martyr. | 24 | 55 |
| 13 | A | 9 | William Flower Miniſter, martyr. | 24 | 55 |
| 2 | b | 10 | Robert Drakes Miniſter, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | c | 11 | Thomas Tyms, martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| 10 | d | 12 | Richard Spurge, martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| | e | 13 | Thomas Spurge, martyr. | | |
| 18 | f | 14 | John Tanell, martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| | | | George Ambroſe martyr. | 24 | 56 |
| 7 | g | 15 | John Harpole, martyr. | | |
| | A | 16 | Joane Bech, martyr. | 1 | 56 |
| 15 | b | 17 | John Hullier Miniſter, martyr. | 2 | 56 |
| 4 | c | 18 | Chriſtopher Liſter Miniſter, martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| | d | 19 | John Pace, martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| 12 | e | 20 | John Spencer, martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| | | | Simon Joyne, martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| 1 | f | 21 | Richard Nicholl martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| | g | 22 | John Hamond, martyr. | 28 | 56 |
| 9 | A | 23 | S. George, martyr. | | |
| | b | 24 | Thomas Roſeby, martyr. | 12 | 56 |
| 17 | c | 25 | Marke Euangeliſt. | | |
| 6 | d | 26 | Henr. Ramſey, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| | e | 27 | Thomas Thyrtle, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| 14 | f | 28 | Margaret Hyde, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| 4 | g | 29 | Agnes Stanley, martyr. | 12 | 1557 |
| | | 30 | William Nicholl martyr. | | 1558 |

# The Kalender.

| ¶ May hath 31. dayes. *The Moone xxx.* | | | | Dayes of Aprill dedic. | Years of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | b | 1 | Philip and Jacob, Apoſtles. | | |
| | c | 2 | *Iohn Hus, martyr.* | | 1415 |
| 19 | d | 3 | Hieronymus Sauonarola martyr. | 23 | 1499 |
| 8 | e | 4 | Dominike, martyr. | 23 | 1499 |
| | f | 5 | Silueſter, martyr. | 23 | 1499 |
| 16 | g | 6 | Frier Roy, martyr. | | 1531 |
| 5 | A | 7 | Robert King, martyr. | | 1532 |
| | b | 8 | Robert Debnam, martyr. | | 32 |
| 13 | c | 9 | Nicolas Marſh, martyr. | | 32 |
| 2 | d | 10 | *Iohn Cardmaker, alias Taylour, Preacher, martyr.* | 31 | 1555 |
| | e | 11 | John Warne, martyr. | 31 | 1555 |
| 10 | f | 12 | Margaret Gillis, confeſſor. | 13 | 1556 |
| | g | 13 | Hugh Lauerocke, martyr. | 15 | 56 |
| 18 | A | 14 | John Appzice, martyr. | 15 | 56 |
| 7 | b | 15 | Katharine Hut widow, martyr. | 16 | 56 |
| | c | 16 | Elizab. Thacknell, martyr. | 16 | 56 |
| 15 | d | 17 | Joane Hoznes, martyr. | 16 | 56 |
| 4 | e | 18 | A blind boy, and another with him, martyrs. | 5 | 56 |
| | f | 19 | Thomas Spicer, martyr. | 21 | 56 |
| 12 | g | 20 | John Denny, martyr. | 21 | 56 |
| 1 | A | 21 | William Poole, martyr. | 21 | 56 |
| | b | 22 | John Sleth, confeſſor. | 30 | 56 |
| 9 | c | 23 | William Nozant, martyr. | 29 | 1557 |
| | d | 24 | Stephen Gratwike, martyr. | 29 | 57 |
| 17 | e | 25 | John Thurſtone, confeſſor. | | 57 |
| 6 | f | 26 | William Seaman, martyr. | 19 | 1558 |
| | g | 27 | Thomas Carman, martyr. | 19 | 58 |
| 14 | A | 28 | Thomas Hudſon, martyr. | 19 | 58 |
| 3 | b | 29 | William Harris, martyr. | 26 | 58 |
| | c | 30 | Richard Day, martyr. | 26 | 58 |
| 11 | d | 31 | Chriſtian Geozge, martyr. | 26 | 58 |

| ¶ Iune hath 30. dayes. *The Moone xxix.* | | | | Dayes of Aprill dedic. | Years of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | e | 1 | *Hieroms of Prage, martyr.* | 3 | 1416 |
| | | | Anne Aſkew, martyr. | | 1546 |
| 19 | f | 2 | John Laels, gent. mar. | | |
| | | | Nicolas Belman, mart. | | |
| | | | Thomas Hawkes, mar. | 10 | 1555 |
| 8 | g | 3 | Thomas Wats, mart. | | |
| | | | John Simpſon, martyr. | | |
| | | | John Ardley, martyr. | | |
| 16 | A | 4 | Nic. Chamberlaine, mar. | 14 | 55 |
| | | | Thomas Holmond, mar. | 15 | 55 |
| | | | Will. Wiamſord mart. | | |
| | | | Thomas Harland, mar. | 6 | 1556 |
| 5 | b | 5 | John Diſoard, martyr. | | |
| | c | 6 | Thomas Read, martyr. | 20 | |
| | | | Thomas Abington, mar. | | |
| 13 | d | 7 | Thomas Wood Miniſter, martyr. | | |
| | | | Thomas Pikes, mart. | | |
| | | | William Aderall Miniſter, confeſſor. | 23 | |
| 2 | e | 8 | John Clement, confeſ. | 25 | |
| | f | 9 | A merchants ſeruant, martyr. | 26 | 56 |
| 10 | g | 10 | Henrie Aolington, mar. | 27 | |
| | | | Laur. Pernam, martyr. | | |
| | A | 11 | Henrie Wice, martyr. | 27 | |
| 18 | b | 12 | Will. Halliwell, mart. | | |
| | | | Thomas Bolyer, mar. | 27 | |
| | | | George Serle, martyr. | | 56 |
| | | | Edmund Hurſt, mart. | | |
| | | | Lion Catwch, martyr. | 27 | |
| 7 | c | 13 | Ralph Jackſon, martyr. | | |
| | | | John Deriſall, martyr. | 27 | |
| | d | 14 | John Roch, martyr. | | |
| | | | Elizabeth Pepper, mar. | 27 | |
| 15 | e | 15 | Agnes George, martyr. | | |
| | | | Thomas Parret, confeſ. | 27 | 56 |
| | | | Hunt and Ambroſe, conf. | | |
| 4 | f | 16 | John Noyice, confeſſor. | 28 | |
| | g | 17 | Roger Bernard, mart. | | |
| | | | Adam Foller, martyr. | 29 | |
| 12 | A | 18 | Robert Lawſon, mart. | | |
| | | | Walter Apleby and Petronill his wife, mart. | 30 | 1557 |
| | | | Edmund Allen, and Katharine his wife, mar. | 18 | |
| 1 | b | 19 | John Wadbridge, mart. | | |
| | c | 20 | John Manning, mart. | 18 | 57 |
| | | | Eliz. a blind maid, mar. | | |
| 9 | d | 21 | Thomas Hawe, martyr. | | |
| | | | Nicolas White, martyr. | | |
| | | | Nicolas Barbue, mart. | | |
| | e | 22 | John Filhecke, mart. | 19 | 57 |
| | | | Barbara Finall, mart. | | |
| 17 | f | 23 | Wadbridges wid. mar. | | |
| | | | Wenders wife, and Wilſons wife, martyrs. | 19 | 57 |
| | | | Rich. Woodman, mart. | | |
| 6 | g | 24 | Nat. of S. John Baptiſt. | | |
| | | | G. Stephens, Wi. Mainard, Alexander Hoſmansman, martyrs. | 22 | 57 |
| | A | 25 | | | |
| 14 | b | 26 | Tomaſin Woods maid, Margerie Noyice, Jam. Noyice ſonne, Dennys Burges, Aſdowns wife, Groues wife, martyrs. | 22 | 57 |
| 3 | c | 27 | Henrie Pond, martyr. | 27 | 58 |
| | d | 28 | Richard Eſtland, mart. | | |
| | | | Robert Southam, mar. | | |
| | | | Matthew Ricarby, mar. | | |
| 11 | e | 29 | Peter and Paul. | | |
| | | | John Lord, martyr. | | |
| | f | 30 | John Holiday, martyr. | 27 | 58 |
| | | | Roger Holland, martyr. | | |

# The Kalender.

| ¶ July hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx. | | | | Dayes of indictions. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29 | g | 1 | Henrie Voz, martyr. John Sich, martyr. | 1 | 1522 |
| 8 | A | 2 | *John Frith, martyr.* | 2 | 1523 |
| | b | 3 | Andrew Hewet, martyr. Anthonie Person, martyr. | | |
| 16 | c | 4 | Robert Tellwod, martyr. | 18 | 1543 |
| 5 | d | 5 | H. Fimmoze, martyr. | | |
| 5 | e | 6 | *John Deresford preacher,* | 1 | 1555 |
| 15 | f | 7 | John Leafe, martyr. | | |
| 2 | g | 8 | John Pelley, martyr. | | |
| | A | 9 | William Wing Minister, martyr. | 2 | 55 |
| | b | 10 | Richard Woode, martyr. John Bland Preacher, martyr. | 12 | 55 |
| 18 | c | 11 | John Franke, martyr. | | |
| | d | 12 | Humfrey Middleton, martyr. Nicolas Shetcerden, martyr. | 13 12 | 55 55 |
| 7 | e | 13 | William Dighel, martyr. | | |
| | f | 14 | Dirike Carver, martyr. John Launder, martyr. | 14 | 55 |
| 16 | g | 15 | Thomas Iueson, martyr. Nicolas Hall, martyr. | 15 | 55 |
| 4 | A | 16 | John Alewoth, confessor. | | |
| | b | 17 | John Careleffe confessor John Gwin, martyr. | 1 | 1556 |
| 28 | c | 18 | Iulins Palmer a schoolemaster, and Assine, martyrs. | 16 | 56 |
| 1 | d | 19 | Katharine Cauches, and Peroline Wally, with her child not one howr old, and Guillemine Gilbert, Martyrs. | 17 | 56 |
| 9 | e | 20 | | | |
| 9 | f | 21 | Thomas Dungate, mar. | 18 | 56 |
| | g | 22 | John Fozeman, martyr. Simon Miller, martyr. | | |
| 17 | A | 23 | Elizabeth Cooper, martyr. | 19 | 56 |
| 6 | b | 24 | Marie Magdalene. | | |
| | c | 25 | Richard Yeoman, Minister, martyr. | 10 | 1558 |
| 24 | d | 26 | William Pikes, martyr. | 13 | 1558 |
| 2 | e | 27 | James Apostle. | 14 | 58 |
| | f | 28 | Stephen Cotton, martyr. | 14 | 58 |
| 7 | g | 29 | John Slade, martyr. Stephen Wight, mart. | 4 | 58 |
| | A | 30 | Robert Willes, martyr. Robert Dines, martyr. | 14 | 58 |
| 15 | b | 31 | Thomas Benbricke gentleman, martyr. | 9 | 58 |

| ¶ August hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx. | | | | Dayes of indictions. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | c | 1 | Leonard Keyser, martyr. | 10 | 1527 |
| 16 | d | 2 | James Abbes, martyr. | | 1555 |
| 5 | e | 3 | John Denly gentleman martyr. | 8 | 55 |
| | f | 4 | John Newman, martyr. | 28 | 55 |
| 13 | g | 5 | Patrike Pattingham, martyr. | 28 | 55 |
| 2 | A | 6 | William Coker, mart. | 23 | 55 |
| | b | 7 | William Hopper, martyr. | 23 | 55 |
| 10 | c | 8 | Henrie Laurence, martyr. | 23 | 55 |
| | d | 9 | Richard Collier, martyr. | 23 | 55 |
| 18 | e | 10 | William Steete, martyr. | 23 | 55 |
| 7 | f | 11 | Richard Wright, martyr. | 23 | 55 |
| | g | 12 | Elizabeth Warne, martyr. | | |
| 15 | A | 13 | George Tankerfield, martyr. | 26 | 55 |
| 4 | b | 14 | Richard Smith, martyr. | 8 | 55 |
| | c | 15 | Stephen Harwod, martyr. | 30 | 55 |
| 2 | d | 16 | Thomas Fusse, martyr. | 30 | 55 |
| 1 | e | 17 | William Haile, martyr. | 31 | 55 |
| | f | 18 | Robert Samuel Preacher, martyr. | 31 | 55 |
| | g | 19 | Ioane Waste, martyr. William Bongeor, martyr. | 1 2 | 1556 1557 |
| 9 | A | 20 | Robert Purcas, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 17 | b | 21 | Thomas Bennold, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 6 | c | 22 | Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| | d | 23 | Bartholomew Apostle. | | |
| 14 | e | 24 | Ellin Ewring, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 3 | f | 25 | Elizabeth Folkes maid, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| | g | 26 | William Munt, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 11 | A | 27 | Alice Munt, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 19 | b | 28 | Rose Allin, maid, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| | c | 29 | John Johnson, martyr. | 2 | 57 |
| 8 | d | 30 | George Egles, martyr. | | |
| | e | 31 | One Frier and the said George Egles sister, martyrs. | 2 | 57 |

# The Kalender.

| Septemb. hath 30. dayes. The Moone xxix. | | | | Dayes of indictions. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | f | 1 | Father Abraham, martyr. | | 1428 |
| | g | 2 | William Wright priest martyr. | | 1428 |
| 5 | A | 3 | John Waddon Priest, martyr. | | 1428 |
| | b | 4 | William Gardiner, martyr. | | 1552 |
| 13 | c | 5 | William Allen, mart. Thomas Cob, martyr. | | 1556 1555 |
| 2 | d | 6 | Thomas Cw, martyr. | | |
| | e | 7 | William Andrew, confessor. Thomas King, confessor. | | 55 |
| 10 | f | 8 | Thomas Leis, confessor.. | 5 | 55 |
| | g | 9 | George Catmer, martyr. | 6 | 55 |
| 18 | A | 10 | Robert Streater, martyr. | | |
| 7 | b | 11 | Anthonie Burward, martyr. | | 55 |
| | c | 12 | George Bradbridge, martyr. | | |
| 15 | d | 13 | James Lutty, martyr. Thom. Hayward mart. | 6 | 55 |
| 4 | e | 14 | John Goziwap, martyr. Robert Glouer, martyr. | 20 | 55 |
| 12 | f | 15 | Cornelius Bungay, martyr. Edward Sharpe, mart. | 8 | 55 1556 |
| 1 | g | 16 | John Hart, martyr. Thomas Rauendale a Shoomaker, or a Turrier, martyr. | 24 | 1556 |
| | A | 17 | John Yoane and another woman, martyrs. | 25 20 | 1556 1556 |
| 9 | b | 18 | John Rurd, martyr. Cicelie Dimes, martyr. | 23 | 1557 |
| | c | 19 | Ioyce Lewis, martyr. Ralph Allerton, martyr. | 10 | 1557 |
| 17 | d | 20 | Richard Roth, martyr. Matthew Apostle. | 17 | 1557 |
| 6 | e | 21 | James Aullo and Margerie his wife, martyrs. | 17 | 1557 |
| | f | 22 | Agnes Bongeor, martyr. | 17 | 1557 |
| 14 | g | 23 | Mar. Thurstone, martyr. | | |
| 3 | A | 24 | John Warren, martyr. | | 57 |
| | b | 25 | Christian Glouer, martyr. | | |
| 11 | c | 26 | Thomas Athoth, martyr. | | 57 |
| 19 | d | 27 | John Athdone, martyr. | | |
| | e | 28 | Thomas Spurdaunce, martyr. | | 57 |
| 8 | f | 29 | Michael Archangell. | | |
| | g | 30 | John Fortune martyr. | | 57 |

| October hath 31. dayes. The Moone xxx. | | | | Dayes of indictions. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | A | 1 | Bartholet Pillon, martyr. | | 1534 |
| | b | 2 | John de Burge a rich merchant, martyr. | | 34 |
| 3 | c | 3 | The receiuer of Paunts martyr. | | 34 |
| 2 | d | 4 | Henry Poile, martyr. Catelle a schoolemistris, martyr. | | 34 |
| | e | 5 | Stephen de la Foarge, a merchant, martyr. | | 34 |
| 10 | f | 6 | *William Tyndall, martyr.* | | 34 |
| | g | 7 | William Lepton, martyr. | | 1536 |
| 8 | A | 8 | Puttedew, martyr. | | 1537 |
| | b | 9 | John Lambert, alias Nicolson, martyr. | | 1537 |
| 7 | c | 10 | Collins, martyr. Colwbridge, martyr. | | 1538 1538 |
| 15 | d | 11 | Peter a Germane, martyr. | | 1539 |
| 4 | e | 12 | Lancelot, martyr. John a Painter, mart. | | 39 |
| | f | 13 | Giles Germane, martyr. | | 39 |
| 12 | g | 14 | Robert Barnes martyr. Thomas Garrard, martyr. | | 39 |
| 1 | A | 15 | William Hierome, martyr. | | 1541 |
| | b | 16 | William Wolsey, martyr. | 4 | 1555 |
| 9 | c | 17 | Robert Pigot, martyr. | 4 | |
| | d | 18 | Luke Euangelist. | | 55 |
| 17 | e | 19 | *Nicolas Ridley Bishop, martyr.* | 16 | 55 |
| 6 | f | 20 | *Hugh Latymer Bishop, martyr.* | | |
| | g | 21 | John Web, gent. mar. | 5 | 55 |
| 14 | A | 22 | George Roper, martyr. Georgie Parke, martyr. | | |
| 3 | b | 23 | Adam Walles, martyr. | | |
| | c | 24 | Martke Burges, martyr. William Hooker, martyr. | 12 | 51 1556 |
| 11 | d | 25 | Simon priest, Beuerech Frier, Peyler blacke Frier, Dauy Stratton, gentleman, Norman Gosley Vicar of Dolor, a blacke Canon, with foure other, martyrs. | | |
| 19 | e | 26 | | | |
| | f | 27 | | | |
| 8 | g | 28 | Simon and Iude. | | |
| | A | 29 | Thos died in prison at Cicester, confes. | 18 | 56 |
| 16 | b | 30 | Mother Seaman, confessor. | | 56 |
| 5 | c | 31 | Mother Bennet, confessor. | | 56 |

# The Kalender.

| Nouemb. hath 30. daies. *The Moone xxix.* | | | | Days of their death. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | d | 1 | The feast of all Saints. | | |
| 13 | e | 2 | Richard Yeking, martyr. | | 1541 |
| 2 | f | 3 | Richard Spenser, martyr. | | 41 |
| | g | 4 | Andrew Hewet, martyr. | | 41 |
| 10 | a | 5 | John Potter, confessor. | | 1542 |
| | b | 6 | Thomas Bernard, martyr. | | 1542 |
| 18 | c | 7 | James Wozton, martyr. | | 1542 |
| 7 | d | 8 | George Wizard gentleman, martyr. | | 1546 |
| | e | 9 | John Kerby, martyr. | | 1546 |
| 19 | f | 10 | Roger Clarke, martyr. | | 1546 |
| 4 | g | 11 | Richard Vaisfield, alias Somersam, martyr. | 20 | 1531 |
| | a | 12 | John Clarke, confessor. | | 1556 |
| | b | 13 | Dunstane Chittenden, confessor. | | 1556 |
| | | | | | 1556 |
| 1 | c | 14 | William Foster, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | d | 15 | Alice Potkins, confessor. | | 1556 |
| | e | 16 | John Archer, confessor. Hooke, martyr. | | 1556 |
| | f | 17 | John Hallingdale martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| | g | 18 | William Sparow, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| 16 | a | 19 | Richard Gybson gentleman, martyr. | 18 | 1557 |
| | b | 20 | Saunder Gotch, martyr. | 4 | 1558 |
| 14 | c | 21 | Elizabeth Dziuer, martyr. | 4 | 58 |
| | d | 22 | Philip Humfrey, martyr. | 5 | 58 |
| | e | 23 | John Daye, martyr. | 5 | 58 |
| 11 | f | 24 | Henrie Daye, martyr. | | |
| 29 | g | 25 | John Corncforth, martyr. | 5 | 58 |
| | a | 26 | Christopher Wayone, martyr. | 10 | 58 |
| 8 | b | 27 | John Herst, martyr. | 10 | 58 |
| | c | 28 | Alice Snoth, martyr. | 10 | 58 |
| 26 | d | 29 | Katherine Knight, martyr. | 10 | 58 |
| 8 | e | 30 | Andrew Apostle. | | |

| December hath 31. daies. *The Moone xxx.* | | | | Days of their death. | Yeares of our Lord. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | f | 1 | William Tracie Esquier, confessor. | | 1534 |
| 13 | g | 2 | Peter Sapience, martyr. | | 1545 |
| 2 | a | 3 | George Bucker alias Adam Damlip, martyr. | | |
| 10 | b | 4 | An old man of Buckinghamshire, martyr. | | 1531 |
| | c | 5 | Two gray Friers, martyrs. | | 1381 |
| 18 | d | 6 | John Hilton, confessor. John Coignes, confessor. | | 1513 1517 |
| 7 | e | 7 | Robert Ward, confessor. | | 1517 |
| | f | 8 | A Scholer of Abbeuile, martyr. | | 1522 |
| 15 | g | 9 | A Jew, martyr. Richard Hunne, martyr. | 4 | 1528 1515 |
| 4 | a | 10 | John Lewkesbury, martyr. | 20 | 1531 |
| | b | 11 | James Goze, confessor. | 7 | 1555 |
| 12 | c | 12 | William Wiseman, confessor. | 13 | 55 |
| 1 | d | 13 | *John Philpot Preacher, martyr.* | 18 | 1557 |
| | e | 14 | John Rough, Preacher, martyr. | 22 | 57 |
| 9 | f | 15 | Margaret Pering, martyr. | 22 | 1558 |
| | g | 16 | Thomas Tyler, confessor. | | 58 |
| 17 | a | 17 | Matthew Withers, confessor. Dale, confessor. | | 58 1550 |
| 6 | b | 18 | Thomas Apostle. William Plaine. | | |
| | c | 19 | Elizabeth Lawson, confessor. John glouer, confessor. | | 50 |
| 14 | d | 20 | Nicolas Burton, martyr. | 22 | 1562 |
| 3 | e | 21 | Natiuitie of our Lord. | | |
| | f | 22 | Stephen, martyr. | | |
| 11 | g | 23 | John Euangelist. | | |
| 19 | a | 24 | Childermasse. | | 1436 |
| | b | 25 | Thomas Rhedonensis, an Earle, martyr. | | 1497 |
| 8 | c | 26 | Petrus Pirandula, confessor. | | 1513 |
| | d | 27 | Erasmus Roterodamus confessor. | | 1549 |
| 16 | e | 28 | Martin Bucer, confessor. Paulus Phagius, confessor. | | 1551 1559 |
| 5 | f | 29 | Philip Melanthon, confessor. | | 1562 |
| | g | 30 | Peter Party, confessor. | | 1553 |
| 5 | a | 31 | *King Edward the fourth, confessor.* | | |

# TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS, MOST EXCELLENT AND NOBLE PRINCESSE, QVEENE ELIZABETH, OVR DREAD LADIE, BY THE grace of God, Queene of *England, France* and *Ireland,* Defender of Christs faith and *Gospell, and principall Gouernor both of the Realme, and also ouer the said Church of* England and *Ireland,* vnder Christ the Supreame head of the same, &c *John Fox* her humble subiect wisheth daily increase of Gods holy Spirit and Grace, with long raigne, perfect health, and ioyfull peace to gouerne his flocke committed to her charge, to the example of all good Princes, the comfort of his Church, and glorie of his blessed name.




CHRIST the Prince of all Princes, who *hath placed you in your throne of Maiestie, vnder him to gouerne the Church and Realme of England, giue your roiall Highnes long to sit, and many yeeres to raigne ouer vs, in all flourishing felicitie, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting ioy of all your subiects: Amen.*

*When I first presented these* ACTS and MONYMENTS *vnto your Maiestie (most deare Soueraigne,* Queene ELIZABETH, *our peaceable* SALOME) *which your Maiesties rare clemencie receiued in such gentle part: I well hoped that these my trauels in this kind of writing had bin well at an end, whereby I might haue returned my studies againe to other purposes after mine owne desire, more fit then to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certaine euill disposed persons, of intemperant tongues, aduersaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising vp such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the booke, as was wonderfull to heare. A man would haue thought Christ to haue bin new borne againe, and that Herod with all the Citie of Ierusalem had been in an vprore. Such blustring and stirring was then against that poore booke, thorow all quarters of England, euen to the gates of Loraine: so that no English Papist almost in all the Realme thought himselfe a perfect Catholike, vnlesse he had cast out some word or other to giue that booke a blow.*

*Whereupon, considering with my selfe what should moone them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to ouerlooke againe that I had done. In searching whereof, I found the fault both what it was, and where it lay: which was indeed, not so much in the booke it selfe (to say the truth) as in another certain priuie mysterie and working of some: of whom* Ioannes Auentinus *shall tell vs in his owne words, and shew vs who they bee:* Quibus, *inquit,* audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est: nullus faciendi, quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, vbi opus, nihil verentur: hic, vbi nihil opus est, ibi verentur, &c. *Who being ashamed belike to heare their worthie stratagems like to come to light, sought by what meanes they might, the stopping of the same. And because they could not worke it* per brachicum seculare, *by publike authoritie (the Lord of heauen long preserue your noble Maiestie) they renewed againe an old wonted practise of theirs: doing in like sort herein as they did somtimes with the holy Bible in the daies of your renowmed father of famous memory king* Henry *the eight; who when they neither by manifest reason could gainestand the matter contained in the booke, nor yet abide the comming out thereof, then sought they by a subtill deuised traine to deprane the translation, notes and prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and all the people, that there were in it a thousand lies, and I cannot tell how many moe. Not that there were such lies in it in very deed: but because the comming of that booke should not bewray their lying falshood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselues against it: playing in their stage, like as* Phormio *did in the old Comedie, who being in all the fault himselfe, began first to quarrell with* Demipho, *when* Demipho *rather had good right to lay* Phormio *by the heeles.*

*With like facing brags these Catholike* Phormiones *thinke now to dash out all good bookes, and amongst others, also these Monuments of Martyrs. Which godly martyrs, as they could not abide being aliue, so neither can they now suffer their memories to liue after their death, lest the acts of them being knowne, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruell murthers to detestation: and therefore spurne they so vehemently against this booke of histories, with all kind of contumelies and vprores, railing and wondering vpon it; much like as I haue heard of a company of theeues, who in robbing a certaine true man by the high waies side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more then he would be acknowne of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marualling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men.*

*Euen so these men deale also with me: for when they themselues altogether delight in vntruths, and haue replenished the*

whole Church of Christ with fained fables, lying miracles, false visions, miserable errors contained in their Missals and Portuses, Breuiars, and Summaries, and almost no true tale in all their Saints liues and Festiuals, as now also no great truths in our Louanian bookes, &c. Yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceiue them, they pretend a face and zeale of great veritie: And as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but onely this historie of Acts and Monuments, with tragicall voices they exclaime and wonder vpon it, sparing no cost of Hyperbolicall phrases to make it appeare as full of lies as lines: &c. much after the like sort of impudencie as sophisters vse sometimes in their Sophismes to doe (and sometimes is vsed also in Rhetorike) that when an argument commeth against them which they cannot well resolue indeed, they haue a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragicall admiration, whereby to dash the opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand, the same to be the weakest and slendrest argument that euer was heard, not worthy to be answered, but vtterly to be hissed out of the Schooles.

With like sophistication these also fare with me; who when they neither can abide to heare their owne doings declared, nor yet denie the same, which they heare to be true, for three or foure escapes in the booke committed (and yet some of them in the booke amended) they neither reading the whole, nor rightly vnderstanding that they read, inueigh and maligne so peruerslie the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other storie false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers, I doe not so excuse my selfe, nor defend my booke, as though nothing in it were to bee sponged or amended. Therefore I haue taken these paines, and reiterated my labours in trauelling out the storie againe; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, vntwisting that she had done before: Or as builders doe sometimes, which build and take downe again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger. So in recognising this History I haue imploied a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand: partly also to assay, whether by any paines taking I might pacifie the stomacks, or satisfie the iudgements of these importune quarrellers: which neuertheless I feare I shall not doe, when I haue done all I can. For well I know that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will neuer be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules. And if Apelles the skilfull Painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning vpon a piece of worke, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprooue, yet was not without some controlling Sutor, which tooke vp-

Ne sutor vltra crepidam.

on him Vltra crepidam, much more may I looke for the like in these controlling daies.

Neuertheless committing the successe thereof vnto the Lord, I haue aduentured againe vpon this storie of the Church, and haue spent not onely my paines, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did: so againe I exhibit and present the same vnto your Princely Maiestie, blessing my Lord my God with all my heart: first for this libertie of peace and time which through your peaceable gouernment he hath lent vnto vs for the gathering both of this and other like bookes, tractations and monuments requisite to the behoofe of his Church, which hitherto by iniquitie of time could not be contrined in any Kings raigne since the conquest, before these Alcyon daies of yours.

Secondly, as we are all bound with publicke voices to magnifie our God for this happie preseruation of your roiall estate: so priuately for mine owne part, I also acknowledge my selfe bound to my God and to my Sauiour, who so graciously in such weake health, hath lent me time, both to finish this worke, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your Maestie: desiring the same to accept in worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthines of the thing giuen, yet as a testification of the bounden seruice and good will of one, which by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to giue.

And though the storie being written in the popular tongue, serueth not so greatly for your owne peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned: yet I shall desire both you and them, to consider in it the necessitie of the ignorant flocke of Christ committed to your gouernment in this Realme of England. Who, as they haue bin long led in ignorance, and wrapt in blindnesse for lacke especially of Gods word, and partly also for wanting the light of historie, pity I thought but that such should bee helped, their ignorance relieued, and simplicitie instructed. I considered they were the flocke of Christ, and your subiects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and hauing as deare soules to the Lord as other. And though they be but simple and vnlearned, yet not vnapt to be taught if they were applied. Furthermore, what inconuenience groweth of ignorance, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered, and experience daily teacheth.

Profit to be taken by examples of Christian martyrs.

Gods workes to be obserued in histories.

What vse commeth by reading of Histories.

And therefore, bearing of the vertuous inclination of your Maiestie, what a prouident care and zeale full of solicitude you haue, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your Realme with the voice of Christs Gospel, and faithfull preaching of his word, I thought also not vnprofitable to adioine vnto this your godly proceedings, and to the office of the ministerie, the knowledge also of Ecclesiasticall historie, which in my mind ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one the people may learne the rules and precepts of doctrine: so by the other they may haue examples of Gods mightie working in his Church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of Christian life. For as we see what light and profit commeth to the Church by histories in old times set forth of the Iudges, Kings, Machabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christs time: so likewise may it redound to no small vse in the Church, to know the Acts of Christs martyrs now since the time of the Apostles.

Besides other manifold examples and experiments of Gods great mercies and iudgements in preseruing his Church, in ouerthrowing tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering states and kingdomes, in conserning Religion against errours and dissensions, in releeuing the godly, in brideling the wicked, loosing and tying vp againe of Satan the disturber of common weales, in punishing transgressions as well against the first Table as the second: wherein is to be seene Idolatrie punished, blasphemie plagued, contempt of Gods holie name and Religion reuenged, murder with murder rewarded, Adulterers and Wedlock breakers destroied, periuries, extortions, couetous oppressions, & fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the obseruing and noting whereof in histories, minister to the readers therof wholesome admonitions of life: with experience and wisdome both to know God in his works, and to worke the thing that is godlie: especially to seeke vnto the sonne of God for their saluation, and in his faith onely to find that they seeke for, and in no other meanes. The continuance and constancy of which faith, the Lord of his grace and goodnes grant to your noble Maiesty, and to his whole beloued Church, and al the members of the same, to euerlasting life:

Amen.

# AD DOMINVM IESVM CHRISTVM SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMVM, EVCHARISTICON

*Ioannis Foxi.*

COnfecto nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspicijs ac voluntate aggressus (summe & adorande Iesu, idemque Seruator clementissime) inchoaui, quodque tuo demum beneficio ac fauore exegi atque absolui, præter omnem certam opinionem & vires meas: supereſt itaque pro officio meo, vt animula hæc, ceu pro votiua tabula, gratias, si non quantas debeat (vtinam enim id posset) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimæ tuæ persoluat maiestati: quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemuis ἀρσενικὸν possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementer suffulserit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit: tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens maiestas, huius, qualecunq; sit, negotij confectio quibus quanque non ferendis curis, vigilijs, molestijs constitit: Quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi tauentis gratiæ tuæ numen affulsisset ac sese quodam modo admiscuisset operi. Quid ni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsa experti sumus? Perspicuum enim, penéque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsæ dexteræ tuæ ὑπερβολὴν, non modò in successu negotij prouehendo, sed in vita etiam spirituque inter labores conseruando. *Auxilium Christi in concinando hoc opere.* Tui igitur muneris est (clementissime Iesu) quòd opus tuis susceptum auspicijs huc vsque prouectum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officij, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro priuatim, tum publico quodammodo ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam Martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tanta fauces propensione. Quanquam verò si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta. Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare maiestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, vt eandem multo cum gloriæ fœnore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longe à mundo hoc diuersum, quòd in castris tuis militantes siue viuant, tibi viuant, siue moriantur, multò clarescant a funere felicius, quàm si vixissent maximè.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Iohannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæteroſque eiusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto maiore occubuisse cum gloria in acie tua depugnantes, quam si relicta statione in qua erant collocati, saluti ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ lingua, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wicleuum vnquam, aut Cobhamum natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tua in causa tam egisset strenuè? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemensi, nostroque Tindallo fuit, quòd vitam in Euangelij tui causa perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diuersa parte aduersarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, iniurias, crudelitates aduersus tuos, multaque item occultè & sceleste ab ijsdem perpetratà, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: Et tamen quid vnquam in angulis & tenebris ab illis est defignatum tàm occultè aduersus Ecclesiam, quod non in apricum tua produxit producetq; prouidentia? atque ita produxit, vt vnde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibi ipsis dedecus pepererint & contumeliam, quam nec vita effugeré, nec morte vnquam finire poterint. Quis Guisios, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam exeeranda hominum nomina nunc non nouit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliterabit dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tanta multitudine hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui vnquam prospere cessit tuo rebellare numini, aut hostem se ecclesiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre & gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid probrosius? Cardinalitium fastigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multaque prosequi reuerentia: Sic Monachorum & Nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem & credulam. At postquam spreta veritate tua cœperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) vt reliqua sex nihil aliud iam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur. *Felix ac gloriosum pro Christo mortem oppetere.* *Papæ nomen nunc probrosum. Cardinalium Monachorum, Nonnarum nomina ad ignominiam nunc relicta.*

Hæc nimirum (sanctissime domine ac deus noster) iustissimi iudicij tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est in suo ipsorum regno, tanta accumules infamia & dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus Martyres, quorum nomine, meritò á nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis & gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul & habetur, bonitati. Primùm, quòd in ecclesiæ tuæ causa dimicantibus tam fortem & alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis maiorem aduersus parricidas Papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd & nobis in illorum desudantibus historia propitius adeò clementiæ tuæ fauor affuerit. Debetur & hoc priuatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem, in hac tanta, quantam tu solus nouisti, laborum immensitate conseruatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verùm illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amori, quòd beatorum Martyrum tuorum, quos mundi huius ad flammas & cineres adegerit peruersitas, causam & innocentiam velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamq; ecclesiæ tuæ reuocare ac patefacere dignatus sis. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum mouebuntur, omnis eorum ad amussim excutietur

1

2

3

4

excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in ecclesia tua, causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos vberior gloria, ad nos interea maior redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide ac patientia constare poterit, non quid ipsi solùm fecerint, sed quid & nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

*Deploratio nostrorum morum & temporum.*

Sed hic rursus (dulcissime Iesu) opus est benigno fauoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filij Martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè maiores nostros imitari conueniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: qua etiam ipsa nimium abutimur intemperanter, vt iam periculum sit, ne non filij modò Martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim interfit discriminis, quamque prorsus disconuenit ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigijs & disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cuius nihil non perspicit maiestas ac intuetur? Quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui, cætera quæq; adeoq; seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptū abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desiderijs flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula vndique imminentia opibus cogerendis, multoq; minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, omnisq; adeò contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorū aucupium videtur & ambitus? At illi quam præclarè secum actum putassent, si vel viuere modò licuisset. Ideoq; multi fuere eorum, qui Mariæ Reginæ facultates & possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret conscientiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec vnus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, sacerdotijs, censuiq; dilatādo inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus & inimicos, non vt viuamus solùm, verùm vt sublimes viuamus & honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quanta cōstantia, qua animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem deo remittentes, cui & causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos aduersariorum deijcere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria mouere, non pericula, non tormenta vlla consternere, nec delinire blanditia potuerunt.

*Quanta degeneratio nostrorum nunc hominum, ab exemplis superiorum Martyrum.*

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet: Nam quæ tam Iouis nos tentationis aura affiare possit, quæ non illico præcipites ac transuersos rapiat in auaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, & in quid non malorum? Quæ tam leuis obijci poterit iniuriola, pro qua non cœlum terræ miscemus, mariáque turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, vt mortem simus vnquam, tua causa subituri, si quando res Martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare iussu velimus. Quapropter vt Martyrumquidem illorum causa gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto: ita nostra vicissim causa deprecamur, vt qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires: sicque ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia, necubi seducti huius mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinenda Euangelij tui victoria, quàm illi in comparanda strenui, videamur. Postremò, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in ea re operam studiumq; posuimus, quo facta gesta-

*Necessaria precatio.*

que sanctorum tuorum (sanctissime Iesu) ad nominis tui gloriam, & in commodum ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulq; historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus: cui & opus ipsum, totumque meipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore & anima, totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque; cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox & lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personétque. Amen.



## AD DOCTVM LECTOREM,

IOANNES FOXVS.

COgitanti mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosa res aleæ sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculósq; multorum subeat, his præsertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibúsque, vbi tot hominum dissidijs, tot studijs partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, & Criticorum sannis feruent fere omnia, vt difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur, perbeati profectò (cœlicéque videntur ij, quibus eum vitæ cursum tenere liceat, vt in otio viuentes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, vt nullam interim ipsis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò, nescio quo pacto, longe diuersa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio, quippe cui nec fortunæ illam fœlicitatem, in cuius complexibus tam multos suauiter foueri video, nec otij amœnitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare in continuo laborum ac negotiorum feruore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortunæ parum queror quam semper contempsi, quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ij, tantum vel prodesse vel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantū me priuatim afterunt incommodántq;. Nunc ad meæ infœlicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod præter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ inamœnitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro autorem ipsum redigit angustiæ, vt neque falsa narrare sine iniuria historiæ, nec verum dicere sine magna sua inuidia odióque multorum liceat. Nam cùm in eo historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modò temporum res gestas altéq; repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, nostræq; gentis nunc homines etiamnū præsentes, viuósq; sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere necessariò faciundū fuit: quæso, quid hic mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando, valetudinem attriuerim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciuerim, corpus exhauserim, demum, vt post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odijs, sibilis, inuidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus cùm nihil me tutum præstare poterit, non Cæsar, non Monarchæ, non Rex, non Regina, non vlla huius mundi præsidia, præter solam diuini numinis potentem dexteram: principiò igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepi, huic me librúmque commendaui & commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem domino tuum illum candorem (docte piéq; Lector) eamq; tuam humanitatem appellare volui, quæ ex humanioribus literis studijsque te scio præditum, quo nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne fauoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatum iri hanc historiæ nostræ farraginem senserimus, cæterorum iudicia obtrectatorum leuius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos sat scio qui varijs modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hîc Momus suos morsus, Sycophanta suos sibilos, nec deerit Calumniatori sua lingua & aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet historiæ: Ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus iudicium desiderabit. Illi forsan operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita seruataque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tanta religionis pugna, in tanta iudiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, vbi suæ quisq; faueat ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè aut circumspectè enarrari potest, quod placeat vniuersis? Quin & iam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis, qui longa sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandē (*Legenda nostra*, vt appellant, *Aurea*) euulganda sit: qui si nostram primùm in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, næ ego suaues istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, vt ipsi prius in edendis suis se præbeant expeditiores, quā alienā incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerint prouerbiali præcepto, lentam esse festinationem oportere: Et bos dicitur lassus fortiùs pedē figere. Egimus in hac quidē re pro virili nostra: egimus spero & pro officio, si non satis pro tēporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addā porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin & illud ipsorum venia adijcere liceat, egisse nos maturiùs quàm ipsis forsan expediet, qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus, quam tanti momenti & magnitudinis negotio conueniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat, cùm a nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectitandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinandæ historiæ, & in ordinem redigendæ, &c. nouerunt ij qui testes adfuerint, & temporis conscij, & laboris socij. Quod si autem *Legendæ suæ aureæ* titulum huc eò accomodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiam, hinc q; odioso vocabulo eius præiudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quā quòd ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam nouerint. Atq; interim quidem illud bene habet, quòd ipsis tandem aliquando *Aureæ suæ legendæ* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabellis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui *Legendæ illi*, hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis, auderent detrahere. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quàm sacrosanctam ecclesiæ fidem fabulamentis huiusmodi conficticisque præter omnem veri fidem delirijs commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores ex suo ingenio cæteros quosque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus alijs fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somnijs similia existimantes. Quin apage cum *Aurea tua legenda*, nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis & vanissimis vndique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim: tantum abest vt cum verè serijs grauibusque ecclesiæ historijs quicquam commune

habeat:

habeat. Quid? an quia Papistis illis tuis & impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis in eptire, tu protinus nullam grauem historiæ authoritatem putas in ecclesia admittendam? Quin eadem lege & de Eusebij ecclesiastica, & tripartita Sozomeni & Socratis cæterorúmque historijs iudicemus. Sunt præter hæc & alia quædam de Sanctis & Diuis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *Legendam* hanc accedunt, & tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, vt *Legendæ illi papisticæ* annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei. Quanquam de scriptoribus cæteris mea nihil interest censuram ferre. Quòd ad hanc verò nostram ... attinet, testatum id velim vniuersis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulò, ne quid vsquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut eiusmodi, quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod *Legendæ illi aureæ* (magis dicam plumbeæ) non vndique foret dissimilimum. Id quod res ipsa & natiua historiæ facies testari potetit, cuius tota textura ex ipsis Episcoporum Archiuis atque Registris, partimque ex proprijs martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In qua historia etsi neque id exigam vt singula hic pro oraculis habeantur, at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, vt si non plenè assequeremur, accederemus tamen quàm proxime ad veterem illam historiæ legem, vt duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremus, timorem videlicet & assentationem: quarum altera sæpe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit quàm par est, narrationi. Sed huius rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quam ex mea commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simpliccm suam & natiuam faciem, quam non erit difficile non muccosis naribus lectori, ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, siue alijs circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris prouerbij experientia: faciunt quippe mendaces vt ne vera ctiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in Martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitiisque describendis mendacia, ac impudentissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit vt & cæteræ eiusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, vt vix iam quicquam legi dicíue in ecclesia cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cùm mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, diuinæ curandum prouidentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritatéque historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ vtinam ne tam vera quidem certáque essent, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, confimilísque huic, quam dicunt, *Aureæ ipsorum Legendæ*, aut Vitis patrum, aut Festiuali, aut Dormi-secure, cæteríscj Papisticis istis ... foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, sed inflicta à vobis supplicia, atroxque cædes veriorem hanc comprobant historiam, pluréscque suæ veritatis testes habent quam vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio iam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ *de Calendario* fortassis obijcietur. Audio enim & hic mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè a me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ Diuis, Martyribus, Confessoribus, Virginibúsq, nouos eorum loco Martyres ac Confessores insulciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum Diuorum hoc facto præiudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter Diuos a me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, vt nouam alicuius festorum dierum legem præscribam ecclesiæ: Tum multò minus cultum sancti alicuius instituo. Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo. Vtinam dominicum solum sabbatum dignè, atque vt par est, transigeremus. Habeãt per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat & ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim ijdem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti, tàm verè etiam sancti sint.

Verùm enimuero cum non dubitauit sua etiam ætatæ Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in ecclesia: quid hîc tum diceret Hieronymus, si modò spectasset perstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluuiem & Calendaria, tot Papis, tot Episcopis, & Abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt *pro Indice* duntaxat, suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, ad priuatum Lectoris seruiret vsum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies proprijs sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare; quî minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere Martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tanta sibi licentia, ne dicam impudentia, permiserunt? Si non pœna, sed causa Martyrem faciat, cur non vnum *Cranmerum* sexcentis Becketis Canturiensibus non conferam, sed prætulerim? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quouis Diuo Nicolao non conferendum? Qui in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, cæteríque Christiani martyrij Candidati, inferiores summis maximísque illis papistici Calendarij Diuis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctíque viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hisce aduersariorum calumnijs, ad te, docte candidéque Lector (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est vt recurrat oratio, cuius in his rebus iudicium vt pluris æstimo, ita egeo magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim in vasta hac congerie reperies nonnulla, ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque vero fieri facilè potuit, præsertim in tanta operis præcipitatione, vt cuncta ad amussim atq; ad vnguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret authori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eueniret, quod cani solet in prouerbijs nimium præ studio properanti, cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quam censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul & humanissime Lector, ante operis ingressum libuit ..., vt si quid inter euoluendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleantis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum Theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus alioqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meæ, hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius legantur libri quam iudicantur. Aut si ne id quidem grauissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illa mihi vti lege, qua semper permissum est, opere in magno scriptori obrepere somnum. Quod si verò tuam hac in re facilitatem impetrauero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor prouerbij,

cuius & ipsos commeminisse velim: ...

... à μυρίοις.

# TO THE TRVE AND FAITHFVLL CONGREGATION OF CHRISTS VNIVERSALL CHVRCH,

with all and singuler the members thereof, wheresoeuer congregated or dispersed

*thorow the realme of England; a Protestation or Petition of the Author, wishing to*

the same abundance of all peace and tranquillity, with the speedie coming *of Christ the Spouse, to make an end of all mortall miserie.*

SAlomon the peaceable prince of Israel, as we reade in the third of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lords Temple (which he had vij. yeeres in hand) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said Temple, or turne their face toward it. And his request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we reade in the said book, cap. 6. *I haue heard* (saith he) *thy prayer, and haue sanctified this place, &c.* Albeit, the infinite maiestie of God is not to be compassed in any materiall walles, yet it so pleased his goodnes to respect this prayer of the King, that not onely hee promised to heare them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his owne glory. For so we reade again in the book aforesaid: *Et non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replenit gloria domini, domum domini:* 3. *Reg.* 7.

Vpon the like trust in Gods gracious goodnesse, if I sinnefull wretch, not comparing with the building of that Temple, but following the zeale of the builder, might either be so bold to aske, or so happie to speed, after my vij. yeeres trauell about this Ecclesiasticall History, most humbly would craue of almighty God, to bestow his blessing vpon the same, that as the prayers of them, which prayed in the outward Temple, were heard: so all true disposed minds, which shall resort to the reading of this present historie, containing the Acts of Gods holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may by example of their life, faith and doctrine, receiue some such spirituall fruit to their soules through the operation of his grace, that it may be to the aduancement of his glory, and profit of his Church, through Christ Iesus our Lord: Amen.

But as it happened in that Temple of *Salomon*, that al which came thither, came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see newes, other to talke and walke, some to buy and sell, some to carpe and find fault, and finally, some also at the last to destroy and plucke downe, as they did in deed: For what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling *Theon* will not set in his tooth? Euen so, neither doe I look for any other in this present history; but that amongst many well disposed Readers, some Waspes nest or other will bee stirred vp to buzze about mine eares. Such a dangerous thing it is now adaies to write or doe any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the godly, or by true speaking procure hatred with the wicked. Of such stinging Waspes and buzzing Drones I had sufficient triall in my former edition before; who if they had found in my booke any iust cause to carpe, or vpon any true zeale of truth had proceeded against the vntruths of my story, and had brought iust proofes for the same, I could haue right well abid it. For God forbid, but that faults whersoeuer they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore accusers in a common-wealth, after my mind, do serue to no small stead. But then such accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom *Cicero* in his Oration speaketh, which being set in *Capitolio* to fray away theeues by night, left the theeues, and fell to barke at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and barke is not amisse. But to carpe where no cause is, to spie in other strawes, and leape ouer their own blocks: to swallow Camels, and to straine Gnats: to oppresse truth with lies, and to set vp lies for truth: to blaspheme the deare Martyrs of Christ, and to canonize for Saints, whom Scripture would scarce allow for good Subiects; that is intollerable. Such barking curs, if they were well serued, would be made a while to stoope. But with these brauling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrastle.

Wherefore to leaue them a while, till further leasure serue me to attend vpon them, thus much I thought in the meane season, by way of protestation or petition, to write vnto you, both in generall and particular the true members and faithfull congregation of Christs Church, whersoeuer either congregated together, or dispersed thorow the whole realme of England; that forsomuch as al the seeking of these aduersaries is to doe what they can, by discrediting of this history with slanders and sinister surmises, how to withdraw the readers from it: this therefore shall be in few words to premonish and desire of all and singuler of you (all well minded louers and partakers of Christs Gospel) not to suffer your selues to be deceiued with the big brags, and hyperbolicall speeches of those slandering tongues, whatsoeuer they haue or shall hereafter exclame against the same. But indifferently staying your iudgement till truth bee tried, you will first peruse, and then refuse: measuring the vnsame. But indifferently staying your iudgement till truth bee tried, you will first peruse, and then refuse: measuring the vntruths of this historie, not by the scoring vp of their hundreds and thousands of lies which they giue out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings, according as you find, and so to iudge of the matter.

To reade my books I allure neither one nor other. Euery man as he seeth cause, so like as he list. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this story, his choice is free either to reade this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit therof shall recompence the readers trauell, then would I wish no man so light eared, to be carried away for any sinister clamour of aduersaries, who many times depraue good doings, not for the faults they find, but therfore find faults because they would depraue. As for me and my history, as my will was to profit all and displease none: so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose bin simple, and certes the cause no lesse vrgent also, which mooued me to take this enterprise in hand.

*The partiall dealing of story writers.*

For first, to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the vnlearned sort, so miserably abused, and al for ignorance of historie, not knowing the course of times, and true descent of the Church, it pitied me, that part of diligence so long to haue bin vnsupplied in this my countrie Church of England. Againe, considering the multitude of Chronielers and Storie-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the most part haue bin either Monkes or Clients to the see of Rome, it grieued me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painefull trauell albeit I cannot but commend, in committing diuers things to writing, not vnfruitfull to bee knowne, nor vnpleasant to be read: yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principall points, which chiefly concerned the state of Christs Church, and were most necessarie of all Christian people to bee knowne, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawne to the honour specially of the Church of Rome, or else to the fauour of their owne sect of Religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their writings no other Church mentioned or magnified, but only that Church which here florished in this world in riches and iollity, were drawne also to the same perswasion, to thinke no other Church to haue stood in all the earth, but only the Church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our Monks of England (for euery Monastery almost had his Chronicler) I might also recite both Italian, and other countrie authors, as *Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martinus, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Lazsardus, Georgius Lilius, Pollyd. Virgilius*, with many moe, who taking vpon them to intermeddle with matters of the Church, although in part they expresse some truth in matters concerning the bishops and See of Rome: yet in suppressing another part, they play with vs, as *Ananias & Saphira* did with their money, or as *Apelles* did who *Plinie*, in painting the one halfe of *Venus* comming out of the sea, left the other halfe vnperfect. So these writers, while they shew vs one halfe of the bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leaue vnperfect, and vtterly vntold. For as they paint him out on the one part glistering in wealth and glorie, in shewing what succession the popes had from the chaire of S. *Peter*, when they first began, and how long they sate, what Churches, and what famous buildings they erected, how far their possessions reached, what lawes they made, what Councels they called, what honour they receiued of Kings and Emperors, what Princes and Countries they brought vnder their authoritie, with other like stratagems, of great pomp & roialty: so on y other side, what vices these popes brought with them to their seat, what abominations they practised, what superstition they maintained, what Idolatrie they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the expresse word of God, to what heresies they fell, into what diuision of sects they cut the vnity of Christian religion, how some practised by Simonie, some by Necromancie and Sorcerie, some by poisoning, some indenting with the diuell to come by their papacie, what hypocrisie was in their liues, what corruption in their doctrin, what warres they raised, what bloud shed they caused, what treacherie they trauersed against their Lords and Emperours, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templaries and Saracens, in bringing other vnder their feet, also in beheading some, as they did with *Fredericus* and *Conradinus*, the heires and offspring of the house of *Frederici Barbarossa*, an. 1269. Furthermore how mightily almightie God hath stood against them, how their wars neuer prospered against the Turk, how the iudgements of the godly learned from time to time haue euer repugned against their errors, &c. of these and a thousand other moe, not one word hath bin touched, but all kept as vnder *Benedicite* in auricular confession.

This partiall dealing and corrupt handling of histories, when I considered, I thought with my selfe nothing more lacking in the church, then a ful and a complete historie, which being faithfully collected out of al our Monastical writers and written Monuments, should containe neither euery vaine written fable, for that would be too much, nor yet leaue out any thing necessary, for that would be too little: but with a moderate discretion taking the best of euery one, should both ease the labor of the Reader from turning ouer such a number of writers: and also should open the plaine truth of times lying long hid in obscure darkenesse of antiquitie. Whereby all studious Readers, beholding as in a glasse the state, course, and alteration of religion, decay of doctrin, and the controuersies of the Church, might discerne the better between antiquitie & nouelty. For if the things which be first (after the rule of *Tertullian*) are to be preferred before those that be latter, then is the reading of histories much necessarie in the Church, to know what went before, and what followed after. And therfore not without cause *Historia, in old authors is called the witnes of times, the light of veritie, the life of memorie, teacher of life, and shewer of antiquitie, &c.* Without the knowledge whereof mans life is blind, and soone may fal into any kind of error, as by manifest experience we haue to see, in these desolate latter times of the Church, when as the bishops of Rome vnder colour of antiquitie haue turned truth into heresie, and brought such new found deuices of strange doctrin and religion, as in the former age of the church were neuer heard of before, and all through ignorance of times, and for lacke of true historie.

*Primum quodque verissimum est: Tertul.*

For to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which write histories had without partialitie gone vpright betweene God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well haue been found, the most part of all this catholick corruption intruded into the Church by the Bishops of Rome, as transubstantiation, eleuation, and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vowes of Priests not to marrie, veneration of images, priuat and satisfactorie masses, the order of *Gregories* masse now vsed, the vsurped authoritie, and *Summa potestas* of the See of Rome, with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition ouergrowing now the Church, all these (I say) to be new nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome without any stampe of antiquity, as by reading of this present historie shal sufficiently, I trust, appeare. Which history therfore I haue here taken in hand, that as other stori-writers heretofore haue imploied their trauel to magnifie the Church of Rome, so in this historie might appeare to all Christian Readers the Image of both Churches, as wel of the one as of the other; especially of the poore oppressed and persecuted Church of Christ. Which persecuted Church; though it had been of long season trodden vnder foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, & almost scarse visible or known to worldly eies, yet hath it bin the true Church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto in preserving the same in al extreme distresses, continually stirring vp from time to time faithfull ministers, by whom alwaies hath been kept some sparks of his true doctrine and religion.

Image of both Churches.

Now forasmuch as the true Church of God goeth not lightly alone, but is accompanied with some other Church or Chapell of the diuell to deface and maligne the same, necessarie it is therefore the difference betweene them to be seene, and the descent of the right Church to be described from the Apostles time. Which hitherto in most part of histories hath been lacking, partly for feare, that men durst not: partly for ignorance that men could not discerne rightly betweene the one and the other. Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible & glorious in the eies of the world, so shining in outward beautie, to beare such a port, to carry such a traine and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, supposed the same to be only the right Catholicke mother. The other, because it was not so visible knowne in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true Church of Christ. Wherein they were farre deceiued. For although the right Church of God be not so inuisible in the world, that none can see it; yet neither is it so visible againe, that euery worldly eie may perceiue it. For like as is the nature of truth; so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such onelie, as bee the members and partakers thereof. And therefore they which require that Gods holy Church should bee euident and visible to the whole world, seeme to define the great synagogue of the world rather then the true spirituall Church of God.

The descent of Christs Church from the Apostles time described.

How the true Church of Christ is visible and not visible.

In Christs time who would haue thought but the congregations and councels of the Pharises had been the right Church? and yet had Christ an other Church in earth besides that; which albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the onely true Church in the sight of God. Of this Church meant Christ speaking of the Temple, which hee would raise againe the third day. And yet after that the Lord was risen, hee shewed not himselfe to the world, but onelie to his elect which were but few. The same Church after that increased and multiplied mightily among the Iewes, yet had not the Iewes eies to see Gods Church, but did persecute it till at length all their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Iewes, then came the Heathen Emperours of Rome, who hauing the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could doe, to extinguish the name and Church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred yeeres. All which while the true Church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred euery where, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly flocke so despised in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightilie preserued. For although many then of the Christians did suffer death: yet was their death neither losse to them, nor detriment to the Church: but the more they suffered, the more of their bloud increased.

In the time of these Emperours, God raised vp then in this Realme of Britaine diuers worthy Preachers and Witnesses, as *Elnanus, Medwinus, Meltiuianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Iulius*, and other moe. In whose time the doctrine of faith without mens traditions was sincerely preached. After their death and martyrdome, it pleased the Lord to prouide a generall quietnesse to his Church, whereby the number of his flocke began more to increase.

The antiquity of the Church here in England with the descent of the same.

In this age the followed here in the said land of Britani *Fastidius, Nuianus, Patricius, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, Dauid, Daniel, Sampson, Elnodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elhodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Ninius*, and a great sort mo, which gouerned y Church of Britain by Christian doctrin a long season; albeit the ciuil gouernors for the time, were



were then dissolute and careless, as *Gildas* very sharply doth lay to their charge, and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while about the space of foure hundred yeeres, Religion remained in Britaine vncorrupt, and the word of Christ truely preached, till about the comming of *Austen* and of his companions from Rome, many of the said Britaine Preachers were slaine by the Saxons. After that began Christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certaine Rochers were slaine by the Saxons. After that began Christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certaine Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tollerable, then were the times which after followed, through the diligent inmish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tollerable, then were the times which after followed, through the diligent inmisht sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tollerable, then were the times which after followed, through the diligent inmisht sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tollerable, then were the tymes

weiles in the time of *Iohn Wickliffe, as Ocliffe, Wickliffe:* anno 1376. *William Thorp, White, Purney, Patshall, Paine, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoyne, Williams Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Santry,* about the yeere 1400. *Iohn Badby* an. 1410. *Nicolas Tailer, Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scrimener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith,* with an Anchresse called *Mathilde* in the citie of Leicester, Lord *Cobham,* Sir *Roger Acton* Knight, *Iohn Beuerley* Preacher, *Iohn Husse, Ierome* of Prage, Schoolemaster, with a number of faithfull Bohemians, and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adioyne *Laurentius Valla,* and *Ioannes Picus,* the learned Earle of Mirandula. But what doe I stand vpon recitall of names, which almost are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be so farre beguiled in his opinion to thinke the doctrine of the Church of Rome (as it now standeth) to be of such antiquity, and that the same was neuer impugned before the time of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* now of late, let them reade these histories: or if he thinke the said historie not to bee of sufficient credit to alter his perswasion, let him peruse the Acts and Statutes of Parliaments, passed in this Realme of ancient time, and therein consider and conferre the course of times; where he may find and reade, *Anno 5. Regis Richardi 2.* in the yeere of our Lord, 1380. of a great number (which there bee called euil persons) *going about from towne to towne in freese gownes, preaching vnto the people, &c.* Which preachers although the words of the Statute doe terme there to be dissembling persons, preaching diuers Sermons containing heresies and notorious errours, to the emblemishment of Christian faith, and of holy Church, &c. as the words doe there pretend: yet notwithstanding euery true Christian Reader may conceiue of those Preachers to teach no other doctrine, then now they heate their owne preachers in pulpits preach, against the bishop of Rome, and the corrupt heresies of his Church.

*Statut. in an. 5. Rich. 2. an. Dom. 1380.*

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in *Statut. An. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15.* in the yeere of our Lord 1402. another like companie of good preachers and faithfull defenders of true doctrine against blind heresie and errour. Whom albeit the words of the Statute there, through corruption of that time, doe falsely terme, to be false *and peruerse Preachers, vnder dissembled holinesse, teaching in those daies openly and priuily new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy Church; &c.* Yet notwithstanding, whosoeuer readeth histories and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall vnderstand these to be no false teachers, but faithful witnesses of the truth, not teaching any new doctrines contrary to the determination of holy Church: but rather shall find that Church to be vnholy, which they preached against, teaching rather it selfe heretical opinions, contrary both to antiquity, and verity of Christs true Catholicke Church.

*Ex Statut. in an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 15. anno Dom. 1402.*

Of the like number also, or greater, of like true faithfull fauorers and followers of Gods holy word, we find in the yeere of our Lord 1422. specified in a letter sent from *Henrie Chichestie* Archbishop of Canturburie, to pope *Martin 5.* in the fifth yeere of his popedome, where mention is made *of so many here in England infected* (as he said) *with the heresies of Wickliffe and Husse, that without force of an armie they could not be suppressed, &c.* Whereupon the pope sent two Cardinals to the Archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of al spirituall and religious men, and the money to be laid in the chamber Apostolicke, and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made vp of chalices, candlesticks, and other implements of the Church, &c.

*The letters Apostolicall of Martin 5. anno domini 1422.*

What shall need then any more witnesse to prooue this matter, when you see so many yeeres agoe whole armies and multitudes, thus standing against the pope? who though they be termed here for heretikes and schismatickes, yet in that, which they call heresie, serued they the liuing Lord, within the Arke of his true spirituall and visible Church.

And where is then the friuolous brag of the Papists, which make so much of their painted sheath, and would needs beare vs downe, that this gouernment of the Church of Rome which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, euen from the primitiue antiquitie, and that neuer was any other Church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only Catholike mother Church of Rome? when as we haue sufficiently prooued before by the continuall descent of the Church til this present time, that the said Church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new begun matter but euen the old continued Church, by the prouidence and promise of Christ, still standing: which albeit it hath been of late yeeres repressed by the tyrannie of Roman Bishops, more then before: yet notwithstanding it was neuer so oppressed, but God hath euer maintained in it the truth of his Gospell, against heresies and errours of the Church of Rome, as in this history more at full is to be seene.

Let vs now proceed farther as we began, deducing this descent of the Church vnto the 1501. yeere. In which yeere the Lord began to shew in the parts of Germany wonderfull tokens, and bloudie markes of his Passion, as the bloudie crosse, his nailes, speare, and crowne of thornes, which fell from heauen vpon the garments and caps of men, and rocks of women, as you may further reade in this booke, pag. 769. By the which tokens almightie God (no doubt) presignified, what grieuous afflictions and bloudie persecutions should then begin to insue vpon his Church for his Gospels sake, according as in this history is described, wherein is to be seene what Christian bloud hath been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyrannie exercised, what torments deuised, what treachery vsed, against the poore flock and Church of Christ; in such sort as since Christs time greater hath not been seene.

*Bloudie markes of Christs passion seene on the garments and rocks in Germanie an. 1501.*

And now by reuolution of yeeres, we are come from that time of 1501. to the yeere now present, 1570. In which the full seuentie yeeres of the Babylonicall captiuity draweth now wel to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloudy markes aboue mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of *Luther*, and his persecution, then lacketh yet xvj. yeeres. Now what the Lord will doe with this wicked world, or what rest he will giue to his Church after these long sorrowes, he is our Father in heauen, his will be done in earth, as seemeth best to his diuine maiestie.

*Seuenty yeres of captiuity well neere expired.*

In the meane time, let vs for our parts with all patient obedience waite vpon his gratious leisure, and glorifie his holy name, and edifie one another with all humilitie. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing, and contending one against another: yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst vs for a short time: yet let vs striue in the meane while what we can to amend the malice of the time with mutuall humanitie. They that be in error, let them not disdaine to learne. They which haue greater talents of knowledge committed, instruct in simplicitie them that be simple. No man liueth in that common-wealth where nothing is amisse: but yet because God hath so placed vs Englishmen here in one common-wealth, also in one Church, as in one ship together: let vs not mangle or diuide the ship, which being diuided perisheth: but euery man serue in his order with diligence, wherein he is called. They that sit at the helme, keepe well the point of the needle, to know how the ship goeth, and whither it should. Whatsoeuer weather betideth, the needle wel touched with the stone of Gods word will neuer faile. Such as labour at the oares, start for no tempest, but do what they can to keepe from the rocks. Likewise, they which be in inferiour roomes, take heed they moue no sedition, nor disturbance against the rowers and mariners. No storme so dangerous to a ship on the Sea, as is discord and disorder in a weale publike, What Countries and Nations, what Kingdoms and Empires, what Cities, Townes, and houses discord hath dissolued, in stories is manifest: I needs not spend time in rehearsing examples. The Lord of peace, who hath power both of land and Sea, reach forth his mercifull hand to helpe them vp that sinke, to keepe them vp that stand, to still these winds and surging seas of discord and contention among vs: that we professing one Christ, may in one vnity of doctrine gather our selues into one Ark of the true Church together, where we continuing stedfast in faith, may at the last luckely be conducted to the ioyfull port of our desired landing place, by his heauenly grace. To whom both in heauen and in earth be all power and glory, with his father and the holy spirit for euer. Amen.

*Exhortation to the Church of England.*

# THE VTILITIE OF THIS Storie.

SEeing the world is replenished with such an infinite multitude of bookes of all kind of matters, I may seeme (perhaps) to take a matter in hand superfluous and needlesse, at this present to set out such volumes, especially of histories, considering now adaies the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plentie thereof, but of all other Treatises, so that bookes now seeme rather to lacke Readers, then Readers to lacke bookes: In which multitude of bookes, I doubt not, but many do both perceiue, and inwardly bewaile this insatiable boldnesse of many now adaies both in writing and printing; which to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament, as any man else beside: and would therefore no man should thinke that vnadusedly or with rathnesse I haue attempted this enterprise, as one being not only doubtfull, but also both bashfull and fearefull within my selfe for setting the same abroad. And why? first I perceiued how learned this age of ours is in reading of bookes, neither could I tell what the secret iudgements of readers would conceiue, to see so weake a thing, to set vpon such a weightie enterprise, not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfie the perfection of so great a storie, or sufficient to serue the vtilitie of the studious, and the delight of the learned. Which abilitie the more I perceiued to be wanting in me, the lesse I durst be bold to become a writer.

*Multitude of bookes lamented.*

But againe on the other side, when I weighed with my selfe what memorable acts and famous doings this latter age of the Church hath ministred vnto vs by the patient sufferings of the worthie Martyrs; I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious Monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registred in bookes, should lie buried by my default vnder darkenesse of oblivion. We thought somewhat was to be said of them for their well deseruing, and something against of our parts for benefits by them receiued. But aboue all other things, nothing did so much stirre me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and speciall regard of the common vtilitie which euery man plentifully may receiue by the reading of these Monuments or Martyrologe: which historie as I haue taken in hand chiefly for the vse of the English Church: so haue I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best vnderstand.

Now if men commonly delite so much in other Chronicles which intreat only vpon matters of policie, and reioyce to behold therein the variable euents of worldly affaires, the Stratagems of valiant Captaines, the terroz of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the burly burlies of Realmes and people: And if men thinke it such a gay thing in a common-wealth, to commit to historie such old antiquities of things prophane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserue in remembrance, the liues, acts and doings, not of bloudie warriers, but of milde and constant Martyrs of Christ, which serue not so much to delight the eare, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godlinesse? As first, by reading thereof, we may learne a liuely testimonie of Gods mightie working in the life of man, contrarie to the opinion of Atheists, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one said of Harpalus in times past, that his doings gaue a liuely testimonie against God, because he being so wicked a man escaped so long vnpunished: so contrariwise, in these men we haue a much more assured and plaine witnesse of God, both in their liues and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of Gods diuine working, whiles in such sharpnesse of torments we behold in them strength, so constant aboue mans reach, such readinesse to answere, such patience in imprisonment, such godlinesse in forgiuing, chereefulnesse so courageous in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the holy Ghost, which they in their liues so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters euidently we may vnderstand. Diuers and besides this, the milde deaths of the Saints do not a little auaile to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learne the contempt of the world, and to come to the feare of God. Moreouer, they confirme faith, increase godlinesse, abate pride in prosperitie, and in aduersitie do open an hope of heauenly comfort. For what man reading the miserie of these godly persons, may not therein, as in a glasse behold his owne case, whether he be godly or godlesse? For if God giue aduersitie vnto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselues, or the euill not feare? And whereas by reading of prophane stories, we are made perhaps more skilfull in warlike affaires: so by reading of this we are made better in our liuings, and besides are better prepared vnto the like conflicts, (if by Gods permission they shall happen hereafter) more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example.

*Comparison betweene worldlie soulders, and the soulders of Christ.*

To be short, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer, which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, me thinkes I haue good cause to wish, that like as other subiects, euen so also Kings and Princes, which commonly delite in heroicall stories, would diligently peruse such Monuments of Martyrs, and lay them alwaies in sight, not alonely to reade, but to follow, and would paint them vpon their walles, cups, rings and gates. For doubtlesse such as these, are more worthie of honor then an hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipions, and warlike Iulies. And though the world iudgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Iudge, certes such are to be reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they which being rather killed in Gods cause, do retaine an inuincible constancie against the threats of tyrants, and violence of tormentors. Such as these, are indeed the true Conquerours of the world, by whom we learne true manhood, so many as fight vnder Christ, and not vnder the world. With this valiantnesse did that most milde Lambe and inuincible Lion of the tribe of Iuda first of all go before vs, of whose vnspeakeable fortitude we heare this Prophetical admiration: Who is this (saith he) which walketh so in the multitude of his strength? For so saith the high Sonne of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same maner he was conquered. *Esay 63.*

The like dance did all his other Martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquitie of the Church did attribute so great honor, as neuer king or emperour could purchase in this world with all their images, pillers, high spires, triumphs, temples, and all their solemne feasts. In probation whereof we see, with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memorie, but also the reliques of those good Martyrs were receiued and kept amongst the ancient Christians. We haue also for witnesse the learned Hymnes and songs of Prudentius and Nazianzen, wherewith Pindarus did neuer so much set out his triumphs of Olympia and Nemea. I need not heere rehearse the learned Orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose and Hierome, who neuer shewed their eloquence more, then when they fell into the commendations of the godly Martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to Martyrs: with what gratulation, reioyce, mirth, and common ioy the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christs quarrell, were sometime receiued and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the Church did well consider how much the was beholding to their benefits, by whose death the vnderstood her treasures to increase. Now then if Martyrs are to be compared with Martyrs, I see no cause why the Martyrs of our time deserue any lesse commendation, then the other in the Primitiue Church, which assuredly are inferiour vnto them in no point of praise: whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatnesse of their torments, or their constancie in dying: or also consider the fruit that they brought to the amendment of posteritie, and increase of the Gospell. They did water the truth with their blod, that was newly springing vp: so these by their deaths restored it against, being sore decayed and fallen downe. They standing in the forward of the battell, did receiue the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught vs by that meanes to ouercome such tyrannie: these with like courage againe, like old beaten soulders did winne the field in the reteward of the battell. They like famous husbandmen of the world did sow the fields of the Church, that first lay vnmanured and waste: these with fatnesse of their blod did cause it to batten and fructifie. Would to God the fruit might be spedily gathered into the barne; which only remaineth behind to come.

*Comparison betweene the Martyrs of the Primitiue Church, and of the latter Church.*

Now

How, if we ascribe such reputation to godly Preachers (and worthily) which diligently preach the Gospell of Christ, when they liue not withstanding by the benefit of time, without all feare of persecution: how much more reasonable cause haue we to praise and extoll such men as stoutly spend their liues for the defence of the same? All these premisses duely of our parts considered and marked, seeing we haue found so famous Martyrs in this our age, let vs not faile then in publishing and setting forth their doings, lest in that point we seeme more vnkind to them, then the writers of the Primitiue Church were vnto theirs. And though we repute not their ashes, chaines and swords in the stead of reliques: yet let vs yeeld thus much vnto their commemoration, to glorifie the Lord in his Saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancie, or their liues at the least with like innocencie. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors: and is it so great a matter then for our part, to mortifie our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glorie of the world for Christ, but also their liues: and shall we then keepe so great a thirst one against another, for the transitorie trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done vnto them, and when their verie hearts blood gushed out of their bodies: and yet will not we forgiue our poore brother, be the iniurie neuer so small, but are readie for euery trifling offence to seeke his destruction, and cut his throat. They wishing well to all men, did of their owne accord forgiue their persecutors: and therefore ought we, which are now the posteritie and children of Martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but being abundantly furnished by their examples, if we cannot expresse their charity toward al men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let vs giue no cause of offence to any. And if any be giuen to vs, let vs ouercome it with patience, forgiuing and not reuenging the same. And let vs not only keepe our hands from shedding of blod, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let vs not thinke, if cause so require, martyrdom or losse of life, according to their example, to yeeld vp the same in the defence of the Lords flock. Which thing if men would do, much lesse contention and bustines would be in the world then now is. And thus much touching the vtilitie and fruit to be taken of this historie.



TO

# TO ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE POPES proceedings, foure Questions propounded.

Foure Demaundes or questions put forth to the Papists.

YOu all and singuler, which professe the doctrine and religion of the Pope, your holy father, & of your mother Church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholikes, commonly tearmed Papists, wheresoeuer abiding in the Realme of England, these foure Questions or Problemes hereunder following I would moue, desiring you al either to muse vpon them, or to answere them at your leisure.

## ¶ The first Question.

The first question. Esay 11.65.

FIrst, for so much as mount Sion (which God calleth by the Prophet Esay, the hill of his holinesse) beareth in the Scripture an vndoubted type of the spirituall Church of Christ: and for so much as the said Esay, chapter eleuenth, and sixtie fifth, prophesying of the said mount Sion, saith in these words: *Non nocebunt, neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus, &c.* That is, They shall not kill nor hurt, in all my holy hill, saith the Lord, &c. And againe in the same chapters, thus we rede: *Habitabit Lupus cum Agno; & Pardus cum hœdo accubabit: Vitulus, & Leo & Ouis vna commorabuntur, & puellus paruulus ducet eos, &c.* That is, The Wolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, and the Leopard with the Kid: the Calfe, the Lion and the Shæpe shall feed together, and a yong child shall rule them. The Cow also and the Beare shall abide together with their yong ones, and the Lion shall eat chaffe and fodder like the Oxe, &c.

Obiection.

Vpon these premisses now followeth my question: How the Church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Sion; seeing in the same Church of Rome is, and hath been now so many yeares such killing and slaying, such crueltie and tyrannie shewed, such burning and spilling of Christian blod, such malice and mischiefe wrought, as in reading these histories may to al the world appeare.

Refutation.

To this if they answere, and expound these words of the Prophet, as pertaining to the Church triumphant, thereunto I replie againe: that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand, for as much as the Prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in Gods holy mountaine without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and sheweth also the cause of that godly peace. Because (saith he) the earth is replenished with knowledge and science of the Lord, &c. *ibid.* And furthermore, the Prophet speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth saying: In that day the rot of Iesse shall stand for a signe to the people, for the Gentiles to be conuerted, and to seeke vnto him, &c. Which day in no wise can be applied to the Church in heauen triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Publike execution of lawes not forbidden in Scripture.

Touching which place of Esay, further here is to be noted by the way, that by this peaceable mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiastical as temporall) is not restrained the publike penaltie of godlawes needfull to be executed vpon publike malefactors; but here is restrained the fiercenesse, reuenge, crueltie, and violence of mens affections. To which affections men being commonly subiect by nature, though grace and working of the Gospell are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition: from stoutnesse to softnesse, from violence to sufferance, from fiercenesse to forbearing, from pride to humilitie, from crueltie to compassion, from vnlinesse to simplicitie, from solemne singularitie to humanitie and meekenesse. Which vertues, if they had been in the Church of Rome (according to the rule of Saint Paul, which willeth men that be stronger, to beare with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekenesse, &c. Rom. 15. Galath. 6.) I should not haue needed now at this time to write such a long historie, as this, of the suffering of so many Martyrs.

The conditions and properties of the true Church of Christ. Rom. 15. Galath. 6.

## ¶ The second Question.

The second question.

MY second question is this; to demand of you Catholike professors of the Popes sect, which so deadly maligne and persecute the Protestants professing the Gospell of Christ; What iust or reasonable cause haue you to alleage for this your extreame hatred ye beare vnto them, that neither you your selues can abide to liue with them, nor yet will suffer them to liue amongst you? If they were Iewes, Turkes or Infidels, or in their doctrine were any idolatrous impietie, or detestable iniquitie in their liues: if they went about any deadly destruction, or priuie conspiracies to oppresse your liues, or by fraudulent dealing to circumuent you; then had you some cause to complaine, and also to reuenge. Now seeing in their doctrine ye haue neither blasphemie, idolatrie, superstition nor mischeefe to obiect vnto them: seeing they are baptised in the same beliefe, and beleeue the same articles of the Creed, as ye do: hauing the same God, the same Christ and Sauiour, the same Baptisme, and are readie to conferre with you in all kind of Christian doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture: how then riseth this mortall malice of you against them? If you thinke them to be heretikes, then bring forth if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrarie to the mind of holy Scripture: expounded by the censure of most ancient Doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confesse the same? See and trie the order of their liues and doings; what great fault find you? They serue God, they walke vnder his feare, they obey his law, as men may do: and though they be transgressors toward him, as other men are, yet toward you what haue they done, what haue they committed or deserued, why you should be so bitter against them?

The deadly hatred of the Papists against the Protestants, grounded vpon no iust cause nor deseruing.

What offended the poore inhabitants of Merindoll and Cabriers, when the Bishop of Aix, the Cardinall of Tenon, and other Bishops of France wresting from Francis the French King a Commission, sent Minerius with his Captaine Iohn de Cay, to destroy their countrey, anno 1530. who driuing the poore people there into a Barne full of straw, set the Barne on fire, and burned vp men, women and children? And likewise in a Church, exercised the like crueltie vpon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand yong and old, women, children and yong infants, besides seuen whole townes, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said countrie of Prouence.

Malice and crueltie of Papists against the Citizens of Tholouse in France.

Also before that, what offended the Citizens of Tholouse and Auinion, when Pope Gregorie the ninth set Lewes the French King to warre against them, and against Raymundus their Earle, without cause, where also the said King died at the siege?

Malice and crueltie of Papists against the Protestats in the towne of Merindoll.

Or to speake of latter yeares, what hurt or harme did the poore Protestants in the towne of Mally, who peaceable being at a Sermon, were miserable slaine and cut, men, women and children, by the Duke of Gupes and his armed souldiers? besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbred of like crueltie, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, Germany, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other countries moe.

Malice and crueltie of Papists against the Protestats in the towne of Mally. Clemencie and mercie shewed to Papists in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

But to let other countries passe, let vs turne now to the peaceable gouernment in this realme of England, vnder this our so milde and gratious Queene now presently raigning. Vnder whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercie is shewed vnto you: how quietly ye liue. What lacke you, that you would haue, hauing almost the best rowmes and offices in all the realme, not only without any losse of life, but also without any feare of death. And though a few of your Arch-clerkes be in custodie; yet in how gentle custodie they are, that many a good Protestant in the realme would be glad with all their hearts to change rowmes and diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure haue slipt ouer the seas; if their courage to see countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them: yet this is certaine, no dread there was of death that draue them. For what Papist haue you seene in all this land to lose either life or limbe for Papistry, during all these twelue yeares hitherto since this Queenes raigne? And yet all this notwithstanding, hauing no cause to complaine, so many causes to giue God thankes, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safetie, but hope for a day, and faine would haue a change. And to preuent your desired day, ye haue conspired, and risen vp in open rebellion against your Prince, whom the Lord hath set vp to be your Gouernour.

The treacherous murdering of the Lord Iames, Regent of Scotland, Murray. The chiefe cause of all these latter persecutions in the Church, to onely the priuate quarell of the Bishop of Rome.

And as you haue since that, now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable State of Scotland, in murdering most traytorously the gentle and godly Regent of Scotland (who in sparing the Queenes life there when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his owne) so with like furie, as by your rebellion appeareth, would disturbe the golden quiet and tranquillitie of this Realme of England, if ye might haue your wiles. Which the mercifull grace of the Almightie, for Christ his Sonnes sake our Lord, forfend and vtterly disappoint, Amen.

Wherefore these premises considered, my question is to aske of you and know, what iust or reasonable cause ye haue of these your vnreasonable doings, of this your so mortall and deadly hatred, furie and malice you beare against these your euen-christen, of these your tumults, conturations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, therewith you trouble and ned, of these your tumults, conturations, gaping and hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world? Of all which mischeefes, if the true cause were well knowne, the truth would be found doubtlesse to be none other but only the priuate cause of the Bishop of Rome, that he is not receiued, and the dignitie of his church exalted.

Touching

Touching which cause how unreasonable and vniust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in replie, according as I shall see their answere, if it shall so please them, or any of them to answere this question. In the meane time, this for a tryall note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the Scripture, but contrarie to the Scripture, that the Bishop of Rome should so reuenge his owne priuate cause. If this rule and plantation be good and of God, why doth he not referre it vnto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintaine it, though the whole world said no. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world said yea. Yea the greatest argument to proue this plantation of the Popes supremacie not to be of God, is, that the Pope fighting in his owne priuate cause, by outward and worldly force seeketh his owne glorie. Christ our Saviour being heere refused himselfe, yet neither reuenged his owne cause, nor sought his owne glorie, but only the glorie and will of his Father, thus speaking of himselfe: *Siego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est; Pater meus est, qui glorificat me, &c.* Ioh. 8. That is: If I glorifie my self, my glorie is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me, &c. Euen so I say with Scripture, that if the Popes proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wrastle for his glorie, as he doth. But for so much as he seeketh by such cruelties and bloudshed to exalt himselfe, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he shall be brought low, &c. Luke 18.

The plantation of the Popes supremacie not to be of God. Ioh. 8. Luke 18.

## ¶ The third Question.

The third question. Apocal. 13. The two beasts of the booke of Reuelation described.

My third question I take of the thirteenth Chapter of the booke of Reuelation. Which booke as it containeth a Prophetical history of the Church; so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this historie mention is made, first, of a certaine beast risen out of the sea, hauing seuen heads and ten hornes, with ten diademes of blasphemie. Vnto the which beast, the dragon, the comming out of the sea, hauing seuen heads and ten hornes, with ten diademes of blasphemie. Vnto the which beast, the dragon, the diuell, gaue his strength, and great power to fight against the Saints, and to ouercome them, and to make fortie two moneths: of the which beast, one of his heads was wounded at length to death, &c.

The second beast with the hornes like a Lambe.

After this immediatly in the same Chapter, mention followeth of another beast, rising out of the land, hauing two hornes like a lambe, and spake like a dragon, and did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast: whose head was wounded, and lined. Who also had power to giue spirit and life to the said former beast, to make the Image of the beast to speake, and to cause all men from the highest to the lowest, to take the marke of the beast in their hands and foreheads; and whosoeuer worshipped not the Image of the beast, should be killed, &c.

Vpon this description of these two beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all Papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answere, or to consider with themselues, what the spirit of the prophecie meaneth by the said two beasts. Neither is the mysterie of this prophecie so obscure, but being historically, by histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing therefore to the Papists, as men expert in histories, my question is this: that seeing the prophecie of these two beasts must needs prefigure some people or dominion in the world, of some high estate and power; they will now declare vnto vs, what people or domination this should be. Which if they will do plainly and truly, according to the markes and properties of the said two beasts here set forth, they must needs be driuen of force inuitable to grant and confesse, the same only to agree to the Citie and Empire of Rome, and to no other: Which by these reasons following of necessitie must needs be concluded.

The mysterie of the first beast rising out of the sea, applied.

First, the beast which came out of the sea, hauing the strength, the seat, and power of the great Dragon (the Diuell, called the Prince of this world) committed to him, who also had power giuen ouer all tribes, nations, languages, people and countries in the world besides: and this must needs be an Empire or Monarchie of great force, passing all other Monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the Empire of Rome and none other.

The Image of the beast resembled to the Monarchie of Rome. Apocal. 13.

Secondly, in that the beast had seuen heads, and ten hornes, with ten diademes full of blasphemie vpon them: those seuen heads being expounded in the said booke, chapter seuenteenth, for seuen hilles, notoriously inpointed the citie of Rome, wherein were seuen hilles contained. The like also may be thought of the ten hornes, being there expounded for ten Kings (signifying be like the ten Prouinces or kingdomes of the world subdued to the Roman Empire) with ten crownes of blasphemie vpon their heads: all which conueniently agree to the citie of Rome.

Of these fortie two months, and the resistation thereof, reade page 90.

Thirdly, where the said beast had power to make fortie two months, and to fight against the Saints, and to ouercome them, &c. thereby most manifestly is declared the Empire of Rome, with the heathen persecuting Emperours, which had power giuen the space of so many months, (that is, from Dioclesian to Licinius, 294. yeeres) to persecute Christs Church, as in the Table of the primitiue Church hereafter following, is discoursed more at large.

The wounded head of the beast in the Reuelation, what it meaneth.

Fourthly, where the Prophet speaketh of the one of the heads of the beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured againe: by that he hath vnderstand the decay and subuersion of the citie of Rome and of Italy, which being one of the heads of the Roman Monarchie, was subdued by the Gothes, Vandals, and Lombardes, and the citie of Rome thrice sacked and taken, betweene the raigne of Honorius Emperour of Rome, and the time of Iustinian Emperour of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time vnder the dominion of the Lombards, til at length this wound was cured againe.

The second beast rising out of the land, pretending the horns of a Lambe, what it meaneth.

Apocal. 13. The mysterie of the thirteenth chapter of the Reuelation, explained. *Ex Platina in vita Gregorij 7.*

The Image of the two Monarchies ioined by the Bishop of Rome.

Power to do the workes of the beast before his sight. Apocal. 13.

Christian religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a Christian man, for remission of sinnes and saluation, saue only the two Sacramentall ceremonies of outward Baptisme, and of the Lords Supper: Howbeit neither these also as they are corporall, that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sinnes, nor saluation, but only are visible shewes of inuisible and spirituall benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom wee serue, be spirituall; how can his religion and seruice be corporall, as we are taught by the mouth of our Sauiour, saying: God is a spirit, and therefore they that worship him, must worship in spirit and verity, &c. John 4.

Religion of Christ spirituall, and not corporall.

Now if ye grant (as ye must needs) this our Christian religion to be spirituall, and not a corporall religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point of all these things which ye striue so much with vs, to be spirituall, but altogether corporall, and externe matters and ceremoniall obseruations, nothing conducing to any spirituall purpose, as your outward succession of bishops, garnentes, vestures, gestures, colours, choise of meates, difference of dates, times and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbring of beades, gilding and worshipping Images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloisters, abstaining from flesh and white meate, fasting in Lent, keeping Imberdaies, hearing masse, and diuine seruice, seeing and adoring the body in forme of bread, receiuing holy water, and holy bread, creeping to the crosse, carying palmes, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage-going, censing, kneeling, knocking, altars, superaltars, candlesticks, pardons: In others, crolling, anointing, chaining, forswearing mariage: In baptisme, crossing, salting, spetling, exorcising, washing of hands: At Easter, eare-confession, penaunce-doing, satisfaction: And in receiuing, with beards new shauen, to imagine a body, where they see no body: and though hee were there present to be seene, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of it selfe, without faith, conduceth no more, then it did to the Iewes. At Rogation daies, to carrie banners, to follow the crosse, to walke about the fields. After Pentecost, to goe about with Corpus Christi play. At Halowmas to watch in the church, to say a dirige, and commemorations, and to ring for all soules, to pay tithes truely, to giue to the high altar. And if a man will be a priest, to lay masse and mattens, to serue the saint of that day, and to list well ouer his head, &c. In sicknesse to be annelled, to take his rites; after his death to haue funerals, and obites said for him, and to bee rung for at his funerall, moneth mind, and yeere mind, &c. Adde moreouer to these the outward sacrifice of the masse, with *opus operatum sine bono motu utentis, &c.*

The pope turneth the spirituall religion of Christ to a corporall religion.

All which things aboue recited, as they containe the whole summarie and effect of all the popes catholicke religion: so are they all corporall exercises, consisting in the externe operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right Catholicke Christian, their it may be said, that men may bee made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that flesh and blood of his strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the holy Ghost did worke?

The whole summe of the popes Catholicke religion set forth in parts.

But now the order of our religion, and way of saluation consisteth not in such corporall or outward things as these, but in or that more high and more spirituall gifts, which farre exceed the capacitie of flesh and blood: of the which gifts the chiefest and onely maine cause that saueth man, and remitteth sinnes, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to beleeue by the bloodshedding of Iesus the sonne of God, his sinnes to be forgiuen, Gods wrath to be pacified, and himselfe to be iustified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid vnto him, &c. And though the papists make a light matter of this, to beleeue in Christ, and when they heare vs say, that faith onely iustifieth, they obiect to vs againe and make it a small matter to be saued, if faith only iustifie vs: yet notwithstanding, this faith, if it bee well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attaine thereto, vnlesse Gods holy spirit from aboue doe draw him.

A man may be Catholicke by the popes religion without any working of the holy Ghost.

The nature of true Christian religion described.

Moreouer, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our saluation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as Sacraments and seales of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same. So Baptisme, and the supper of the Lord be as testimonies and proofes; that by our faith onely in Christ wee are iustified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine: so by the blood of Christ, our sins be purged, and the hunger of our soules relieued by the death of his body.

Iustification of man, standeth only in faith of Christ. Faith in Christ no light matter to dye and bleed.

Many things incident to saluation besides faith: but not as causes thereof. Workes of sanctification, how they come and follow faith. Esay 58. Matth. 25.

Vpon the same faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also as fruits and effects to follow after faith, as peace of conscience, ioy in the holy Ghost, inuocation, patience, charity, mercy, iudgement, and sanctification. For God for our faith in Christ his sonne, therefore giueth into our hearts his holy spirit of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby mans heart is moued to a godly disposition to feare God, to seeke him, to call vpon him, to trust vnto him, to sticke to him in all aduersities and persecutions, to loue him; and for his sake also to loue our brethren, to haue mercy and compassion vpon all, and consisteth in faith, and in no other.

And therefore vpon the same cause I come to my question againe, as I began, to aske whether the religion of Christ be a meere spirituall religion: and whether in the religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but onely meere corporall things required, to make a catholicke man. And thus I leaue you to your answere.

IN turning ouer the first leafe of this booke, which is page 2. col. 2. and in the beginning of the same columne, thou shalt find, gentle Reader, the argument of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue: That forsomuch as Christ must needs haue a Catholicke church euer continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort: and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the Apostles, visible here in earth, but only the church of Rome: they conclude therefore, the church onely of Rome to be the right Catholicke church of Christ, &c.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said: that forsomuch as the *medius terminus* of this argument both in the Maior & Minor, is conditionally onely in the word (visible and vnknowne) if they meane by this word (visible) in the Maior, that Christs church must bee such, then is the Minor false: Like wise, if they meane by the same word (visible) in the Minor, that the same church hath been seene and knowne to any, but onely the church of Rome, they are likewise deceiued. For that no other church hath been seene and knowne to any, but only the church of Rome, shall appeare by the true church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the worldean see it, but onely they which haue spiritual eyes, and bee members thereof: nor yet so inuisible againe, but such as bee Gods elect, and members thereof, doe see it and know it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot so doe, &c. Whereof reade more in the protestation aboue prefixed to the church of England.

Foure

Collegit magna cum sedulitate peritus
Foxus, & in vnum conglomerauit opus.
At cum gens mendax atque importuna Papistæ,
Frustra tam sanctum persequerentur opus:
Auxit, & ex vno idem bina volumina fecit,
Obstruxitque suis hostibus ora pius.
Nec sic contentus, rursus limauit, & auctum
Auctauit, populi commoditate sui:
Nequaquam veritus stolidæ conuitia linguæ,
Dum vestra ô sancti fortia facta sonet.
O vos fœlices animæ, quæ sanguine vestro
Cœlestes nobis testificastis opes.
Et tu qui tali decoratis funere sanctas
Reliquias, peragens triste ministerium:
Sed tibi præclarum, nobisque nec inutile, vt istis
Exemplis fortes possumus esse fide.

*M. M. S.*

PErlege, quæ fastis signata fidelibus acta
Pandimus Angligenûm & seruida fata virûm.
Admirandæ tibi gemini spectacula cœtus,
Pugnantésque situ dispare marte greges.
Hinc quibus incumbens sæuo ferus impete Sathan
Tartareas p.æfert in sua regna faces.
Illinc Rex superûm, trans flammas, transq; cruentas
Mille neces, Christus sternit ad astra viam.
Illinc arma, preces, lacrymæ, ieiunia templis
Iussus honos somni iussáque sacra patris.
Conciliûm hoc Cyclopum rabies, fera corda fatigât
Eumenides, tristi pectora sæua situ.
Missa volat flammis, & sanguinis ebria riuis
Ante, gradum retrô Roma maligna premit.
Talia dum memorat Foxus certamina longi
Temporis, & libro tot monumenta legit:
Interea veri vis stat fata tempore virgo
Ardua calcato iam Phlegetonte super.
Post alios fœtus, alios post deinde labores
Hæc extrema subit vindicis ira manus;
Tertiaque ista patri suspendimus aima Quirino,
Parua prius, iam nunc qualia, quanta, vides.
Qualia fatalis iam tum miracula saxi
Prodidit Assyria regius exul humo.
Exiguus lapis hic, sed qui se attollere in auras
Iussus Atlantæos æquiparare sinus.
Nunc quoq; qui implicuit sinuoso fragmine mundû
Ætherioque ingens occupat ire polo.
Hoc pater ipse tonans flagranti dissulit axe
Imperia, & vertit Regna superba solo.
Sæua Silex quid nam flammantibus incita fundis
Vrbium & elatis pernicioſa minis?
Cœtilibus muris Romana Semiramis audax,
Prospice, iam Babylon iam ruit illa tua.
Saxea iam rupes quantas dabit acta ruinas?
Quas strages miseris horrida Romulidis?
Vltimus hic labor est montis rapientis auari
Puppicolasque papas papicolasque popas.
At vos fœlices animæ, quibus aurea cordi
Sæcla, pias puro funditis ore preces.
Aligeræque acies, ciues stellantis Olympi,
Plaudite: Roma fuit Babela, papa fuit.

## In sanguisugas Papistas,

*Philippus Stubbes.*

QVi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,
Vulnificum contra calcitrat hic stimulum.
Florida quæ nimio compressa est pondere palma,
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit
Hoc magis, excrescit, floret eóque magis.
Sic Euangelium quantumuis turba papalis
Conspuat, exurat, crescit vbique tamen.

*FINIS.*

## IN IO. FOXVM THEOLOGVM CELEBERRIMVM, cum Christo exultantem.

*IN quiet peace thou sleepeſt now at reſt*
*O learned* Foxe, *the Phenix of our age;*
*Moſt happie thou with crowne of glorie bleſt,*
*For euer freed from perſecuting rage:*
*With comfort great thou gained haſt the ſhore,*
*And ſtormie tempeſts now needſt feare no more.*

*Thy life not ſtain'd with ſpot of foule deſame,*
*Thy learning great, who dare the ſame deny?*
*Thy worthie Workes abroad doe ſound thy name;*
*And ſhall for euer to poſterity.*
*So long as learning and the learned liue,*
*Thy Works to thee immortall praiſe will giue.*

*Thy famous Worke of thoſe that witneſſe bare*
*To Chriſt his truth, and ſeald it with their blood,*
*That with* Alcides *labors may compare,*
*Shall witneſſe ſtill thy zeale for churches good:*
*Shall witneſſe ſtill to ages yet to come,*
*Thy hatred iuſt againſt that whore of Rome.*

*Thy hand was alwaies ſtretched out to giue,*
*Thy eie from poore was neuer turn'd aſide:*
*What one of thee might not haue learn'd to liue?*
*Who in thy life ſo many waies waſt tride:*
*And yet the ſame didſt alwaies ſtill endure,*
*No change thy heart to change could once procure.*

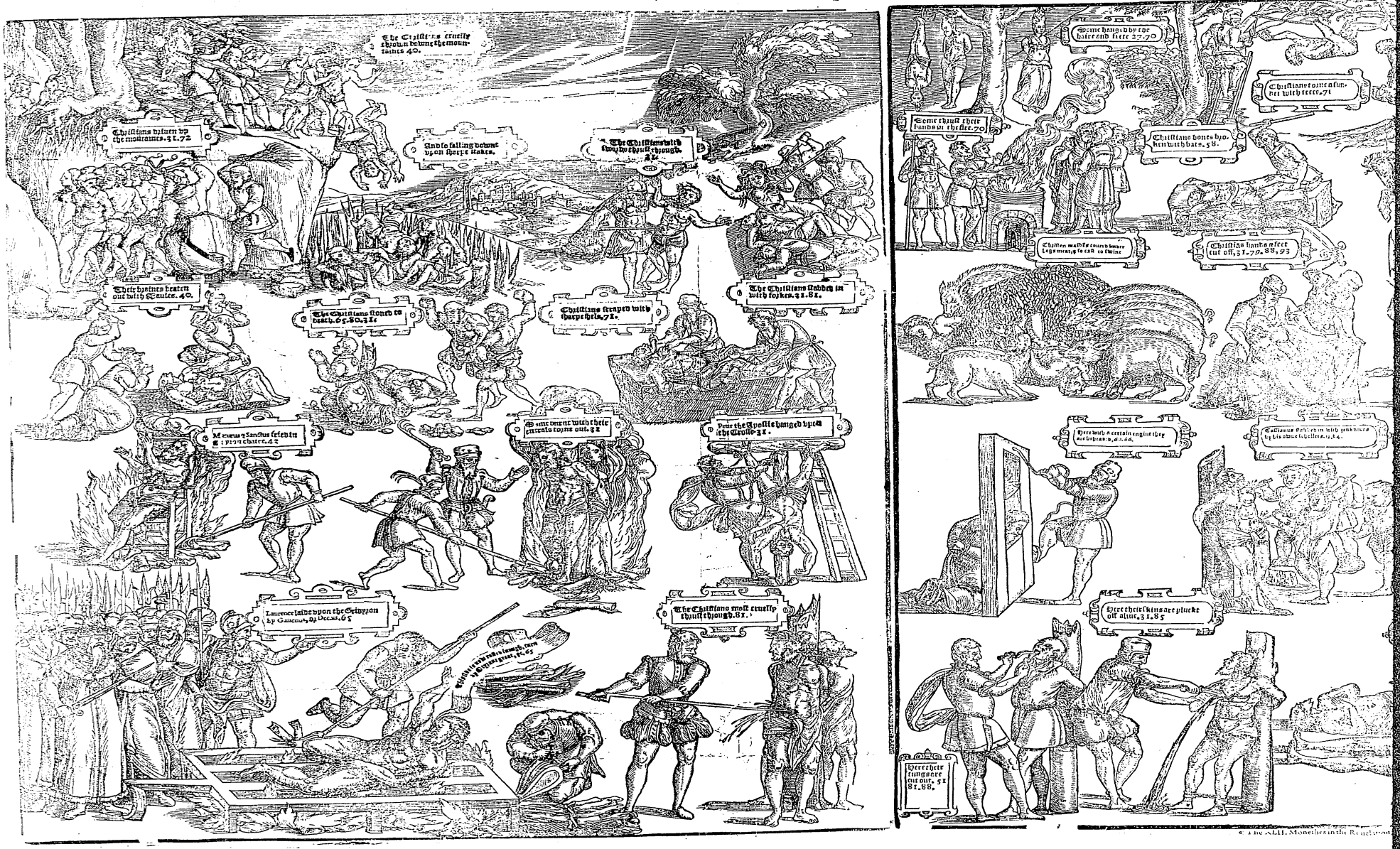
*The afflicted ſoule by thee did comfort find,*
*The conſcience weake by thee did ſtrength attaine;*
*Thy Sermons ſweet raiſd vp the feeble mind,*
*And many a ſoule from hell to Chriſt did gaine:*
*Such care thou hadſt Gods mercies ſtill to preach,*
*Such grace thou hadſt the truth of Chriſt to teach.*

*Thy tongue and pen the truth did ſtill defend,*
*Thou baniſhment for Chriſt didſt gladly bide;*
*In him thou liu'dſt, in him thou mad'ſt thy end,*
*Moſt happie thou that hadſt ſo good a guide.*
*Moſt happie thou while life thou didſt retaine,*
*Moſt happie now that doeſt with Chriſt remaine.*

Io. Hopkins.

# A Table of the X. first Persecutions of the Primitiue Church vnder the Heathen Tyrannes

time of Tiberius, vnto Constantinus Emperour of Rome, with the sundrie kindes of Torments deuised against t




* The xlii. Monethes in the Reuelation

the Heathen Tyrannes of Rome, continuing thespace almost of ccc. years after Christ from the

rie kindes of Torments deuised against the Christians, as by the places heere noted and quoted, in the storie is to be foun more at large.




* The xxiii. Monethes in the Reuelation of S. John expounded.

# Acts and Monuments of the Christian

## Martyrs, and matters Ecclesiasticall, passed in the Church of Christ, from the Primitiue beginning, to these *our dayes, as well in other Countries, as namely in this* Realme of England, and also of Scotland, *discoursed at large.*

And first, the difference betweene the church of Rome that now is, and the ancient church of Rome that then was.

Matth. 16.

CHRIST our Sauiour in the gospel of S. Matth. ca. 16. hearing the confession of Simon Peter, the first of all other openly acknowledged him to be the son of God, perceiuing the secret hand of his father therin, answered again alluding to his name, called him a rock, vpon which rock he would build his church so strong that the gates of hell should not preuaile against it, &c. In which words 3. things are to be noted. First, that Christ will haue a church in this world. Secondlie, that the same church should mightily be impugned, not only by the world, but also by the vttermost strength & powers of all hel. And thirdly, that the same church notwithstanding the vttermost of the diuell and all his malice should continue. Which prophecie of Christ we see wonderfullie to be verified. Insomuch that the whole course of the church to this day, may seem nothing else but a verifieng of the said prophecie. First, that Christ hath set vp a church needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and fortes of men, of princes, kings, monarchs, gouernors, & rulers of this world, with their subiects publikely & priuatly, with all their strength and cunning haue bent themselues against this church. And thirdly, how the said church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden his owne. What stormes and tempests it hath ouerpast, wonderous it is to behold. For the more euident declaration whereof, I haue addressed this present historie, intending by the fauourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the eares of my country in reading of newes, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godlie in perusing antiquities of ancient times, to the end that the wonderfull workes of God, first in his church, might appeare to his glory. Also that the continuance and procedings of the church from time to time being set forth in these Acts & Monuments, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby to the profit of the reader, and edification of christian faith.

Three things noted in Christes words.

The order of the disposition of this historie.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serue to the profit of the reader: I haue thought good first, beginning from the time of the primitiue church, and so continuing (by the Lords grace) to these latter yeares, to run ouer the whole state and course of the church in generall, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this historie, into fiue sundrie diuersities of times.

The suffering time of the church.
The flourishing time of the church.
The declining time of the church.

1. First I will intreat of the suffering time of the church, which continued from the Apostles age about three hundred yeares.

2. Secondlie, of the flourishing time of the church, which lasted other three hundred yeres.

3. Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the church, which comprehendeth other three hundred yeares, vntill the lowsing out of Sathan, which was about the thousand yeare after the ceasing of persecution. During which space of time, the church, although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sincerities of the primitiue time, yet in outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a church: notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine, with superstition and hypocrisie was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that as followed after, it might seeme (as I said) something sufferable.

The time of antichrist in the church.

4. Fourthlie, followeth the time of antichrist, and losing of Sathan, or desolation of the church, whose full swinge conteineth the space of foure hundred yeares. In which time, both doctrine and sincerity of life was vtterly almost extinguished: namely, in the chiefe heades and rulers of this west church, through the meanes of the Romane Bishops, especially counting from Gregorie the seauenth called Hildebrand, Innocentius the third, and friers which with him crept in, till the time of John Wickliffe & John Husse, during foure hundred yeares.

The reformation of the church.

5. Fiftlie, and lastly, after this time of antichrist, reigning in the church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the church of God, wherin antichrist beginneth to be reuealed, and to appeare in his colours, and his antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourescore yeares, and how long shall continue more, the Lord and gouernor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these fiue diuersities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the church may well be comprised. The which church, because it is vniuersall, & sparsedlie through all countries dilated, therefore in this historie standing vpon such a generall argument, I shall not be bound to anie one certeine nation, more than another: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I haue purposed principallie to tarrie vpon such historicall acts and records, as most appertein to this my countrie of England and Scotland.

The church of Rome.

And forsomuch as the church of Rome, in all these ages aboue specified, hath chalenged to it selfe the supreme title, and ringleading of the whole vniuersall church on earth, by whose direction all other churches haue beene gouerned: in writing therefore of the church of Christ, I cannot but partlie also intermeddle with the acts & procedings of the same church, forsomuch as the doings and orderings of all other churches from time to time, as well here in England, as in other nations, haue this long season chiefely depended vpon the same. Wherfore, as it is much needfull and requisit to haue the doings and orderings of the said church to be made manifest to all christian congregations: so haue I framed this historie, according to the same purpose. First in a generall description briefly to declare, as in a summarie table, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitiue state of the forenamed church of Rome, with these latter times of the same. Which done, then after in a more special tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so farre forth as shall seeme not vnprofitable for the publick instruction of all other christian churches, to behold and consider the maner and dealing of this one.

Foure things to be considered in the church of Rome.
1. Title.
2. Iurisdiction.
3. Life.
4. Doctrine.

In the which one church of Rome foure things, as most speciall points, seeme to me chiefelie to be considered. To wit, title, iurisdiction, life, and doctrine. Wherin I haue here to declare, first concerning the title or primacy of the church, how it first began, and vpon what occasion. Secondly, concerning the iurisdiction and authoritie thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend. Thirdlie, touching the misorder of life and conuersation, how inordinate it is, and fourthly the forme of doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath beene. Of the which foure the first was prejudiciall to all Bishops, the second derogatory

tokings and emperors. The third detestable to all men. The fourth iniurious against Christ.

The title of the Pope.

For first, the title and stile of that church was such, that it ouerwent all other churches, being called the holie vniuersall mother church, which could not erre; and the bishop thereof holie father the pope, bishop vniuersall, prince of priests, supreame head of the vniuersall church, and vicar of Christ here in earth, which must not bee iudged, hauing all knowledge of Scripture and all lawes contained within the cheft of his breft.

The vniuersall or holie Pope.

Secondly, the iurisdiction of that bishop was such, that challenging to himselfe both the swords, that is, both the keies of the spirituall, and the sceptre of the latte: not onely he sitte downe all bishops vnder him, but also extended himselfe aboue kings and emperors, causing some of them to lye vnder his fect, some to hold his stirrup, kings to leade his horse by the bridle, some to kisse his fect, plucking and displucking emperors, kinges, dukes and earles from and when hee listed, taking vpon him to translate the empire at his pleasure; first from Greece to France, from France to Germanie, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them whith were elected. Also being emperor himselfe vsed vacante, pretending authoritie of power to make bishops, to giue benefices to spirituall churches, to giue authoritie to binde and loose, to call generall councels, to iudge ouer the same, to set vp religions, to canonize saints, to take appeales, to binde consciences, to make lawes, to dispense with the lawe and word of God, to deliuer from purgatorie, to command angells, &c.

The pride of his followers in their clothing.

The Decrees of his Popes.

Thirdly, what was the life and conuersation of the court of Rome, hereafter at the proceffe of this history followeth to bee more at large obserued.

Fourthly, such was his doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to mens consciences, iniurious to Christ Iesus, and deadly arte to it selfe. In lawes more diuers, in volume more large, in diligence and studie more applied, in vauntage and profession more gainefull, than euer was the studie and learning of the holy scripture of God.

All which foure points well considered and aduised in this present historie set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent christian reader, sufficient instruction to iudge, what is of this sir and church of Rome to be deemed.

But hereby the way is to be noted, that all these forenamed abuse touched of bishe title, of pretended iurisdiction, of their ill doctrine, of lephimical life, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same church, but with long lacking, and continuance of time by little and little creeptop, through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly of pope Sylvester, partly of pope Gregorie the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord 1170. partly of Innocentius the third, and finally of pope Boniface the eight in the yeare of our Lord 1300: Of the which foure popes, the first brought in the title in the yeare of the Lord 800. which was heard in such simple wise before publikely erected, and receiued publikely in the said church of Rome. The second brought in iurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent with his rable of monks and friers (as Thomas Aquine, Peter Lombard, Scotus, Iohannes Scotus) and with such other bishops as sticked to him the same tide after him, corrupted and abused the sinceritie of Christs doctrine and manners also. And lastly pope Boniface the eight, and after him pope Clement the fift, ouer and besides the iurisdiction, sufficiently aduanced before by pope Leo the third, added moreouer the temporall sword to be carried before them. And that no emperour were he neuer so much feared, should bee sufficient and lawfull, without the popes admission, in the yeare of our Lord 1300. whereby the pope power is brought now to his full pride and perfection. And thus came by the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of yeares by degrees, and not altogither, nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularlie (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Pope Sylvester.

Pope Gregorie the fourth.

Pope Innocent the third.

Pope Boniface the eight.

Pope Clement the fift.

Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer shall hame hereafter to doe with any aduersaries, about the antiquitie or authoritie of the church of Rome, let them here well consider when and how, the title, iurisdiction, and corruption of doctrine first began in the popes sea. And so that he be, that it be church of Rome, as it is now gouerned with this manner of title, iurisdiction, and institution of doctrine, neuer deriued from the primitiue age of the Apostles or from their succession, Nisi omnium æquiuoce, & non vniuoce. Like as Sancta Maria picta non est sancta Maria, & homo pictus non est homo, as the schoolmen say: that is, As the picture of the holy virgine, is not the holy virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man: so it is to be said of the church of Rome the institution and doctrine of the church of Rome I meane: that although it haue the name of the church apostolicall, and doth bring forth a long genealogie of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisies did in Christs time bring their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I said) but only Aequiuocé, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the apostolicall church in deed, for as much as the definition of the apostolicall church, neither agreeth now with this present church of Rome, nor yet the matter, forme, and institution of the said Romish church, as it now standeth with this title, iurisdiction and doctrine, had euer any succession or of spring from the primitiue church of the apostles. But as Christ said vn to the Pharisies, that they were the children not of Abraham, but of the deuill: in semblable wise may be answered, that this church of Rome now present, with this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now vsed, cannot be fathered vpon the apostles, neither Petrus, nor Linus, but of an other author, whom here I will not name.

The church of Rome now present.

And here now commeth in the argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eccius, to be answered vnto, who arguing for the antiquitie and authority of the church of Rome, reason on this manner.

The argument of Pighius, Hosius, & Eccius for the antiquitie of the church of Rome.

Da. That for somuch as an ordinary and a knowne church visible must here be knowen continually on earth, during from the time of the Apostles, to the which church all other churches must haue recourse:

ri. And seeing then there is no other church visible, orderitie knowen to haue indured from the apostles time, but onely the church of Rome:

j. They conclude therefore that the church of Rome, is that church, whereunto all other churches must haue their recourse, &c.

To the which paralogisme I answere thus: that this word Ducatus signifieth during church in the Minor, hath Fallaciam æquiuoci. For although the name of the church and outward succession of Bishops haue had their durance then time of the apostles, yet the definition & matter which maketh a true apostolicall church indeed, and Vniuocè, neither is now in the church of Rome, nor yet the form and institution of the church now vsed in Rome was euer from the apostles: which apostles were neuer authors or fathers of this title, iurisdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were enemies euer to the same.

Answere. Fallacia æquiuoci.

The minor examined.

Againe to the Maior, which standeth vpon two parts. I answer. First although the necessitie of the church during from the apostles, may and must be granted; yet the same necessitie was not bound to any certaine place, or person but only to faith: so that wheresoeuer, that is to say, in whatsoeuer congregation true faith was, there was the church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs euer remaine in earth: therefore the church also must needs remaine in earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should onely remaine in one city in the world, and not in other as well. And therefore to the second part of the Maior is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so giuen, to remaine firmly in one place or citie alone: so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches should haue their recourse vnto it, for determination of their causes and controuerfies incident, &c. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hosius, &c.

The maior examined.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the auncient doctors and holy fathers in the commendation of the church of Rome, here commeth in also to be noted, that whosoeuer will vnderstand rightly their authorities, and answere to the same, must first learne to make a difference and distinction of the said church of Rome, from that it was, to that it is: for as much as the church of Rome is not the same church now, which it was then, but only Aequiuocé: otherwise as touching the very property and definition of a church, it is another thing. Nothing agreeing to that it was then, saue only in outward name and place. Therfore by this distinction made, I answere the place of Irenæus, Cyprianus, and other famous doctors, commending the church of Rome as catholike & apostolicall, and say that these doctors speaking of the church of Rome which then was, said not untrue, calling it catholike & apostolicall, for that the same church take their ordinary succession of Bishops, ioined with the ordinarie doctrine and institution from the Apostles. But speaking of the church of Rome, which now is, we say the said places of the doctors are not true, neither doe appertaine to the same: all which Bishops neither knewe the church of Rome that now is, neither if they had, would euer haue iudged any thing therin worthy such commendation.

A distinction. The church of Rome distinguished into a double consideration of times.

The church of Rome, how it was commended of the old doctors.

Yet euer and besides, our aduersaries yet more obiect against vs, who boasting and vaunting for the antiquitie of the Romish church, for lacke of other matter to oppone, are driuen to fall in scanning the times and peares. What say they? where was this church of yours before these fifftie peares? To whom briefly to answer, first we demaund what they meane by this, which they call our church? If they meane the ordinance and institution of doctrine and sacraments, now receiued of vs, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirme and saie, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet euer see any light: that is, in the time of the Apostles, in the primitiue age, in the time of Gregorie the first, and the old Romane church, when as yet no vniuersall pope was receiued publikely, but repelled in Rome; nor this fulnesse of plenarie power yet knowen, nor this doctrine, and abuse of sacraments yet heard of. In witnesse whereof we haue the olde acts and histories of ancient time to giue testimonie with vs, wherein sufficient matter we haue for vs, to declare the same form, vsage, and institution of this our church

The principall obiection of the papists against the protestants.

Answere to the obiection.



reformed now, not to be the beginning of anie new church of our owne, but to be the renewing of the old ancient church of Christ: nor to be anie swarming from the church of Rome, but rather a reducing to the church of Rome. Whereas contrarie the church of Rome which now is, is nothing but a swarming from the church of Rome, as partlie is declared, and more shall appeare (Christ willing) hereafter.

The church of Rome remoued from the church of Rome.

Another obiection of the papists.

And where the said our aduersaries do moreouer charge vs with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, wherein we were baptised, accusing and condemning vs, for that we are now reuolted from them and their faith, wherin we were first christened: To this we answer, that we being first baptised by our fathers and godfathers, in water, in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, the same faith wherein wee were christened then, we do retaine: & because our godfathers were themselues also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we haue forsaken the faith of our godfathers, &c. As for other points of ecclesiastical vses and circumstances considered, besides the principall substance of faith and baptisme, if they held any thing which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remoue our selues; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remoue from the rule of Christs doctrine. Neither doth the sacrament of our baptisme bind vs in all points to the opinions of them that baptised vs, but to the faith of him, in whose name we were baptised. For as if a man were christened of an heretike, the baptisme of him notwithstanding were good, although the baptiser were naught: so if our godfathers or fathers, which christened vs, were taught any thing, not consonant to christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptisme voide for that, nor yet we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselues did not follow the true church of Christ.

An answere to the obiection.

No man bound to follow the opinions of his godfathers in all points wherein they were not consonant in all things.

The church of Rome distinguished from the church of Rome.

Wherefore as it is false, that we haue renounced the faith of our godfathers wherein we were first baptised, so is it not true that we are remoued from the church of Rome: but rather say and by the leaue of Christ will proue that the church of Rome hath vtterly departed from the faith of Christ, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more euidently to declare, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome; and in a general description set forth (by Gods grace) the difference of both the churches, that is, of both the times of the church of Rome: to the intent it may be seene, whether we or the church of Rome haue more apostated from the faith of Christ and his Lawe. And here first I deuide the church of Rome in a double consideration of time, first of those first fiue hundred yeares which were immediately after Christ: and secondly of the other fiue hundred yeares, which now haue been in these our latter daies: and so in comparing these two together, will search out what discrepance is betweene them both. Of the which two ages & states of the Romane church, the first I call the primitiue church of Rome, the other I call the latter church of Rome, counting this latter church the which fiue hundred yeares expired after the binding vp of Satan, to the time of his losing againe, according to the prophesie of the twentith chapter of saint Johns Reuelation; counting these fiue hundred yeares from the ceasling of persecution, vnder Constantinus Magnus, to the beginning of persecution of the church against vnder Innocentius the third, and Otthomannus the first Turcian emperour. And thus haue we the church of Rome parted into two churches, in double respect and consideration of two sundrie states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let vs see whether the church of Rome hath swarued from the church of Rome more than we, or no.

Two times of the church of Rome considered and examined.

The first point.

And to begin first with the order and qualities of life; I aske here of this Romane clergie, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the old ancient time of the primitiue church of Rome, with this pompe and pride, with this riches and superfluitie, with this *Gloria mundi*, and name of cardinals, with this prancing dissolutenesse and wantonnesse of the curtisans, with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spirituall dignities, these annats, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practises for money, this auarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, sleshly filthinesse most detestable, barbarousnesse and negligence in preaching, promise breaking faithlesse, poisoning and supplanting one another, with such schismes and diuisions, which neuer were more seene than in the elections and court of Rome these seuen hundred yeares, with such extreame cruelties, malice, and tyrannie in burning and persecuting their poore brethren to death?

The enormities of life in the fierce church of Rome described.

Pollicies and practises of Rome to get monie.

Summa totalis.

It were too long, & a thing infinit, to stand particularly vpon these aboue rehearsed. And if a man should professe at large all the schismes that haue been in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus the first, which are counted to the number of eightene schismes; what a volume would it require? Or if there should be recorded all that this see hath burned and put to death since the losing out of satan, who were able to nomunber them? Or all their sleights to get money should be described as processe of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principall grounds are reckoned at least to foureteene or fiftene sleights.

Fifteene practises of the new church of Rome to get monie.

First for annats, or vacacies of archbishoprikes, bishoprikes, abbacies, priories conuentuall, and other benefices elective. 1

Secondly, for the holding and reteining of all other spirituall liuings whatsoeuer, besides this which now the incumbent paieth for, or which he may hold hereafter. 2

Thirdly, new annats for all the same are required againe. *Toties quoties* any one of all his spirituall liuings be, or are fauned to be not orderly come by, whereby it hath chanced diuers times three or foure annats to be paied for one benefice. 3

Fourthly, for grauing out preuentions of benefices before they fall, and many times some one preuention to be giuen to diuers and sundrie persons by the office of monies false. 4

Fiftly, for relignations vpon fauour, which in many cases the pope challengeth to be referued to himselfe. 5

Sixtie, for commendams. 6

Seuenthly, for compounding with such as be absent from their charge, and giue their attendance about the court. 7

Eightly, for infinite dispensations, as to dispense with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as if the number bee full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item dispensation for irregularitie, for whoredome and adulterie, for times of marriage, for marring in degrees forbidden, or in affinitie canonicall, for gossips to marrie, for the which it hath been seene in France a thousand crownes to be paid to Rome at one time, for dispensing with this canonicall affinitie of gossips, as we call it, the same being yet not true, but fained. Item dispensing for eating meates in times prohibited. 8

Ninthlie, for his innumerable priuiledges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a proctor, for confirmations of priuiledges, for translations made vpon speciall fauor of the pope, for permutations of benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of pensions, with such like. 9

Tenthly, for mandats granted by the pope, to ordinaries, whereof euery ordinarie, if he haue the collation or presentation often, may receiue one mandat; if he haue fiftie, he may receiue two mandats: & for euery mandat there comes to the pope about twentie duckats. And yet notwithstanding so many are sold, as will cume buiers to pay for; them. 10

Eleuenthly, for the popes penitentiarie, for absolution of cases reserued to the pope, for breaking & changing of vowes, for translation from one monasterie to another, also from one order to another, for licence to enter into certaine monasteries, to carrie about altars, with many other things of like deuice, pertaining to the office of the popes penitentiarie. 11

Twelfthly, for giuing and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, to be read not onely in publike temples, but also to be bought in priuate houses, and of priuat persons, in diuers and sundrie respects. 12

Thirteenthly, for making notaries, and protonotaries, and other offices of the court of Rome. 13

Fourteenthly, for granting out bulls and commissions of new foundations, or for changing of the old, for reducing regular monasteries to a secular state, or for reducing againe into the old, and for other infinite rescripts and writs about matters depending in controuersie, and otherwise might and ought by the ordinarie to be decided. 14

Fiftenthlie, for giuing the pall to archbishops newlie elected. By reason of all which deuices besides the first of the annates, it hath been accounted out of the kings records in France, in the time of Ludouike the ninth (as testifieth Polenetus) to the number of two hundred thousand crownes, onelie out of France paied and transported to Rome. Which summe since that time hath been doubled and tripled, besides annats and palles, which all together are thought to make the totall summe, yeerely going out of France to the popes coffers of late yeeres, ten millions, or millions, euery myriad mounting to ten thousand crownes. Now what hath risen besides in other realmes and nations, let other men coniecture. 15

Wherefore if the gospell send vs to the fruits to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the church of Rome, with these fruits of life? Or if we will seeke the church in length and number of yeeres, where was this church of Rome with these qualities then, at what time the church of Rome was a persecuted church, not a persecuting church? And when the bishops thereof did not make martyrs, as these now do, but were made martyrs themselues, to the number of fiue and twentie, in order one after another? Or when the bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power of parts taking, not by monie & friends making, as they be now; but by the free voices of the people and of the clergie, with the consent of the emperour ioined withall, and not by a few conspired cardinals, closed vp in a conner, as they be now, &c.

The iurisdiction and power of this new church of Rome examined.

And yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerat, or els impute to the common fragilitie of man, & charge them no further therein, than we might charge our selues. Now ouer and beside this dissolutnesse of life, wherein they are cleane gone from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we haue moreouer to charge them in greater points, more neerely touching the substantiall ground of the church, as in their iurisdiction presumptuoulie vsurped, in their title falselie grounded, and in their

A.q. doctrine

This new church of Rome in diuers points chiefly to be obserued.

doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which they be points, this latter pretended church of Rome hath vtterly forsaken it self from the image and nature of the ancient and true church of Rome, and haue created to themselues a new church of their owne making, as first vsurping a iurisdiction neuer knowne before to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the old primitiue time had his true authority & place due vnto that see, among other patriarchall churches, ouer and vpon such churches as were within his precinct, and bordering neere vnto it, as appeareth by the acts of Nicen councell: yet the vniuersall fulnesse and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spirituall and temporall, in deposing & disposing matters of the church, not to him belonging, in hearing appeales, in giuing elections, inuesting in benefices, in exempting himself from obedience and subiection of his ordinarie power and magistrate, with his coactiue power newly erected in the church of Rome, was neuer receiued nor vsed in the old Romane church, from the which they disagree in all their doings.

Nicen. can. cap. 6.

Victor excom-municated by Irenæus.

For although Victor then bishop of Rome, Anno 200. went about to excommunicate the east churches, for the obseruation of Easter day: yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by Irenæus so to do. And although Boniface the first likewise, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required of them to send vp their appellations vnto the church of Rome, alleaging moreouer the decree of Nicen councell for his authorite: the bishops and clergie of Carthage assembling together in a generall councell (called the first councell of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seuentene bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentike copies of the foresaid Nicen councell, and found no such matter by the said Pontifacts alleaged, made therefore a publike decree, that none out of that countrie should make any appeale ouer the sea, &c. And what marueil if appeales were forbidden them to be made to Rome, when as both here in England the kings of this land would not permit any to appeale from them to Rome, before king Henrie the second, because of the murther of Thomas Becket, being thereunto compelled by pope Alexander the third? And also in France the like prohibitions were sundry times made by Ludouicus Pius, Anno 828, which bindes bid by a publike instrument, called *Pragmatica sanctio*, all eccasions of the popes court within his realme. Also by king Philip named *Le bel*, An. 1296. the like was done, which not onely restrained all sending or going vp of his subiects to Rome, but also that no monie, armour, or substitute should be transported out of his realme. The like also after him did king Charles the fift surnamed the wise, & his sonne likewise after him Charles the first, who also punished as traitors, certain seditious persons for appealing to Rome. The like restraunce moreouer was in the said countrie of France, against the popes reseruations, preuentions, & other like practises of his usurped iurisdiction in the daies of pope Martin the fift. An. 1418. Item, when Henrie the first in England, & king Charles the seuenth in France, did both accord with the pope, in inuesting and in collation of benefices: yet notwithstanding the high court of parlement in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberties & customs of the French church. Insomuch that when the duke of Bedford came with the kings letters patent to haue the popes reseruations & reseruations abunited, yet the court of parlement would not agree to the same, but the kings procurator generall was faine to goe beyond seas, as is to bee seene in their registers, An. 1425. the fift day of March. In the daies of the which king Charles the seuenth, was set forth in France, *Pragmatica sanctio*, as they call it, against the annats, reseruations, expectatiues, & such other proceedings of the popes pretended iurisdiction, An. 1438. Wherefore what marueil if this iurisdiction of the popes court in excommunicating, taking appeales, & giuing of benefices, was not vsed in the old church of Rome, when as in these latter daies it hath bin so much resisted?

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in France.

Ex Annals de gestis Francorum, lib. 5. cap. 33.

The popes iurisdiction reiected in France.

Pragmatica sanctio.

And what should I speake of the forme and manner of elections, now vsed in the church of Rome, cleane contrarie from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For first in those ancient daies, when as yet the church remained in the apostles onely, and a few other disciples, the apostles then with prayer and imposition of hands elected bishops and ministers, as by the apostles Iames was made bishop of Hierusalem, Paul in Creta elected Titus, and Timothe in Ephesus. Also Peter ordained Linus and Cleuerus in Rome, &c. After which time of the apostles, when the church began more to multiplie, the election of bishops and ministers stood by the clergie and the people, with the consent of the chiefe magistrat of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitiue church, till the time, and after the time of Constantine the fourth emperour, which emperour (as writeth Platina and Sabellicus, Ennead. 8. lib. 6.) published a law concerning the election of the Romane bishop, that he should be taken for true bishop, whom the clergie and people of Rome did chese and elect, without any tarying for any authorite of the emperour of Constantinople, or the deputie of Italie: so as the custome and fashion had euer been before that day, Anno 680. And here the bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the emperours subiection, if it be so as the said Platina and Sabellicus after him reporteth. But many coniectures there be, not vnprobable, rather to thinke this constitution of Constantine to be forged and vntrue: First, for that it is taken out of the popes bibliothecarie, a suspected place, and collected by the keeper and master of the popes librarie, a suspected author, who whatsoeuer feined traditions or apocrypha he could find in the popes chests of records, making any thing on his masters side: that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratianus take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected, &c.

Platina. Sabel. Ennad. 8. lib. 6.

Constantine the fourth restores of Constantinople examined.

Secondly, where Platina and Sabellicus say that Constantine mooued with the holinesse of pope Wenedict the first made that constitution: thou seemest that to stand with truth, when both the emperour was so farre off from him being at Constantinople, and also for that the said pope reigned but ten moneths? Which was but a small time to make his holinesse knowne to the emperor so farre off. And giue he were so holy, yet that holinesse might rather be an occasion for the emperor so to constitute and maintaine the old receiued manor of his institution, than to alter it.

The vnholinesse of the pope examined.

The third coniecture is this, for that the said constitution was not obserued, but shortly after by the said Benedict was broken in the election of pope Conon. And yet notwithstanding albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the people, and limited to the clergie onely, and much lesse might be taken away from the clergie, and be limited onely to the cardinals, without the consent of their prince and ruler, according to their owne rubric in their decrees, where the rubric saith: De ordinatione episcopi: Nullus inuitis detur episcopus, cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus & delectum requiratur, &c. That is: Let no bishop be giuen to any people against their wills: but let the consent and desire both of the clergie and of the people, and of the order, be also required, &c. And in the same Dist. also, cap. Sacrorum, we read the same libertie and interest to be granted by Carolus Magnus, and Ludouicus his sonne, not to a few cardinals onelie, but to the order as well of the clergie, as of the people, to chose not onely the bishop of Rome, but also other bishops within their owne diocesse whatsoeuer, and to the monks likewise to chose their owne abbat, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, onely for the worthinesse of life, and gift of wisdome, so as might be most profitable for doctrine, and example vnto the flocke, &c. And this continued till the time of the foresaid Carolus Magnus & Ludouicus his sonne. An. 820. of the which two, Carolous the father receiued expresse of pope Adrian the first, full iurisdiction & power to elect & ordaine the bishop of Rome, like as pope Leo the ninth did also to Otho the first Germane emperor. An. 961. The other, that is, Ludouicus, sonne to the foresaid Charles, is said to renounce againe, & surrender from himselfe and his successors, into pope Paschalis and the Romans the right and interest of chusing the Romane bishop, and more ouer to giue and grant to the said Paschalis the full possession of the citie of Rome, and the whole territorie to the same belonging. Anno 821. as appeareth by the decree, Ego Ludouicus, Dist. 63. But admit that fained decree to bee vnfeinedly true (as it may well bee suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountaine, with the constitution of Constantine afore mentioned, that is, from the matter of the popes librarie, of whom both Gratianus and Volaterran, by their owne confession take their ground) yet the same decree doth not so giue away the freedome of that election, that he limiteth it only to the cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the Romans: neither doth he simplie and absolutely giue the same, but with condition, so that, Omnes Romani vno consilio, & vna concordia, sine aliqua promissione aut pactionis ordinem eligerent: that is, That whom as all the Romans with one counsell, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall chose to be bishop of Rome. And moreouer in the same decree is required, that at the conferration of the same bishop, messengers should be directed to conuent out the French king concerning the same.

Constantius Caietanus, what ground they haue of their records. Dist. 63. cap. Ego Ludouicus.

Election of the bishop of Rome standeth vpon the consent of the clergie, and the people of Rome.

Gratianus and Caietanus.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although pope Stephan the fourth, and pope Paschalis the first, in Ludouicus time were vnpaased though diuers without election of the emperour, yet they were faine by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugenius the second, which succeeded next to Paschalis, Lotharius sonne of Ludouicus, and emperour with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed lawes and magistrats ouer the citie. Wherby may appeare the donation of Ludouike, in giuing away the citie of Rome to the pope, to be feined. And after Eugenius, pope Gregorie the fourth, who following within a yeere after Eugenius, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said emperour Ludouicus. And so in like manner his successors pope Sergius the second, pope Leo the fourth, pope Nicholas the first, and so orderlie in a long tract of time, from the foresaid Nicholas the first, to pope Nicholas the second, Anno 1061. (such Nicholas in his decree beginning, *Irrumpente Domini. dist.* 22. obtained also the same) so that in the election of the bishops of Rome, commonlie the consent of the emperour and the people with the clergie of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas came Alexander

The decree ego Ludouicus, procured falsly.

*Dist. 23. ca. In nouine Domini.*



ander the second, and wicked Hildebrand, which Alexander being first elected without the emperours will and consent, afterward repenting the same, openly in his preaching to the people declared that he would no longer sit in the apostolike se, vnlesse he were by the emperour confirmed. Wherfore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand & his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the emperor then the lay people, after that the clergie also began to be excluded. And so the election by little & little was reduced to the hands of a few cardinals, contrarie to all ancient order, where euer since it hath remained.

And like as in elections, so also in power iudiciary, in deciding and determining of causes of faith, and of ecclesiasticall discipline. the state of the church of Rome, now being, hath no conformitie with the old Romane church heretofore. For then bishops debated all causes of faith only by the scriptures, and other questions of ecclesiasticall discipline they determined by the canons, not of the pope, but of the church, such as were decreed by the ancient councels, as writeth Greg. Turonensis in Francorum historia. Whereas now both the rule of scripture, and functions of the old councels in a manner all things for the most part are decided by certaine new decretall or rather extradecretall and extrauagant constitutions, in the popes canon law compiled, and in his constitutes practised.

Gregor. Turonensis in Francorum hist. lib. 2. ca. 18.

The popes iurisdiction without peere in ruling and disposing ecclesiasticall promotions.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the common law, as of the sacred councels, and institution of ancient fathers haue giuen to bishops and other prelates, also to parsons and deanes of ecclesiasticall liuings, all things for the within his owne precinct and dominion, also to cathedrall churches and other; to haue their free elections and to preserue the same in full effect, ordering and disposing promotions, collations, prouisions and dispositions of prelacies, dignities, and all other ecclesiasticall benefices whatsoeuer, after their owne arbitrement, as appeareth by the first generall councell of France 160. q. 7. cap. Omnes Basilicæ. by the first generall councell of Nice cap. 6. Also by the generall councell of Antioch cap. 9. and is to be seene in the popes decrees 9. q. 3. Per singulas. And likewise beside these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed againe in more latter yeeres by Ludouicus the ninth French king in his constitution called Pragmatica sanctio, made and prouided by full parlement against the popes exactions, in the yeere of our Lord 1228. in these words as follow. Item exactiones & onera grauissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam ecclesiæ regni nostri imposita vel imposita (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) siue etiam imponendas vel imponenda leuari aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, pia & vrgentissima causa, vel inuitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, & spontaneo iussu nostro, & ipsius ecclesiæ regni nostri, &c, that is: Item all exactions and vnpotable burdens of mony, which the court of Rome hath laid vpon the church of our kingdome (wherby the said our kingdome hath been miserable hitherto impouerished) or hereafter shall impose or lay vpon vs, we vtterly discharge and forbid to be leuied or collected hereafter for any manner of cause, vnlesse there come some reasonable, godly, and most vrgent, and inuitable necessitie; and that also not to be done without the expresse and voluntarie commandement of vs, and of the church of the same our foresaid kingdome, &c. Also contrarie to and against these to manifest and expresse determents of generall councels, and constitutions synodall, this latter church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their elders, haue taken vpon them a singuler iurisdiction by themselues, and for their owne aduantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing churches, colleges, monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, grants and lands to the same belonging, by reason and example whereof haue come in these impropiations, first fruits, and reseruations of benefices to the miserable despoyling of parishes, and horrible decay of christian faith, which things among the old Romane elders were neuer knowne. For so much then did it lacke, that due necessities were pluckt from the church, that emperours, kings, and princes plucking from their owne, did rather cumulate the church with superfluities.

1 Liberte granted to the clergie and people to chose their bishop.

*16. 7. 7. cap. Omnes Basilicæ.*

The councell of Nice. ca. 6.

The generall counc. of Antioch. ca. 9.

*9. q. 3. cap. per singulas. Pragmatica sanctio sancti Ludouici.*

*Carolus Magn. Ludou. Pius.*

The decree, *Ego Ludouicus, dist. 63.* suspected.

Impropiations and first fruits of benefices.

Institutiones canonicæ sub Ludouico Pio.

And where goods were giuen to the church by those auncestors, they were neither so giuen, nor yet taken, to serue the priuat vse of certaine churchmen taking no paines therein, but rather to serue the publike subuention of the needie, as is contained in the canonicall institutions by the emperour Ludouicus Pius, set forth in the yeere of our Lord 830. The words be these: Res ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, & patrimonia pauperum, that is: The goods of the church be the vowes and bequests of the faithfull, prices to ransome such as be in captiuitie or prison, and patrimontes to succour them with hospitalitie, that be needie.

The words of Prosper.

Wherevnto agreeth also the testimonie of Prosper, whose words be these: Viros sanctos ecclesiæ res non vendicasse vt proprias, sed vt commendatas pauperibus diuisse: certum est, God inch tooke the goods of the church not as their owne, but distributed them as giuen and bequeathed to the poor. And saith moreouer: Quod habet ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet communem: that is, what soeuer the church hath, it hath it common with all such as haue nothing, &c.

Aug. ad Bonif.

Si autem priuatim, quæ nobis sufficiant possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procurationem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis vsurpatione damnat ille vendicamus, &c.

Vnwedding and pluralities of benefices.

Likewise vnwedding and pluralities of benefices were things then as much vnknowne, as now they are pernitions to the church, taking away all free election of ministers from the flocke of Christ.

Three points wherein the popes church erreth in his iurisdiction.

All which inconueniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authoritie and iurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome: so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to it selfe much more, than either the limits of Gods word doe giue, or standeth with the example of the old Romane church, in these three things especiall. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

1 Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction falsely restrained and impropriate to the church of Rome, which ought to be vniuersally equall to all christen christian.

The first is in this, that whatsoeuer the scripture giueth and referreth, either to the whole church vniuersally, or to euery particular church seuerally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to it selfe absolutely and onely, both doing iniurie to other churches, and also abusing the scriptures of God. For albeit the scripture doth giue authoritie to bind and lose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the citie of Rome onely, more than to other cities; nor to the see of Peter, more then to other apostles, but giueth it clearelie to the church, whereof soeuer he did beare the figure, so that wheresoeuer the true church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and lose, giuen and taken meerely as from Christ, and not mediatlie by the pope or bishop of Peters see.

2 Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction abused and restrained in the church of Rome further than the word limiteth.

The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuseth his iurisdiction contrary to the scripture and steps of the old Romane church, is this, for that it extendeth his authoritie further and more amplie, than either the warrant of the word, or example of time will giue. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular churches haue) authoritie to bind and absolue, yet it hath no such authoritie to absolue subiects from their oth, fidelitie and loialtie to their rulers and magistrats, to dispense with periurie, to denounce remission, where no carnell repentance is seene before, to number remission by daies and yeeres, to dispense with things expressely in the word forbidden, or to restraine that which the word maketh free, to diuide religion into religions, to bind and burthen consciences with constitutions of men, to excommunicat for worldly matters, as for breaking of parkes, for not ringing bels at the bishops comming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their princes side in priuat by cases, for not going at the popes commandement, for not agreeing to the popes election in another princes realme, with other such things mo, and more vaine then these, &c. Against, although the scripture giueth leaue and authoritie to the bishop and church of Rome to minister sacraments, much lesse to worship sacraments. And though their authoritie serueth to baptise men, yet it extendeth not to christen bels: neither haue they authoritie by any word of God to adde to the word of God, or take from the same, to set vp vnwritten verities vnder paine of damnation, to make other articles of beleefe, to institute strange worship, otherwise than he hath prescribed, which hath told vs how he would be worshipped, &c.

Christening of bels.

3 The iurisdiction of the pope abused and vsurped in temporall matters where he hath nothing to doe.

The third abuse of the popes iurisdiction standeth in this, that as in spirituall iurisdiction they haue vehemently exceded the bounds of scripture, so they haue impudently intermedled themselues in temporall iurisdiction, wherein they haue nothing to doe. Insomuch that they haue translated the empire, they haue deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and tirants of Rome, and set vp other, or the same againe at their pleasure, they haue proclaimed warres, and haue inuested themselues. And whereas emperors in ancient time haue dignified them in titles, haue inlarged them with donations, and they receiuing their confirmation by the emperors, haue like ingratefull clients to such benefactors, afterward stampt vpon their medes, haue made them to hold their stirrop, come to hold the heads of their horse, haue caused them to take their confirmation at their hand, yea haue kept emperors themselues, Sede vacante, & in discordia electionis, and also haue been senators of the citie; moreouer haue erected into their owne hands the plenarie iurisdicte of power and iurisdiction of both the swords, especially since the time of pope Hildebrand: which Hildebrand deposing Henricus the fourth emperour, made him giue attendance at his citie gate. And after him pope Bonifacius the eight, shewed himself vnto the people on the first day like a bishop, with his keies before him, and the next day in his robes imperiall, hauing a naked sword borne before him, like an emperor, in the yeere of our Lord 1298. And so for so much as this inordinate iurisdiction hath not onely been vsed of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let vs therefore now compare for visage hereof to the old maner in times past, meaning the primitiue and first age of the church of the Romans. Wherin the old bishops of Rome in those daies, as they were then subiect to their emperors, so were other bishops in like maner of other nations subiect euery

one to his king and prince, acknowledging them for their lords, and were ordered by their authority and obeied their lawes, and that not onely in causes ciuill, but also in regiment ecclesiasticall, as appeareth Dist. 10. cap. 1. & 2. Dist. 97. cap. De illicita.

Also 24. q. 3. So was Gregorius surnamed Magnus, subiect to Mauricius, and to Phocas, although a wicked emperour. So also both pope and people of Rome tooke their lawes of the emperours of Constantinople, and were submitted to them not only in the time of Honorius an hundred yeres after Constantine the great, but also in the time of Marcianus, Anno 451. and so further vnto the time of Iustinian and of Carolus Magnus, and also after the daies of them. In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the imperiall law of Rome did rule and bind in Rome, both in the daies of Iustinian, Anno 150 yeres after, till the time of the empire being translated from Greece vnto France. Whereby it may appeare false, that the citie of Rome was giuen by Constantine the first, vnto the bishop of Rome to gouerne for that pope Bonifacius the first writing to the emperour Honorius, falleth in the same place Rome the emperours citie. Dist. 97. cap. 10. And Lotharius also emperour appointed magistrats and lawes in Rome, as is aboue mentioned. Moreouer, for further probation hereof, that both the bishop of Rome and all other ecclesiasticall persons were in former time, and ought to be subiect to their emperours and lawfull magistrates, in causes as well spirituall as ciuill, by many euidences may appeare, taken out both of Gods lawe, and mans law. And first by Gods law, we haue example of godly king Dauid, who numbred all the priests & leuites, & disposed them into foure & twentie orders or courses, appointing them continually to serue in the tabernacle in euery one in his proper order & turne, as came about: which institution of the clergie also god king Ezechias afterward renewed, of whom it is written, He did that was right in the sight of the Lord according to all things as his father Dauid had done before, he toke away the high grooues, and brake downe images: 2. Reg. 8. The said Ezechias also reduced the priests and Leuits into their orders, prescribed by Dauid before, to serue euerie one in his office of ministration. 2. Paralip. 30. 21. And this order from Dauid still continued till the time of Zacharie at the comming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias course, which was the eight order of priests appointed to serue in the tabernacle, Luke 1. To passe ouer other lighter offices translated from the priests to the kings authoritie, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the temple, and reparations of the Lords house, king Salomon displaced Abiathar the high priest by his kingly power, and placed Sadoch in his stead: 3. Reg. cap. 6. Also dedicating the temple of the Lord with all the people blessed the whole congregation of Israel. 3. Reg. 8. Iudas Machabeus also cleared priests, such as being without spot had a zeale to the law of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the idolatrous gentiles had before prophaned: 1. Mac. 4.

Also king Alexander writing to Jonathas appointed him chiefe priest in his country, 1. Mac. 10. Demetrius ordained Simon and Lichenus in the office of priesthood. Iosaphat likewise as in the whole land did set iudges; so also in Jerusalem he appointed Leuits and priests, and heads of families to haue the hearing of causes, and to minister iudgement ouer the people: 2. Paral. 19. By these and many other is to be seene, that kings and princes in the old time, as well when priests were borne priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in ecclesiasticall matters, as in calling the people to Gods seruice, in cutting downe groues, in destroying images, in gathering tithes into the Lords house, in dedicating the temple, in blessing the people, in offering before the high seruant within the temple, in correcting and deposing priests, in constituting the order and offices of priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the seruice and worship of God, and in punishing the contrarie, &c. And in the new testament what meaneth the example of Christ himselfe both giuing and teaching tribute to be giuen to Cesar? to Cesar I say, and not to the high priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate not denying power to be giuen to him from aboue?

And againe declaring the kings of nations to haue dominion ouer them, and willing his disciples not so to do, giuing vs to vnderstand the difference betweene the regiment of his spirituall kingdome, and of the kingdome of this world, willing all worldly states to be subiect vnder the superior rulers and magistrates, in whose regiment is dominion and subiection, and not in the other. Wherevnto accordeth also the doctrine of S. Paul, where it is written: Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, vnder whose obedience neither pope, cardinall, patriarch, bishop, priest, frier nor monke is exempted, nor exempted as Theophylactus expounding the same place declareth, and saith: Vniuersos erudit, siue sacerdos sit ille, siue monachus, siue apostolus, vt se principibus subdat: that is, He teacheth all sorts, whether he be priest, or monke, or else apostle, that they should submit themselues vnder their princes. &c. And saint Augustine writing ad Bonifacium, saith in much like sort: Quicunque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium: that is, Whosoeuer refuseth to obey the lawes of the emperour, which make for the veritie of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment, &c. Also in another place, writing Contra Cresconium, hath these words: In hoc enim reges ſeruit eis diuinitus præcipitur, Deo seruiunt, in quantum reges, ſi in ſuo regno bona iubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolùm quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verumetiam quæ ad diuinam religionem & chat is, Kings accordings as it is inioyned them of God, do serue God in that they are kings, if they in their kingdome command those things that be good, and forbid things that be euill, such as appertaine not onely to humane societie, but also to Gods religion, &c. And yet to come more neere to the popes owne doctors, Thomas Aquine not much discrepant from the iniunction of the apostle aboue alleaged, thus describeth the office of a king: Hoc, inquit, officium rex ſe ſuſceptiſſe cogneſcat, vt ſit in regno, ſicut in corpore anima, & ſicut Deus in mundo, &c: Let a king (saith he) vnderstand, that he hath taken this office vpon him, to be as the soule within the bodie, and as God in the world. In like agreement with the holy apostle saint Paul (openeth also saint Peter: Be you subiect (saith he) to euerie humane creature, whether it be to the king, as most pre-eminent, or to other set ouer you, &c. Where the common glosse addeth thereto, To obay the same, whether they be good or euill. These places rightly pondered, let any man now iudge whether the pope hath done open wrong to the emperour, in surpassing aboue the iurisdiction of his lawfull prince and magistrat, notwithstanding that for euer his olde canon law saith to the contrarie.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto prooued by Gods lawe, that all ecclesiasticall persons owe their due subiection to their lawfull princes, in matters as well temporall, as spirituall: so no lesse euidences may also be inferred out of mans lawe, and examples of the oldest fathers, to prooue the same. And first to begin with the example of Gregorie the great, who in his epiſtle to Mauricius writeth thus: Dominus meus ſuiſti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras: ecce per meſuerum vltimum ſuum & veſtrum reſpondebit Chriſtus, &c: that is: You were then my lord, when you were not the lord of the whole empire, behold Christ himselfe shall make you answere by me, which am his most simple seruant and poore, &c. And before him Eleutherius his predecessor bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, king of this realme, calleth him by the name of Christs vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the popes decrees and canons be full of records hereof, testifying how the ancient church of Rome not onely receiued, but also required of the emperors, lawes and constitutions to be made, touching not onely such causes, but also such persons as were ecclesiasticall. And here to omit by the way the chap. Principes seculi, also chap. Administratores, 23. quæſt. 5. with diuers other besides, I will recite out of the epistle of Boniface the first, to the emperor Honorius, so much as serueth for our purpose, written Dist. 92. cap. Eccleſiæ, cap. Victor. Where it is ment I need not that the said Bonifacius bishop of Rome sent an humble supplication to the forenamed emperor, desiring him by his authoritie to prouide some remedie against the ambitious contentions of the clergie, concerning the bishopric of Rome. Which emperor Honorius incontinent at his request, decreed & stablished a law, that none should be made bishop of Rome through ambition, charging all ecclesiasticall ministers to surceasse from ambition; appointing moreouer, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another to be chosen by a full consent of voices, as is expressed Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.

To this I adioyne also the law and constitution of Iustinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterward in the counsell of Paris, in time of king Ludouicus Pius. Where al bishops and priests be expressie forbidden not to excommunicate any man, before his cause was knowne and proued to be such, as for the which the ancient canons of the church would him to bee excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrarie to the same, then the excommunicate person to be absolued by the authoritie of an higher degree, and the excommunicate to be sequestred from the communion, so long as should seeme conuenient to him that had the execution thereof, as is expressed, 24. q. 3. De illicita. The same Iustinian moreouer in his lawes and constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordaine in church matters, as to haue a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches, const. 3. Also concerning monasteries and monks, const. 5. how bishops & priests should be ordained, const. 6. concerning removing of ecclesiasticall persons from one church to another. Also concerning the constitution of the churches in Affrike. And that the holy mysteries should not be done in priuate houses; so that whosoeuer should attempt the contrarie, should be deposed, const. 57. Moreouer concerning clerks leauing their churches, const. 58. Also concerning the order and manner of funerals, const. 59. And that bishops should not keepe from their flocke, const. 67. The same Iustinian granted to the clergie of Constantinople the priuiledge of the seculer court, in cases onely ciuill, and such as touched not the disturbance of the bishop, otherwise in all criminall causes he left them to the iudgement of the seculer court, const. 83. He giueth also lawes and decrees for breach of matrimonie, const. 117, and in diuers other places. And in his const. 123. after the doctrine of saint Paul, he commandeth

Pope submitted in the old time to emperours.

Exod. 1. de ſapientia Aegyptiorum.

Dist. 97. cap. 10.

Plat. in vita Evag. 2.

Emperours pressing ecclesiasticall persons to haue been subiect to their magistrates in causes belonging ecclesiasticall and temporall.

Ordinances out of the scripture.

Dauid. 3 Par. cap. 31.

Ezechias. 4 Reg. 18.

The order of Abias was the right order among the priests. 3 Par. 24.

Zacharias. Luke 1.

Iudas Machabeus.

1. Mac. 10. 11. 14.

Ionathas.

2. Par. 19.

Iohn 19.

Rom. 13.

Theophylactus.

Aug. ad Bonifacium.

Aug. contra Cresconium li. 3. cap. 51.

Thomas de regimine principis. lib. 1. cap. 32.

1. Peter. 2.

Canonicall scripture onely to be read in churches. Conc. Gerthag. 3. cap. 47.

Bishops and priests charged to preach with diligence.

Greg. ad Mauric. Aug. lib. 2. epiſt. 61.

Superstition in funerals forbidden. Ex Anſegiſo ebitat. lib. 1. cap. 46.

The pope called by king Lucius Christs vicar.

Dist. 97. cap. eccleſiæ. Victor.

24. q. 3. cap. Principes, cap. Administratores.

Dist. 79. cap. Si duo.

24. q. 3. cap. De illicite.

Ex Nouel. Iuſtinian.

Divine seruice vsed in the vulgar tongue.

Clodouæus.

Concilium Aurelian. Carolus Magnus.

Ex Anſ. lib. 1. cap. 20.

Lib. 1. C. de ſacro eccle. Iuſtin. in Nouel.

Ludouicus Pius.

Ex Imon Carnotenſis. lib. 11. decretorum.

The pope depriued his cardinals at the bar before the emperour. 2. quæſt. 7. cap. Hoc Simoniacum.

Ludouicus 9.

Pragmatica ſanctio. Ludouici.

Arellanus Senatus Parisien.

Ex Molinæo.

Philippus Pulcher.

Carolus Sapiens.

Carolus 6.

The office of the eccleſiaſticall minister.



doth all bishops and priests to sound out their seruice, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not onely be heard, but also be vnderstood of the faithful people, what was said and done. Where by it is to be gathered, that diuine prayers and seruice then, was in the vulgar tongue.

And as the said Iustinian, and other emperours in those daies had the iurisdiction and gouernment ouer spirituall matters and persons, the like examples also may be brought of other kings in other lands, who had no lesse authoritie in their realmes, than emperours had in their empire. As in France, Clodoueus the first christened king at Rhiance caused a councell of thirtie three bishops, where thirtie three canons were instituted concerning the gouernment of the church, within two hundred yeres after Christ: Ex primo tomo Concil. Carolus Magnus, beside his other lawes and edicts politicall, called fiue synods, one at Spentz, the second at Rome, the third at Rhemes, the fourth at Cabilone, the fift at Arelate, where sundrie rites and ordinances were giuen to the clergie, about eight hundred and ten yeres after Christ. The same Carolus also decreed, that onely the canonicall bookes of scripture should be read in the church, and none other. Which before also was decreed Anno 417. in the third generall councell of Carthage. Item hee exhorted and charged bishops and priests to preach the word, with a godly iniunction: Epiſcopi verò vt ſiue per ſe, ſiue per vicarios, pabulum verbi diuini ſeduló populis annuncient. Quia, vt ait beatus Gregorius: iram contra ſe occulti iudicis excitat facerdos, ſi ſine prædicationis ſonitu incedit. Et vt ipſi clerum ſibi commiſſum in ſobrietate & caſtitate nutriant. Superſtitiones quas quidam in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradicent, that is: That bishops either by themselues, or their deputies, shall shew vnto the sonne of Gods word to the people with all diligence. For as Gregorie saith, the priest procureth against him the wrath of the secret iudge, which goeth without the sound of preaching. And also that they bring vp their clergie to them committed in sobernesse and chastitie. The superstition which in certaine places is vsed of some, about the funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and plucke vp by the roots, &c.

Moreouer, instructing and informing the said bishops and priests in the office of preaching, willeth them not to suffer any to faine or preach to the people any new doctrine of their owne inuention, and not agreeing to the word of God, but that they themselues both will preach such things as lead to eternall life, and also that they set vp other to doe the same, and to teach withall a godly exhortation. Ideo, dilectiſſimi, toto corde præparemus nos in ſcientia veritatis, & mox: Vt diuina donante gratia verbum Dei currat & creſcat, & multiplicetur, in profectum eccleſiæ Dei ſanctæ, & ſalutem animarum noſtrarum, & laudem, & gloriam nominis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, Amen. Furthermore, the said Carolus in his constitutions diuideth the gods giuen to the church so, that in the more wealthie places, two parts should goe to the vse of the poore, the third to the stipend of the clergie. Otherwise in poore places an equall diuision to be made betweene the poorette and the clergie, vnlesse the gift had some speciall exception. Ex Anſegiſo. lib. 1. cap. 80. And in the same booke a little after, cap. 83. the author declareth, by the said Carolus to be decreed, that no ecclesiastical person or persons from thenceforth should possesse to take of any person, any such gift or donation, whereby the children or kinsfolkes of the said donor should be defeated of their inheritance duely to them belonging. Ludouicus Pius king of France, and after emperor, was sonne to the foresaid Charles, who being ioyned together with the said Charles his father in the empire, ordained also with his father sundrie acts and obseruances touching the gouernment of the church, as in the author before alleaged may appeare. As first, that no entrie should bee made into the church by simonie: againe, that bishops should be ordained by the free election of the clergie and of the people, without all respect of person or reward, onely for the merit of life, & gift of heauenly wisdome.

Also the said kings and emperours forbad that any freeman or citizen should enter the profession of monkerie, without licence asked of the king before, and added a double cause therefore. First, for that many not for mere deuotion, but for idlenesse and auoiding the kings wars, doe giue themselues to religion: Againe, for that many be craftily circumuented and deluded by subtill couetous persons, seeking to get from them that which they haue. Lib. 1. cap. 114. ibidem. Item that no young children or boies should be shauen or enter any profession on without the will of their parents. And no young maidens should take the vale or profession of a nun, before she came to sufficient discretion of yeres to discerne and choose what they will follow. That none should be interred or buried thencefoorth within the church: which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinianus, fortie yeres before them. Item the said Carolus two and twentie yeres before this emperour, enacted that murtherers and such as were guiltie of death by the law, should haue no sanctuarie by flying into the church, &c: which also was decreed by Iustinian three hundred yeres before this Carolus. Ex Nouel. Iustinian.

Moreouer the foresaid Ludouicus Pius, with his sonne Clotharius (or as some call him, Lotharius) ioyned with him, among other ecclesiasticall sanctions, ordained a godly law, for taimen to communicate the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, in these words: Vt ſi non frequentius, vel ter, laici hominес communicent: niſi fortè grauioribus quibuſdam criminibus impediantur: That laimen doe communicate at least thrise, if not oftner, except they be let perselfe by some more hainous and grieuous offences. Anseg. lib. 2. cap. 43. Item they enacted that no goods of the church should be alienated vnder the paine Leoninæ conſtitutionis. Vnto this Lotharius French king and emperour, pope Leo the fourth writeth, that Romana, lex, that is, the Romane law (meaning the law of the French emperours), as it hath hitherto stood in force: Ita & nunc ſuum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat, that is: So now it may continue still to his vigour and strength. Ino Carnotensis. lib. 11. Decretorum. About the yere of the Lord 848. after this Lotharius, succeeded his sonne Ludouicus the second in the kingdome and empire of France, before vpon the foresaid pope Leo was brought into iudgement, and pleaded his cause of treason, and there was before the emperour quit and released. Which declareth that popes and bishops all this while were in subiection vnder their kings and emperors.

Moreouer, descending yet to lower times, Anno 1228. Ludouicus the ninth, called holy Ludouike, made a law against the pestiferous simonie in the church, also for the maintenance of the liberte of the church of France, established a law or decree, against the new inuentions, reseruations, prescriptions, and exactions of the court of Rome, called Pragmatica ſanctio, Ludouici, the which sanction was also practised long after in the kingdome of France against the popes collectors and vndercollectors, as appeareth by the Arellan of the councell of Paris Anno 1463. Ex Molinæo in Commentariis. Furthermore king Philip le Bel. 1303. set forth a law, called Philippina, wherein was forbid any eraction of new tithes and first fruits, and other vncustomed collections, to be put vpon the church of France. Carolus the first named Sapiens, Anno 1369. by a law commanded, that no bishops nor prelats, or their officials within his kingdome of France, should execute any censure of suspense, or excommunication, or the popes commandement, ouer or vpon the cities or townes, corporations, or commons of his realme. Ex regiſt. antiquarum conſt. chart. 62. Item Carolus the first Anno 1588. against the cardinals & other officials, and collectors of the pope, reuoking against the power which he had giuen to them before, prouided by a law, that the fruites and rents of benefices, with other pensions, and bishops goods that departed, should no more be exported by the cardinals and the popes collectors into Rome, but should be brought to the king, and so reserued to them to whom they did rightly appertaine.

The like also may be inferred and proued by the stories and examples of our kings here in England, as king Offa, king Ethelbertus, Segarus, Alueredus, Athelstanus, Canutus, Edwardus, William Conqueror, Williams, Henrie the first, Henrie the second, til the time of king Iohn and after. Whose dealing as well in ecclesiastical cases, as in temporall, is a sufficient demonstration, to prooue what iniurie the popes in these latter daies haue done vnto the emperours their lawfull gouernours and magistrates: in vsurping such fulnesse of power and iurisdiction ouer them, to whom properly they owe subiection, contrarie to the steps and example of the old Romane bishops their ancestors, and therefore haue incurred the danger of a premunire, worthie to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that ecclesiastical ministers and seruitours haue their power also committed vnto them, after their sort of the Lord: yet it becommeth euery man to keepe his owne place and standing, and there to keepe him, wherein his owne precinct bodyeth him, and not rashly to breake out into other mens walks. As it is not lawfull for a ciuill magistrate to intermeddle with a bishops or a preachers function: so barrestike and vnsemelie it is against that Boniface the eight should haue borne before him the temporall mace, and the naked sword of the emperour: or that any pope should haue a triple crowne, or take vpon him like a lord and king. Wherefore let euery man consider the compasse and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a bishop or seruitour ecclesiasticall, was in the old law to offer sacrifice, to burne incense, to pray for the people, to expound the law, to minister in the tabernacle, with other like office it was not lawfull for any prince or man else to intermeddle, as we read how Vzias was punished for offering incense, and another for touching the arke: so now the office of christian ministers is to preach the word, to minister sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose, where cause vrgently requireth, to iudge in spirituall cases, to pitifully and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ, to erect and comfort troubled consciences with the rich grace of the gospell, to teach the people the true difference betwixt the law and the gospell, whereof the one is belonging to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him: the other pertaineth to the true beleeuers in the name of God: to admonish also the magistrates erring or transgressing in their office, &c.

And

The office of ciuill rulers and magistrats.

And as these properly belong to the function of the ecclesiasticall sort: so hath the ciuill gouernour or magistrate againe his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of iustice and iudgement, to defend with power the right of the weake that suffer wrong, to defend from oppression the poore oppressed, to minister with equalitie that which is right and equall to euery man, to prouide lawes good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moueth: especially to see the law of God maintained, to promote Christs glorie and gospell, in setting vp and sending out good preachers, in maintaining the same, in prouiding bishops to bee elected that be faithfull, in removing or els correcting the same being faultie or negligent, in congregating the clergie, when need is of any councell or election, to heare their learning in causes propounded, and according to the truth learned, to direct his iudgement in disposing such rites and ordinances for the church, as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof; in conserving the discipline of the church, and setting all things in a congrue order. Briefly, the office of the ciuill ruler and magistrate extendeth to minister iustice and iudgement in all courts as well temporall as ecclesiasticall: to haue correction ouer all transgressours, whether they be laimen or persons ecclesiasticall. And finally all such things as belong to the mouing of the sword, whatsoeuer, that is to say, all outward punishment is referred to the iurisdiction of the ciuill magistrate, vnder whose subiection the ordinance of God hath subiected all orders and states of men.

Here we haue the witnesse also of Hormisda bishop of Rome, which being well weied, maketh the matter plaine, that princes haue to deale in spirituall causes also, not onely in temporall: where the said Hormisda writeth to Epiphanius patriarch of Constantinople in this sort: Clara coelestis misericordiae demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide, cum gubernatione politiae coniungunt, &c. ex Act. v. vniuersal. Concil. Constantini secundi, An. 538. And thus much & to much peraduenture concerning the matter of iurisdiction, in which point this new church of Rome hath swarued from the ancient church of Rome which was, as is sufficiently proued.

The third point wherein the church of Rome is altered from the church of Rome.

The titles and state of the bishop of Rome.

THe third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken and is departed from the church of Rome, is the forme of title and title annexed to the bishop of that see. As where he is called pope, most holy father, vicar generall, & vicar of Christ, successour of Peter, vniuersall bishop, prince of priests, head of the church vniuersal, Summus orbis pontifex, Stupor mundi, head bishop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thing betweene both, &c. for all these terms be giuen him in peptik bookes. Albeit the name pope, being a Greeke name, deriued of παππας, which soundeth as much as Father in the Syracusane speech, may peraduenture seeme more tolerable, as which hath been vsed in the old time among bishops, for so Austen was called of the councell of Aphrike, Hieremy, of Boniface and other. Also Cyprian bishop of Carthage was called Papa. 24. q. 1. cap. loquitur: & dist. 50. cap. Decoo ramen. Item Cleodoueus or (as Rhenanus calleth him) Ludouicus, first christian king of France, calleth a certaine simpler bishop Papam. Hierome also in his epistle to Chromatius calleth Valerianus by the name of pope; and likewise writing to Eustachium and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius Beatum papam. In the apologies of Athanasius, we read oft times that he was called Papa, and Archiepiscopus. Ruffinus also lib. 2. cap. 26. calleth him Pontificem maximum. Also Aurelius president in the first councell of Carthage was called of the said councell Papa. ex cap. 4. vi. Concil. Carthag. And before this Eleutherius bishop of Rome, writing to king Lucius the first christian king in this land, calleth him in his epistle, the vicar of Christ, &c. But that any of these tearmes were so peculiarly applied to the bishop of Rome, that other bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one bishop aboue the rest had the name of oecumenicall or vniuersall, or head, to the derogation of other bishops, or with such glorie as is now annexed to the same: that is not to be found neither in histories of the old time, nor in any example of the primitiue church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approued doctors. First, before the councell of Nice, it is euident by pope Pius the second that there was no respect had to the church of Rome, but euery church then was ruled by his owne gouernance, till the yere of our Lord 340. Then followed the councell of Nice, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole vniuersitie of Christs church, which was now far spread ouer all the world, certaine prouinces or precincts to the number of foure were appointed, euery one to haue his head church, and chiefe bishop, called then metropolitane or patriarch, to haue the ouersight of such churches as did lie about him. In the number of which patriarchs or metropolitans, the bishop of Rome had the first place: the bishop of Alexandria was the second, the bishop of Antioch the third; the bishop of Hierusalem was the fourth patriarch. Afterward in the number of these patriarchs came in also the bishop of Constantinople in the reigne of the bishop of Antioch. So these foure or fiue metropolitans or patriarchs, had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them should not deale within an others precinct, and also that there should be among them equalitie of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrees of the old councels, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῇ θρόνῳ, καὶ τὴν τιμήν, that is, Equall degree of themes, and of honour among priests and ministers. Againe, speaking of the said patriarchs or primats, wee read in the second and third chapter of the councell of Constantinople, ἐπισκόπους τοὺς ὑπ' ἑκάστου διοικήσεως μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν, κυριεύειν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, that is, That bishops should not inuade the diocelle of other bishops without their borders, nor confound together churches. &c. Moreouer, the old doctors for the most and best part doe accord in one sentence, that all bishops placed thereelsewer, in the church of God, be Eiusdem meriti & honoris, & successores apostolorum, that is, To be of one merit, of like honour, and all to be successours together of the apostles. Also, he that is the author of the booke called Dionysius Areopagita, calleth all the bishops ἱεραρχικὰς καὶ ἱστιμους, that is, Of equall order, and of like honor. &c. All this while the bishop of Rome was a patriarch, and a metropolitane or bishop called of the first see, but no oecumenicall bishop, nor head of the vniuersall church, nor any such matter. Insomuch that he, with all other bishops, was debarred from that, by a plaine decree of the councell of Carthage, Can. 39. in these words: ὥστε τὸ πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἐξουσίαν ἀρχιερέων, ἢ ἀκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτόν τινος, that is, That the bishop of the first seat shall not be called the prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing.

And lest any here should take occasion of cauilling, to heare him called bishop of the first seat, here is to be expounded what is meant by the first seat, and wherefore he was so called, not for any dignitie of the person, either of him which succeedeth, or of him whom he is said to succede, but onely of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainely proued by the councel of Calcedon, chapter 28. Wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the see of Rome among all other patriarchall sees is nombred for the first see by the ancient fathers. For why, saith the councel, κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς πατέρας ἐκείνους ἐδόθησαν τοῖς θρόνοις τὰ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, ὃν πατέρες εὐστοχοῦντες ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ αὐτὰ πρεσβεῖα, that is: For that our forefathers did worthily attribute the chiefe degree of honor to the see of old Rome, because the principall reigne or emperie was in that citie, &c. The same also is confirmed by Eusebius Cæsariensis, declaring, Quòd excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Rom. pontificis supra alias ecclesias; That the excellencie of the Romane emperie did aduance the popedome of the Romane bishop aboue other churches, &c. Ex Gab. Biel. Moreouer, saith the said Cæsariensis: Nicena synodus hoc contulit priuilegium Rom. pontifici, vt sicut Romanorum rex Augustus præ cæteris appellatur: ita Rom. pontifex præ cæteris episcopis papa vocaretur. That is, The councell (saith he) of Nice gaue this priuiledge to the bishop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romans is named emperour aboue all other kings, so the bishop of the same citie of Rome should bee called pope aboue other bishops, &c. By these places hitherto alleaged (and such other, many more than be here alleaged) it appeareth, that though these titles of supremitie had been attributed to the bishop of Rome, yet it remaineth certaine, that the said bishop receiued that preferment lure non diuino, sed humano, by mans law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the popes prooued false, where is said: Romanam ecclesiam non a concilio aliquo, sed a diuina voce primatum accepisse, That the church of Rome take not his primacie by any councell, but onely by the voice of God. And this is to be said, although it were true, that these titles and tearmes were so giuen to the bishop of Rome in the old time, yet how and by whom they were giuen, yee see. Now to the matter, as touching an vsue with our aduersaries, whether these foresaid titles of soueraignitie were applied in the old time of the primitiue church to the bishop of Rome, as to be called the vicar generall of Christ, the head of the whole church, and vniuersal bishop, remaineth to be proued. Wherevnto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the bishops of Rome (of some peraduenture) were so called by the names of higher preeminence of that citie, of some going about to pleasle them, or to craue some helpe at their hands, yet that calling: 1 Was vsed then but of a few. 2, Neither was giuen to many. 3, Was rather giuen then sought for, of the most. 4, Was not so giuen that it maketh or can make any generall necessitie of law, why euery one is so bound to call them, as the bishop of Rome ought so to be taken and called, and that by necessitie of saluation, as the decree of pope Boniface the eight witnesseth, where is said, Quòd sit de necessitate salutis, vt creatur primatus ecclesiæ Rom. & ei subdesit: That it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation, to beleeue the primacie of the church of Rome, and to be subiect to the same, &c.

As touching therefore these titles and tearmes of preeminence aforesaid, orderly to set fourth and declare that histories of times doe say in that matter, by the grace of Christ: 1. First we will see what be the titles, the bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. 2. When they first came in, whether in the primitiue time or not. and by whom. 3. How they were first giuen to the Roman bishops, that is, whether of necessarie dutie, or volantarie deuotion, whether

Ex Concil. Constan. can. 2. cap. 36.

Ex Concil. Constan. 2. 3.

Ex Concil. Carthag. Can. 39.

Ex Concil. Calcedon. ca. 28.

Ex Gab. Biel. sect. 15.

Ex fra. Barth. & alijs.

Cap. quando. de transl. & epist. vit. 7.

Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

The popes decree proued false.

Boniface 8. Extraug. de maiorit. & obedient. cap. vnam.

Ex Concil. Nice. can.

Dist. 65. cap. Mos antiquus.

4 whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few, and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the citie, or else of the worthinesse of the bishop which there sat. 4. And if the foresaid names were then giuen of certaine bishops, vnto the bishop of Rome: whether all the said names were giuen, or but
5 certaine, or what they were. 5. Or whether they were then received of all bishops of Rome, to whom they were giuen, or
6 else refused of some. 6. And finally, whether they ought to haue been receiued being giuen, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertaine to the possession rather of diuines than historicians, & would require a long and large debating: yet for so much as both in these, and diuers other weighttie controuersies of diuinitie, the knowledge of times and histories must nedes helpe diuines disputing about the same, so much as the grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will ioyne to the seeking out of truth, such helpe as I may.

And first to begin with the names and titles, how claimed and attributed to the see and bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared aboue, that is, the Chiefe priest of the world, the Prince of the church, Bishop apostolicall, the Vniuersall head of the church, the Head & bishop of the vniuersall church, the Successor of Peter, Most holie pope, Vicar of God on earth, Neither God nor man, but a mixt thing betweene both: the Patriarch or Metropolitane of the church of Rome, the Bishop of the first see, &c. Vnto the which titles or stiles is annexed a triple crowne, a triple crosse, two crossed keies, a naked sword, seuenfold seales, in token of the seuenfold gifts of the holy Ghost, hee being carried pickbacke vpon mens shoulders, after the maner of the heathen kings, hauing all the empire and the emperour vnder his dominion: and that it is not conuenient for any terrene prince to reigne there, where he sitteth, hauing the plenarie fulnesse of power, as well of temporall things as spirituall things in his hands, that all things are his, and that all such princes as haue giuen him any thing, haue giuen him but his owne, hauing at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences, and the croslle against christian princes that soeuer: and that the emperour and certaine other princes ought to make to him confession of fubiection at their coronation: hauing authoritie to depose, and that hee De facto, hath deposed emperors and the king of France: also to absolue the subiects from their allegiance to their princes, whom kings haue serued for sodnen to lead his horse, and the emperour to hold his stirrop: that he may and doth giue power to bishops vpon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to haue pilans, without whose authoritie no generall councell hath any force. And to whom appellations in all manner of causes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equall with the decrees of Nicen councell, and are to be obserued and taken in no lesse force, than if they had been confirmed with the heauenly voice of saint Peter himselfe. Ex fra. Barth. & alijs. Item that the said bishop of Rome hath the heauenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another. cap. Quando de transl. Epis. tit. 7. Item that he can of nothing make something, and cause the sentence, which before was none to stand in effect, and may dispense aboue the law, and of iniustice make iustice, in correcting & changing lawes, for he hath the fulnesse of power. And againe, dist. 40. cap. Si Papa: If the pope bee lead with him innumerable soules by flocks into hell, yet no man must presume to reproue his faults in this world. Item that it standeth vpon necessitie of saluation to beleeue the primacie of the see of Rome, and to be subiect to the same, &c.

These things thus declared, now let vs see whether these names and titles, with the forme and manner of this authoritie and regalitie aboue rehearsed, were euer attributed of any in the primitiue time to the bishop of Rome. For all these he doth challenge and claime vnto him by old possession from the time of S. Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our aduersaries the papists, Whether they will auouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole forme and tenour of regalitie to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their allegations, which they neuer haue done yet, nor euer shall be able. If they will not, or cannot auouch them all together in maner as is specified, then why doth the bishop claime them all together so stoutly, wurpe them so falselie, and obtrude them vpon vs so strictlie? Moreouer if the said our aduersaries, being conuicted by plaine euidence of histoyie, and example of time, will yeeld vnto vs (as they must needs) in part, and not in the whole, let vs come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regalitie they will defend, and derive from the ancient custome of the primitiue church, (that is, from the first fiue hundred yeres, I meane after Christ.) First, if the councell of Nice, which was the yeere of our Lord 340. and in the first canon of the said councell, we find it so decreed: that in euery province or precinct some one church, and bishop of the same, was appointed and set vp to haue the inspection and regiment of other churches about him. Secundum morem antiquum, that is, After the ancient custome, as the words of the councell doe purport: so that the bishop of Alexandria should haue power of Lybia, and Pentapolis in Egypt, for as much as the bishop of the citie of Rome hath the like or same maner. And in like sort also in Antioch, & in other countries, let euery church haue his due honour, and consequentlie that the bishop of Ierusalem haue also his due honour to him reserued, so that such order be kept, that the metropolitane cities be not defrauded of their dignitie which to them is due and proper, &c. In this councell and in the same canon first and seuerally, where the bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch, are ioyned together in one like maner of dignitie, first there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein. Secondly for so much as in the said two canons after mention made of them, immediately followeth, that no bishops should be made without consent of their metropolitans, yea and that the citie also of Hierusalem should be vnder his metropolitane, and that the metropolitane should haue the full power to confirme euery bishop made in his prouince: therefore it may be well suspected, that the third epistle decretall of pope Anacletus, and of pope Stephanus, with other more, are forged, wherein these bishops, especialle the bishop of Rome, is exempted and disioyned from the name of a metropolitane or an archbishop, to the name of a patriarch or primat: as appeareth in the decrees, Dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta. Wherefore as wee must needs grant the bishop of Rome to bee a metropolitane or an archbishop by the councell of Nice: so we will not greatly sticke in this also, to haue him numbred with patriarchs or primats. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to mo cities than to Rome, both by the epistle of Anacletus, of pope Stephanus, of pope Julius, and Leo, &c.

Ex Concil. Nice. can.

Dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta.

The bishop of Rome called metropolitane, archbishop, patriarch, primat.

After this followed a generall councell in Aphrike, called the first councell of Carthage, An. 420. where were congregated two hundred & seuentene bishops, among whom was also Augustinus, Prosper, Orosius, with diuers other famous persons. This councell continued the space of fiue yeeres, wherein was great contention about the supremacie and iurisdiction of Rome: the bishop whereof then was Zosimus. This Zosimus the Romane bishop had received the same time into the communion of the church without any examination, one that came to complaine to him out of Sicylie, named Apiarius, a priest whom Aurelius the metropolitane with the councell of Aphrike had worthilie excommunicated for his detestable conditions before. Vpon this Zosimus after that he had receiued and theined such fauour to Apiarius, for that he did appeale to him, sendeth to the councell his messengers, to wit, Faustinus bishop of Potentine, and two priests of the church of Rome named Philippus and Asellus, with these foure requests: first, that Apiarius, whom hee had absolued might bee receiued of them againe, and that it might be lawfull for bishops or priests to appeale from the sentence of their metropolites, and also of the councell to the see of Rome.

The first councell of Carthage.

Ex concilijorum vol. 1. in festa Synod. Carthag.

Secondly, that bishops should not saile ouer importunate Ad comitatum. Thirdlie, that if any priest or deacon were wrongfullie excommunicate by the bishops of their owne prouince, it should be lawfull for them to remoone the hearing and iudging of their cause to their neighbour bishops. Fourthlie, that Urbanus their bishop, either should be excommunicated, or else sent vp to Rome, vnlesse he would correct those things that were to be corrected, &c. For the approbation whereof, the said Zosimus alleaged for him the words (as hee pretended) taken out of Nicene councell. The councell of Carthage hearing this, and remembring no such thing in the councell of Nice to be decreed, and yet not suspecting the bishop of Rome, to dare wrongfully to falsifie the words of that councell, writeth againe to Zosimus, declaring that they neuer read to their remembrance, in their common Latine exemplar of Nicen councell any such canon; yet notwithstanding for quietnesse sake, they would obserue the same till time they might procure the originall copies of that councell to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to pope Boniface, which then succeeded Zosimus. And thirdly also to Celestinus, which shortly after succeeded Boniface.

Urbanus excommunicate.

The popes of Rome taken with the manner in falsifying the decree of Nicene councell.

In the meane time this foresaid councell sent their legates, Marcellus and Innocentius to Atticus patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyrillus patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentike copies in Greeke of Nicen councell, which being sent vnto them, and they finding in the true originals no such canon, as the bishop of Rome had falsely forged, they wrote a sharpe and an handsome letter to Celestinus bishop of Rome, calling him in the said letter by the way: Domine frater: declaring to him, how they had perused all the copies of the councell of Nice, & could find no such canon as here and his predecessours had falsely alleaged, and therewithall reciting the first canon afore mentioned, declared how the decrees of Nicen councell had committed all and singuler persons ecclesiasticall, as well bishops as other, vnto the charge of their metropolitans. Moreouer expounding the same decree, they shewed the reasons thereof.

The bishop of Rome called Dominus frater, that is, brother bishop.

Bishops of Rome proued falsifiers of Nicen councell.

1 For that (said they) the fathers of that councell did well foresee, to be most iust and conuenient, that all controuersies there be ended (In isdem locis) where they begin. 1

2 For that it is not to be supposed contrarie, but that the grace of God will be as prest & readie in one prouince as in an other, to instruct his ministers both prudently to vnderstand iudge- 2

The foure patriarchs appointed by the councell of Nice.

Ex Concil. Nicen. Ex Concil. Constantinop. cap. 36.

iudgement, and constantly to maintaine the same.

3 3 For that there is no need to seeke further to any outlandish helpe, because specially that the party wholsoeuer is not contented with the determination of his iudges or commissioners, may lawfully appeale either to the prouinciall or to any generall councell.

4 4 That way to be better, than to runne to any forren iudge, it must needs be granted; because it is not like that our God will inspire his iustice and truth of examining vnto one bishop, and deny it to a multitude congregated in a whole councell.

Curry courtie to appeale first to his owne archbishop, or conclo to a prouinciall or generall councell.

5 5 Neither can it be, that any such outlandish iudgement in hearing and determining causes, can stand perfect and vpright, for that the necessary persons of witnesses, either for infirmitie of sex, of age, of sickneslle, or some other impeachment, are not able to be present, by whom the truth of the sentence should be directed. Wherefore as by these and other reasons they thought it not conuenient from thence to bring their matters ouer vnto Rome: so neither was it to be found, said they, by any councell of the old fathers decreed, that any legates should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said bishop of Rome, that he would not induce Fumosum typum (or rather as I may call it) typhos seculi, in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis & humilitatis præfert iis qui Deum diligunt, that is, That he would not induce the swelling pride of the world into the church of Christ, which church shewed and giueth the light of simplicitie and of humilitie to such as loue to be Gods, &c. In these foresaid letters moreouer is signified, how the forenamed malefactors Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome before had absolued and received to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable, and therefore the councell proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and to intombed him bue penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the bishop of Rome before proceeding.

Fumosum typhos secuti.

Summarie noting gathered out of the councell of Carthage against the pope.

2 In sum, out of this councell of Carthage these are to be noted. First, how glad the bishops of Rome were to receiue such as came to them so succour.

2 2 What pride they take by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to haue all vnder their subiection.

3 3 To the intent to allure other to seeke to them, how readily they were to release and quit this Apiarius as guiltlesse, with after was tried culpable by his owne confession.

4 4 How contrary to the acts and doings of the Romish bishop, this councell condemned him, whom the said bishop of Rome before had absolued, little respecting the proceedings of the Romish church.

5 5 How the bishops of old time haue been fautiers of ancient councels and writings, whereby it may be suspected that they which shamed not to falsifie and corrupt the councell of Nice, much lesse would they sticke to abuse and falsifie the decretall epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their owne aduantage, as no doubt they haue done many one.

6 6 In this foresaid councell, whereat Augustine himselfe was present, and where Aurelius president of the same was called Papa, the bishop of Rome was called expressile in their letters, but bishop of the citie of Rome, and Dominus frater, that is, Brother bishop.

7 7 Secuerthly, the dominion of this Roman patriarch, in the said councell of Carthage, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of Afrike to appeale ouer the sea to him, nor for him to send ouer his legates to them for ending their controuersies. Whereby it may sufficiently appeare, that the Bishop of Rome in those daies was not fully admitted to be the chiefe of all other bishops, nor the head of the vniuersall church of Christ in earth, &c.

8 8 We heare in this councell, fiue causes or reasons giuen, why it is not necessarie nor yet conuenient for all forren causes to be brought to one vniuersall head or iudge, as is before recited.

9 9 Lastly, by the said councell of Carthage, we heare a vertuous exhortation to be giuen to the bishop of Rome, that he would not induce into the meeke and humble church of Christ, the cunning and swelling pride of the world, as is before declared, &c. In this, or in some other councell of Carthage, it was moreouer prouided by expresse law, and also specified in the popes decrees, that no bishop of the first seat, should be called the prince of priests, or the chiefe priest, or any such like thing; but only the bishop of the first seat, as followeth more in the said decree: Vniuersalis autem, nec ciam Romanus pontifex appelletur, that is, Be it enacted, that no bishop, no not the bishop of Rome be called vniuersall bishop, &c. And thus much concerning this foresaid councell of Carthage.

Dist. 99. cap. fedes episc.

The highest title is belonging to a bishop is to be called the bishop of the first seat.

The bishop of Rome forbidden to be called vniuersall bishop.

Synodus Milevitana.

Not long before this councell, was celebrate in Afrike an other councell, called Synodus Mileuitana, about the yeere of our Lord 445, at the which councell also S. Augustine was present, where it was decreed vnder paine of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeale ouer the sea to the bishop of Rome. Whereby it may appeare that the bishop of Rome all this space was not vniuersally called by the terme of oecumenicall or vniuersall bishop, but bishop of the first seat: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the recurrence of the place, and not in the authoritie of the person. And yet it was not to in the place, that the place importeth the citie of Rome onely, but the first seat then was called metropolitan church, as by the words of the Nicene councell, and other constitutions mo is to be seene, where the foure patriarchs were called πρωτοι, οι πρωτοθρονοι, or πρωτοθρονες. as namely, by the words of y councel of Carthage may appeare, which be these: εἰ μήτε τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἢ τὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις τεθειμένα ἐκάστης ἐπισκόπου τόπου ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ προσῆκον τῷ κατ' ἐξαίρετον λόγῳ, that is, Except he haue some special licence or exception, by the consent of the first seat of the proper bishop in euery countrie, that is, of him that is the primat in the said countrie, &c. Also the words of the can. 39. of the councell of Carthage, before touched be these, ὥστε τὸν πρῶτον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον ἢ ἀρχιερέα, ἢ ἄλλον τοιοῦτόν τι ὄνομα, that is, That the bishop of the first seat be not called prince of priests, or head priest, or else any such like. Against Antetius the tenth bishop of Rome, and pope Stephan and pope Felix, making a difference betweene primate and metropolitane, writeth thus: Licitio archiepiscopus de ordinates, but onely such as haue the first seat, &c. Thus it is made plaine, how the bishop of the first seat, or first bishop, or primate is none other, but he which was called patriarch, and belonged not onely to the church of Rome, but to all such cities and places, where as before among the Gentiles were Primi flamines, &c. dist. 80. cap. 8. 9. 10. & in illis. Where by the way is to be noted the repugnance or contrarietie of such as craftily but falsely haue counterfeited the popes decretall epistles, which besides other great and many coniectures also hereby may be gathered. For where Clement, Anacletus, epi. 1. 2. Anicetus and other, ioyning together the office of patriarches and primates doe diuide the same from the order of metropolitans or archbishops, alleaging therein the constitution of the apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the canons of the apostles, by the councell of Nice, and by the councell of Antioch with other mo. For in the canons of the apostles, where in euerie canon almost, mention is made of bishops, priests, and deacons, no word is there touched, neither of any other as bone the bishop, or leiuer then the deacon, saue onely in the thirtie three canon, setting an order among bishops the canon willeth the bishops of euery nation to know their first or chiefe bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but the head of those bishops. And where not in Rome onely, but plainely and expresse in euery nation, for to the words purport, τὸν ἐπισκοπον ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, that is, The bishops of euerie nation ought to know the first or chiefe among them, &c. Moreouer, the councell of Antioch reciting the foresaid canon word for word, expounded the matter plainely, in stead of τὸν πρῶτον, writing τὸν μητροπόλεως πρωτοστάτα ἐπίσκοπον: which is as much to say, as metropolitan; and in the end of the said canon, calleth him τὸν μητροπόλεος ἐπίσκοπον, Id est, metropolitanum, 6. q. 3. per singulas. Whereby it is concluded, that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus, and Anicetus be reported, but falsedelie, to put a difference betweene primats or patriarches, and metropolitans, or archbishops. Whereas by sufficient authoritie it is to be proued, that in the old church both primats, first bishops, bishops of the first seat, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops of the mother citie, and archbishops were all one. First, that primats and metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the councell of Antioch aforesaid. Againe, that patriarches and archbishops were all one, it is euident Ex Novella Iustinians cap. 3. vnto the said constitution reciting the foure patriarchs (aboue mentioned) called them by the name of archbishops. And a little after called they the patriarch of Constantinople archbishop, by these words: οὐ τίνες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην ὄντα διάφερον εἶναι: that is, Which be vnder the archbishop & patriarch of Constantinople. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placing these foresaid persons first beginning with bishops, then ouer them setteth the metropolitan, and ouer him againe, the archbishop, and there staieth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whole words be these, τίνὲς ἐπίσκοποι ἢ ὁ κατὰ χρόνον ὄντες τοῦ τόπου μητροπολίτου ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον, ὑφ' ὃν τελᾷ. that is, If a bishop be accused, the metropolitane to haue the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the metropolitane be accused, then the archbishop to haue the hearing thereof, vnder whom he diuideth and pertaineth, &c.

Bishop of the first seat what is meaneth.

Conci. Car. cano. 23.

Concil. Car. Cano. 39.

Ex epist. decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

Repugnance betweene the constitutions of Iustinian, and the epistles decretall.

Dist. 80. cap. Pelei & Iota. ibid. ex in illis.

Bishop Metropolitane Bishop of the first see, Primat, Patriarch, Archbishop, Chiefe Bishop: termes vsed in the primitiue time of the church.

The papists in their decrees contrarie to themselues.

And in the same constitution moreouer, εἰδὲ καὶ παρὰ πλείοσιν ἄλλον οἰκοῦντα τοῦ πρωτεύοντος ἐπίσκοπον γνῷ, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διευκρινάτω, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ κεκριμένου ἀντέσεως, ἐκεῖ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πρὸ πατριαρχῶν διοικήσεως ἐκεῖσε ἀναφερέσθω τὸ πρᾶγμα, &c.





Archbishop and Metropolitane not to be both one.

An item against the forged epistles decretall.

Clement. epist. 1. Anacl. epist. 2. art. 4. Anicet. epi. art. 2.

Distinct. 39. cap. Nulli Archiepiscop. Stephæ. epist. art. 5.

If any sute or supplication be brought against a bishop by a minister, first the metropolitane to haue the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the iudgement thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the archbishop, &c.

In this constitution of Iustinian, although the metropolitane bee placed aboue the bishop, and the archbishop aboue the metropolitane: yet notwithstanding by this is sufficientlie confuted the forged constitution of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephanus, and Felix: who in their epistles decretall, ioine together in one forme and order, both archbishop and metropolitane, and aboue them both do place the patriarch, and aboue the patriarch the apostolicall see, to wit the bishop of Rome, as may appeare in reading the first epistle of Clement: In illis autem ciuitatibus, &c. The second epistle of Anacletus, art. 4. prouincie. dist. 99. ca. Nulli archiepiscop. Also the epistle of pope Stephan I first, art. 5. (where note by the way, that Gratianus referreth this place of the epistle to pope Lucius) Item the epistle of pope Felix the second, art. 12. In all which foresaid epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken, that the first and principall place is giuen to primats or patriarchs, the second to metropolitans, or archbishops, the third to bishops, and finally aboue all these is extolled the apostolicall see of the bishop of Rome, as contrary to all that which before hath been alleaged out of Iustinian, the councell of Nice and of Antioch, &c. Whereby it may appeare, that either Iustinian in preferring archbishops aboue metropolitans, did not read these epistles decretall, if they were vnfeined; or if they were forged, they which forged the said Epistles in their names, did not well aduise that Iustinian had written in this matter before.

Thus then these titles, that a bishop, a metropolitane, bishop of the first see, primat, patriarch, archbishop, that is to meane, chiefe bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his prouince, we denie not but were in the old time applied & might bee applied to the bishop of Rome, like as the same also were applied to other patriarchs in other chiefe cities and prouinces.

As touching the name likewise of the high priest, or high priesthood, now challenged by the bishop of Rome from scripture, monuments and records of ancient times, but in such wise and sort as it hath beene common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop or see. Whereof testimony we haue out of the seuenth generall councell, dist. 38. ca. Omnes, where the bishops office is called Summū sacerdotium, The hie priesthood, in these words: Substãtia summi sacerdotij nostri iuxta eloquia diuina & traditiones scripturarum disciplina, &c. that is, The substance (say they) of our high priesthood, is the word of discipline of holy scriptures giuen vs from aboue, &c.

Dist. 83. ca. Omnes, summus sacerdos. Summum sacerdotium.

Ex concilio Agathens. 12. q. 2. cap. Pontifices.

And likewise the councell of Agatha maketh relation De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis, Of bishops set in the high priesthood, meaning not of any one, but indifferentlie and indifferently of bishoprikes in 12. q. 2. cap. Pontifices. Also Fabianus bishop of Rome, in the yeare of the Lord 240. writing in generall to his brethren, and to all bishops and ministers ecclesiasticall, doth attribute to them the same title of Summum sacerdotium, in these words: Deus ergò, fratres, qui præordinauit vos, & omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur &c. God (sayth he) prepaained you brethren, & all them which beare the office of high priesthood, &c. cap. 6. q. 3. per singulos. Item Cyprianus bishop of the said citie of Rome, in the yeare of our Lord, 420. as witnesseth dist. 59. cap. 1. who speaketh De summo sacerdotio, that is, Of high priesthood, not onely of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. Urbanus the first was bishop of Rome in the yeare of Christ 226. who of his writings alleaged by Gratian, referreth the name & place Summi pontificis, or the high bishop, not onely to the seat of Rome, but indifferently to euery bishop, as appeareth in the wordes of the dist. 51. cap. Si officia, &c.

Cano. apo. 34. The first bishop or head bishop coupled, bold is to be taken.

Anisech. con. cap. 9. 6. q. 3. per singulas. Whereby it is concluded, that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus, and Anicetus be reported, but falsedelie, to put a difference betweene primats or patriarches, and metropolitans, or archbishops. Whereas by sufficient authoritie it is to be proued, that in the old church both primats, first bishops, bishops of the first seat, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops of the mother citie, and archbishops were all one. First, that primats and metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the councell of Antioch aforesaid. Againe, that patriarches and archbishops were all one, it is euident Ex Novella Iustinians cap. 3. vnto the said constitution reciting the foure patriarchs (aboue mentioned) called them by the name of archbishops. And a little after called they the patriarch of Constantinople archbishop, by these wordes: οὐ τίνες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ πατριάρχην ὄντα διάφερον εἶναι: that is, Which be vnder the archbishop & patriarch of Constantinople. And after speaking more plainly in the matter, setteth an other order, diuers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placing these foresaid persons first beginning with bishops, then ouer them setteth the metropolitan, and ouer him againe, the archbishop, and there staieth, making no further mention of any other aboue him: whole words be these, τίνὲς ἐπίσκοποι ἢ ὁ κατὰ χρόνον ὄντες τοῦ τόπου μητροπολίτου ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἴη, τὸν μακαριώτατον, ὑφ' ὃν τελᾷ. that is, If a bishop be accused, the metropolitane to haue the examination of those things that are brought against him; if the metropolitane be accused, then the archbishop to haue the hearing thereof, vnder whom he diuideth and pertaineth, &c.

Dist. 99 cap. Anacletus.

Ex Nouel. Iust. Imperat.

Ex Feba. 1. dist. 51. cap. Si officia.

Summus orbis pontifex.

Ex Eraſm. epist. lib. 3. epist. 1. art. 23.

Now then because this title Constantinople, to take the name of vniuersall Bishop.

Ex quinta Synodo vniuersalis, actione prima, cap. post. constantinum. Thal. cap. dom. in sexto.

Now whether this title of vniuersall bishop, as Mennas and especially Iohannes patriarch of Constantinople, who calling a councell at Constantinople, went about to stablish and ratifie and to dignifie his throne by the consent of the councell, and the emperour of Constantinople, and obteined the same: as appeareth in the fift generall councell of Constantinople, act. the first, where both Menna is named Oecumenicus patriarchanum, and also Ioannes in the said councell is titled Oecumenicus patriarcha ex concil. general. 5. cap. Domino. Concerning the which title although it was then vsed in Constantinople through the sufferance of the emperours, being then willing to haue their imperiall citie aduanced: yet notwithstanding this foresaid title, all this while was not in the citie of Rome. And in Constantinople it then had not been in force (saue aliquo diuino) but onely by mans lawe. And thirdly it was then but vsed verbalis titulus: hauing no true domination vpon all other churches, or any realt subiection belonging to the same; For asmuch as neither the bishop of Rome, nor anie of the west churches were subiect or did acknowledge seruice vnto them, but rather did repugne the same: namely Pelagius the second, and Gregorius the first both bishops at that time of Rome, which Pelagius writing to all Bishops, saith plainely in these wordes: that No patriarch should take the name of vniuersality at any time, because that if any be called vniuersall, the name of patriarch is derogate from all other. But let this be far, saith he, from all faithfull men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honor of all his brethren is diminished. Wherefore the said Pelagius chargeth all such bishops, that none of them in their letters vse name any patriarch to be vniuersall, least hee take from himselfe the honour due to him, while they giue that which is not one to another. What can be more euident than these wordes of Pelagius, who was Bishop of Rome next before Gregorie, Anno 583. In like manner or more plainelie, and more earnestlie writeth also Gregorie of this matter in his register, praising and disputing that no man ought to be called vniuersall bishop. Moreouer, with sharpe wordes and rebukes detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, peruerse, wicked, prophane, and such as to consent vnto it, is as much as to denie the faith. Hee addeth further and saith, that Whosoeuer goeth about to extoll himselfe aboue other bishops, in so doing followeth the fact of Lucifer, to whome it was not sufficient to be counted equall or like vnto other angelles. In his epistles how oft doth he repeat and declare the same to repugne directly against the gospell, and auncient decrees of councels? affirming that none of his predecessours did euer vsurpe to himselfe that title or title, and concludeth that whosoeuer so doth, declareth himselfe to bee a forerunner of antichrist, &c. With this iudgement of Gregorie well agreeth also the words of S. Augustine, lib. 3. cap. 3. de Baptismo, where reciting the words of Cyprian, he thus saith: Neque enim quisquam nostrum se episcopum episcopum constituit, aut tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem colegas suos adigit, &c. that is, For none of vs doth euer set himselfe to be bishop of bishops, or after a tyrannicall manner doth subdue and bring vnder his fellowes vnto the necessitie of his obedience, &c. By these words of Cyprian, and Augustine, it is manifest that in their time was no supremasie, or vniuersall title among bishops receiued, nor that anie great reuerence was had to the bishop of Rome (as Pius the second saith, epist. 201.) before the councell of Nice. And after in that councell the said bishop of Rome had no further authoritie to him limited, than onely

Gregory against the vniuersalitie of the Bishop of Constantinople.

Augu. lib. 3. cap. 3. de baptis. contra Ena.

So the bishops of Bishops receiued vnder by Cyprian & Austine.

Ex Pius Secun. in ep. 301.

The power of Emperours in matters of faith.

Ex Arrerio lib. 12. cap. 3.

onelie ouer his prouince, and places suburbane, bordering about the citie of Rome. Against whose primacie diuerse cities also did resist long after that, as the church of Ravenna, Mediolanes his, and Aquileiensis. Also the Greeke churches long resisted the same, so did the churches of Asia, Rutenicæ, Moscouiticæ, Volachicæ, and other mo.

But to returne againe to Gregorie, who confirming the sentence of Pelagius his predecessor above mentioned, gaue no small occasion about this title matter, both vnto the patriarch, and vnto the Emperour of Constantinople, as witnesseth Antonius, and other, &c. The bishop is thus. After that John being made of a monke, patriarch of Constantinople, by his flatterie and hypocrisie, had obtained of Mauricius the emperour to be exalted aboue other bishops, with the name of vniuersall patriarch, and that he would write to Gregorie bishop then of Rome, for his consent concerning the same: Gregory abiding still in his constancy, did set himselfe stoutly against that ambitious title, and would giue no place. At the same time the Lombards had inuaded the countrie of Italie, and the citie of Rome, the Emperor keeping then at Constantinople, and setting in Italie an ouerseer called Exarchus, to rule in Ravenna. Gregorie perceiuing the Emperor Mauricius to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the empresse, arguing and declaring in his letters, that presumption and pride of him to be vniuersall patriarch, was both against the rule of the gospel, and decrees of the canons, namelie, the first canon of y Nicen councell, and the nouelitie of that newfound title to declare nothing else, but that the time of antichrist was neere. Vpon this, Mauricius the Emperor taking displeasure with him, calleth home his soldiers against the Italie, and incited the Lombards against the Romans: who buisy their king Agiulphus, thereupon contracte to their league made before, set vpon the city of Rome, and besieged it a whole yeare together, Gregorie yet notwithstanding still remaining in his former constancie. After these afflictions thus ouerpast, Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him vniuersall pope: vnto whom Gregorie refusing the same, answereth against as followeth.

## The letter of Gregory to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

The answere of Gregorie to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria.

BEhold: in the preface of your epistle directed to me, ye haue vsed a word of a proud name, calling me vniuersall pope, which I pray your holines you will cease hereafter to doe, for that is derogated from you, whatsoeuer is attributed to another more than right and reason requireth. As for me I seeke not mine aduancement in words, but in manners: neither do I account that any honor, wherein the honor of my brethren I see to be hindered: for my honor I take to be the honor of the vniuersall church: my honor is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I honoured when to no man is denied the due honor which to him belongeth. For if your holines cal me vniuersall pope, in so doing you deny your selfe to bee that, which ye affirme me to be, vniuersall: but that God forbid. Let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puffe vp vanity, and wound charity, &c.

Dist. 99. cap. Nouerit.

Gregorie refuseth the name of vniuersall pope.

Now here to let passe to infer all such letters and epistles of his, concerning this matter, written to the Empero? Mauricius and Constantina the Empresse, but that shal more largely appeare hereafter (Christ willing) in the bodie of the historie, when we come to the peare and time of Gregorie, which was well nigh about five hundred yeares after Christ. In the meane season this is sufficient to declare, how the church of Rome with the name and title of vniuersall supremacie now vsed and maintained, hath vtterly swarued from the ancient steps of the primitiue church of Rome.

Now let vs see what the aduersarie side hath to obiect against for the title of their vniuersalitie, or rather singularitie. And first here commeth in a blinde cauillation of a certaine scripture, who gloseth vpon the words of Pelagius aboue recited, labouring to colour the plaine text with a subtile vncouthnesse, as though the sense of the canon were this, not to denie there the state of supremacie: Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse vniuersalem Episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quod esset cunctæ ecclesiæ proprius rector, ita quòd nullus alius esset episcopus, &c. that is, Not to denie there, that anie may bee vniuersall bishop after this sense and meaning onelie, to that he should be the proper pastor of euerie church alone, and that there should be to other bishop but he himselfe, &c. This goeth this sophister about to dash out this text, but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did John the patriarch then seeke anie such thing, to be bishop and proper pastor of euerie church alone; nor if he had, the councell of Chalcedon and the emperor Iustinian would neuer haue agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, that this glozer denieth Pelagius, heere to forbid the primacie or supremacie of that patriarch, which indeed is the onelie intent of Pelagius in that canon, witnessing as well other historiographers, as namelie, Anton. tit. 12. cap. 3. par. 13. and also the glose ordinarie vpon the same canon, &c.

A sophisticall cauillation vpon the words of Pelagius and Gregory answered.

Out of the same fountaine springeth the like or heric same reason of late reuiued by a certaine new start English clerke in these our daies, who answering to the places of Gregorie touching the said matter, laboureth to auoid the cleare authoritie of him, by a like blind cauillation, saying that John bishop of Constantinople, by this title of vniuersall bishop, vnderstood himselfe onely to be a bishop, and none else. And that Gregorie in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to proue this to be the verie meaning of Gregorie, he reciteth the words of Gregorie written to the said John archbishop of Constantinople as followeth: Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, vt episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandóque perductus es, vt despectis fratribus episcopus apperas solus vocari: that it to saie, For thou (John bishop of Constantinople) which sometime diddest grant thy selfe vnworthie the name of a bishop, art now come to this, that thou doost seeke to be called a bishop alone, &c. Vpon this word Episcopus solus, this gloser would ground a surmise, that Gregorie did find fault with the archbishop, not for anie primacie which he sought for: aboue other bishops, but onelie for that he coueted to be a bishop and pastor alone in euery church, in such sort, as there should be no other bishop nor pastor else, but himselfe onely. But as is saide, that was neuer the bishops seeking, nor the matter of Gregories reprehension. For the said Archbishop of Constantinople went not about to be bishop alone (which was too much absurd, and also impossible) but to bee vniuersall alone: nor to take awaie the office from other, but the honour from other: not to depose them, but to despise them. And therefore saith Gregory, Vt despectis fratribus, not Depositis fratribus: to that this word Solus import not a depriuing of others, not a bereauing of other, and impositeth a singularitie in condition aboue other, and not the office or substance of ministration without other, that is, to be vniuersall among manie, and not be one alone without anie, nor to diminish the number of them, but onlie to increase the honour to himselfe. For the more euident probation thereof (although the thing of it selfe is so euident, that it needeth no proofe) I will vse more plaine, than the words themselues of Pelagius and Gregorie: wherewith they charge him for naming before his brethren, for challenging superioritie aboue them, for diminishing their honour, by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the angell of pride in exalting himselfe, in admitting that to him, which the bishops of Rome and their predecessours had refused, being offered to them before, &c. All which declare that he sought not to thrust out all other bishops out of their churches, and but to be himselfe alone. For that was neuer offered to the bishops of Rome by the councell of Chalcedon, that they should be bishops alone, and none other. Neither did Lucifer seeke to haue no moe angels in all heauen but himselfe, but he to be aboue all other alone.

A double vntruth in one popish argument. Peter how he had charge and not charge of the church. The first vntruth in this argument. The dignitie of the church aboue the apostles.

Vide Balsam. consil. 169. lib. 3. secundum rationem impressionem & secund. vet. consil. 359. lib. 1.

Likewise the word Præcurrere, that is, To runne before another, in the epistle of Pelagius, declareth that John sought not to be bishop alone, but bishop vniuersall. Wee saie not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone, and no man followeth him, that is not properly Præcurrere, but Solus currere. Moreouer, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, hee seeketh not to take awaie other bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to him. For where no inferior is, there can be no superior, for simple and together are correlatiues, and infer a necessary respect mutually. And if it were true in this glozer saith, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that councell either haue granted that vnto him, or haue offered it to the bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serue all churches, without anie fellow bishop to helpe him? And where this forsaide clearke standeth so much vpon the words of S. Gregory: Solus episcopus: Gregorie by those words shall oppunne Gregory, and himselues shall declare another. Therefore if this diuine (whatsoeuer he be, doctor or bachelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what (onelie bishop) meaneth in this place: an other place of the said Gregorie may instruct him, where Gregorie writing to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, giueth this reason why he refused the same title offered to him (which then was offered to the said John patriarch of Constantinople) saying: Quia videlicet in vnus patriarcha omnes falli dicitur, patriarchæ omnes cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc, &c. That is to say: For if one alone would bee called a patriarch vniuersall, then should the name of patriarchs be derogated from all other, &c. Whereby two things are to be noted: First, what thing it was which the patriarch of Constantinople did seeke, for Gregorie here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was giuen to John which was to be called patriarch vniuersall. The second thing to be noted, is the cause why Gregory did rebuke this title, both giuen to John, and offred to him, because (saith he) if one take vpon him the name of vniuersall patriarch, then is the name patriarch taken from the rest. As who would say: if I would take vpon me to be named vniuersall patriarch, then should there be no other patriarch, but I should be bishop patriarch alone. And here commeth in your Solus episcopus, &c.

Pelag. 2. epist. 2.

Office of teaching giuen by dominion further than in the booke.

Peter in no point excelleth the rest of the apostles.

Ex epist. Greg. 36. lib. 4.

Dextræ societatis.

Furthermore the same Gregorie speaking of the said Solus, in an other place by, seemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in these words as follow: Ve & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur: that is to saie: So that he would be subiect to none, and would be chiefetaine to all other alone, &c. And so by this place may the other place be expounded, Vt solus episcopus fieri, qui solus inter episcopos præesse appetat, that is, he that seeketh to be as bishop alone, who alone seeketh to be exalted aboue other bishops. But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words: he that thus cauilleth vpon this place Solus Episcopus in Gregorie, must be desired here not to take Solus alone, but ioyne twitall the two going before, which is, Despectis fratribus. By the which might seeme sufficiently declared, what Gregory meant by Solus Episcopus, meaning, that to despise other bishops, and to diminish their honor, to set vp his owne, and to be subiect to none, but to preferre himselfe inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this obiection.

Another obiection of our aduersaries is this: Although (say they) no bishop of Rome was euer called, or would bee called by the name of vniuersall bishop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be heads of the vniuersall church. Their reason is this:

Another obiection resolued.

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the testimonie of Gregorie) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuersall apostle:

So no more absurd it is for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to haue the charge thereof, although he be not called vniuersall bishop, &c.

Wherein is a double vntruth to be noted, first in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to haue the charge of the whole church: if we take here (charge or heed) in a commun or matter vp to all: for so Peter, were committed to Peter, before the rest of the apostles, which bee but seruants to Christ and to the church: yea and though they were princes of the church, yet after the mind of Waldus, Magic accordeth more to a princelie, quiet and idle life, than to this word (charge) he meant only the office and diligence of teaching: to that I answere: The same Lord that said to Peter, Feed my sheepe, said also to the other, Goe and preach this gospell to all nations. And he that said to Peter, Whatsoeuer you loosell, said also to the other, Whatsoeuer ye remit in the earth. Moreouer if the matter go by preaching, Paul the apostle laboured more therein, than euer did Peter by his owne confession. Plus laboraui, also he suffered more for the same, Plus sustinui, neither was his doctrine lesse sound. Yea and in one point hee went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolemaster vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him iustlie corrected: Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not alwaies nor in all things a point of mastership, but sometime a point of seruice. As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he perhaps teach him in the chiefe faculties: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulnesse of power vpon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his household, to prescribe his lawes, to rule his lands, and such other. Wherefore seeing in trauell of teaching, in paines of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largenesse of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiuing the Holie ghost, in vehemencie of torments and death for Christes sake, the other apostles were nothing inferiour to Peter: why Peter then should claime any speciall prerogatiue aboue the rest, I vnderstand no cause. As indeed he neuer claimed any, but the patrons of the apostolicall see doe claime it for him, which he neuer claimed himselfe: neither if he were here, would no lesse abhorre it with soule and conscience, than we doe now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any bantage to ourselues, but onelie for the vehemencie of truth, and zeale to Christ and to his congregation. Moreouer, if these men would needs haue Peter to be the curat and ouerseer of the whole vniuersall church (which was too much for one man to take charge of) and to be prince of all other apostles, then would I faine learne of them, what meaneth (Dextræ societatis) the right hand of societie betweene Peter, Paul, and Barnabe, mentioned, Gal. 2. What taking of hands, and giuing the pledges and right hand of fellowship: Mr where fellowship is, what mastership is there? Mr againe, what state of mastership is it like that Christ would giue to Peter, who being indeed maister of all, tooke such little mastership vpon himselfe, and that not onelie in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that Peter in diuers places of the gospell hath his commendation, neither doe I denie Peter to be worthie of the same. But yet these words of commendation giue to him no state of superioritie, or iurisdiction vpon all other, to haue all vnder his subiection. As if a schoolemaster should haue more speciall charge to some one of his scholers

Ex epist. Greg. 38. lib. 4.

Furthermore the same Gregorie speaking of the said Solus, in an other place by, seemeth to declare there what he meaneth by this Solus here, in these words as follow: Ve & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur: that is to saie: So that



An obiection of a certaine late English writer refuted.

for his riper towardnesse: yet this giueth him no fulnesse of authoritie, or power coactiue vpon the rest, vnlesse by speciall admission he be deputed thereunto. Wherefore, nothing can be gathered of Peter, for if it be true that S. Augustine saith, that such things as were spoken to Peter, haue no lightsome vnderstanding, except they be referred to the church, whereof Peter did beare a figure: then hath the person of Peter nothing to claime by these words, but all redounded to the church, which being meant by Peter, hath power by this reason, both ouer the person of Peter, and all other persons in the Lord.

Augustin. in præfat. psal. 103.

But here stumbleth in an argument of our aduersarie againe, which he in the margeut of his booke calleth an inuincible argument drawne out of the bowels of S. John Chrysostome lib. 2. de Sacerd. Whereby he supposeth to haue giuen vs heere not to take Solus alone, but ioyne twitall the two going before, which is, Despectis fratribus. By the which might seeme sufficiently declared, what Gregory meant by Solus Episcopus, meaning, that to despise other bishops, and to diminish their honor, to set vp his owne, and to be subiect to none, but to preferre himselfe inequally before all others, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this obiection.

Answer to an inuincible argument vpon-ding by Chrysostome the whole church to be committed to S. Peter.

Another obiection of our aduersaries is this: Although (say they) no bishop of Rome was euer called, or would bee called by the name of vniuersall bishop: yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not to be heads of the vniuersall church. Their reason is this:

Chrysost. lib. 2. de sacerd.

As S. Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the testimonie of Gregorie) committed vnto him, although he were not called vniuersall apostle:

So no more absurd it is for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to haue the charge thereof, although he be not called vniuersall bishop, &c.

Wherein is a double vntruth to be noted, first in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to haue the charge of the whole church: if we take here (charge or heed) in a commun or matter vp to all: for so Peter, were committed to Peter, before the rest of the apostles, which bee but seruants to Christ and to the church: yea and though they were princes of the church, yet after the mind of Waldus, Magic according to princelie, quiet and idle life, than to this word (charge) he meant only the office and diligence of teaching: to that I answere: The same Lord that said to Peter, Feed my sheepe, said also to the other, Goe and preach this gospell to all nations. And he that said to Peter, Whatsoeuer you loosell, said also to the other, Whatsoeuer ye remit in the earth. Moreouer if the matter go by preaching, Paul the apostle laboured more therein, than euer did Peter by his owne confession. Plus laboraui, also he suffered more for the same, Plus sustinui, neither was his doctrine lesse sound. Yea and in one point hee went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolemaster vnto Peter, whereas Peter was by him iustlie corrected: Gal. 2. Furthermore, teaching is not alwaies nor in all things a point of mastership, but sometime a point of seruice. As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he perhaps teach him in the chiefe faculties: yet it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulnesse of power vpon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his household, to prescribe his lawes, to rule his lands, and such other. Wherefore seeing in trauell of teaching, in paines of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largenesse of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiuing the Holie ghost, in vehemencie of torments and death for Christes sake, the other apostles were nothing inferiour to Peter: why Peter then should claime any speciall prerogatiue aboue the rest, I vnderstand no cause. As indeed he neuer claimed any, but the patrons of the apostolicall see doe claime it for him, which he neuer claimed himselfe: neither if he were here, would no lesse abhorre it with soule and conscience, than we doe now: and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any bantage to ourselues, but onelie for the vehemencie of truth, and zeale to Christ and to his congregation. Moreouer, if these men would needs haue Peter to be the curat and ouerseer of the whole vniuersall church (which was too much for one man to take charge of) and to be prince of all other apostles, then would I faine learne of them, what meaneth (Dextræ societatis) the right hand of societie betweene Peter, Paul, and Barnabe, mentioned, Gal. 2. What taking of hands, and giuing the pledges and right hand of fellowship: Mr where fellowship is, what mastership is there? Mr againe, what state of mastership is it like that Christ would giue to Peter, who being indeed maister of all, tooke such little mastership vpon himselfe, and that not onelie in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that Peter in diuers places of the gospell hath his commendation, neither doe I denie Peter to be worthie of the same. But yet these words of commendation giue to him no state of superioritie, or iurisdiction vpon all other, to haue all vnder his subiection. As if a schoolemaster should haue more speciall charge to some one of his scholers

Dextræ societatis.

Peter in no point excelleth the rest of the apostles.

The succeedors of Peter.

Hilarius, lib. 6.

Augustin. in Ioan. tract. 124.

Hieron. epist. ad Eustrium.

For this cause and fashion, and out of the same figure, the sayns author patcheth moreouer another argument, prouing that the bishop of Rome was tituled the head of Christes church, in the primitiue time of the old ancestors, before the age of Gregorie. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure:

Saint Peter was called by the ancient fathers, head of

An argument of the papists.

Answer to the argument.

Christs church:

Saint Peter was bishop of Rome:

Ergo, the bishop of Rome was called head of the church in the old ancient time.

This argument sopositticke being cloated vp in the third figure, and concluding singularely, hath rather a shew of an argument, than maketh any necessarie conclusion, standing vpon no mood in the said figure, if the author thereof were put to his triall. Albeit to leaue the same, and to come to the matter of the argument. First, how well will he dispatch himselfe of the maior, and prooue vs that S. Peter although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and suffered at Rome: yet that he was bishop and proper ordinarie of that citie and speciall see of Rome? As touching the allegation of Alditus, Optatus, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierome, Epiphanius, and Augustine brought forth for his most aduantage, to proue his maior: thus I answer concerning Dionisius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hierom and Augustine, that where they speake of S. Peters chaire, or planting the faith at Rome, straightway this man argueth thereupon, that Peter was bishop of Rome: But that doth not cleerely follow. For the office of the apostles was to plant the faith in all places, and in euery region, yet were they not bishops in euery region. And as for the chaire, as it is no difference essentiall that maketh a bishop (for so much as a doctour may haue a chaire, and yet be no bishop) so cannot he conclude by the chaire of Peter, that S. Peter was bishop of Rome. For at this preacher no further, but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the faith of Christ, as Paul did also, no perauenture in a chaire likewise: yet we say not that Paul was therefore bishop of Rome: but that he was there as an apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feet, or sitting in a chaire. In the scripture commonly the chaire signifieth doctrine or iudgement, as sitting also declareth such as teach or iudge, whether they sit in the chaire of Moises, or in the chaire of pestilence. Planting likewise is a word apostolicall, and signifieth not onely the office of a bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent, He sat, he taught, he planted at Rome, his chaire and seat was at Rome; Ergo, he was bishop of Rome. And thus much touching Dionisius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine.

As for Alditus, Ado, Optatus, and such others, although we should haue much wrong offered, and neuer should make an end, if we should be preft with the authoritie of euerie one that could or did mone pen, in all the whole first age of the church, to be our iudges in euery ecclesiasticall matter: and much more wrong should haue, if the authors either corrupted, or counterfeited, should be laid vnto vs, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherin they wrote: yet to helpe and to salue the authorities of these authors so much as we may, I answer to their allegations, with this distinction of a bishop, which is to be taken either generallie or specialle. After the first a bishop is he to whom ouer the publike cure and charge of soules is committed, without any limitation of place. And in the name of bishop is coincident with the office of apostle, or any publike pastor, doctor, or curat of the vniuersall flocke of Christ. And thus may Paul, Peter, or any other of the apostles be called bishops. So also is Christ himselfe by expresse word called ἐπίσκοπος and ποίμην, that is, bishop and pastor, 1. Pet. 2. And thus may Peter well be named a bishop of these foresaid authors after this manner of taking. But this publike and generall charge vniuersallie ouer the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the apostles. For then were bishops by places and prouinces appointed, to haue specially ouer sight of some particular flocke or prouince, and so to be residents and attendant only vpon the same.

A double taking of the word bishop.

Christ himselfe a bishop.

The other diuersitie of this name bishop, is so to be taken after a more speciall sort, which is, when any person orderly called, is assigned, namely and specialie to some one certaine place, citie, or prouince, wherevnto he is onely bound to employ his office and charge, and no where else, according to the old canons of the apostles, and of the councell of Nice. And this bishop differing from the other, is called Episcopus ineruallus, hauing his name of his citie or diocelle. And thus may be one that Peter the apostle was euer bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the citie of Rome: neither doth Optatus, Alditus, Ado, or Hierome affirme the same. And if Ado say that Peter was bishop of Rome fiue and twentie yeres, vntill the last yere of Nero, that is cleerlie refuted both by the scriptures and histories: for so he vnderstand by the declaration of S. Paul, Gal. 1. 2. that fourteene yeres after his conuersion, saint Paul had Peter by the hand at Hierusalem.

Euseb. Apost. 23 2. 14. Con. Nice. cap. 15. Concil. Antioch. cap. 10. Peters being at Rome.

Moreouer, the said Paul in the foresaid epistle witnesseth, that the charge apostolicall was committed vnto Peter ouer the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also S. Iland writing to the Romans, in his manifold salutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of S. Peter, which doubtlesse should not haue been vnremembred, if he had been then in Rome. Againe S. Peter, dating his epistle from Babylon, was not then beside at Rome.

Furthermore, histories do record, that Peter was at Pontus fiue yeres, and at Antioch seuen yeres. How could hee then be fiue and twentie yeres at Rome? Finallie, where our aduersaries alleaging out of Ioy, saith, that S. Peter was there fiue and twentie yeres, vntill the last yere of Nero: how can that stand, when S. Paul suffering vnder Nero, was put to death the same day twelue moneth, that is, a whole yere after Peter? &c. But especiallie how agreeth this with scripture, that Christ should make Peter an apostle vniuersall to walke in all the world? Ite per vniuersum orbem. Item, Eritis mihi testes vsque ad fines terræ, &c. And our papists would needs make him a sitting bishop, and intitle him to Rome. How accord these: Apostolus and Episcopus, Ite and sedete, Omnes gentes and Roma together?

Orosius. Tertul. lib. 4. prescript. aduer. hæres. Cypri. lib. 1. ep. 3. Hieron. in Zach. cap. 8. epist. 42.

And thus haue I resolued the first vntruth of that popish demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they thinke to proue that as Peter, although he was not called vniuersall apostle, yet was the head of the whole church: so the pope might and hath had after him the charge of the whole church, although he was not called vniuersall bishop in the old time, &c.

The first vntruth of the argument aboue mentioned.

Now followeth the second vntruth to be touched in the same argument, which is, that because Peter was the head of the church: so therefore the pope must also bee the head of the church, and was, albeit he was not called vniuersall bishop a long time. But this we do deny, yea the matter denied is false by their owne position, for being granted by them, that the title of vniuersall bishop was not receiued at Rome, but refused to the time of Gregorie: then must it necessarilie be granted, that the bishops of Rome before S. Gregorie had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the church. For so much as there can be no head, but which is vniuersall to the whole bodie, neither can any haue charge of the whole, but he must needs be vniuersall to all and singuler parts of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in sciences, whosoeuer hath knowledge and cunning in all the seuen liberall sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal knowledge, is said to be an vniuersall learned man: so in office, to whom ouer the publike charge of all churches both appertaine, how is he not to be called bishop vniuersall? Now if before S. Gregories time, the name of vniuersall bishop was repealed in Rome: how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or els let our aduersaries tell vs how they define an vniuersall bishop, seeing this word bishop is properlie the name of office referred or annexed charge. Wherefore, if a bishop be he which hath the charge of all soules in his diocesse committed to him, and must render account for them all; then whose charge extendeth to al singuler churches, & must render account for euery christian soule within the whole world, to him cannot be denied the name of an vniuersall bishop, hauing the office of an vniuersall bishop. Or if he be not an vniuersall bishop, he cannot then haue the charge of the whole, that is, of all singuler churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition: Cui conuenit definitio, conuenit & definitum, & contra: Cui adimitur definitio, eidem & definitum adimitur. Although this word vniuersall, in the Greek writers, signifieth that, which we in our vulgar English tongue call catholike: yet I suppose our aduersaries here will not take vniuersall in that sense. For after that meaning, as we do not denie that the bishops of Rome may be vniuersall bishops, so neither can they denie but other bishops also may be as vniuersal, that is, as catholike as they. But such as more distinctly and scholastike discusse this matter, define vniuersall or catholike by these things to wit, by time, place, and person. So that tobatholike extendeth it selfe to all times, all places, and all persons, that is properlie vniuersall or catholike. And contrariwise, what thing is to be called vniuersal or catholike, reacheth to al those three aforesaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth it self of his owne nature to the same, or els it is not to be called properlie vniuersall or catholike. And thus those things there be which most commonlie are call catholike or vniuersall: that is, the church, which is called the catholike church: faith, which is called the catholike faith: a man, whom also we call a man catholike, because these three of their own nature and disposition (no contrarie obstacle letting) extend themselues to to all, ỹ is time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concurre in the charge of the bishop of Rome, then is it an vniuersall charge, and he an vniuersall bishop: if not, then is his charge neither vniuersall, nor he the head of the church, nor yet vniuersall bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the aduersarie part doe proue it more euidently than yet they haue done.

The second vntruth to be touched in the same argument.

Regula definitionis.

Cui conuenit definitio, conuenit & definitum.

Vniuersall described by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things commonlie called catholike or vniuersall.

And thus much to the obiection of our aduersaries, arguing thus, that as S. Peter being not called vniuersall apostle, yet was the head of the vniuersall church: so the pope although he was not first called vniuersall bishop, had, and might haue the charge of the whole church, and was the vniuersall head of the same. The which obiection containing, as is said, a double vntruth, our aduersaries yet notwithstanding doe builde themselues greatlie to confirm by simbole testimonies and allegations patched out of old and ancient doctors, but specially out of Theodoretus, Irenæus, Ambrose and Augustine, proouing by them that the see of Rome hauing the preeminence & principalitie, hath been honored aboue all other churches. Wherevpon the said aduersarie before minded, grounded his consequent:

To haue vniuersall charge to be head of the vniuersall church, and to be vniuersall bishop are all conuenient together.

Irenæus. lib. 3. Cap. 3. Amb. de dell. gent. lib. 2. cap. 6. Augu. epist. 162.

Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine and Theodoretus affirme, that the church of Rome is the chiefe of all other churches:

Ergo,



An argument of the papists. Answer.

Ergo, the bishop and head of that church is chiefe and head ouer all bishops, and head of all other churches.

What this consequent is to be denied, for that the excellencie of the church or place doth not alwaies argue the excellencie of the minister or bishop, nor yet necessarily doth cause the same. For in matters of the church which are spirituall, all preeminence standeth vpon spirituall & inward gifts (Spiritualis enim spiritualibus comparatur) as said, pietie, learning and godlie knowledge, zeale and feruencie in the holie ghost, vnitie of doctrine, &c: which gifts many times may excell in a church, where the minister or bishop is inferior to bishops or ministers of other churches. As the most famous schole in a realme hath not alwaye the most famous schoolemaister, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning aboue all others. So if our aduersaries doe meane by this preeminence of the church of Rome, such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, vnitie and peace of religion; then say I, the excellencie hereof doth not inferre or argue the excellencie of the bishop. And thus concerning the principalitie of the church of Rome, commended at that time of the doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and denie the consequent. What here will our aduersaries peraduenture replie againe and say, that the principalitie of the church of Rome which is commended by the doctors, is not meant here so much by inward gifts and indowments belonging to a christian church, as by outward authoritie and domination ouer other churches. Wherevnto is to be answered: first, what necessitie is there, or where did our papists learne, to bring into the spirituall church of Christ, this outward sworne of ciuill regiment and policie: that as the Romane emperors in times past gouerned ouer all the world, so the Romane bishop must haue his monarchie vpon the vniuersall cleargie, to make all other churches to stoope vnder his subiection. And where then be the words of our Sauior: Vos autem non sic. If they hold theyr affirmatiue God sic, where then is Christs negatiue Non sic? If they say, there must needs be distinction of degrees in the church, and in this distinction of degrees, superiorities must necessarilie be granted to the outward discipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of iarres, for setting of orders, for commensing of conuocations and councels, as need shall require, &c. Against this superiorities we stand not, and therefore we yeeld to our superiors powers, kings, and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawfull gouernours vnder God of both regiments, ecclesiasticall and temporall. Also in the ecclesiasticall state, we take not alway the distinction of ordinarie degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed, as bring the primitiue church allowed, as patriarchs, or archbishops, bishops, ministers and deacons, for of these foure we specially reade as chiefe. In which foure degrees as we grant diuersitie of office, so we admit in the same also, diuersitie of dignitie: neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singuler person. For as we giue to the minister place aboue the deacon, so the bishop aboue the minister, to the archbishop aboue the bishop: so we see no cause of inequalitie, why one minister should be aboue another minister: one bishop in his degree aboue another bishop to deale in his diocesse: or one archbishop aboue another archbishop. And this is to keepe an order duely and truly in the church, according to the true nature and definition of order by the true schoolie of August. lib. De ciuit. Dei. Where he thus defineth what order was called order: Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio. Order (saith he) is a direction or disposition giuen to all things, according as they are matches, or not matches, proportionallie to euery one his owne right and proper place.

What argument is to be denied.

Preeminence of a church effected after a double consideration.

Obiection. Answer.

The first answere to the obiection.

Non sic, saith Christ: Quod sic saith the pope. Obiection. Answer.

That is an vniuersall bishop.

Hyperiosities in the church. Distinction of degrees in the church. Diuersitie of dignities in degrees. Order kept in the church, and what true order is.

Aug. lib. de Ciuit. Dei cap. 91. Order defined.

This definition of S. Augustine, standing with the things before premised: now here to meet the question betweene vs and the papists, whether the metropolitane church of Rome, with the archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other metropolitane churches and archbishops, through vniuersall institution or not? To the answere whereof, if the voice of order might here be heard, it would say: Giue to things that be matches and like, like honour; to things vnlike, vnlike honour, &c. Wherefore, seeing the see of Rome is a patriarchall see appointed by the primitiue church, and the bishop thereof an archbishop limited within his owne bordering churches, which the councell of Nice calleth Suburbicas ecclesias, as other archbishops be: he ought therefore orderly to haue the honour of an archbishop (ordering himselfe thereafter) and such outward preeminence as to other archbishops is due. Now if he do require, he weaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doth wrong vnto his fellowes; and they also doe wrong vnto themselues, if soeuer they be, they yeelding his humor of ambition, giue more vnto him then the forsaid rule of order doth require. For so much as they yeeld to him more then is his right, so much they take from themselues, which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why both Gregorie and Pelagius his predecessor reprehended them, which gaue to the archbishop of Constantinople, that, which vnto the bishop of Rome claimeth to himselfe, charging them with the breach of order in these words: Ne dum priuatim aliquod daretur vni, honore debito sacerdotes priuaeuntur vniuersi, that is,

Ex registro Greg. lib. A. epist. 32.

Lest that while any singular thing is giuen to one person, all other priests be depriued of their due honour. And so the like cause Pelagius exhorteth that no priest do giue to any one archbishop, the name of vniuersall bishop. Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert indebitum, that is, Lest (saith he) in so doing, he take from himselfe his due honour, while he perdeth that, which is not due to another. And also in the same epistle: Quia si summus patriarcha vniuersalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur. For (said he) if he be called the chiefe vniuersall patriarch, then is the name of patriarchs derogated to others, &c. Wherefore as is said, seeing the bishop of Rome is an archbishop, as others be, order giueth that he should haue the dignity which to archbishops is due, whatsoeuer is aboue more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giuing to euerie degree his place and honour.

Ex epist. 2. Pelag. 2. dist. 99. cap. Nullus.

The second answere to the obiection before mooned.

The second reason or answere to the obiection before moued, is this: That being granted to the papists, that the doctours aforesaid, speaking of the principalitie of the church of Rome, doe meane not onely of the inward vertues of that church, but also of the outward authoritie and iurisdiction of the same, aboue other churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to ỹ church, is to be expended, which was this, as before was alleaged out of the councell of Chalcedon, ca. 28. Διὰ τὸ βασιλεύουσαν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, that is, For the rule and empirie which that citie of Rome had then aboue other cities; which cause being outward and carnall, was neither then cause sufficient, and now ceasing, importeth not to vs the like effect, according as they say: Sublata causa tollitur effectus. So that by the reason thereof, the foresaid principalitie of the church of Rome, did not hold then Iure diuino sed humano. And as it holdeth by mans law, so by mans law may be repealed againe.

Ex concil. Chalcedon. cap. 28.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the pope sitteth and succeedeth in the chaire of Peter, and also that he is the bishop of the greatest citie in the world: yet it followeth not thereby that hee should haue rule and lordship ouer all other bishops and churches of the world. For first touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered.

Certaine demands for the papists to answer vnto.

First, whether Peter sate, and had his chaire in Rome, or not?

Secondlie, whether he sate there as an apostle, or as a bishop?

Thirdly, whether the sitting in the outward seat of Peter, maketh successor of Peter?

Fourthly, whether he sitteth in the chaire and seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter?

Fiftly, whether the succession of Peter maketh rather an apostle than a bishop, and so should we call the pope, the apostle of Rome, and not the bishop of Rome?

Sixtly, whether ecclesiasticall functions ought to be esteemed by ordinarie succession of place, or by Gods secret calling or sending?

Seuenthly and lastly, whether it stand by scripture, any succession at all to be pointed in Christs church, or why more from Peter than from other apostles?

All which interrogatories being well discussed (which would aske a long processe) it should well appeare what little hold the pope hath to take this state vpon him, aboue all other churches as he doth. In the meane time, this one argument by the way may suffice in stead of many, for our aduersaries to answere to at their conuenient leisure. Which argument thus I frame and frame in Camestres.

An argument proouing the popes of this time not successors of Peter.

Ca- All the true successors of Peter sit in the chaire of the doctrine of Peter, and other apostles vniformlie:

me- No popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chaire of S. Peters and other apostles doctrine vniformlie:

stres. Ergo, No popes of this latter church of Rome bee the true successors of Peter.

And when they haue well perused the minor of this argument, & haue well conferred together the doctrine taught them of S. Peter, with the doctrine taught now by the popes, of iustification of a christian man, of the office of the laie, of the strength and largenes of time, of mens merits, of free will, of works of supererogation, of setting vp images, of seuen sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the masse, of communicating vnder one kind, of eleuating and adoring the sacramentall elements, of Latine seruice, of inuocation, of prohibition of meats and mariage, of vowing chastitie, of sects and rules of diuers religions, of indulgences and pardons: also with their doctrine taught now of magistrates, of the seuerall of power, and regalitie of the see of Rome, with many other like to these, &c: then will I be glad to heare what they will say to the premisses.

Secondly, if they would proone by the allegation of the doctors, Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoretus aforesaid, the bishop of Rome to be the chiefe of all bishops therefore, because the citie whereof he is bishop is the chiefe and principall aboue all other churches, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth why not (taking, as I said, the principalitie of that church to stand διὰ τὸ βασιλεύουσαν τῆς πόλεως, that is, vpon the principall dominion of that citie) no more than this consequent followeth.

London is the chiefe citie in all England:

W. ỹ. Ergo,

Ergo, The bishop of London is the chiefest of all bishops in the realme.

Which argument were derogatorie to the bishop both of Canturburie and of Yorke.

But to grant yet more to our aduersaries (which is all they can require) the mind of the foresaid doctors, as Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, in giuing principalitie vnto Rome, to haue respect vnto the vertue of succession from Peter, & not vnto the greatnesse of the citie: yet notwithstanding, for all this their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered, to say:

A false conclusion of the papists.

The apostolicall see of Rome, hauing succession from Peter, with the bishops thereof was chiefe then of all other churches in the primitiue time of these doctors:

Ergo, The apostolicall see of Rome, with the bishops thereof, hauing succession from Peter, ought now to be chiefe of all other churches in these our daies.

Answere to the consequent.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession which gaue them the cause of principalitie, were the same now, which was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession in the time of these doctors was as well in doctrine apostolicall, as in place apostolicall. Now the succession of doctrine apostolicall hath long ceased in the see apostolicall: and nothing remaineth but onely place, which is the least matter of true spirituall and apostolicall succession. And thus much to the authoritie and testimonie of these forenamed doctors.

Succession apostolicall possible were to be considered.

Besides these obiections heretofore recited out of Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoretus, our aduersaries yet obiect and heape vp against vs moreouer examples of the primitiue time of the church, testimonies of generall councels, and opinions of ancient writers taken out of the bookes of councels, and epistles decretall, wherby their intent is to prooue the foresaid termes (of the head of the church, ruler of the church, chiefe of all other priests) to be applied not onely to Peter, but also to the bishop of Rome within the compasse of the primitiue time. And here commeth in the testimonie cited of Tiberius Hieronimus. Of the epistle of Paschalius and his fellowes, writing to Leo from the councell of Chalcedon. The testimonie also of Iustinian the emperour in his Codex: Iubere Ioannes then pope was called Caput omnium ecclesiarum, epist. inter claras, cap. De summa trinit. & fide cath. The testimonie also of Athanasius, with his fellow bishops of Egypt, of Thebaida, and Lybia, in their epistles to pope Marcus, Liberius, and Felix. Likewise the testimonie of Jerome, In prefat. 4. Euang. Item epist. 42. tom. 1. Item epist. 41. tom. 2. Of S. Ambrose, 1. tom. 2. Of S. Augustine to Boniface. Ad Bonifac. contra duas epist. Pelagian. lib. 1. cap. 1. Item lib. 2. de baptism. ca. 1. Of Theodoretus in his epistle to pope Leo. epist. commentar. in Pauli epist. prefixa. Of Chrysostome, epist. ad Innocentium, tom. 5. &c. By which testimonies our aduersaries would prooue S. Peter, and after him the bishop of Rome to be called and taken for head of the church, chiefe bishop, prince & ruler of the whole clergie. To all which obiections fullie and orderly to answer in order, would require a whole volume by it selfe. In the meane time, leauing the rest vnto them, vnto whom it doth more properlie appertaine, briefly with this one short distinction I answer these and all such other like places, where S. Peter with his successours are called, head of the church, chiefe of bishops, prince of the apostles, &c. In which places, this word head, chiefe, and prince of the apostles, may be taken two manner of wayes: to note either dominion, or els commendation. For so we read sometime Caput & Princeps, to be words not of authoritie, but of excellencie, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessour and gouernour of the whole. Like as in the person of man, the head is the principall part of the whole bodie, being indued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed, so threef is termed by a metaphore, to what man or thing soeuer nature or condition hath giuen the greatest excellencie of gifts and properties aboue other parts or members, the same societie to be called of the said parties, Caput or Princeps, head or prince. And yet the same head or prince so called, hath not always dominion or iurisdiction of the rest. So we call in our vulgar speech the head or chiefe men of the parish, who for their riches, wisdome, or place, are most specially noted: after like phrase of speech we call the head man of the inquest, him that hath the first place: and yet neither they nor these haue any dominion or iurisdiction vpon the residue. In a schole the chiefest scholler in learning, is not therefore the maister or gouernor of his fellowes. Neither hath M. Cicero any title therby to claime subiection and seruice of all other orators, because hee is named Princeps eloquentiæ, & goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same Cicero, lib. 1. offic. calleth Cratippum principem huius ætatis philosophorum, as Hauneras also may bee called Poetarum princeps: and yet neither philosophers to Cratippus, nor poets to Homer owe any thing else, but only fame and praise.

Testimonies alleaged for the primacie of the pope.

Answere by a distinction.

Caput & princeps haue a double understanding.

And what if S. Peter the blessed apostle be called and counted of the old ancient doctours, as head and prince of the apostles, which is as much as Coryphæus apostolorum, for his excellent faith, for his diuine confession and singular affection to the Lord Iesus: yet what interest or charge either hath he to challenge ouer the apostles, or the pope after him ouer all other bishops and the whole church of Christ, although the pope haue the like excellencie of Christs faith which Peter had, as would God he had! Is concerning these allegations therefore out of the doctors, two things are to be obserued: first, that neither these names and titles though they be giuen to Peter, do giue him any state or dominion aboue other apostles: nor yet the succession of him doth further any whit this celsitude and regalitie of the pope to aduance him aboue his fellow archbishops, as he now doth.

Petrus princeps & coryphæus apostolorum.

And if our aduersaries would needes prouoke vs to the numbring of testimonies, and diuiding the house (speaking of the writers and councels of the primitiue age) for these aforesaid testimonies alleaged on their side, I could on the contrarie part recite out of the volumes of doctors, out of the examples of councels, and practises of emperors, no lesse than fortie boires, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the pope. The tractation whereof for this present I do refer, either to them that haue more leasure at this time to discourse them, or else omit it to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leasure in another booke to intreat thereof at large, in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appeare sufficient matter to prooue by the doctors, generall councels, examples and histories of time, that the bishops of Rome, during the first fiue hundred yeares after Christ, although for the greatnesse of the empire, were somewhat more magnified than the other, and therefore were sought of many, and were flattered of some, and they themselues diuers did set foorth themselues more than they should: yet by the common consent of churches were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consension of the most part, within the compasse of that age the bishops of Rome had not this regall state of title, iurisdiction, and fulnesse of power, which now they vsurpe, but were taken as archbishops, of equall honour, of equall merit with other archbishops and rulers of the church. And if any preferment was giuen vnto them touching more the rest, yet neither was it so giuen of all, nor of the most part: secondlie, neither was it so giuen of them for any such necessitie of Gods word. Aut iure aliquo diuino, as which did so bind them thereunto, nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession: as for certaine other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteene.

Thirteene causes of aduancing the see of Rome.

1 Of which, the first is the greatnesse of the citie and monarchie of Rome.

2 The second, is the authoritie of the emperour Constantine the great, first of the emperours conuerted to the faith, and raising in the same citie, by whom the vniuersall liberte of the church was first promoted: and the causes of the bishops being then at variance, were committed partly to the bishop of Rome, partly to other bishops neere by, to be decided, as appeareth. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

3 The third was the councell of Nice, which confirmed the preeminences of that church to haue the ouersight of the churches bordering about it.

4 The fourth cause of aduancing the church of Rome, was the vnquiet state of the Greeke church, much troubled in th se daies with sects, factions, and dissensions, whereof we may read, Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 15. Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 8.

How the church of Christ ought to be gouerned.

5 The fift, when as synods were called by other metropolitans, then if it chanced the bishops of Rome to be absent, and their sentence being absent to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take their sentence to: a canon or rule ecclesiastical, and thereby to refuse other synods, where their decree or sentence was not required.

6 Another cause was, that when any common matter was in hand in other places, whatsoeuer was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Roman bishop for his approbation in the same, for publike vnity & consent to bee had in Christs church, as appeareth, Lib. 10. epist. 78. Ambrol. ad Theophil.

7 Item, for that the testimonie sometimes of the Romish bishop was layed in those daies also to be beleeued, for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches, whereof we haue example in Socrat. lib. 4. cap. 37.

8 Moreouer, this was a great setting vp of that church, when as their sentence not onely was required, but also executed diuers times of other bishops. And when bishops of other prouinces were at any dissension among themselues, they of their owne accord appealed to the bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite the parties, and to haue the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Pacatius and Hyspchius send to Iulius then bishop of Rome, &c.

9 Item, in that certaine of the Arrians returning from their Arrianisme, offered vp and exhibited vnto the bishops of Rome their libels of repentance, and were of them receiued againe, as Vrsatius and Valens did to Iulius. Socra. lib. 2. cap. 24.

10 The tenth cause was also, for that Gaianus the emperor made a law, that all men should retaine that religion which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria did hold. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 4.

11 And also, if it happened the bishop of Rome to disallow the ordering of any minister or ministers, the popes perceiuing how



how diligent and readie they were to seeke their fauour, and to send vp their messengers to Rome for their purgation, whose thereby no little maner of exaltation. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 23.

12 Besides these aforesaid, the bishops of Rome had also an other artificiall practise, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did to many, in all their epistles (if the epistles be theirs and not forged) euer they were harping of the greatnes of their name, and of their apostolicke see, and of the primacie of S. Peter, their predecessour, and prince of all the apostles, &c. And this they vsed in euery letter, whensoeuer they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretall, namely, in the letters of Siluiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, &c.

13 Againe, many of the east church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of neuer so little reuerence giuen vnto them (as learned men commonly vse for modesties sake) that was taken by and by and construed for plaine subiection and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damasius written to the bishops of the east church, beginning thus: Quòd debita reuerentia, &c. In English thus: But that your charitie yeeldeth due reuerence to the apostolicall see, you in so doing (deare children) doe much for your selues, &c. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9. where as the bishops of the east church notwithstanding had shewed little or no reuerence in their epistle to pope Damasius before.

Thus haue ye the first and original grounds, by the means whereof, the archbishops of the Romish see haue atchieued to this their great kingdome and celsitude ouer Christs church, first beginning the mysterie of their iniquitie by that which was modestly and voluntarily giuen them; afterward by vse and custome claiming it ambitiouslie vnto them of dutie and seruice, and lastly holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, to that now in no case they can abide the birds to call home their feathers againe, which they so long haue disrayed.

The latter church of Rome differing from the first church at Rome, in some of gouernment.

And thus much concerning the life, iurisdiction, and title of the Romane bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, haue fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also ioyne the manner of gouernment, wherin the said Romish bishops haue no lesse altered both from the rule of scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome, which gouernment as it hath been, and ought to be onely spirituall, to hath the clergie of Rome vsed it of late yeeres no otherwise than hath the carthly king or prince gouerned his realme and dominions, with riches, glorie, power, terror, outward strength, force, prefort, death, execution, lawes, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, reuenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offenses against God committed, lying and abusing in all these things the word of God for his pretert and cloke to worke his worldly purpose withall; whereas indeed the word of God ministreth no such power to spirituall persons, but such as is spirituall according to the saying of the apostle: Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia, &c. The armour and artillerie, saith S. Paul, of our warfare, is not carnall, but spirituall: such as serue not against flesh and bloud, nor against the weake person of man: but against satan, against the gates of hell, and the prophundities of the wicked power, &c.

Which armour as it is all spirituall, so ought they, which haue the dealing thereof, to be likewise spirituall, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the holie ghost, met for the gouernance of his spirituall church: as with wisdome and knowledge in the scripture to instruct the ignorant: with inward intelligence and foresight of the craftie cogitations and operations of satan, with power of the spirit to resist the same: with practise and experience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of satan: with heauenly discretion to discerne spirits, and truth from untruth: with iudgement and knowledge of tongues and learning to conuict error: with zeale of Gods glorie, with feruencie of prayer, with patience in persecution: with a mind contented with all cases and states inclient, with teares and compassion on other mens griefes: with stoutnes and courage against proud and stout oppressors: with humilitie toward the poore and miserable: with the counsell of the Lord Iesus, by his word and spirit to direct him in all things to be done: with strength against sinne: with hatred of this world: with gift of faith: power of the keies in spirituall causes, as to minister the word, the sacraments and excommunication when the word biddeth, that the spirit may be giuen and to reconcile again, as cause requireth, &c. These & such like are the matters wherein consisteth the sinews and strength of the church, and for true gouernance of the same. But contrarie to these aforesaid both the bishop & clergie of this latter church of Rome, proceeding in their administration and gouernance, as who vnder the name and pretense of Christ and his word, haue exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their owne glorie, not the glorie of Christ: riches of the world, not the lucre of soules: not feeding the flock, but filling the purse: reuenging their owne wrongs, but neglecting Gods glorie: striuing against man onlie, and killing him; but not killing the vice, nor confuting the errour of man: strong against flesh and bloud, but weake against the diuell, stout against the simple, but meeke against the mightie: briefly, doing almost all things preposterouslie, more like to secular princes, than spirituall pastors of Christs flocke, with outward forcement, and feare of punishment, with prisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, slaying, murdering, and burning, and warring also on the other side, with his riches and treasures, with his gard and gardiance, with strength of men, with court and cardinals: with pompe and pride about them, with their triple crowne, with the naked sword, with their ordinarie succession: with their lawes, and executions: their promotions and preferments: their biddings and commandings: threatnings and reuengings, &c.

Preposterous gouernment of the church by the pope.

In fine, to compare therfore the images of a worldly kingdome, with this kingdome of the pope, there is no difference, saue onely that this kingdome of the pope, vnder hypocrisie maketh a face of the spirituall sword, which is the word of God: but in very deed both all things with the temporall sword, that is, with outward forcement and coaction: differring nothing from ciuill and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For as in an earthly kingdome, first there is a prince or some chiefe magistrate appointed, hauing dominion ouer his nobles and commons, containing all his subiects vnder his statutes and lawes, with the which lawes notwithstanding he disposeth at his pleasure: vnder whom all other inferiour magistrats haue their order and place to them appointed to rule ouer the subiects, and yet to be subiect vnder him: so if the state and forme of the pope be well considered, we shall see it alreteth nothing from the same, but only in the names of the persons. In ciuill gouernment, all subiection is referred to one head ruler, whose authoritie surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth them vnder obedience: in like maner, the gouernment of the popish church is committed to one man, who as chiefe steward, ouerseer and ruler of Christs household in his absence, hath supreme power ouer all churches, to moderat and direct all the affaires thereof. What heere standeth the difference, in ciuill policy he is called a king or prince: here he is called a pope.

A comparison betweene the kingdome of this world and the kingdome of the pope.

The king hath next vnto him his dukes and earles: the popes nobilitie standeth in his cardinals & legats, who though they be no dukes in name, yet in pompe and pride will not onely giue checke to them, but also mate to kings themselues, if they might be suffered, as did Theodorus, Lanfraucus, Anselmus, Thomas Becket, and so would Thomas Wolsey haue done, had not the king giuen him a necke to his mate betime. In ciuill policie next to dukes and earles followeth the order of lords, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, with maiors, shiriffes, constables, bailiffes, wardens, &c. The like race is to be seene also, although vnder other names, in the popes politie: of primats, bishops, suffragans, prouosts, deans, canons, vicars, archdeacons, parsons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolits, exorcists, lectors, doore keepers, singers, with other clerks. And as in the other vnder wardens commeth the order of scauingers: so neither doth the popes monarchy lacke his chanelrakers, to whom may well be compared the rablement of abbats, prouincials, priors, monks, friers, with their couents, and nunries.

Secular nobilitie compared with ecclesiastical nobilitie.

Ciuill magistrats compared with ecclesiasticall.

Moreouer, from iustices, iudges, lawyers, sergeants, attorneies, which be necessarie officers in the common wealth, what differeth the popes inquisitors, canonists, doctors, and bachelors of the popes laws, commissaries, scrials, proctors, pursuitors, with such others, which serue no lesse in spirituall court and in the consistorp, than the other aforesaid do in temporall court, or in Guildhall? Now who so list to compare the glorie & magnificence of the one, with the glorie of the other: also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other: and so the riches of the one, with riches of the other: I suppose he shall see no great ods betweene them both, taking the popes kingdome, as it hath stood in his full cuffe, and yet both stand where churches are not reformed. As for subtilitie and politike practise, there is no man that doubteth that is indifferent, nor that seeth not that hath his eies, but that the popes hierarchie in holding vp their state, far excelleth all the kingdomes of worldly princes, of whom all other may take example to learne.

Officers of the temporall court compared with the officers of the spirituall court.

Glorie compared.

Power compared.

Riches compared.

Subtilitie compared.

Thus in comparing the popes regiment with ciuill gouernance, as they doe little or nothing dilagree a sunder: so in comparing again the same with the order of scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old ancient church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance betweene them. As we read in the apostles time, all the armour of Christs ministers was spirituall and full of godly power against the spirituall enemies of our saluation, gouerning the church then with peace, patience, humilitie, true knowledge of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousnesse, hartie charitie, sincere faith, and a good conscience: so after the apostles in the time of Ambrose, by his owne testimonie is to be vnderstood, that the armour of churchmen was then, Preces & lachrymæ, prairs and teares: where now the armour of the popes priesthood is nothing els but Ignis & ferrum, fire and sword, wherewith they keepe all things vnder their subiection. And heere commeth the enorme and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction in cases frinolous, or worldly, and for such as for which the ciuill magistrat will not commit any citizens to the stocks, the popes censure will not sticke to commit a christian to the diuell: not to speake of their other vsurped dealings

The difference betweene the popes regiment and the order of the primitiue church.

2. Cor. 10. Ephes. 6. 1. Tim. 1. The armour proper to churchmen.

Horrible abuse of excommunication in the popes church.

The popes gouerning in matters of religion not pertayning.

and doings in matters, that belong to the ciuill sworde, and be to them impertinent. As in punishing whoredome and aduoutrie, in administration and probats of testaments, in bearing ciuill office, as popes to be senators of Rome, and emperour also Sede vacante, cardinals to be captains in warr, and rulers of regions: bishops to be presidents or chancellors, priests to be stewards in great mens houses, or masters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardiners to gentlemen, &c. All which here I ouerpasse, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as haue more leisure to marke the order of their doings, and so to iudge of the same with indifferencie, according to the rule of truth, touched with Gods worde, and publike examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitiue time.

The corrupt doctrine of the popes church reuiued and bettered.

Thus hauing discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, stile, iurisdiction, & gouernment of the popes see in al which points is to be scene how this latter church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient church of Rome) now remaineth, according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of doctrine: wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with vs and against them, in such sort as (their doctrin standing as it doth) neither they are to be reputed for true catholikes, being altered so far from them: no we otherwise then heretikes if we should now ioine with these. For the more triall whereof, let vs examine the doctrine and rites of the said church of Rome now vsed, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholikes, to the intent that such simple soules as haue been hitherto, & yet are seduced by the false colour and image of this pretended and bastarde church, perceiuing that lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the perill, if they list to be instructed: or if not, to blame none but themselues for their owne wilfull destruction. And albeit I could here charge the newfangled church of the pope with fewer or eight hainous crimes, as blasphemie, idolatrie, hereste, superstition, abhorrible, banitie, cruelti, and contrarietie (as which neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-elders, nor yet with themselues in sundrie points) yet after a more temperate sort to passe this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirme, that in this doctrine of the pope now taught in the church of Rome, is neither any consolation of conscience, nor saluation of mans soule. For seing there is no life nor soules health but only in Christ, nor any pramise of saluation or comfort made, but onelie by faith in the sonne of God: that assurance then can there be of perfect peace, life, or saluation, where that which onelie maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least are most esteemed? For to say the simple truth, what els is the whole course and body of the popes law now set forth, but a doctrine of lawes, a heape of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one iot to the iustification of our soules before the terrible iudgement of God.

No comfort nor saluation in the popes doctrine nowe taught.

And therefore (as it may be truelie said) this doctrine of the pope to be void of all true comfort and saluation: so likewise it semeth that these which addict themselues so deuoutly to the popes learning, were neuer carnestly afflicted in conscience, neuer humbled in spirit nor broken in heart, neuer entred into any serious feeling of Gods iudgement, nor euer felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should some haue seene their owne weakenesse and be driuen to Christ: then should they haue seene what a horrible thing it is to appeare before God the father, or once to thinke on him (as Luther saith) without Christ. And on the contrarie side, then should they know what a glorie, what a kingdome, what liberti and life it were to be in Christ Iesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondsonne of Agar, but with the free sonne of Sara: by promise, and not by the law: by grace, and not by workes: by gift, and not by deserving: that God onely might be praised, and not man.

The scope and summe of the popes doctrine whither it rendreth.

Papists neuer rightly afflicted in conscience deeply.

An horrible thing to thinke of God without Christ. Luther.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by S. Paul writing to the Romans. The same did Cornelius the Romane, and first that was baptised of all the gentils, learne of S. Peter when he receiued the holy ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but onely by hearing the faith of Iesus preached. And in the same doctrine, the said church of the Romans many yeeres continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine, the bishop of Rome with his Romans now also should still remaine, if they were such ancient catholikes as they pretend, & would follow the old mother church of Rome, and hold the first liquor wherwith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdor and sent of that liquor and pleasant mustis now cleane put out through other vnsauorie inuentions of the popes thrusting in: so that almost no taste nor sence remaineth of all that primitiue doctrine, which S. Paul and other apostles first planted among the gentils. And what marueil if the Romans now in so long tract of time haue lost their first sap, seing the church of the Galathians then in the dayes of S. Paul their schoolemaster, he being amongst them, had not so sone turned his backe a little, but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of faith, and had much adoe to be recouered againe?

The right faith of the old Romans. Cornelius, a Roman first baptised of all the gentils.

The church of Rome hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned.

The Galathians almost gone from faith in S. Pauls time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, S. Paul expressly foretelleth vs in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothie, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certaine shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, &c. 1. Tim. 4. And to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainely leadeth vs to vnderstand in the same place, where the said apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marrie, and to eate meates ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiuing, for mans sustenance, most euidently as with his finger, pointeth out vnto vs the church of Rome, which not in these points onely but also in all other conditions almost is vtterly reuolted from the pure originall sincerite of that doctrine, which S. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and of all other gentils. 1. Tim. 4.

## The summe of S. Pauls doctrine
### *deliuered to the gentiles.*

A briefe summe of S. Pauls doctrine deliuered to the gentiles.

1 FIrst, the doctrine of S. Paul ascribeth all our iustification freely and merely to faith onely in Christ as to the only meanes and cause immediat, whereby the merits of Christes passion be applied vnto vs, without any other respect of workes or works of the law, whatsoeuer: and in this doctrine the church of the Romans was first planted.

Saluation by mercie onely, and not by merits.

2 Secondly, the same doctrine of S. Paul cutting off & excluding all cleane of mans deserving, fraieth onely vpon Gods promise and vpon grace, not mans merits: vpon mercie, not mans labouring or running: vpon election and calling, not mans willing, &c.

All flesh concluded vnder sinne.

3 Thirdly, the same doctrine casting downe the strength of man and his integra naturalia (as the schooles doe terme them) concludeth all flesh vnder sinne, and maketh the same destitute of the glorie of God.

Difference betweene the law and the gospell.

4 Item, it maketh manifest difference betweene the law and the gospell, declaring the vse and end of them to be diuers: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemne, the other to iustifie; the one to haue an end and a time, the other to be perpetuall, &c.

Iustitia Dei. & Iustitia propria.

5 Item, the same doctrine of S. Paul, as it sheweth a difference betweene the law and the gospell; so it maketh no lesse difference betweene Iustitia Dei, & Iustitia propria: that is, the righteousnes of God and the righteousnes of man, abhorring the one, that is, mans owne righteousnes, comming by the law and works; and embracing the other which God imputeth freelie and gratiouslie to vs for Christ his sonnes sake, in whom we beleeue.

The right-iusnesse of God, and the righteousnes of man how they differ in scripture.

6 Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoeuer, especially from binding of conscience, calling them beggerlie elements of this world.

A true christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified.

7 Likewise it vtterly wipeth away all curious subtilties, and superstitious speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ onely crucified, which is onely the obiect whereunto our faith leaneth.

All men condemned by one. All men saued by one.

8 Furthermore, as the same doctrin of S. Paul defineth all men to be transgressours by disobedience of one Adam, though they neuer touched the apple, comming of his stock by nature; so doth it pronoue all men to be iustified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, being likewise borne of him by spirituall regeneration and faith.

Originall sinne, originall iustice.

9 And therefore as all men comming of Adam be condemned originallie, before they grow vp to commit any sinne against the law: so all men be saued originallie being regenerated by faith in Christ, before they begin to doe any good worke of charitie, or any other good deede.

Rom. 5. Rom. 8.

10 Item, the doctrine of S. Paul perpending the high glorie of a christian mans state in Christ Iesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with almightie God. Rom. 5. Secondlie, exempteth him from all condemnation. Rom. 8. Thirdlie, it matcheth him with angels, it equalleth him with saints and fellow citizens of heauen, it numbereth him with the houshold of God, and inheriteth him with Iesus Christ himselfe. Ephes. 2. Fourthlie, it adopteth him from the state of a seruant, to the state of the sonne of God, crying Abba father. Gal. 4. Fiftly, it openeth to him a bold accesse and entrance to the high maiestie and throne of grace. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Sixtly, it subiecteth all things vnder him, as ministers, yea, the apostles themselues in their highest office, death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole world besides, and assigneth him no spirituall head, but onely Christ, saying, And you are Christs, and Christ is Gods. 1. Cor. 3. Seuenthly, it adiudgeth him in a spirituall libertie of freedome, aboue all terrors of spirit, rising either of Gods law or mans law, aboue all dreadfull feares of sinne, damnation, malediction, reiection, death, hell, or purgatorie: aboue all seruile bondage of ceremonies, mens precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, vokes, customes or whatsoeuer opprelleth & intangleth the spirituall freedome of a conscience which Christ hath set at liberti, & requireth moreouer that we walke and stand stout in that libertie with the free sonne of Sara, whereto we are brought, and not suffer our selues anymore to be clogged with any such seruill bondage: that is to meane, although we must be content to subiect our bodies to al seruice and to all men, yet that we yeeld not our spirituall consciences and soules as slaues and seruants to be subiect to the feare or bondage of any terrene thing in this world, for so much as

Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. Gal. 4. Ephes. 2. Heb. 4. 1. Cor. 3. The glorious state of christian liberte and spirituall freedome in Christ Iesu.



Gal. 4. Colos. 2. Dates and times inculcated. Meates indifferent with thanksgiuing. Marriage lawfull for all men. One sacrifice for sinne and no more. Heb. 9

as we are in that part made lords and princes ouer all things whatsoeuer can harme or bind, or terrifie vs. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

11 Item, the right being of S. Pauls doctrine putteth no difference nor obseruation in daies and times. Gal. 4. Col. 2.

12 Item, it leaueth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiuing, to serue the necessitie of the bodie, and not the bodie to serue them. Col. 2. 1. Tim. 4.

13 Item, it permitteth marriage without restraint or exception, lawfull and also expedient for all men, hauing need thereof. 1. Cor. 7.

14 Item, it admitteth no sacrifice for sinne but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sinne, which only is applied to vs by faith, and by nothing else. Heb. 9.

The vse of the holie communion in the ancient time of the primitiue church.

15 Item, as touching the holy communion, by the letters of S. Paul to the Corinth. 11. we vnderstand, that the vse then amongst them was, to haue the participation of the bread called the Lords bodie, & of the cup called the Lords blood administred not at an altar, but at a plaine boord or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their supper, where not the minister alone did receiue and the other looked one; but the whole congregation together did communicate with reuerence and thanksgiuing, not lifting ouer the priests head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts, but either sitting at the supper, or standing after the supper. According to which forme the apostolits yet to this day following the old rite of the countrie (although being peruerted otherwise in much superstition) vse to receiue it after they bee risen from their dinner standing. Experience whereof was scene here at London the first day of October 1569.

No mo sacraments mentioned in S. Paul but the Lords supper and baptisme.

16 Item, the said apostle, beside the sacramentall supper maketh mention of baptisme, or washing of regeneration, although he himselfe baptised but few: 1. Cor. 1. of the other sacraments he maketh no mention.

Iustification by the gospell.

17 Item by the same doctrine of S. Paul, no tongue is to be vsed in the congregation, which is not knowne and doth not edifie. 1. Cor. 14.

The authoritie and office of the ciuill magistrates.

18 Item, the rule of S. Pauls doctrine subiecteth euerie creature vnder the obedience of kings and princes and ordinarie magistrats, ordained of God to haue the sword and authoritie of publike regiment, to order and dispose in all things not contrarie to God, whatsoeuer pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the euill: from whose iurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations of persons, whether they be ecclesiasticall or politicall. And therefore to this office appertaineth to preserue peace, to set things in lawfull order, to conserue christian discipline in the church of Christ, to remoue offences, to deuide the obedient, to prouide and procure wholesome and faithfull teachers ouer the people, to maintaine learning and set vp schooles, to haue ouersight not only of the people, but also of all ecclesiasticall ministers, to see to every one to doe his dutie, and to remoue or punish such as be negligent: also to call councels and synods, and to prouide the church goods to be faithfully dispensed by the handes of true dealers, to the sustentation of the church, of true teachers, and to the publike necessitie of the poore, &c.

The office and authoritie of bishops how farre it doth extend.

19 Furthermore, by S. Pauls doctrine, the ministers and superintendents of Christs church haue their authoritie and armour likewise to them limited, which armour is onely spirituall and not carnall, whereby they fight not against flesh and blood, but against the power of darkenes, errour, and sin; against the spirituall seduction and craftinesse in heauenlie things, against the workes and proceedings of satan the prince of this world, in comforting weake consciences against the terrors of the diuell, and desperation, and finally against euerie cogitation lifted vp against Christ, to subdue euery celsitude to the subiection and power of Christ Iesu the sonne of God.

## Another breefe recapitulation
### *of the same.*

Another briefe recapitulation of S. Pauls doctrine reduced to fiue points.

BRiefly and in a compendious sum to reduce the whole doctrine of S. Paul, in these fiue points chiefly it consisteth.

1 First, in setting forth the grace, great loue and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Iesus his sonne to mankind, which so loued the world, that he hath giuen his own sonne, the redemption thereof. 1. Ioh. 3. Which gaue his sonne to die for vs being his enemies. Rom. 5. Which hath quickned vs being dead in sinne, Ephes. 2. Which so mercifullie hath reconciled the world to himselfe by his sonne, and also by his ambassadors besides by vs to be reconciled vnto him. 2. Cor. 5. Who hath giuen his owne sonne to be sinne for vs. 2. Cor. 5. To be accursed for vs. Gal. 2. Which by sirme promise hath assured vs of our inheritance. Rom. 4. Which not by the works of righteousnesse that we haue done, but of his owne mercie hath saued vs by the washing of regeneration. Tit. 3.

The great mercie of God in Christ. Gal. 3. 2. Cor. 5. Rom. 5. Tit. 3.

The glorie and maiestie of Christ Iesus set foorth by saint Paul, Ephes. 4.

2 The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant maiestie of Christ Iesus the sonne of God, and the excellencie of his glorie, who being once dead in the infirmitie of flesh, rose againe with power, ascending vp with maiestie, hath led away captiuitie captiue. Eph. 4. Sitteth and raigneth in glorie on the right hand of God in heauenlie

things aboue all principats and potestates, powers and dominations, and aboue euery name that is named, not onely in this world, but also in the world to come. Ephes. 1. In whose name euery knee hath to bend both in heauen and in earth, and vnder the earth, and euery tongue to confesse our Lord Christ Iesus to be of the glorie of God the Father. Phil. 2. In whom and by whom all things are made both in heauen and in earth, things visible and inuisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principats, or potestats, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him, who is the head of his bodie the church, the beginning and first borne from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fulnesse. Col. 1. To whom the Father hath giuen al iudgement, and vnder him man himselfe any more. Ioh. 5. To whom the Father hath giuen all things in his hands. Ioh. 13. To whom the Father hath giuen power of all flesh. Ioh. 17. To whom all power is giuen in heauen and in earth. Mat. vlt. In whom we all the promises of God be & Amen. 2. Cor. 1.

Phil. 2. Colos. 1. Ioh. 5. Ioh. 13. Ioh. 17. Matth. vlt. 2. Cor. 1.

The third branch.

3 Thirdly, he declareth the vertue of his crosse and passion, and what exceeding benefits procede to vs by the same. By whose blood we haue redemption and remission of our sins. Ephes. 1. By whose stripes we are made whole. Esay 53. By whose crosse all things are pacified, both in heauen and in earth. Col. 1. By whose death we are reconciled. Rom. 5. Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light. 1. Timot. 1. Who by death hath destroied him which had the power of death, that is, the diuell, and hath deliuered them which liued vnder feare of death all their life in bondage. Heb. 2. By whose obedience we are made iust: by whose righteousnesse we are iustified to life. Rom. 5. By whose curse we are blessed, and deliuered from the malediction of the law. Gal. 3. By whose bloud we that once were far off, are made neere vnto God. Ephes. 5. Who of one bodie hath reconciled both Iewes and Gentils vnto God. Eph. 2. Who by his flesh hath taken away the diuision and separation betweene God and vs, abolishing the law which was set against vs in precepts and decrees. Ephes. 2. Who is our peace, our aduocat, and propitiation for the sinnes of the whole world. 1. Ioh. 2. Who was made accursed, and sinne for vs, that we might be the righteousnesse of God in him. 2. Cor. 5. Who is made of God for vs, our wisdome and righteousnesse and sanctification, and redemption. 1. Cor. 1. By whom we haue boldnesse and entrance with all confidence through faith in him. Ephes. 3. Who forgaue vs all our sinnes, and hath torne in peeces the obligation or handwriting, which was against vs in the law of commandements, and hath crucified it vpon the crosse, and vtterly hath dispatched and abolished the same, and hath spoiled principats and potestats, as in an open theiu of conquest, triumphing ouer them openly in himselfe. Col. 2. Who iustifieth the wicked by faith. Rom. 4. In whom we are made full and complet. Col. 2. 4c.

The righteousnesse of God, and the righteousnes of man how they differ in scripture.

Rom. 5. 1. Ioh. 2. 2. Cor. 5. 1. Cor. 1. Ephes. 3. Colos. 2. Rom. 4. Colos. 2.

The fourth branch.

4 The fourth branch is, to teach and informe vs (to whom these benefits of Christs passion and victorie doe appertaine) by what meanes the same is applied and redounded into vs: which meanes is onely one, that is, onely faith in Christ Iesu, and no other thing. Which faith it pleaseth almightie God, to accept for righteousnesse. And this righteousnesse it is, which onely standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainelie taught by the scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of S. Paul. Which righteousnesse thus rising of faith in Christ, S. Paul calleth the righteousnesse of God, where he speaketh of himselfe, vtterly refusing the other righteousnesse which is of the law, that they might be found in him, not hauing his owne righteousnesse which is of the law, but the righteousnesse of Christ, which is of faith. Phil. 3. Againe, the said apostle writing of the Iewes, which sought for righteousnesse and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, he giueth the reason why: Because (saith he) the one sought it as by workes and the law, and came not to it, who not knowing the righteousnesse of God, and seeking to set vp their owne righteousnesse, did not submit themselues to the righteousnesse which is of God. The other, which sought not the Gentils, and sought not for it, obtained righteousnesse, that righteousnesse, which is of faith, &c. Rom. 9. Also in another place, S. Paul in the same epistle writing of this righteousnesse which commeth of faith, calleth it the righteousnesse of God, in these words: Whom God (saith he) hath set vp for a propitiation by faith in his bloud, where by to make manifest of the righteousnes which is of himselfe in tolerating our sins, &c. Rom. 3. By the which righteousnesse it is euident that saint Paul meaneth the righteousnes of faith, which almightie God now reuealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the gospell. All these be yet more plainely this righteousnesse of God how it is taken in saint Paul, for the righteousnesse of faith, and therefore is called the righteousnesse of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserued of man: In the same epistle to the Romans and in the third chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: The righteousnesse of God (saith he) is by faith of Iesus Christ, in all, and vpon all that doe beleeue, &c.

The righteousnesse of the gospell. Rom. 1. Rom. 3.

A lesson out of saint Pauls doctrine, of all Christians to be obserued.

Wherefore whosoeuer studieth to be accepted with God and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learne diligently by the doctrine of saint Paul to make a difference and a separation, as farre as from heauen and earth, betweene these two; that

that is betweene the righteousnesse of workes, and righteousnesse of faith: & in any wise betweene bauing no other meanes for his iustification, or remission of his sinnes, but onely faith apprehending the bodie or person of Christ Iesus crucified. For as there is no way into the house but by the doore, so is there no comming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith. And as the mortall bodie, without bodily sustenance of bread & drinke can not but perish: so the spirituall soule of man hath no other refreshing but onely by faith in the bodie and blood of Christ, whereby to be saued. To faith this faith the idolatrous gentiles apprehended Iesus Christ, & receiued thereby righteousnes. Cornelius (the first baptised Romane) is knowne as he heard Peter preach Christ, receiued straightway the holy ghost. Peter himselfe confessed, and for his confession had the keies of heauen. Matth. 16. Zacheus receiued the person of Christ into his house, and withall receiued saluation both to him and his whole household. Luk. 19. What a sinner was Marie, which had no lesse in her than seuen diuels, and yet because she set her heart and affection vpon that person, many sinnes were forgiuen her. Luk. 7. The right hand theefe, how farre was he from all workes of the law, and yet by faith entred he iustified into paradise the same day with Christ, Luke. 23. In like manner, although the poore publicane came to the church with lesse holinesse after the law, yet went he home to his house more iustified than the phariseе with all his workes, and al by reason of faith. Luk. 18. The parable of the prodigall sonne which was lost, yet reuiued again; also of the lost groate, and of the lost sheepe which beeing found was found again, what doe these declare but that which is lost by the law, to be recouered by faith and grace? And how oft doe we reade in the gospels: Thy faith hath saued thee, &c. Iesus seeing their beleefe, &c. He that beleeueth in me, I will raise him vp in the last day, &c. Beleeue also in me, &c. He that beleeueth in me hath euerlasting life, &c. Without me ye can doe nothing, &c. He that is in me, &c. He that loueth me, &c. He that heareth me, &c. He that abideth in me, &c. He that receiueth me, &c. Vnlesse ye eat my flesh and drinke my bloud, &c. That they may receiue remission of sinnes by their faith in me, &c. Act. 26. To him all the prophets giue witnes, to haue remission of sinnes, whosoeuer beleeueth in his name, &c. Act. 10. He that beleeueth and is baptised. Matth. 28. He that beleeueth in mee shall doe the workes that I do, and greater than these, &c.

Rom. 9.

Act. 10. Saluation commonly only by faith.

Matth. 16.

Luke 19.

Luke 7.

Luke 23.

Luke 18. That which is lost by the law is recouered by faith.

Luke 18. Matth. 9. Iohn 14. Iohn 15. Iohn 6.

Acts 26. Acts 10. Matth. vlt. Iohn 14.

And likewise in the writings of saint Paul, how often doe wee heare the name of Christ, almost in euery third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: In Christo Iesu, per Christum Iesum, per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, &c. Qui credunt in ipso, &c. Omnes qui credunt in eo, &c. Credentes illo, in eum, credentes illi, in nomen eius, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, &c. Beleeue (saith saint Paul to the gailer) in the Lord Iesus, and thou shalt be saued & thy wholehouse, &c. Act. 16.

The writings of S. Paul full of the name of Christ Iesus. Beleefe only in Christ Iesus. Acts 16.

Thus then stoode, as the passion of Christ is only the efficient or personall cause immediat of our saluation: so is faith only the instrumentall or meane cause that maketh the merits of Christ to vs available. For as the passion of Christ serueth to none but such as do beleeue: so neither doth faith (as it is onely a bare qualitie or action in mans mind) it selfe auaile, vnlesse it be directed to the bodie of Christ crucified, as to his obiect, of whom it receiueth all his vertue. And therefore these two must alwaies iointlie concurre together, faith, and Christ Iesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were bid of Moses to looke vp to the brasen serpent, neither could the serpent haue helped them, except they had looked vp; nor yet their looking vpward haue profited them, vnlesse they had directed their eies vpon the said serpent, as the onely obiect set vp to the same purpose for them to behold. So our faith in like case directed to the bodie of Iesus our sauiour, is onelie the meanes whereby Christs merits are applied vnto vs, and we now iustified before God, according to the doctrine of saint Paul, who in expresse words, beareth to vs that this faith is, and how it iustifieth, saith: If thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Iesus, and beleeue with thy hart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saued, &c. Rom. 10. Besides this, what action or qualitie soeuer is in man, either hope, charitie, or any other kind of faith and beleeuing, be it neuer so true, except it apprehend this obiect, which is, the body of Christ, the sonne of God, it serueth not to iustification. And that is the cause why we adde this particle, onely, to faith, and say that faith onely in Christ iustifieth vs, to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cause of iustifying: for so much as there is no other knowledge nor gift giuen of God to man, be it neuer so excellent, that can stand before the iudgement of God into iustification, or inherewnto any promise of saluation is annexed; but only this faith looking vp to the brasen serpent, that is, to the bodie of Christ Iesus for vs crucified.

Christ the onelie obiect of faith, before which it standeth. Exemple of the brasen serpent.

Christ is faith is by S. Paul. Rom. 10.

Faith only.

As for example, when the Turke saith, that he beleeueth in one liuing God that made heauen and earth, this beleefe there in is true, yet it iustifieth him not, because it lacketh the right obiect, which is Christ. So when the Iew saith, that he beleeueth in one God maker of heauen and earth, and beleeueth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful iust, and true of promise,

Diuers sorts of beleeuing. The Turkes faith.

The Iewes faith.

and that he hath elected the seed of Abraham: true it is that he beleeueth, and yet all this serueth him not, because Christ the sonne of God is not ioyned withall. And though the said Iew should bee neuer so deuout in his prayers, or charitable in almes, or precise in keeping the lawe, and beleeued neuer so stedfastly that he is elect to be saued: yet he is neuer the neere to saluation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded vpon the head corner stone, which is the person and bodie of Christ Iesus the true sauiour. After like sort it may bee said of the papist, when he saith that he is baptised, & beleeueth in the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Iesus Christ to be the sonne of God, which died for our sinnes, and rose againe for our righteousnesse, &c: his beleefe therein is true, and indeede would saue him, if he did stay his saluation in this faith, and vpon Christ his sauiour onely, according to the promise and grace of God, and goe no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect sauiour without the helpe of the patrons, heads, aduocats, and mediatours, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ onely to be the meanes of his iustification, but setteth vp other by-meanes, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the masse, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits, and pardons, supposing thereby to worke his iustification before God, contrarie to the word of promise, to the gospell of grace, and to the doctrine of saint Paul, whereof we shall see more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Every truth may be beleeued, but the beleeuing of euery truth fauoreth not. The papists faith.

Only.

Hope and charitie be no parts of our iustification, nor causes to make the merits of Christ ours.

Now this much of the true causes of our iustification after the doctrine of S. Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore by the way is to be added, that as touching the originall causes of our saluation, which be diuers & sundrie, some are eternall, & without vs: some are internall, & within vs. Of the externall causes which are without vs, the first and principall is the mercie and grace of God. Of this followeth predestination and election. Then commeth vocation. The last and next cause to vs is the death and bloudshed of Christ: whereby we are redeemed, and all these be externall causes, because they are without vs. Of internall causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, & no more in Scripture appointed, that is, our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in vs. Besides this, there is no gift of God giuen to man, be it vertue, worke, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of saluation, but onelie this gift of faith, to beleeue in Christ Iesu. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only iustifieth, meaning, that amongst all the works & diuerse actions, labours, and operations, what soeuer man doth, or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh saluation, but onelie his faith giuen to him of God to beleeue in Christ his sonne, following therein the trade of saint Pauls teaching: who in precise words so ascribeth iustification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same place to the Romanes, Saint Paul treating of the glorie of iustifying, asketh this question, how this glorie is excluded: whether by the law of works? And concludeth, no: ascribing only the glorie thereof to the law of faith, and consequently vpon the same he inferreth: Colligimus enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis: We hold that a man is iustified by faith without the deeds of the law.

The causes of our saluation distinguished.

Grace and mercie. Election. Vocation. Christs passion.

Christian faith.

The meaning and cause why faith only iustifieth.

All works of man excluded from the glorie of iustifying.

And vnder this can that be accounted for any part of our iustification, which S. Paul vtterlie debarreth and excludeth in that behalfe? Which like exclusiues & negatiues the whole course of S. Pauls doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: Sine operibus, absque operibus legis, non ex operibus, Dei donum est; secundum misericordiam; non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur. Eph. 2. Non ex operibus iustitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum propositum suum & gratiam, &c. Tit. 3. Non secundum opera nostra, &c. Tim. 1. That is to say, It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glorie, &c. Not of the works of righteousnes, which we haue done, but of his owne mercie, &c. Not after our works, but after his own purpose, and grace which is giuen to vs, &c. Againe, Gal. 2. Non iustificatur homo ex operibus, &c. That is, A man is not iustified by works &c. Item, Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui iustificat impium, fides imputatur ad iustitiam, &c. Rom. 4. To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnesse, &c. By these exclusiues and negatiues in S. Pauls doctrine, what doth he else meane, but vtterlie to exclude all kind of mans merits, and works of the law from the office and dignitie of iustifying? And although he expresseth not the word, Onely: yet vpon his exclusiues & negatiues, this exceptiue must needs be inferred. For in all logike the consequent is necessarie and formall; as. One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one: Ergo one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ, proued to be the onely meane, or instrumentall, or conditionall cause of our saluation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of S. Paul taught to the ancient Romans.

Ephes. 2. Tit. 3. 2. Tim. 1.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 4.

The exclusiues and negatiues of S. Paul to be marked.

5 The fifth branch, which I note in S. Pauls doctrine, is this: that after he hath thus established vs in certaintie of our saluation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth vs benemertlie and with all instance of good workes, shewing the true vse and end of good workes: which is, first to shew our obe-

The fifth point.

The true vse and end of good works.



dience and dutifull seruice (as we may) vnto God, who hath done so great things for vs. Secondly, to releeue our neighbors with our charitie and kindnes, as God hath been kind to vs his enemies. Thirdly, or rather by others by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same religion, & to doe the like. For requisit it is, that as God hath been so mercifull to vs and gracious in eternall gifts, we should be mercifull likewise to other in temporall commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him of his fatherly goodnesse (of our parts so little deserued) to call vs to so high a vocation, to giue the bloud of his sonne for vs, to forgiue vs all our sinnes, to deliuer vs from this present wicked world, to make vs citizens of heauen, yea his children more than seruants: little then can we doe, and well may we thinke those benefits ill beslowed, if we forgiue not our neighbors, and shew some thing againe worthie that holy calling wherewith he hath called vs, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heauenly things: and finallie if we being promoted with such loue and kindnesse, render not againe some loue for loue, some kindnesse for kindnes, seeking how to walke in the steps which he hath prepared for vs to walke in, seeking him (so much as we may) in holines and righteousnes all the daies of our life. And though our obedience shall alwaies be vnperfect, doe the best we can; yet reason would that some obeisance we should shew, as louing children to such a louing father.

Good works iustifie not, but follow the iustified.

Luke 17.

And this is the cause why S. Paul is so vehement and vrgent to cal vpon good works, not that works should iustifie, but that we being iustified so mercifullie and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vaine, but endeuour our selues to our vttermost to render our seruice againe to him, in such conuersation of life as may make to his glorie, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our sauiour seeme in some places to attribute to our obedience and charitie here in earth, great rewards in heauen, that is of his owne free grace and goodnesse to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for vs to claime any merit thereby, or thanke at his hand, by any worthines of our doings: no more than the seruant, when hee commeth from the plough and seruing the cattell in the field, serueth first his master at home and waiteth vpon his table: the master is not bound (saith Christ) to thanke his seruant therefore, and bid him sit downe: So you (saith he) when you haue done that is commanded you, by yee are vnprofitable seruants: yee haue done but what your bound dutie was to doe. Luke 17.

Againe, here also is to be vnderstood, that where such rewards be ascribed vnto mens deeds, it is not for the worthines of the deed it selfe, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the worke to be good in Gods sight: for else if an infidell should doe the like worke that the christian doth, it is not the thing but mere sinne before God. In that therefore the christian mans worke is accepted be it neuer so small (as to giue a cup of cold water) the same is onely for his faith sake that doth it, and not for the worke which is done. Whereby againe we may learne how faith onely doth iustifie a man, and that three manner of waies.

Faith iustifieth three manner of waies.

First it iustifieth the person in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to doe any good worke.

The office of faith, and the office of the law, compared together.

Secondly, it iustifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and pardon for the same.

Thirdly, it iustifieth the good deeds and works of man, not onelie in bringing forth good fruites, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therefore of faith and works is diuers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, & iustifieth him in the sight of God, both in couering his ill deeds, and in making his good deeds acceptable to God, climbing vp to heauen, and there wrestling with God and his iudgement for iustification, for saluation, and for euerlasting life. Works and charitie follow faith, and are exercised here vpon the earth, and glorieth onely before man, but not before God, in shewing forth obedience both to God and to man. Further then this our good works doe not reach, nor haue any thing to doe in the iudgement of God touching saluation. A speciall of our good workes (as S. Paul speaketh, Rom. 7.) is they be ours and imperfect. For else if our workes could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh; that is, if we could perfect them, as it is said: Qui fecerit ea viuet in eis. But no man hauing the imbecillitie of our flesh cannot attaine thereto, it followeth thereof that all glorie of iustifying is taken from works, and transferred onelie to faith.

Gal. 2.

Rom. 7.

And thus much concerning the principall contents of S. Pauls doctrine. Wherein the church of the ancient Romans first was grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitiue state of the church. Likewise the same forme of doctrine the latter Romans also that followed should haue maintained, and not haue fallen away for any mans preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were an apostle or angell from heauen, teaching any other doctrine besides that institutio which they haue receiued. Gal. 1.

Gal. 1.

So farre of the defection of faith in the church of Rome.

A view of the popes catholike church. That is.

The church of Rome degenerated against al mout to new paganisme.

The popes church only in words catholike, in deed heartelesse.

The religion of the popes church possessed with a fairie face of election but is void of the effect thereof.

The old glorious and the latter church of Rome compared together.

The popes church vnder the name of the catholike church perfecuteth the true catholike church of Christ.

Dirree And

And lest any should chinke this, that we here protest against the corrupt errours and manifold deformities of this latter church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or affection, rather than grounded of necessarie causes, and demonstrations evident, my purpose is (by the Lords leave) to take herein some little paine, that as I have collected a little before, the summe and consents of saint Paules doctrine, wherewith the old church of Rome was stirk sealoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summarie table to descrie the particular branches and contents of the popes doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discerne what great alteration there is betweene the church of Rome that now is, & the church of Rome that then was, planted by the apostles in the primitive time. And to the end to open unto the simple reader some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error: first we will propound certaine principles or generall positions, as infallible rules or truths of the scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined as with the touchstone, may the more easilie be judged whether they be true or contrarie, and whether they make against the scripture or no.

*Certaine principles or generall verities grounded*
vpon the truth of Gods word.

The first principle.

Certaine generall principles and rules gathered of the scriptures. Rom.5.

1 As sinne and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: so righteousnesse and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptisme. Rom.5.

Gen.3.

The second principle.

2 The promise of God was freely giuen to our first parents without their deserving, that the seed of a woman should breake the serpents head. Gen.3.

Gen 12.

The third principle.

3 Promise was giuen freely to Abraham before he deserued any thing, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. Gen.12.

Deut.4.

The fourth principle.

4 To the word of God neither must we adde, nor take from it. Deut.4.

Leuit.18. Galath.3.

The fift principle.

5 He that doth the workes of the law, shall liue therein. Leuit.18. Gal.3.

Deut.27. Galath.3. Deut.6. Luke 4.

The sixth principle.

6 Accursed is he, which abideth not in every thing that is written in the booke of the law. Deut.27. Gal.3.

Esay 64.

The seuenth principle.

7 God onely is to be worshipped. Deut.6. Luk.4.

Esay 11.65.

The eight principle.

8 All our righteousnesse is like a defiled cloth of a woman. Esay 64.

The ninth principle.

9 In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord. Esay 11.65.

Osee 6. 1.Reg.15.

The tenth principle.

10 God loueth mercie and obedience more then sacrifice. Osee 6. 1.Reg.15.

Rom 3.

The eleuenth principle.

11 The law worketh anger, condemneth, and openeth sinne. Rom.3.

Rom 10.

The twelfth principle.

12 The end of the law is Christ, to righteousnesse to euerie one that beleeueth. Rom.10.

Matth.vlt.

The thirteenth principle.

13 Whosoeuer beleeueth and is baptised, shall be saued. Matth.vlt.

Galath.2. Ephes.2. Heb.9.

The fourteenth principle.

14 A man is iustified by faith without workes freely by grace, not of our selues. Gal.2. Ephes.2.

Rom.14. Heb.11.

The fifteenth principle.

15 There is no remission of sins without blood. Heb.9.

The sixteenth principle.

16 What soeuer is not of faith is sinne. Rom.14. Without faith it is impossible to please God. Heb.11.

1.Tim.2. 1.John 2.

The seuenteenth principle.

17 One mediatour betweene God and man Christ Iesus. 1.Tim.2. And he is the propitiation for our sinnes. 1.Ioh.2.

Galath 5.

The eighteenth principle.

18 Whosoeuer seeketh in the law to be iustified, is fallen from grace. Gal.5.

2 Cor.1.

The nineteenth principle.

19 In Christ be all the promises of God, Est & Amen. 2.Cor.1.

Rom.13.

The twentieth principle.

20 Let euery soule be subiect to superiour powers, giuing to Cesar that which is Cesars, and to God that which is Gods. Rom.13.

These principles and infallible rules of the scripture, as no man can denie: so if they be granted, the doctrine then of the popes church must needs be found not to be catholike, but rather full of errours and heresies, as in the sequele following remainedh more expressely and particularly by the grace of Christ to be conuinced.

*Here followeth a summarie collection of the errours, heresies, and absurdities contained in the popes doctrine, contrarie to the rules of God's word, and the first institution of the church of Rome.*

Offaith and iustification.

The errours, heresies and absurdities in the popes doctrine.

FIrst, as touching the onely meanes and instrumentall cause of our iustification, whereby the merits of Christs passion be applied to vs and made ours, ye heard before how saint Paul onely ascribeth the same to faith: as appeareth by all his letters, especially to the Romans. Where he excluding all kind of workes, ascribeth all our saluation, iustification, righteousnesse, reconciliation, and peace with God onely vnto faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine the pope and his church hath set vp diuers and sundrie other meanes of their own deuising whereby the merits of Christs passion (they say) are applied to vs and made ours, to the putting away of sinnes, and for our iustification, as hope, charitie, sacrifice of the masse, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of saints, and holie orders, the popes pardons, &c. So that Christs sacrifice, prayes, and suffering, by this teaching doth not heale vs, nor is not beneficiall to vs, though we beleeue neuer so well, vnlesse we adde also these works and merits aboue recited. Which if it be true, then is it false that Esay the prophet doth promise: chap. 53. In his stripes all we are made whole, &c. This errour and heresie of the church of Rome, though it seeme at first sight to the natural reason of man to be but of small importance; yet if it be earnestlie considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresie that euer almost crept into the church, vpon the which as the onely foundation, all, or the most part of all the errours, absurdities, and inconueniences of the popes church are grounded. For this being once admitted, that a man is not iustified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other meanes must be sought by our owne working and merits to apply the merits of Christs passion vnto vs, then is there neither any certaintie left of our saluation, nor end in setting vp new meanes and merits of our owne deuising for remission of sinnes. Neither hath there been any heresie that either hath rebelled more presumptuouslie against the high maiestie of God the father, nor more perniciouslie hath iniured the soules of the simple, than this doctrine.

The meanes of applying Christs merites vnto vs by the popes doctrine.

The taking away of this article of faith onely to iustifie, is the roote of great inconuenience in Christs church.

So heresie to be compared to the heresie of papists.

First of all it subuerteth the will and testament of God. For where almightie God of mercie hath giuen vs his sonne to die for vs, and with him hath giuen out his full promise, that whosoeuer beleeueth vpon him should bee saued by their faith, and alligneth none other condition either of the law or any of workes, but onely of faith, to be the meanes betweene his sonne and vs: these men take vpon them to alter this testament that God hath set, and adioyne other conditions, which the Lord in his word neuer appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Hierome may be well applied vpon the epistle to the Galathians, speaking of such: Qui de euangelio Christi faciunt hominis euangelium, vel quod peius est, diaboli, &c. That is, Which make of the gospell of Christ the gospell of men, or rather the gospell of the diuell, &c.

The first inconuenience.

No condition limited of God to man for saluation but one. *Hieron. in epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.*

Secondlie, whereas the christian reader in the gospell, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God giuen to mankind in Christ his son, might thereby take much comfort of soule, & be at rest and peace with the Lord his God: commeth in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretikes, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God, to choke the sweete comforts of man in the holie ghost, and oppresse christian libertie, and bring vs into spirituall bondage.

The second inconuenience, what hurt commeth into the church, by taking away the article of iustification.

The third inconuenience.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they shew themselues manifest enemies to Gods grace: so are they no lesse iniurious to christian men, vpon whom they leaue in a doubtfull distrust of Gods fauour and of their saluation, contrarie to the word and will of God, & right institution of the apostolike doctrine. And whereas our new schoolemen of late, to maintaine the said wicked point of doctrine, doe obiect vnto vs that wee rather leaue merits consciences vncertaine, for somuch as, I like (say they) were not a due reward, if it were vncertaine. And now for somuch as the debt is certaine, and mercie or fauour is vncertaine, therefore (say they) we leauing mens consciences to the mercie of God, doe leaue them in a doubtfull vncertaintie of their saluation. To this I answere, that the debt, if it be paied by the law dulie deserued, it must be certaine. But if the law shall proue it imperfect or vnsufficiently due, then is it not certaine, neither can there be any thing dulie claimed. Now as touching mercie, so long as it remaineth secret in the princes will, and not knowne to his subiects, so long it is vncertaine. But when this mercie shall be openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will & testament, established in blood, and sealed with sacraments, then this mercie remaineth no more doubtfull, but ought firmelie to bee beleeued of euery true faithfull subiect. And therefore S. Paul,

Objection of the papists answered.

The papists doe teach the mercie of God to be vncertaine.

Mercie of God made certaine by his owne promises.



to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answere to this doubt, in his epistle to the Romans doth teach vs, saying: And therefore of faith, that after grace the promise might be firme and sure to the whole seed of Abraham, &c. Rom.4. Meaning hereby, that workes haue nothing to doe in this cause of iustifying, and noteth the reason why. For then our saluation should stand in a doubtfull wauering, because in working wee are neuer certaine whether our deserts be perfect & sufficient in Gods iudgement or no. And therefore (saith saint Paul) to the intent our saluation should be out of all doubt and certaine, it standeth not of workes in deseruing, but of faith in apprehending, and of Gods free grace in promising.

Saluation standeth sure and certaine by Gods promise. The place of S. Paul, Rom.4. expounded.

The fourth inconuenience.

Fourthly, as in this their sinister doctrine they breake this principle of christian religion, which saith that a man is iustified by faith without workes, so against it breaketh another principle aboue rehearsed. For this rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to Gods word nor taken from it: then haue these men done wickedly in adding (as they doe) to Gods word. For where the word of God limiteth to our iustification no condition but faith: Beleeue (saith he) in the Lord Iesu, and thou shalt be saued, and thy whole house, &c. Act.16. these iusticiaries doe adde thereto diuers and sundrie other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as hope, charitie, the sacrifice of the masse, the merite of the priest. Ex opere operato, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, &c. And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and iustification. Whereby it may appeare to what horrible blindnesse and blasphemie the church of Rome is now fallen, where this kind of doctrine is not onely suffered, but also publikelie professed, which speaking against faith, thus blasphemoulie dare say: Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, & certò statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, sed eque possessurum vitam æternam, non fides est, sed temeritas: non spiritus sancti persuasio, sed humanæ audaciæ præsumptio. That is, That faith wherewith a man firmely beleeueth, and certainely assureth himselfe, that for Christs sake his sinnes bee forgiuen him, and that he shall possesse eternall life, is not faith but rashnesse: not the perswasion of the holy ghost, but presumption of a mans boldnesse.

The fifth principle aboue recited, broken.

Ex Lindana in epitome doctrinæ euangelicæ.

## Of workes and the law.

40

The first errour of the papists, teaching good workes.

AS touching the doctrine of good workes & the law, what the teaching of saint Paul was to the Romans, ye heard before. Who although he excluded good works from the office of iustifying, yet excluded he them not from the practise and conuersation of christian life, but most earnestly called vpon all faithfull beleeuers in Christ, to walke worthie their vocation, to lay downe their old conuersation, to giue their members seruants of righteousnesse, to offer their bodies vp to God a liuelie sacrifice, &c. The like example of whose teaching, if the churches now reformed do not follow, let their sermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings, and liues also beare record. Who although they cannot say with Christ, Which of you can blame me of sinne? yet they may say to the aduersaries, Whose soeuer of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproch as gainst vs. Wherefore Iosius, Pighius, with their fellowes, doe them open wrong, and slaunderously belie them in comparing them in this behalfe to Aetius, Eunomius, and other heretikes called Anomei, who taking the good sentences of saint Paul, did abuse the same to filthie licence of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life, &c.

The diuers opinions of the papists touching how faith iustifieth.

Iosius lo 2. cons. confessionis, cap.2.

But to let these slanders passe, now what the errours be of the church of Rome, touching this part of doctrine, remaineth to be declared. Whose errour first standeth in this, that they misunderstanding the definition of good workes, doe call good workes, not such as properly are commanded by the law of God, but such as are agreeable to the popes law. As building of abbeis and churches, giuing to the high altar, founding of trentals, finding of chanteries, gilding of images, bearing of mattes, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy crosse, keeping of vowes, entering to orders, talking of bigils, creeping to the crosse, praying to saints, &c. All which are not onely reputed for good workes, but so preferred also before all other works, that to these is giuen pardon from the pope, double and treble pold more then to any other good worke of charity commanded in the law of almightie God.

The pope his errour in setting vp his owne traditions against the principall scripture.

The second errour of the papists in the doctrine of good workes. Faith the roote and cause of good workes.

An other errour also may be noted in the papists, touching the efficient or formall cause of good workes. For albeit they all confesse in their bookes, that Gratia Dei gratis data is the chiefe and principall cause thereof, and worketh in vs Iustitia primam (as they call it) yet the good workes after regeneration, they referre to other subordinate causes vnder God, as to free will, or to Habitum virtutis, or Ad integra naturalia, and nothing at all to faith, when as faith only next vnder God is the roote & fountaine of all well doings: as in the fruites of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principall agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground, yet the next and immediate cause is the roote that maketh the tree fruitfull. In like maner the grace of God, in a soft and repentant mollified hart planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good roote cannot lie dead or vnoccupied, but springeth forth and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruite thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptation nor goodnesse in them, were it not for the goodnesse of the roote from whence they spring. So Paul, although he had certaine workes in him, such as they were, before his conuersion: yet had he no good workes before the grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So Sparie Magdalene the sinner and Zacheus the publican. So all the nations of the gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and then they began to be ingrafted in Christ, and to receiue the roote of his faith, whose fruits before that were all damnable and vnfruitfull. As touching the cause therefore of good workes, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to iustifie vs in heauen, so the nature of it is here in earth to worke by loue, as the rot worketh by the sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith, the loue and grace of God toward him in Christ his sonne: so beginneth he to loue againe both God and man, and to doe for his neighbour as God hath done to him. And hereof properly springeth the running fountaine of all good works and deeds of charitie.

Works are not to be called good, but by reason of faith.

The office of faith to iustifie. The effect of faith to bring forth good workes.

Fides per dil. Hieronym operans. Gal. 5.

Thirdly, as they erre in the cause of good works, so do they erre much more in the end of the law, and of good works: for where saint Paul teacheth the law to be giuen to this vse and end, to conuict our transgressions, to prouoke vs sinners, to shew and conuince our infirmitie, and to driue vs to Christ: they take and applie no other end to the law, but to make vs perfect, to keepe vs from wrath, and to make vs iust before God. And likewise where saint Paul proueth all our good works to be imperfect, and vtterlie excludeth them from the end of iustifying: they contrariwise do teach, as though the end of good works were to merit remission of sinnes, to satisfie vnto God, to deserue grace, to redeeme soules from purgatorie, and that by them the person of the regenerate man doth please God, and is made iust before God. For to they teach most wickedlie and horrible, saying: that Christ suffered for originall sinne, & sinnes going before baptisme; but the actuall sinnes, which follow after baptisme, must be done awaie by mens merits. And so they assigne to Christ the beginning of saluation, & obtayning of the first grace (as they call it) but the perfection & consummation of grace they giue to works & our owne strength.

The third errour of the papists touching the end of the law and good workes.

Thom. Aquinas. Hosius in 2. tom confess. cap. 14

The papist his crime against the principall scripture.

Neither can they in ante case abide, that we be iustified freelie by the mercie of God through faith onelie apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither do all papists in this their error agree in one. For some make distinction and saie, that we are iustified by Christ Principaliter, id est, principallie: Et minus principaliter, id est, lesse principallie, by the dignitie of our owne deeds, contrarie to the eight principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith: but by our vertues that follow after. Some againe do thus expound the saying of saint Paul: Wee are iustified by faith: that is (say they) by faith, preparing vs & setting vs in a good waie to be iustified. Others expound it by the figure Synecdoche, that is, by faith conioyned together with other vertues. Others thus: By faith, that is, being formed with charitie, &c. Thus all these do derogat from the benefit of Christ, and attribute vnto workes a great or the greatest part of our iustification, directlie against the true veine of saint Paules doctrine, and first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holie scripture.

Against the principles of scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the said doctrine of the law and good works, they erre in misunderstanding the nature of the law and works. For where saint Paul disputeth that the law is spirituall, and requireth of vs perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we being carnall are neuer able to accomplish: they affirme otherwise, that the law doth require but onely outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not onely able to performe, but also to do more and greater things then the law requireth. Whereof riseth the workes of supererogation, contrarie to the firth and eight principles aboue specified. Also there be (say they) among other certaine workes of the law, which pertaine not to all men, but are Consilia, counsels, left for perfecter men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call Opera perfectionis, or Opera indebita, adding also vnto these new deuices to serue God after their own traditions besides the word of God, as monasticall vowes, as all pouerty, difference of meates and garments, pilgrimage to relikes and saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, &c. with such like, and these they call workes of perfection, which they preferre before the other commanded in the law of God. Insomuch that in comparison of these, the other necessarie duties commanded and commended by the word of God (as to beare office in the common-wealth, to liue in the godly state of matrimonie, to sustaine the office of a seruant in a house) is contemned, and accounted as prophane in comparison of these, contrarie to the tenth principle aboue mentioned.

The fourth error of the papists touching the imperfection of man in fulfilling the perfection of the law.

Precepts and counsels.

Works of supererogation. Mens traditions preferred before the workes of Gods law.

Against the principle of Scripture.

## Of sinne.

OF sinne likewise they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles, and the ancient church of Rome, while

Erroneous deceite of the latter church of Rome concerning Sinne.

while they consider not the deepenesse and largenesse of sinne, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sinne extendeth not onely to these, but also comprehendeth the blindnesse and ignorance of the mind, lacke of knowledge and true feare of God, the unfeawardnesse of mans mind to Godward, the prime rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the wideliting will of man to God and his word. The sense of fleshly saint Paul also calleth an enemie against God, and fleshly in himselfe, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sinne.

Definition of sinne light of it.

As touching also originall sinne, wherein we are borne, which is the destruction of originall iustice, and of Gods image in vs remaining in vs and bringing forth in vs wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtinesse, against the law of God, and never ceaseth so long as man liueth) this originall sinne the popes doctrine doth not denie, but yet doth much extenuate the same, and holdeth that this inward concupiscence and vitious affections not hurtling out in vs with consent of will, are no mortall nor damnable sinne, but onely Fomes peccati: and say moreouer, that this Concupiscentia in vs, is no depravation of the higher, but onely of the lower parts of man, being a thing ἀδιάφορον, indifferent, and no lesse natural in vs than is the appetite to eate and drinke, and that the same is left to remaine in the saints after baptisme, to be to them occasion of more meritting, &c.

Fomes peccati. Concupiscentia.

Originall sinne extenuated.

## Of penance, or repentance.

False doctrine of the latter church of Rome touching penance.

OF penance, this latter Laterane church of Rome, of late hath made a sacrament (contrarie to the fourth principle before) which penance, say they, standeth of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free will, without the law and the holy Ghost, Per actus elicitos, through mans owne action and endeuour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sinne. In confession they require a full rehearsall of all sinnes, whereby the priest knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sinnes, Ex opere operato destroyeth remission, contrarie to the fourteenth principle before. Satisfactions they call Opera indebita, inioyned by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away, and changeth eternall punishment into temporall paines, which paines also it doth mitigat. And againe, these satisfactions may bee taken away by the popes indulgence, &c.

Contrition. Confession.

Satisfaction.

This fantastic and heathenish doctrine of penance farre differeth from the true teaching of holy scripture; by the which teaching, repentance properlie containeth these three parts, contrition, faith, and new life. Contrition is called in scripture the sorrow of heart, rising vpon the consideration of sinne committed, and of the anger of God prouoked, which sorrow driueth a man to Christ for succour: whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newnesse of life, which wee call new obedience, working fruits worthie of repentance.

True doctrine of repentance by the scripture. Parts of repentance. 1. Contrition. 2. Faith. 3. Fruits worthie obedience.

## Difference betweene the law and *the Gospell.*

AS there is nothing more necessarie and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference betweene the law and the Gospell: so is the church of Rome much to blame in this behalfe, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so diuers and contrarie one from another: as the threatnings and promises, things temporall with things eternall, sorowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedome, &c: teaching the people, that what soeuer the law saith, the gospel confirmeth, and whatsoeuer the gospell saith the same is agreeable to the law, and so make they no difference betweene Moses and Christ, saue onelie that Moses (they say) was the giuer of the old law, Christ is the giuer of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the gospell to be nothing else but a new law giuen by Christ, binding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deseruings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so deuide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts, to wit, the law of nature, the law of Moyses, and the law of Christ. And as for the gospell (they say) it is reuealed for no other cause, but to shew to the world more perfect precepts and counsels, than were in the old law: to the fulfilling whereof they attribute iustification, and so leaue the poore consciences of men in perpetuall doubt, and induce other manifold errours: bringing the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedie against the law, but came as another Moses, to giue a new law to the world.

A Babylonicall confusion in the popes decrees. Either diuerting the paths for the ruyning Moses and Christ. Papists make the gospell a new law.

Papists deuide the law into three. The law of nature. The law of Moyses, and the law of Christ. Their popish church deuideth also the office of Christ.

Furthermore, as they make no difference betweene the nature of the law and the nature of the gospell, confounding Moses and Christ together: so neither do they distinct or discerne the time of the law, and the time of the gospell alsunder. For where S. Paul bringeth in the law to be a schoolemaster, and limitteth him his time vnto Christ: and saith that Christ is the end of the law, that is, whereas the law ceaseth, there Christ begi-

The time of the law, and time of the gospell distinguished.

gineth, and where Christ beginneth there the law endeth: they contrarie make the law to haue no end nor ceasing, but giue to it immortall life, a kingdom equall with Christ, so that Christ and the law together do raigne ouer the soule and conscience of man. Which is untrue. For either Christ must giue place, and the law stand: or the law (the condemnation and bondage of the law I mean) must end, and Christ reigne. For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction, cannot reigne and gouerne together. But Christ the sonne of God which once died, can die no more, but must reigne for euer. Wherefore the law with his strength, sting, and curse, must needs cease and haue an end. And this is it that S. Paul speaking of the triumph of Christ, saith, that he Ascending vp led away captiuitie captiue, & hath set man at libertie, not at libertie to liue as fleshly lusteth, neither hath freed him from the vse and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that There is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Iesu, which walke not after the flesh, &c. Rom. 8. And in another place, S. Paul speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that Christ hath taken the obligation written against vs in decrees, and hath nailed it vpon the crosse, triumphing ouer all, &c. So that as the kingdome of Christ first began vpon the crosse, euen so vpon the same crosse, and at the same time the kingdome of the law expired, and the malediction of the law was to crucified vpon the crosse, that it shall neuer rise againe, to haue any power against them that be in Christ Iesu. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power ouer her: euen so we now being espoused vnto Christ our second husband, are discharged vtterlie from our first husband the law, and as S. Paul in another place saith) Are no more vnder the law, that is, vnder the dominion and malediction of the law. But vnder grace, that is, vnder perpetuall remission of sinnes, committed not onely before our baptisme, but as well also after baptisme, and during all our life long. For therein properlie consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sinne vnto vs, so often as the repenting sinner rising vp by faith fleeth vnto Christ, and apprehendeth Gods mercie and remission promised in him, according to the testimonie both of the psalme, Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sinne, &c: and also of all the prophets, Which (as S. Peter saith) giue record to him, that through his name all that beleeue in him shall receiue remission of their sins, &c. Act. 10. Which being so, as it cannot be denied, then that neede these pitiat and extraordinarie remissions to be brought into the church by care confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the popes pardons. For if there be no condemnation, but a free and generall deliuerance for all men, once gotten by the victorie of Christ, from the penalitie of the law: what needeth then any particular remission of sinnes, at sundrie times to be sought at the priests hands or the popes pardons? he that hath a generall pardon needeth no particular. If remedie for sinne be generall and perpetuall once gotten for euer, to all them that be in Christ Iesu, what needeth any other remedie by auricular confession? If it be not generall and perpetuall, how then is it true that S. Paul saith? The law is crucified, and condemnation abolished? or how standeth redemption perpetuall and generall, if remission be not generall? for what is redemption else, but remission of sinnes, or sinnes bought out? Or what else to kill the law, but to discharge vs from condemnation for euer? He that deliuereth his friend for a time out of his enemies hand, doth him a pleasure: but he that killeth the enemie once out of the way, giueth perpetuall safetie. So if remission of sinnes by Christ were for some sinnes and not for all, the law then must needs liue still. But now the killing and crucifying of the law importeth full remission to bee absolute, and our safetie to be perpetuall. But here perase will be obiected of some: How standeth remission of sinnes certaine and perpetuall, seeing new offences being daily committed, doe daily require new remission? Hereto I answere: Albeit sins doe daily grow, whereby we haue need daily to desire God to Forgiue our trespasses, &c: yet notwithstanding the cause of our remission standeth euer one and perpetuall, neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to bee sought besides that alone. This cause is the sacrificed bodie of Christ once vpon the crosse for all sins that either haue or shall be committed. Beside this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor mens pardons that remitteth sinnes.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and euer perpetuall, which worketh remission of sinnes vnto vs: so is the promise of God euer one, once made and standeth perpetuall, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is alwaies sure and cannot faile, which offereth remission to all them that beleeue in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldlie conclude, that what time soeuer a repenting sinner beleeueth and by faith applieth to him the sacrifice of Christ, he hath by Gods owne promise remission of his sinnes, whether they were done before or after baptisme.

Malediction of the law ceaseth in Christ.

The bodie of the law crucified, Christ and the law cannot reigne together. Ephes. 4.

The power of the law is for a time.

The power of Christ is for euermore. Rom. 8. Colos. 2.

The malediction of the law giuen vnto Christ. The cause of remission is one and perpetuall.

Objection.

The cause of remission euer one and perpetuall.

And



The meanes whereby remission is promised to onely faith.

And moreouer, for so much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner, by no other meanes nor condition, but onely one, that is, by faith in Christ: therefore excluding all other meanes and conditions of mans working, we saie, that what repenting sinner soeuer beleeueth in Christ, hath alreadie in himselfe (and needeth not to seeke to anie priest) perpetuall assurance of remission, not for this time or that time onelie, but for euer and a daie. For the promise saith not, He that beleeueth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sinne no more: neither doth it say, that the law is staid, or the sentence reprieued, but saith plainlie, that the law with his condemnation and sentence hir selfe is condemned and hanged vp, and shall neuer rise againe to them that be in Christ Iesu: and promiseth indeterminatlie, without limitation, remission of sinnes. To all that beleeue in his name, &c. Act. 10. And likewise in another place the scripture speaking absolutelie, saith, Sinne shall not preuaile ouer you, and addeth the reason why: saying: Because ye are not vnder the law but vnder grace. Rom. 6. Adding this lesson withall (as followeth in the same place) Not that sinners should sin more therefore, because they are vnder grace, but onelie that weake infirmities might be releeued, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners holpen from desperation, to the praise of Gods glorie. For as God forgiueth not sinners because they should sinne, so neither doth infirmitie of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrat the same, as it is written: My strength is made perfect in infirmitie. 2. Corin. 12. And againe: Where sinne aboundeth, there superaboundeth also grace.

The words of promise free and absolute.

Act. 10.

Rom. 6.

Mans infirmitie imparteth not the grace of Christ, but augmenteth it. 2. Cor. 12. Rom. 5.

For the causes of remission of sinnes.

To be vnder the law, and vnder grace expounded.

In remission of sinnes therefore, these foure things must concurre together; first the cause that worketh (which is the sacrifice of Christs bodie) secondlie the promise that offereth, thirdlie faith that apprehendeth, fourthly the repenting sinner that receiueth. And although sinnes dailie do grow, which dailie prouoke vs to craue remission: yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our dailie sinnes, and the meanes which apprehend and applie the said cause vnto vs, they remaine alwayes one and perpetuall: besides which no other cause nor meanes is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Iesu, there is no law to condemne them, though they haue deserued condemnation: but they are vnder a perpetuall kingdome & a beaten full of grace and remission to couer their sinnes, and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Iesu our Lord.

What to be vnder grace. Psalm. 32. Act. 10.

One remedie for remission of sinnes and no more.

Particular confession no remedie for remission of sinnes.

The popes errours touching remission of sins directed.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first which seeke anie other cause of remission then onelie the blond of our Sauiour: secondly, which assigne any other meanes to applie the bloudshedding of Christ vnto vs, besides onelie faith: thirdlie and especiallie, which so limit and restraine the eternall priuilege of Christs passion, as though it serued but onely for sinnes done without and before faith, and that the rest after baptisme committed must be done awaie by confession, pardons, and satisfactorie deeds. And all this rebellion, to the true nature of the law and the gospell is not vnknowne, nor the difference rightlie considered betweene the times of the one and of the other. Neither againe do they make anie distinction betweene the maledication of the law and ble of the law. And therefore whensoeuer they heare vs speake of the law (meaning the maledication of the law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander vs, as though we spake against the good exercises of the law and giue liberty of flesh to carnall men to liue as they list. Whereof more shall be said (by the Lords grace) as place & time shal hereafter require.

What inconuenience riseth for lacke of distinction betweene the law and the Gospell.

Remission of sinnes slandred vnto a generall cause, and not particular.

The law crucified by Christ, what it meaneth.

## Of free will.

COncerning free will, as it may peraduenture in some case be admitted, that men without grace maie do some outward functions of the law, and keepe some outward obseruances or traditions: so as touching things spirituall and appertaining to saluation, the strength of man being not regenerate by grace, is so infirme & impotent, that he can performe nothing, neither in doing well nor willing well. Who after he be regenerated by grace may worke and do well, but yet in such sort, that still remaineth not withstanding a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetuall repugnance betweene the flesh and spirit. And thus was the originall church of the ancient Romans first instituted. From whom se now do we fare this latter church of Rome hath degenerated, which he doth not affirmeth, that men without grace may performe the obedience of the law, and prepare themselues to grace by working, so that those works maie be meritorious, and of congruitie or condigne grace. Which grace once obteined then men may (say they) perfectlie performe the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spirituall actions and works which God requireth, and to those works of condignitie deserue euerlasting life. As for the infirmitie which still remaineth in nature, that they nothing regard nor once speake of.

Meritum de congruo.

Meritum de condigno.

## Of inuocation and adoration.

False doctrine concerning inuocation.

OTher and besides these vncatholike and almost vnchristian absurdities and defections from the apostolical faith aboue specified, let vs consider the maner of their inuocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men, saying: that saints are to be called vpon, Tanquam mediatores intercessionis, As mediators of intercession: Christum verò tanquam mediatorem salutis, And Christ as the mediator of saluation. And affirme moreouer, that Christ was a mediator onelie in time of his passion. Which is repugnant to the words of saint Paul inuiting to the old Romans, chapter eight, where he speaking of the intercession of Christ: Which is (saith he) on the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for vs, &c. And if Christ be a mediator of saluation, what needeth then anie other intercession of the saints for our sakes? For saluation being once had what can we require more? Or what lacketh he more to be obteined of the saint's which is sure to be saued onelie by Christ? And yet in their catholike deuotions, why do they teach vs thus to praie to the blessed virgine: Salua omnes quite glorificant, that is, Saue all them that glorifie thee, &c.: if saluation onelie belong to Christ: rules they studie of purpose to leame contrarie to themselues.

Mediator of intercession. Obiect. a certeine mediator by the doctrine of S. Paul. 1. Tim. 2. Christ onelie being our mediator of saluation: why mediation of saints? Satisfaction falselie attributed to the blessed virgin.

Hitherto also pertineth the worshipping of reliues, and the false adoration of sacraments, that is, the outward signes of the things signified, contrarie to the seuenth principle before. Adde to this also the prophanation of the Lords supper, contrarie to the vse for which it was ordeined, in reserving it after the communion ministred, in setting it to sale for money, and falslie perswading both themselues and others, that the priest doth merit both to himselfe that saith, and to him that heareth. Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis, &c: that is, Onelie by the meere doing of the worke, though the partie that eateth the same hath no motion in him.

Idolatrous adoration of reliues and sacraments. Prophanation of the Lords supper. False meritting by massing.

## Of sacraments, baptisme and the Lords Supper.

AS touching sacraments, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

False doctrine touching Sacraments. The number.

First they erre falslie in the number. For where the institution of Christ ordeineth but two, they (contrarie to the fourth principle aboue prefixed) haue added to the prescription of the Lords word, fiue other sacraments.

Cause finall.

2 Secondlie, in the cause finall they erre. For where the word hath ordeined those sacraments to excite our faith, and to giue vs admonitions of spirituall things: they contrarilie do teach that the sacraments do not onelie stirre vp faith, but also that they availe and are effectuall without faith, Ex opere operato, sine bono motu vtentis, &c. As is to be found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, and others more.

The operation.

3 Thirdlie, in the operation & effect of the sacraments they faile, where they contrarie to the mind of the scriptures, do saie, that they giue grace, and not onelie so do signifie, but also conteine and exhibit that which they signifie, to wit, grace and saluation.

The application of sacraments.

4 Fourthlie, they erre also in application, applying their sacraments both to the quicke and the dead, to them also that be absent, to remission of sinnes, and releasing of paine, &c.

Errors and abuses in baptisme.

In the sacrament of baptisme they are to be reproued, not onelie for adding to the simple words of Christs institution diuers other new found rites and phantisies of men: but also where the vse of the old church of Rome was onelie to baptise men, they baptise also bels, and applie the words of baptisme to water, fire, candels, stocks, and stones, &c.

Baptising of bells.

But especiallie in the supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthilie swarueth from the right mind of the scripture, all order, reason, and fashion, most worthie to be exploded out of all christian churches. Touching the which sacrament, the first errour is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking and kneeling vnto it, in reseruing also and carrying the same about in pompe & procession in townes and fields. Secondlie also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leauing there no substance of bread and wine to remaine, but onelie the reall bodie and blond of Christ, putting no difference betweene calling and making. Because Christ called bread his bodie, therefore, saie they, he made it his bodie, and so of a wholesome sacrament, make a perilous idoll and that which the old church of Rome did euer take to be a mysterie, they turne into a blind mist of meere accidences to bleare the peoples eies, making them to beleeue they see that they see not and not to see that which they see, and to worship a thing made, for their maker, a creature for their creator: and that was inclosed out of a wheaten sheafe they set vp in the church, and worship for a sauiour: and when they haue worshipped him, then they offer him to his father: and when they haue offered him, then they eat him vp, or else close him fast in a pix, where if he be corrupt and putrifie before he be eaten, then they burne him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well by scriptures, that the bodie of Christ can neuer corrupt and putrifie: yet for all this corruption will they needs make it the bodie of Christ, and burne all them which beleeue not that which is against true christian beleefe.

The sacrament turned to an idoll.

Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

## Of matrimonie

WHat order and rule saint Paul hath set for marriage in his epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest: whereas

Abhominable and lewde decrees of the popes church touching marriage. 1. Cor. 7.

he preferreth single life in such as haue the gift of continence, before the married state: so against in such as haue not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other: willing euerie such one to haue his wife: Because of fornication. Furthermore, how the said apostle alloweth a bishop to bee the husband of one wife: so he erected not to the manner of the Iewes, which were permitted to haue many: and how vehemently hee reproueth them that restraine marriage, his letters to Timothie do record. Moreouer, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to marrie, in the booke of Leuiticus is to bee seene, chapter eighteene. Also how children ought not to marrie without consent of their parents, by manifest examples of the scriptures it is notorious.

Single life bringeth more pollution then mariage. Mariage honorable. The church pretendeth some reuerence to the holy state of mariage. The popes decree against mariage and single life. The third part of the yeare exempted from mariage. Mariage within the fifth degree by the popes law. Without infidelitie it is not lawfull to marrie by the popes lawe. Great inconueniences come by restraining of mariage.

Contrarie to these ordinances of the scripture, the new catholikes of the popes church, first doe repute and call mariage a state of imperfection, and preferre single life, be it neuer so impure, before the same, pretending that where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth heauen. Furthermore, as god as the third part of christendome, if it be no more, both men and women, they keepe through coated bowes from mariage, hauing no respect whether they haue the gift or no. Ministers and priests, such as are found to haue wiues, not onely they remoue out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death vpon them, and account their children for bastards and illegitimate: Againe, as god as the third part of the yeare they exempt and suspend from libertie of marriage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend further then euer did the law of God, euen to the fifth or sixth degree. Which degree notwithstanding they release againe when they list for money. Dare and besides all this, they haue added a new found prohibition of spirituall kindred, that is, that such as haue been gossips, or godfathers and godmothers together in christening an other mans childe, must not by their lawe marrie together. Briefly and finally in this doctrine and cases of matrimonie, they gaine and rake to themselues much money from the people, they augment horrible sodomitrie, they nourish wicked aduiterie and much fornication, they fill the world with offensions and bastards, and giue great occasion of murthering infants.

## Of magistrates and ciuil gouernement.

The corrupt doctrine of the popes church concerning ciuil rulers and magistrates. Rom. 13.

YE heard before what rules and lessons saint Paul gaue to the old Romans concerning magistrats, to whose authoritie he would all humane creatures to be subiected, and how they are the ministers of God, hauing the sword giuen vnto them, wherewith they ought to repaire false dearine and idolatrie, and maintaine that which is true and right, Rom. 13. Now let vs survey a little the popes proceedings, and marke how farre he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points almost from true christianitie.

1 First, the pope with all his clergie exempt themselues from all obedience ciuill.

2 They arrogate to themselues authority to ordaine and constitute, without all leaue or knowledge of the ordinarie magistrate.

3 Yea they take vpon them to depose and set vp rulers and magistrates, whom they list.

## Of purgatorie.

The fantasies and anticdes of the popes church concerning purgatorie.

THE paradoxes, or rather the fantasies of the latter church of Rome concerning purgatorie, be monstrous, neither old nor apostolicall.

1 First (say they) there is a purgatorie, where soules do burne in fire after this life.

2 The paine of purgatorie differeth nothing from the paines of hell, but onely that it hath an end; the paines of hell haue none.

3 The painefull suffering of this fire fretteth and scoureth away the sinnes before committed in the bodie.

Ex Thom. Mora & alijs.

4 The time in these paines indureth in some longer, in some lesse, according as their sinnes deserue.

5 After which time of their paines being expired, then the mercie of God doth translate them to heauenly blisse, which the bodie of Christ hath bought for them.

6 The paines of purgatorie bee so great, that if all the beggers of the world were seene on the one side, and but one soule of purgatorie on the other side, the whole world would pite more that one, then all the others.

7 The whole time of punishment in this purgatorie must continue so long, till the fire haue cleane fretted and scoured away the rustie spots of euery sinfull soule there burning, vnlesse there come some release.

8 Helpes and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, be the popes pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the altar, dirges, and trentals, prayer, fasting, meritorious deeds out of the treasure house of the church, almes and charitable deeds of the liuing, in satisfying Gods iustice for them, &c.

Manifest defection of the popes church from the old faith of Rome.

9 Lacke of beliefe of purgatorie bringeth to hell.

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, banities, and follies, besides their blasphemous railings & contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome, wherein they haue made manifest desection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriuing the church of one kind of the sacrament, in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of Gods word, in praying and speaking to the people, and administring sacraments in a tongue vnknowne, in mistaking the authoritie of the keyes, in their vnwritten verities, in making the authoritie of the scripture insufficient, in vntrue iudgement of the church and the wrong notes of the same, in the supremacie of the see of Rome, in their wrong opinions of antichrist.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other bookes both in Latine and English, let faith in these our daies; I shall not nede further herein to trauell, especially seeing the contrarie betweene the popes church and the church of Christ, betweene the doctrine of the one and the doctrine of the other, is so euident that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feeleth it not.

Contrarietie betweene the religion of Christ and of the pope briefly noted.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend, which may suffice for all) whereas the doctrine of Christ is altogether spirituall, consisting wholie in spirit and veritie, and requireth no outward thing to make a true christian man but onely baptisme (which is the outward profession of faith) and receiuing the Lords supper: let vs now examine the whole religion of this latter church of Rome, and we shall find it from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremoniall exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priests hand, outward sacrifice of the masse, buying of pardons, purchasing of obits, externe worshipping of images and reliques, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward workes of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meates, difference of times and places, peculiar rites, and obseruances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holydaies, conuning to church, hearing of seruice, externe succession of bishops, and of Peters see, externe forme and notes of the church, &c. So that by this religion to make a true christian and a good catholike, there is no working of the holy ghost almost required. As by example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let vs here define a christian man after the popes making: whereby we may see the better what is to be iudged of the scope of his doctrine.

No outward thing to be required in Christs doctrine to make a christian man but onely baptisme and the Lords supper. All doctrine of the popes standeth onely in outward things.

## A christian man after the popes *making defined.*

A christian man defined after the popes doctrine.

AFter the popes catholike religion, a true christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptised in the Latin tongue where the godfathers profesie they cannot tell what) then confirmed by the bishop: the mother of the child to be purified, after he bee growen in yeares, then to come to the church, to keepe his fasting daies, to fast the Lent, to come vnder benedicite, that is to be confessed of the priest, to do his penance, at Easter to take his rites, to heare masse and diuine seruice, to set vp candles before images, to crepe to the crosse, to take holy bread and holy water, to go on procession, to carie his palmes and candle, and to take ashes, to fast the ember daies, rogation daies, and vigils, to keepe the holy daies, to pay his tithes and offering daies, to go on pilgrimage, to buy pardons, to worship his maker ouer the priests head, to receiue the pope for his supreme head, and to obey his lawes, to receiue S. Nicholas clerks, to hane his beads, and to giue to the high altar, to take orders if he will be a priest, to say his mattens, to sing his masse, to lift vp faire, to keepe his vow, and not to marrie, when he is sicke to bee anneled, and take the rites of the holy church, to be buried in the churchyard, to be rung for, to bee sung for, to be buried in a friers cole, to find a soule priest, &c.

All which points being obserued, who can denie but this is a decent man and a perfect christian catholike, and fure to be saued, as a true faithfull child of the holy mother church?

Now loke vpon this definition, and tell me (good reader) what faith or spirit, or what working of y Holy ghost in at this doctrine is to be required. The grace of our Lord Iesu giue the true light of his gospell to shine in our hearts. Amen.

Two things in this historie chiefly to be noted.

The king dome of Christ in this world.

The visible church. The church of Christ diuided in two sorts of people.

Coppinall sacrifice detested to small profit.

Turned ouer.



# The first Booke of the Acts and Monuments, containing the three hundred yeeres next *after Christ, with the ten persecutions of the* primitiue Church.

THese things before premised, hauing thus hitherto prepared the way vnto our storie, let vs now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter: that as we haue heretofore set forth in a generall description the whole state as well of the primitiue as of the latter times of this church of Rome: so now consequently to discourse in particular sort the acts and doings of euery age, by it selfe, in such order as is afore prefixed.

1 Firſt, to declare of the suffering time of the church, which containeth about the time of three hundred yeeres after Christ.

2 Secondly, the flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred yeeres.

3 Thirdly, the declining time of the church, and of true religion, other three hundred yeeres.

4 Fourthly, of the time of antichrist, raigning and raging in the church, since the losing of Satan.

5 Lastlie, of the reforming time of Christs church in these latter three hundred yeeres.

In the tractation of all which things our chiefe purpose and endeuor shall be (so neere as the Lord will giue vs grace) not so much to intermeddle with outward affaires of princes, or matters ciuill (except sometime for example of life) as peculiarlie minding (by the helpe of the Lord) to prosecute such things, which to the ecclesiasticall estate of the church are appertaining: as first to intreat of the stablishing of christian faith, then of the persecutions of tyrants, the constancie and patience of Gods saints, the first conuersion of christian realmes to the faith of Christ, namely of this realme of England and Scotland: first beginning with king Lucius, and so forward following the order of our English kings here in this land, to declare the maintenance of true doctrine, the false practise of prelats, the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisie, the manifold assaults, warres and tumults of the princes of this world, against the people of God. Wherein may appeare the wonderfull operation of Christs mighty hand euer working in his church, and neuer ceasing to defend the same against his enemies, according to the veritie of his own word, promising to be with his church vntill the world shall stand, so as by the processe of this storie may well be proued, and be testified in the sequell thereof.

In the tractation of all which things two speciall points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisit and necessarie of euery christian man to obserue and to note for his owne experience and profit, as first the disposition and nature of this world: secondly the nature and condition of the kingdome of Christ: the sanctie of the one, and stablishment of the other: the prosperous and vniquiet state of the one, ruled by mans violence and wisdome, and the happie successe of the other euer ruled by Gods blessing and prouidence: the wrath and reuenging hand of God in the one, and his mercie vpon the other. The world I call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him. On the other side, the kingdome of Christ in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, & here take his part in this world against the world: the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and alwaies lightly is hated and molested of the world, yet it is the number, which the Lord peculiarlie doth bless and prosper, and euer will. And this number of Christs subiects is it, which we call the visible church here in earth. Which visible church, hauing in it selfe a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be diuided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession onlie, the other which by election inwardly are ioyned to Christ: the first in words and lips seeme to honour Christ, and are in the visible church onely, but not in the church inuisible, and partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible and also in the inuisible church of Christ, which not in words onely and outward profession, but also in heart doe truly serue and honor Christ, partaking not onely the sacraments, but also the heauenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it hapneth, that as betweene the world and the kingdome of Christ there is a continuall repugnance: so betweene these two parts of this visible church also (as said) oft times groweth great variance and mortall persecution, insomuch that sometime the true church of Christ hath no greater enemies then of their owne profession and compantie, as happened not onely in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost continually: Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1: but especiallie in these latter daies of the church vnder the persecution of antichrist and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifestly hereafter may appeare. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

At the first preaching of Christ, and comming of the gospell, who should rather haue knowne and receiued him, then the Pharisies and Scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who persecuted and reiected him more then they themselues? What followed? They in refusing Christ to be their king, and choosing rather to be subiect vnto Cesar, were by the said their owne Cesar at length destroyed: when as Christs subiects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, that a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospell of God, when it is so gently offered. Gods punishment for refusing the gospell.

The like example of Gods wrathfull punishment is to be noted no lesse in the Romans also themselues. For when Tiberius Cesar, hauing receiued by letters from Pontius Pilat of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heauen, and how he was receiued as God of many, was himselfe also moued with beliefe of the same, and did confer therof with the whole senat of Rome, to haue Christ adored as God: but they not agreeing thereunto refused him, because that contrarie to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God, before the senat of Rome had so decreed and approued him, &c. Tertul. Apol. cap. 5. Thus the vaine senat following rather the lawe of man then of God, and which were contented with the emperour to reigne ouer them, were not contented with the meeke king of glorie the sonne of God to be their king: and therefore after much like sort to the Iewes were scourged and intrapped for their vniust refusing, by the same way which they themselues did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and reiected Christ: so the iust permission of God did stir vp their owne emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselues were almost all deuoured, and the whole citie most horrible afflicted the space almost of three hundred yeeres together. For first the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his raigne was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a sharpe and beaute tyrant, who neither fauoured his owne mother, nor spared his owne nephues, nor the princes of the citie, such as were his owne counsellors, of whom to the number of twentie he left not past two or three aliue: so cruell was he to the citie, that as the storie recordeth, *Nullus à pœna hominem cessabat diespræterquam religiosus quisque ac sacer.* Suetonius reporteth him to be so ferne of nature & tyrannicall, that in time of his reigne, hee many were accused and condemned with their wiues and children, maids also first defloured, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twentie persons to be drawne to the place of execution. By whom also, through the iust punishment of God, Pilat, vnder whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the towne of Lions, and at length did slay himselfe. Neither did Herod and Caiphas long escape, of whose falloweth hereafter Agrippa also by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored. In the reigne of Tiberius, the Lord Iesus the son of God, in the foure and thirtith yeere of his age, which was the fruententh of this emperor, by the malice of the Iewes suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sinne, death, and satan the prince of this world, and rose againe the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this foresaid Tiberius Nero (otherwise called Biberius Nero) liued five yeeres, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the christians, through the commandement of the emperour. Ex Suet. in Vita Tiberij. Christ risen again. {Anno. 34}

Saint Paul conuerted.

Anno 35 Anno 39 Cæsar Caligula.

In the raigne also of this emperor, and vere which was the next after the passion of our Sauiour, or somewhat more, saint Paul was conuerted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had raigned three & twentie yeeres, succeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, & Domitius Neroclobych three were likewise such scourges to the senat and people of Rome, that the first not only take other mens liues violently from them, but also defloured three of his owne sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as god, and temples to be erected in his name, and vsed to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set vp in all temples, and also in the temple of Hierusalem, which caused great disturbance among the Iews, and then began the abomination of desolation to be set vp in the holy place, spoken of in the gospell. His cruell condition, or else displeasure was such toward the Romans, that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one necke, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. Vp this said Caligula, Herod the murtherer of Iohn Baptist, and cundemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetuall banishment, where hee died miserable. Caiphas also, which wickedly sat vpon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priests rome, and Ionathan set in his place. The raging fiercenes of this Caligula incensed against the Romans, had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, which slue him in the fourth yeere of his raigne. After whose death was found in his closet two little libels, one called a sword, the other the dagger: in the which libels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this sword and dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein diuers kindes of poison were kept in glasses and bottels for the purpose, to destroy a wonderfull number of people; which poisons afterward being throwne into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish. Gorti. Viterb.

Caligula commanded his image to be set vp in the temple of Hierusalem. The abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

Diuers miserably slain in banishment. Caiphas deposed.

Anno 43

Ex Gorfridi Viterbiensis. part. 17.

But what which this Caligula had only conceiued, the same did the other two which came after hime to passe. Claudius Nero, who raigned thirteene yeeres with no little cruelties, but especially the third of these Neroes called Domitius Nero, which succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteene yeeres, with such furie and tyrannie, that he slue the most part of the senators, he destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, that he slue a beast, yea rather a diuel then a man, that he seemed to be borne to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous vncleannesse, that he abstained not from his own mother, his natural sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother in law, his sister, his wife great with child, also his instructor Seneca and Lucane, with diuers more of his owne kindred and consanguinitie. Moreouer, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelue places, and so continued it fire daies and seuen nights in burning, while that he ta sate the example how Troy buried, sang the verses of Homer. And to auoid the infamie thereof, he laid the fault vpon the christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperour in his reigne fourteene yeeres, till at last the senat proclaiming him a publike enemie vnto mankind, condemned him to be drawne through the citie, and to be whipped to death. For the feare whereof, he tiping the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his seruants in the countrie, where he was forced to slay himselfe, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemie left that would doe so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony & faith of Christ. Anno 1. the nine.

Claudius Nero. Anno 56 Domitius Nero.

The horrible wickednesse and cruelties of Nero.

Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Anno 69

Thus ye se, which is worthie to be marked, how the ill seruice and heauie indignation of God from time to time euer followeth there, and how all things there go to ruine, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Iesus the sonne of God is contemned & not receiued, as by these examples may appeare, both of Romans which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their owne emperors, but also by ciuill wars, wherof three were fought in two yeres at Rome after the death of Nero, and other casualties (as in Sueton is testified) so that in the daies of Cibertius aforesaid, fiue thousand Romans were hurt and slaine at one time by fall of a theatre. And also most especially by the destruction of the Iewes, which about this same time, in the yere three score and thirteene, and fortie yeeres after the passion of Christ, and the third yere after the suffering of S. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian his father (who succeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleuen hundred thousand, besides them which Vespasian slue in subduing the countrie of Galile, ouer and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other prouinces to vile slauery, to the number of seuenteene thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph, of which, part he caue to be deuoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slaine. By whose case all nations & realmes may take example, what it is to reiect the visitation of Gods seruite being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their saluation.

Vespasian emperor and Titus his sonne. The destruction of the Iewes

A note for all Realmes to marke.

The Romans for contemning

And as this wrathfull vengeance of God thus hath been shewed vpon this rebellious people, both of the Iewes and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their owne emperors: so neither the emperors themselues, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their iust reward. For amongst so many emperors which put so many christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred yeeres, few or none of them scaped either not slaine themselues, or by some miserable end or other worthily reuenged. First of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neroes after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba within seuen monethes was slaine by Otho. And so did Otho afterward slay himself, being ouercome by Vitellius. And was not Vitellius shortly after driuen through the citie of Rome, and after he was tormented was throwne into Tiber? Titus a good emperor is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his brother. The said Domitian after he had been a persecutor of the christians, was slaine in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Narcidius. The like end was of Pertinax and Iulianus. Moreouer, after that Seuerus was slaine here in England, and lieth at Yorke, did not his sonne Bassianus slay his brother Geta, and for after slaine of Martialis? Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus were both slaine of their owne souldiers. After whom Heliogabalus that monstrous bellipanch, was of his owne people slaine, and driuen through the citie and cast into Tiber. Alexander Severus that worthie & learned emperor, which said hee would not feed his seruants doing nothing, with the boinels of the common wealth, although in life and vertues was much vnlike other emperors, yet prooued the like end, being slaine at Mentz with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the emperor before & a murderer had aduanced to great dignities. The third Maximinus also after three yeeres was slaine himselfe of his souldiers. What thould I speake of Martinus and Balbinus in like sort both slaine in Rome? Of Gordian slaine by Philip? Philip the first christened emperor, slaine or rather martyred for the same cause: of wicked Decius drowned, and his sonne slaine the same time in battell: of Gallus and Volusianus his sonne, emperors after Decius, both slaine by conspiracie of Aemilianus, who rose against them both in warre, and within three moneths after was slaine himselfe. Next to Aemilianus succeded Valerianus and Galienus his son, of whom Valerianus (who was a persecutor of the christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding sole of Sapores their king, who vsed him for a stole to leape vpon his horse, while his sonne Galienus sleeping at Rome, either knewe not, or could not once profer to reuenge his fathers ignominie. For after the taking of Valerian, to many emperors rose vp as were prouinces in the Roman monarchie. At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus who warred against him. It were too long here to speak of Aurelianus another persecutor, slaine of his secretarie; of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the first raigned fiue monethes and was slaine at Pontus, the other raigned two monethes & was murthered at Tarsis: of Probus, who although a good ciuill emperor, yet was he destroyed by his souldiers. After whom Carus the next emperor was slaine by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Diocletian, with his fellowes Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Sarentius, and Licinius, under whom all at one time (during the time of Diocletian) the greatest and most grieuous persecution was moued against the christian ten yeeres together. Of which Diocletian and Maximian deposed themselues from the empire. Galerius the chiefe minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderfull sickneste, hauing such a froe risen in the nether part of his belly, which consumed his priuie members, and so did swarme with wormes, that being not curable neither by surgerie nor physicke, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty toward the Christians, and so called in his proclamations against them. Notwithstanding, he not able to finish (as some say) the stinke of his froe slue himselfe. Maximinus in his warre, being tormented with paine in his guts, there died. Sarentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewise being ouercome by the said Constantine the great, was deposed from his empire, and afterward slaine of his souldiers. But on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when as the faith of Christ was receiued into the imperiall seat, we read of no emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Iulianus or Basilius which epelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himselfe, or Valens. Beside these we reade of no emperor to come to vtter and decay, as the others before mentioned. Ex lib. hist. tripart.

Titus, third shed by their owne emperours.

Examples of the iust plague of God vpon the Romane emperours persecuting and resisting Christ till the time of Constantine.

Tiberius. Caligula. Claudius. Domitius. Nero. Galba. Otho. Vitellius. Titus. Domitian. Commodus. Pertinax. Iulianus. Seuerus. Geta. Bassianus. Macrinus. Diadumenus. Heliogabalus. Alexander. Maximinus. Maximinus. Balbinus. Gordianus. Philippus. Decius. Gallus with Volusianus. Aemilianus. Valerianus. Galienus.

And thus haue we in these summe collected out of the chronicles, the vnquiet & miserable state of the emperors of Rome, vntill the time of christian Constantine, with the examples no lesse terrible then manifest, of Gods seuere iustice vpon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreouer, in much like sort and condition, if leasure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digresse into more lower times, and to come more nere home, the like examples





I could also infer of this our countrie of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and vnthankfull refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we reade how that God stirred vp Gildas to preach to the old Britains, and to exhort them vnto repentance & amendment of life, and afore to warne them of plagues to come if they repented not. What auailed it? Gildas was laughed to scorne, and vnrepentant harts went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on euery side and destroyed them, & gaue the land to other nations. Not many yeeres past, God seeing idolatrie, superstition, hypocrisie, & wicked liuing vsed in this realme, called vp that godly learned man Iohn Wickliffe, to preach vnto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their liues, to forsake their papistrie and idolatrie, their hypocrisie, superstition, and to walke in the feare of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his sermons was despised, his bookes and he himselfe after his death were burnt. What followed? They slue their right king, and set vp three twong kings on a row, vnder whom all the noble bloud was slaine vp, and halfe the commons there to, that in France, and with their owne sword in fighting among themselues for the crowne, and the cities and townes decaied, and the land brought halfe to a wildernesse, in respect of that it was before. O dreadfull plagues of Gods vengeance! Since that time, euen of late yeeres, God once againe hauing pitie of this realme of England, raised vp his prophets, namely William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, Iohn Frith, doctor Barnes, Ierome Garret, Anthonie Person, with diuers others, which both with their writings and sermons earnestly laboured to call vs vnto repentance, that by this meanes the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from vs. But how were they intreated? How were their painefull labours regarded? They themselues were condemned and burnt as heretikes, and their bookes condemned and burnt as heresies. The time shall come, saith Christ, that whosoeuer killeth you, will thinke that he doth God high good seruice. Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realme worthie the name of a plague, let the godly iudge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiuen vs these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let vs not therefore be proud and high minded, but most humble thanke him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like vnthankfull and superstition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old forme and state. And now how gratefull receiuers we be, with what heart, studie and reuerence wee embrace that which he hath giuen, that I referre either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequele, which perchance time will declare. But this by the way of digression. Now to regresse againe to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I haue set forth the iustice of God vpon these Roman persecutors: so now wee declare their persecutions raised vp against the people and seruants of Christ, within the space of three hundred yeeres after Christ. Which persecutions in number commonly are counted to bee tenne, besides the persecutions stirred vp by the Iewes in Hierusalem and other places against the apostles. In the which, first Saint Stephan the deacon was put to death, with diuers others mo, in the same rage of tyme either slaine, or cast into prison. At the doing whereof, Saul the same time plaied the boughtie Pharisie, being not yet conuerted, to the faith of Christ, whereof the history is plaine in the Acts of the apostles set forth at large by S. Luke.

Bilans. Gildas.

Wickliffe and his bookes condemned, and he burnt for all his cruelty after his death.

Examples of Gods terrible iudgements in the realme of England.

Iohn 16.

Gods benefites toward England.

A comfort for England.

Pontus.

Tacitus. Florinus.

Carus.

Diocletianus. Maximianus. Galerius. Maximinus. Sarentius. Licinius.

Saint Stephan the first ringleader of al Christs martyrs.

After the martyrdome of this blessed Stephan, suffered next Iames the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of Iohn. Of which Iames, mention is made in the Acts of the apostles the twelfth chapter. Where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephan, king Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certaine of the congregation: among whom Iames was one, whom he slue with the sword, &c. Of this Iames, Eusebius also inferreth mention, alleaging Clement, thus writing a memorable storie of him. This Iames (saith Clement) when he was brought to the tribunall seat, he that brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death: as he went to the execution, he being moued therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himselfe also of his owne accord to be a christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of Iames to forgiue him that he had done. After that Iames had a little paused with him vpon the matter, turning to him; Peace (saith he) be to thee brother, and kissed him, and both were beheaded together, in the yere of our Lord thirtie and five.

Saint Iames the apostle, brother of Iohn martyred. Acts 12.

Hist. eccle. lib. 2. cap. 9. ex Clemente septimo Hypotyposeon.

A notable conuersion of a wicked accuser and after a martyr.

Dorotheus in his booke named Synopsis testifieth, that Nicanor one of the seuen deacons, with two thousand others, which beleeued in Christ, suffered also the same day, when as Stephan did suffer.

Nicanor one of the seuen deacons, with two thousand other martyred.

The said Dorotheus witnesseth also of Hermon, another of the deacons, bishop afterward of Bostrum in Arabia, there to bee burned. Parmenias also another of the deacons suffered.

Ex Dorotheo in Synops.

Simon a deacon martyred.

Saint Thomas the apostle suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, also to the Germans, Hircanies, Bactres, and Magies. He suffered in Calamina a citie of Iuda, being slaine with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Spauritania, and in the countrie of Affrike, and in Britania, he was likewise crucified.

Simon Zelotes crucified.

Iudas brother of Iames, called also Thaddeus, and Lebeus, preached to the Edessens, and to all Mesopotamia, he was slaine vnder Augarus, king of the Edessens in Berito.

Thaddeus the apostle slaine.

Simon called Cananeus, which was brother to Iude aboue mentioned, & to Iames the younger, which all were the sonnes of Mary Cleopha, and of Alpheus, was bishop of Hierusalem after Iames, and was crucified in a citie of Egypt in the time of Traianus emperour, as Dorotheus recobeth. Sat Abdias writeth, that hee with his brother Iude, were both slaine by a tumult of the people in Suanir a citie of Parthis.

Simon Cananeus crucified.

Marke the euangelist, and first bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospell in Egypt, and there drawne with ropes vnto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, vnder the raigne of Traianus emperour.

Marke the euangelist burned.

Bartholomeus is said also to preach to the Indians, and to haue conuerted the gospell of saint Matthew into their tongue, where he continued a great space doing many miracles. At last in Silvania a citie of greater Armenia, after diuers persecutions, he was beaten to bone with staues, then crucified, and after being excoriat, he was at length beheaded. Iohn De monte regali.

Bartholomew the apostle crucified and beheaded. Ex Ioan. de monte regali.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter thus writeth Hierome in his book De catalogo scriptorum ecclesi. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time & reigne of Vespasianus, as our ancestors haue reported) did preach in the foursceore yeere of our Lord Iesu Christ to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Sarons: and in a citie which is called Angustia, where the Ethiopians doe now inhabit. He was buried in Patris a citie of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas the gouernour of the Epistle, for his preaching. Hitherto writeth Hierome, although in the number of yeres he seemeth a little to misse: for Vespasianus reached not to the foursceore yeere after Christ. But Bernard in his second sermon, and saint Cyprian in his booke De duplici martyrio, doe make mention of the confession and martyrdome of this blessed apostle, whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers we haue collected after this manner: that, When as Andrew being conuertant in a citie of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Christ: Egeas the gouernour hauing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constraine as many as did not follow Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senat, to doe sacrifice vnto the idols, and so giue diuine honor vnto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsell, and the doings of Egeas, went vnto him, saying in this effect vnto him: that, It behoued him which was iudge of men, first to know his iudge which dwelleth in heauen, and then to worship him being knowne, and so in worshipping the true God, to reuoke his mind from false gods and blind idols. These words spake Andrew to the counsell.

Ex Epiphanio cap. de duplici martyrio, ex Bernardo de serm. 2. de sancto Andrea

Andrew the apostle crucified for the gospell.

The words of Andrew to the counsell.

But he greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him whether he was the same Andrew that did ouerthrow the temple of the gods, and perswaded men of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and reiected. Andrew did plainly affirme that the princes of the Romans did not vnderstand the truth, and that the sonne of God comming from heauen into the world for mans sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not onely not gods, but also most cruell diuels, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but wherewith God is offended, and being offended turneth away and regardeth them not, and so by the wicked seruice of the diuell doe fall headlong into all wickednesse, and after their departing, nothing remaineth vnto them, but their euill deeds.

The reuerence of Andrew against idolatry.

But the proconsull esteeming these things to be as vaine, especially seeing the Iewes (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more: or if he did, that hee should be fastened to the crosse with all speed.

Andrew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatned: He would not haue preached the honour and glorie of the crosse, if hee had feared the death of the crosse. Wherevpon sentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew comming to the place, and seeing a crosse of the crosse prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the vnbecillitie of mortall men is wont to doe, neither did his bloud shrinke, neither did he faile

The constant Fatth of Andrew to the end.

in his speech, his bodie fainted not, neither was his mind molested, his vnderstanding did not faile him, as it is the maner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speake; and feruent charitie did appeare in his words as kindled sparkes: he said, O crosse most welcome and long looked for; with a willing mind, toptully and destrouslie I come to thee, being the scholer of him which did hang on thee: because I haue been alwaies thy louer, and haue coueted to embrace thee. So being crucified, he perished by the ghost and fell on sleepe, the day before the kalends of December.

The crosse here is not taken for the materiall crosse of wood: but for the maner of death vpon the crosse, which death was to him welcome.

S. Matthew the apostle suffred shame with a spare. *Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 24. 39. Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 1. Hiero. in catalogo script.*

Matthew, otherwise named Leui, first of a publicane made an apostle, wrote his gospel to the Iewes in the Hebrue tongue, as recordeth Eusebius, lib. 3. 24. 39. lib. 5. ca. 8. ca. 10. Also Irænæus. lib. 3. cap. 1. Item Hieronymus in catalogo scrip. Ecclesiast. Concerning the doings and decrements of this blessed apostle and euangelist, diuers things be recorded by Julius Africanus, vnder the protected name of Abdias, also of Vincentius, Pertontius, and others, but in such sort, as by the contents may greatly be suspected, the matter not to lacke some craftie sorgerie, for the more establishment of latter decretals, and Romish doctrine, as touching meates, consecration of nunnes, the superstitious prescription of Lent fast, not only in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all matrimonial copulation betweene man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent. Item, the strict prohibition not to taste any bodily sustentance, before the receiuing of the Lords supper. In ordaining of malle; and that no nunne must marrie after the vow of her profession, with such other like.

Joan. de Monte Regali, testifieth of Matthias, that after he had preached to the Iewes, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in Ethiopia.

Matthias the apostle stoned and beheaded. Philip the apostle crucified. *Ex Isido. lib. de patribus noui testam.*

Philippus the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of saluation to them, at length he suffered as the other apostles did, in Hierapolis a citie of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him. Isido.

James the apostle of Jerusalem.

## Of Iames the brother of the Lord thus we reade *in the storie of Clement and Egesippus.*

After that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cæsaria, and that the Iewes by the meanes thereof had lost their hope of perfourming their malitious vow against him conceiued, they fell vpon Iames the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to denie before all the people the faith of Christ. But he otherwise then they all looked for, fréelie and with a greater constancie before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the sonne of God, our Sauiour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the wisest among them all, for the highnelle of diuine wisdome and godlinesse, which in liuing he declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunitie to accomplish their mischiefe, because the kingdome the same time was vacant. For Festus being dead in Iewry, the administration of that prouince was destitute of a ruler, and a deputie. But after that manner Iames was killed, the words of Clement doe declare, which writeth that he was cast downe from the pinacle of the temple, and being smitten with the instrument of a fuller, was slaine: but Egesippus which liued in the time next after the apostles, describeth the cause diligently in his fifth commentarie, after this maner as followeth.

*Ex Clemente. Ex Egesippo in commentariis.*

Iames the brother of our Lord toke in hand to gouerne the church after the apostles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a iust and perfect man. Many & diuers other Iameses there were besides him, but this was borne holy from his mothers wombe, he drunke no wine nor any strong drinke, neither did he eat any liuing creature, the rasor neuer came vpon his head, he was not anointed with oile, neither did he vse bath, to him onely was it lawfull to enter into the holie place, neither was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with linke, and hee onlie entred into the temple, falling vpon his knees, asking remission for the people, so that his knees by oft kneeling left the sense of feeling, being benummed and hardened like the knees of a camell. He was (for worshipping God and craning forgiuenesse for the people) called iust, and for the excellencie of his iust life named Oblias, which (if you doe interpret it) is the safegard and iustice of the people, as the prophets declare of him: therefore when as many of the heretikes which were among the people asked him what maner of doze Jesus should be, he answered that he was the Sauior. Wherof some do beleeue him to be Jesus Christ, but the afore said heretikes neither beleeue the resurrection, neither that any shall come, which shall render vnto euery man according to his works, but as many as beleeue, they beleeued for Iames his cause. When as many therefore of the princes did beleeue, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Iewes and Pharisies, saying: It is dangerous lest that all the people doe looke for this Jesus, as for Christ. Therefore they gathered themselues together, and said to Iames: We beseech thee refraine the people, for they beleeue in Jesus as though he were Christ, we pray thee perswade them all which come vnto the feast of the passeouer of Jesus, for we are all obedient vnto thee, and all the people do testifie of thee that thou art iust, neither that thou doest accept the person of any man, therefore perswade the people that they be not deceiued in Jesus, and all the people and we will obay thee: therefore stand vpon the pillar of the temple, that thou maiest be seene from aboue, and that thy words may be perceiued of all the people, for to this passeouer all the tribes do come with all the countrie. And thus the forenamed Scribes and Pharisies did set Iames vpon the battlements of the church, and they cried vnto him & said: Thou iust man whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Jesus, which is crucified, tell vnto vs what is the doze of Jesus crucified. And he answered with a great voice, What do you aske me of Jesus the sonne of man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God in heauen, and shall come in the clouds of the skie: But when many were perswaded of this, they glorified God vpon the witnesse of Iames, and said: Osanna in the highest to the sonne of Dauid. Then the Scribes & the Pharisies said among themselues, We haue done euil that we haue caused such a testimonie of Jesus, but let vs goe vp and let vs take him, that they being compelled with feare, may denie that faith. And they cried out, saying: O, O, this iust man also is seduced, and they fulfilled that scripture which is spoken of in Esay: Let vs take away the iust man, because he is not profitable for vs, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works. Therefore they went vp to throw downe the iust man, and said among themselues: Let vs stone this iust man Iames, and they take him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast downe. But he turning, fell bowne vpon his knees, saying: O Lord God, father, I beseech thee to forgiue them, for they know not what they doe.

Esay 3.

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the priests of the children of Rechas, the sonne of Charobim spake to them the testimonie which is in Jeremie the prophet: Leaue off, what doe ye? The iust man praieth for you. And one of those which were present tooke a fullers instrument, wherewith they did vse to beat and purge cloth, and smote the iust man on his head, and so he finished his martyrdome, and they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth yet by the temple. He was a true testimonie to the Iewes and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Vespasianus the emperour destroying the land of Iewrie, brought them into captiuitie. These things being thus written at large of Egesippus, do well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This Iames was so notable a man, that for his iustice he was had in honour of all men, in so much that the wise men of the Iewes, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem & other calamities which hapned vnto them, to no other cause, but vnto the violence and iniury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his historie, where he speaketh of him after this manner: These things so chanced vnto the Iewes for a vengeance, because of that iust man Iames which was the brother of Jesus, whom they called Christ, for the Iewes killed him, although he was a righteous man.

Luke 23.

*Ioseph. lib. 20.*

The same Josephus declareth his death in the same booke and chapter, saying: Cesar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the lieutenant into Jury: but Ananus the younger being bishop, and of the sect of the Sadduces, trusting that he had obtained a conuenient time, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entred on his iourne, he called a councell, and calling many vnto him, among whom was Iames by name the brother of Jesu which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the law.

Whereby it appeareth, that many other besides Iames also at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Iewes, for the faith of Christ.

Martyrs.

# A description of the ten first persecutions in the primitiue church, with a liuely portraiture of the variety *of their torments.*

These things being thus declared for the martyrdome of the apostles, and the persecution of the Iewes: now let vs (by the grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like breuitie, the persecutions raised by the Romans against the christians in the primitiue age of the church during the space of three hundred yeeres, till the comming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of tenne most specially.

The first tenne persecutions in the primitiue church.

Wherein marueilous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of christian innocents that were slaine and confounded, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truelie, Alij ferro perepti. Alij flammis exusti. Alij flagris verberati. Alij

The slaughter common of the best martyrs in the primitiue church.



Alij vecibus perforati. Alij cruciati patibulo. Alij demersi pelagi periculo. Alij viui decoriati. Alij vinculis mancipati. Alij linguis priuati. Alij lapidibus obruti. Alij frigore afflicti. Alij fame cruciati. Alij truncatis manibus, alijsque cæsis membris, spectaculum cõmunciæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c: that is, Some slaine with sword. Some burnt with fire. Some with whips scourged. Some stabbed in with forkes of iron. Some fastened to the crosse or gibbet. Some drowned in the sea. Some their shins plucht off. Some their tongues cut off. Some stoned to death. Some killed with cold. Some starued with hunger. Some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembred, haue been so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Tellherof Augustine also in his booke De ciuit. 22. cap. 6. thus saith: Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, verebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, nõ pugnantes pro salute, sed salutẽ contemnẽtes pro seruatore. Whose kinds of punishments although they were diuers, yet the maner of constancie in all these martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpnesse of these so many and sundrie torments, and like cruelties of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that as Hierom in his epistle to Cromatius & Heliodorus saith: Nullus esset dies qui nõ vltra quinque millium numerũ martyrum reperiri posset adscriptus, excepto die calẽdarũ Januarij: that is, There is no day in the whole yere, vnto which the number of fiue thousand martyrs can not be ascribed, except only the first day of Januarie.

*Aug. de ciuit. lib. 22. cap. 6.*

The number of holy martyrs in the primitiue church.

## The first persecution.

The first persecution.

Anno 67 *Histor. eccle. lib. 2. cap. 24. 25. 2.*

The first persecution was stirred vp by Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor before mentioned, about the yeare of our Lord thirtie six & seuen. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was so fierce against the christians (as Eusebius recordeth) Vsque adeò vt videres repletas humanis corporibus ciuitates, iacentes mortuos simul cum paruulis senes, fœminasque absque vlla sexus reuerentia nudata in publico reiectaque starent cadauera: that is, Insomuch that a man might then see cities lie full of mens bodies, theold there lying together with the yong, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reuerence of that sex in the open streets, &c. Likewise Dosius writing of the said Nero saith: that he was the first which in Rome did raise vp persecution against the christians, and not onely in Rome, but also through all the prouinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of christians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreouer the testimonie of Hieronie vpon Daniel, saying: that Many there were of the christians in those daies, which seeing the filthie abominations, and intollerable cruelties of Nero, thought that he should be antichrist, &c.

*Oroſius. lib. 7.*

Nero thought to be antichrist.

Saint Peter the apostle crucified at Rome.

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified as some do write at Rome; albeit others denie, and not without cause, do doubt therof: comparing whole life and historie, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the gospell, and in the acts of saint Luke, chapter 4. 5. 12. I need not here to make any great repetition therof. As touching the cause & maner of his death, diuers there be which make relation, as Hierome, Egesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, & others, although they doe not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Hierome be these: Simon Peter the sonne of Jona, of the prouince of Galile, & of the towne of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, &c: after hee had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispertion of them that beleeued, of the circumcision in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithinia, in the second yere of Claudius the emperor, (which was about the yeare of our Lord fortie and foure) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chaire the space of fiue and twentie yeares, vntill the last yeare of the foresaid Nero, which was the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, of whom he was crucified, his head being bowne, and his feete vpward, himselfe so requiring, because he was (he said) vnworthie to be crucified after the same forme and maner as the Lord was, &c. Egesippus prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias also (if any authoritie is to be giuen to his booke, who following not onely the sense, but also the very sonne of wordes of Egesippus in this historie, seemeth to be extracted out of him, & of other authors) saith, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life, was required vpon a time to be present at the raising vp of a certaine noble yong man in Rome of Neroes kindred lately departed: whereas Peter also was desired to come to the reuiuing of the said personage. But when Magus in the presence of Peter could not do it, then Peter calling vpon the name of the Lord Jesus did raise him vp, and restored him to his mother, thereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay, and to bee detested in Rome. Not long after the said Magus threatned the Romans that he would leaue the citie, and in their sight flie away from them into heauen. So the day being appointed Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus, began to flie in the aire: but Peter by the power of the Lord Jesus brought him downe with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall his legs and ioints were broken, and hee there vpon died. Then Nero sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death. Which when y people perceiued, they intreated Peter with much adoe that hee would flie the citie. Peter through their importunitie at length perswaded, prepared himselfe to auoid. But comming to the gate he saw the Lord Christ come to meete him, to whom he worshipping said: Lord whither dost thou go? To whom he answered and said, I am come againe to be crucified. By this Peter perceiuing his suffering to be vnderstanded, returned backe into the city againe, and so was he crucified in maner as is before declared. And this out of Egesippus.

*Hieron. lib. de viris illustrib.*

Peter hearing his wife going to his martyrdome (belike as he was pet hanging vpon the crosse) was greatly ioyous and glad thereof, who crying vnto him with a loud voice, and calling her by his name, bad her remember the Lord Jesus. Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bond of marriage among the saints of God. And thus much of Peter.

*Euseb. lib. 3. hist. eccle. cap. 30.* Peters wife go to death for Christ. The wonder of Peter to his wife, going to death.

Paul the apostle.

Paul the apostle, which before was called Saul, after his great trauell and vnspeakeable labours in promoting the gospell of Christ, suffred also in this first persecution vnder Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Hieronie in his booke De viris illustribus. Paul, otherwise called Saul, one of the apostles, yet out of the number of twelue, was of the tribe of Beniamin, and of a towne of Jewrie called Giscalis, which towne being taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tharsus a towne of Cilicia, afterward was sent by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought vp in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was at the death of Stephan a doer. And when he had received letters from the high priest to persecute the christians, by the way going to Damascus he was stricken downe of the Lords glorie, and of a persecutor was made a professor, an apostle, a martyr, a witnesse of the gospell, and a vessell of election.

*Ex Hieronymo lib. de viris illustribꝰ.*

Saul wrought by vnder Gamaliel. Saul a persecutor. Saul conuerted.

Among his other manifold labors and trauels in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he wan Sergius Paulus the proconsull of Cyprus to the faith of Christ, whereupon he take his name, as some suppose, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had passed through diuers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he toke to him Barnabas, and went vp to Jerusalem to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach vnto the Gentiles.

Saulus turned to Paulus.

Paul sent to the Gentiles.

And because it is in the acts of the apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conuersion, and consecration of this most worthie apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his historie, I will here adde, how the said apostle Paul the 25. yeare after the passion of the Lord in the second yeare of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewrie, was sent vp in bonds to Rome, where he remaining in his free hoskerie two yeares together, disputed daily against the Iewes, proouing Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answere or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero not yet fully confirmed in his empire, and yet not burthned out into those mischiefes which historyes report of him, hee was at that time by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the gospell in the west parts and about the coast of Italie, as he himselfe writing vnto Timothie, afterward in his second appreheision, in his second epistle witnesseth, saying: In my first purgation no man stood with me, but did all forsake me, the Lord lay it not to their charge. but the Lord stood with me and did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might heare and be taught, and I was deliuered out of the lions mouth, &c. In which place by the lion he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterward likewise saith: I was deliuered from the mouth of the lion, &c. And againe, The Lord hath deliuered me out from all euil workes, and hath saued me vnto his heauenly kingdome, &c: speaking this, because he perceiued then the time of his martyrdome to bee neare at hand. For in the same epistle before, he saith: I am now offered vp, and the time of my dissolution is aweth on.

Act. 28.

2. Tim. 4.

Thus then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth yeare of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same yeare as some write, but in the next yeare following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimonie of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seuen and thirtith yeare after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine epistles to seuen churches, to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galathians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreouer he wrote to his disciples, to Timothie two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

The epistles of saint Paul to seuen churches.

The epistle to the Hebrues.

The epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrues, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the stile and phrase, but either indged to be written of Barnabie, as Tertullian supposeth, or of saint Luke as others do thinke: or else of Clement afterward bishop of Rome, who as they say, was admonished with Paul, and compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his stile and maner. Or else, as some do iudge, because S. Paul wrote vnto the Hebrues, for the obiections of his name among that people, therefore he dissembled, and concelled

selled his name in the first entrie of his salutation, contrarie to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrues he being an Hebrue, so hee wrote in Hebrue, that is, his owne tongue more eloquently. And that is thought to bee the cause why it differeth from his other epistles, and is after a more eloquient manner translated into the Greeke then his other epistles be. Some also read the epistle written to Laodicea, but that is cryseled of all men. Thus much Hierome.

The epistle to Laodicea.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdome of S. Paul, as Eusebius, Hierome, Sabinus and other authors do but briefly passe ouer: so Abdias (if this booke be of any substantiall authoritie) speaking more largely of the same, doth say: that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruine of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free custodie, was dimitted and deliuered at that time from martyrdome by Gods permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospell by him.

Abdias de vitis, lib. 2.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his storie, declareth moreouer, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not onely for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to shew the order and maner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was. To teach all men peace & charitie, how to loue one another, how to prevent one another in honor; Rich men not to be puft in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the liuing God; Poore men to be contented with food and rayment, and with their present state, Poore men to reioice in their povertie with hope; Fathers to bring vp their children in the feare of God, Children to obey their parents, Husbands to loue their wiues, Wiues to be subiect to their husbands, Citizens and subiects to giue their tribute vnto Cesar and to bee subiect to their magistrates, Maisters to be courteous not cruell to their seruants, Seruants to deale faithfully with their maisters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine he received not of men nor by men, but by Iesus Christ, and the father of glorie, which spake to him from heauen, the Lord Iesus saying to him, that he should go and preach in his name, and that he should be with him, and would be the spirit of life to all that beleeued in him, and that whatsoeuer he did or said, he would iustifie it, &c. After that Paul had thus declared vnto the emperor, shortly after sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Vnto which execution then Nero sent two of his squiers, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, instructing them the people, desired him to pray for them that they might beleeue. Who told them y shortly after they should beleeue, and bee baptized at his sepulchre (as Abdias writeth.) This done, the souldiers came and led him out of the citie to the place of execution, where hee after his prayers made, gaue his necke to the sworde. Abdias reporteth, that as his head was stroken off, in stead of blood there did issue out white milke, and that at laying downe his head hee signed himselfe with the signe of a crosse in his forehead: which being found in no other historie, Abdias seemeth either to adde of his owne, or else to borrow out of the legend, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milke flowing out of his necke, is referred also vnto Ambrose, who in his sermon vpon Festo Petri & Pauli, (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirme the same. Of the time and yeare when the blessed apostles did suffer, historie do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the popes decrees say, that both Peter and Paul suffred both in one day and in one yeare: which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius bishop of Corinth. Hierom in his booke De viris illustr. affirmeth that they both suffred in one day, but he expresselly not the yeare. So doth Eusebius & Eutychius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some, which thinke that Paul suffred not with Peter, but after. Peter. Prudentius in his Peristephano, noteth that they both were put to death vpon the same day, but not in the same yeare, and saith that Paul followed Peter a yeare after.

Paul declareth his doctrine to the emperor.

The summe of his doctrine.

Paul condemned.

Paul suffereth.

A legend miracle.

The storie of Abdias suspected.

Abdias no barre about the time of their martyrdome.

Of this he trust Prudentius reporteth of Paul to suffer vnder Nero, and the yeare after Peter, then is it false which Hierome before testifieth. Peter to suffer in the last yeare of Nero.

Abdias mentioned, recordeth that Paul suffred two yeares after Peter. Moreouer, tht bee trew which Abdias saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in his free custodie at Rome, mentioned in the acts of the apostles, which was as Hierome witnesseth the third or fourth yeare of Nero, then must it be ten yeares betwixt the martyrdome of Peter and of Paul. for as much as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffred the fourteenth yeare, which was the last yeare of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himselfe. And thus much of the first persecution.

The second persecution.

## The second persecution.

THe first Romane persecution beginning vnder Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased vnder Vespasianus, who gaue some rest to the pore christians. After whose raigne was moued not long after the second persecution, by the emperor Domitian brother of Titus. Of whom Eutropius and Orosius so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so fierce outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himselfe to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and siluer in his honour should be set vp in Capitolio. The chiefest nobles of the senators, either vpon enuie, or for their gods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some hee sent into banishment, there causing them to be slaine priuily.

Orosius lib. 7.

The tyrannie and intemperance of Domitian.

And as his tyranny was vnmerciable, so the intemperancie of his life was no lesse. He put to death all the nephews of Iuda, called the Lords brother, and caused to be forgot out, and to be slaine all that could be found of the flocke of Dauid (as Vespasian also did before him) for feare lest he were yet to come of the house of Dauid, which should enioy the kingdome.

Simeon bishop of Ierusalem crucified.

In the time of this persecutor, Simeon bishop of Ierusalem after other torments was crucified to death, whom Iustus afterward succeded in that bishoprike.

In this persecution Iohn the apostle an euangelist was exiled by the said Domitianus into Pathmos. Of whom diuers and sundrie memorable acts be reported in sundrie chronicles. As first how he was put in a vessell of boiling oile, by the proconsull of Ephesus. The legend and Beriander say, it was done at Rome. Isidorus also writing of him and comprehending many things in few words, declareth that hee turned certaine pieces of wood into gold, and stones by the sea side into margarits, to satisfie the desire of two, whom he had before perswaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost heauen, for their sakes againe he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised vp a widow & certaine young man from death to life. Item how he dranke poison and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had drunke the same before. These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidorus and other writers more, yet because they are no articles of our christian beleefe, I let them passe, and onely content my selfe with that which I read in Eusebius, declaring of him in this wise: that in the fourteenth yeare after Nero, in the second persecution, in the daies of Domitian, Iohn was banished into Pathmos for the testimonie of the word, in the yeare fourscore and seuenteene. And after the death of the said Domitian being slaine, and his acts repealed by the senate, Iohn was againe released vnder Nerua the emperor, and came to Ephesus the yeare ensuing. Where he continued vntill the time of Traianus, and there gouerned the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospell, and so lined till the yeare after the passion of our Lord the fiftie and eight, which was the yeare of his age one hundred and twentie.

Iohn the euangelist.

Isidorus de patribus noui testamenti.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20. Histor. eccle.

A notable lesson for all ministers to seeke against their foule thirste.

Anno 97. Iohn banished. Iohn released out of banishment.

Moreouer, in the foresaid ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius, we reade that Iohn the apostle and euangelist, whom the Lord did loue, was in Asia, where he being returned out of Pathmos after the death of Domitian, gouerned the churches and congregations. Ireneus in his second booke thus writeth: And of him all the elders do witnesse, which were with Iohn the disciple of the Lord in Asia, that he spake and wrote these things, &c: for there he continued with them vnto the time of Traianus, &c. Also the said Ireneus, lib. 3. Hypothes. in like words declareth, saying: The church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward beeing confirmed of Iohn (who continued in the same citie vnto the time of Traianus the emperor) is a true witnesse of this apostolicall tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreouer noteth, both the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certaine historie of him, not vnworthie to be remembred of such which delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which historie Sozomenus also in his commentaries maketh mention, the words of the author setting forth this historie be these: Heare a fable, and not a fable, but a true report which is told vs of Iohn the apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when Iohn was returned to Ephesus, from the Ile of Pathmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering nere vnto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordaine and set such of the clergie in office, whom the Holy-ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certaine citie not far off, the name of which also many bee yet remember, and had among other things commended the brethren, he looking more earnestly vpon him which was the chiefe bishop among them, beheld a young man mightie in bodie, and of beautifull countenance, and of a feruent mind: I commend this man (saith hee) to thee with great diligence, in the witnesse heere of Christ and of the church.

Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Irena. lib. 3

Clemens Alexandrinus.

A notable historie of Iohn the euangelist.

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithfull diligence therein against the second time, Iohn spake vnto him, and desired him in like maner and correlation as before. This done, Iohn returned againe to Ephesus. The bishop receiuing the yong man, commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him & nourished him, and at length also did illuminate (that is) he baptized him, and in that time through his diligence, brought him into such order and towardnesse, that he committed vnto him the ouersight of a certaine cure in the Lords behalfe. The yong man thus hauing more his libertie, it chanced that certaine of his companions and old familiars being vile, dissolute and accustomed of old time to wickednesse, did ioyne in companie with him,



Let that wicked companie perish.

him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous banquets, then inticed him forth with them in the night to rob and steale, after that, he was allured by them vnto greater mischiefes and wickednesse. Wherein by custome of time by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like vnto a wild or an vnbroken horse, leauing the right way and running at large without bridle, was caried headlong to the pitchmidste of all mischiefe and outrage. And thus being past all hope of grace, vtterly forgetting and reiecting the wholesome doctrine of saluation, which hee had learned before, began to set his mind vpon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entred to farre in the way of perdition, hee feared not how further he proceeded in the same. And so allociating vnto him the companie of his companions, and felloin theeues, tooke vpon him to bee as head and captaine among them, in committing all kind of murther and felonie.

In the meane time it chanced that of necessitie Iohn was sent for to those quarters againe, and came. The causes being decided, and his businesse ended for, the which hee came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, requireth of him the pledge, which in the witnesse of Christ and of the congregation then present he left in his hands to keepe. The bishop something amazed at the words of Iohn, supposing hee had meant of some money committed to his custodie, which he had not receiued, and yet durst not mistrust Iohn nor contrarie his knowledge, could not tell what to answere. Then Iohn perceiuing his doubting, and bitterly his mind more plainly: The yong man (saith hee) and the soule of our brother committed to your custodie, I doe require. Then the bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping said, Hee is dead. To whom Iohn said, How and by what death? The other said, He is dead to God, for hee is become an euill man and pernicious, to bee briefe, a theefe: and now he doth frequent this mountaine with a companie of villaines and theeues like vnto himselfe against the church. But the apostle rent his garments, and with great lamentation said, I haue left a good keeper of my brothers soule, get me a horse, and let me haue a guide with me. Which being done, his horse and man procured, hasted from the church as much as he could, and comming to the same place was taken of theeues that watched. But hee neither flying nor refusing, said: I came for this same cause hither, lead me, laid he, to your captaine. So he being brought, the captaine all armed, fiercely began to looke vpon him: and eftsones comming to the knowledge of him, was stroken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age and crying: My son why dost thou flie from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? haue pitie on me my son and feare not, for there is yet hope of saluation. I will make an accompt for thee vnto Christ. I will die for thee if need bee, as Christ hath died for vs. I will giue my life for thee, beleeue me, Christ hath sent me. Hee hearing these things, first as in a maze stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast downe his weapons, by and by he trembled pea and wept bitterly: and comming to the old man embraced him, and spake vnto him with weeping (as well as he could) being euen then baptized afresh with teares, onely his right hand being hid and couered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmely ascertained him that he should obtaine remission of our Saniour, and also prayed, laide his hands vpon his knees, and kissed his murthering right hand, which for shame hee durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And then he had prayed for him with continuall praier and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before hee had restored him to the congregation againe, and made him a great example and triall of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

Moreouer, the foresaid Irenæus in lib. 3. cap. 3. and Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 2. and lib. 4. cap. 14. 4. professing the historie of Iohn, beside those in these words, saying: That there were certaine which heard Polycarpus say, that Iohn the disciple of our Lord going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, hee leaped out of the bath vnbathed, because hee feared the bath should haue fallen, seeing that Cerinthus an enemie to the truth was within. Such feare had the apostles (saith Irenæus) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

An example of the apostle to flie the companie of the wicked.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the storie of Iohn the blessed euangelist, commeth in matter & occasion not giuen by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficultie, such as hath occupied all the catholike, subtill, illuminate, and seraphicall doctors of the popes catholike church, these fiue hundred yeares. The difficultie is this: That for so much as auricular confession hath been, and is set necessarie in the popes catholike church for an holy and necessarie sacrament, extending vniuersally to all and singular creatures christian: here then riseth a question, Who was our ladies confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholikes to bee S. Iohn. Whosoeuer therefore doubteth of this, is straight waies ipso facto an heretike. This then to determined, ariseth another question of

A catholike question concerning auricular confession.

Solution.

doubt, that S. Iohn our Ladie was without al originall sinne, and also actuall or mortall: that need then had he of any confessor? Or what should the confessor vnto him? For if hee had confessed any sinne, then the had none: then had the made him a false a liar, and so had sinned indeed. Here therefore (gentle reader) in this perplexitie these our illuminate doctors stand in need of thine aid to helpe at a pinch. Magnus Albertus the great Diuine, denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to his ghostly father, to keepe the obseruance of the law appointed for: such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith hee) necessarie it was that shee should confesse with mouth. But then here is to bee asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confesse? To this Albertus answereth againe, and telleth vs plainly what she said in her confession, which was this: That she had receiued that great grace, not Ex condigno, that is, Not of any dignitie of hir owne, but yet notwithstanding of congruitie. And this was it (saith Albert) that shee said in her confession. Albert. cap. 74. super euang. Missus est, &c.

Albert. Abidens cap. 17.

Moreouer, to helpe this case out of all doubt, commeth in famous Thomas of Watring, and thus leseth the knot, much after like effect, saying: that As Christ, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithstanding receiued circumcision, to giue to others example of humilitie and obedience: in like maner would our Ladie (hee) her selfe obeient to the obseruance of the law, albeit there was no cause why shee had any need thereof. And thus hast thou (gentle reader) this doubtful question moued and solued, to the intent I would reueale to thee some part of the deepe diuinitie of our catholike maisters, that haue ruled and gouerned the church in these their late papish daies.

S. Thomas par. 3. quæst 37. art. 5.

But breaking off this matter, to returne againe where we left, that is, to this foresaid second persecution vnder Domitianus. In which persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Iesus, was Flauia the daughter of Flauius Clemens, one of the Romane consuls, which Flauia with many others was banished out of Rome into the Ile Pontia, for the testimonie of the Lord Iesus, by the emperor Domitianus. Eusch. lib. 3.

Flauia the daughter of Flauius Clemens, banished for the testimonie of Christ. Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 19.

This Domitianus feared the comming of Christ as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the flocke of Dauid in Iewrie. There were remaining aliue at that time certaine of the Lords kindred, which were the nephues of Iude, that was called the Lords brother after the flesh. These when the lieutenant of Iewrie had brought vp to Domitian to be slaine, the emperor demanded of them, whether they were of the flocke of Dauid. Which when they had granted, he asked againe, what possessions, and what substance they had. They answered, that they both had no more betweene them in all, but nine and thirtie acres of ground, and how they gat their liuing, & sustained their families with the hard labors of their hands, shewing forth their hands vnto the emperor, being hard and rough, worne with labors, to witnesse that to bee true which they had spoken. Then the emperor inquiring of them concerning the kingdome of Christ, what maner of kingdome it was, how and when it should appeare: They answered that his kingdome was no worldly nor terren thing, but an heauenly and angelicall kingdome, and that it should appeare in the consummation and end of the world, what time he comming in glorie, should iudge the quicke and the dead, and render to euery one according to his deseruings. Domitian the emperor, hearing this (as the saying is) did not condemne them, but despising them as vile persons let them goe, and also staied the persecution then moued against the christians. They being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the gouernment of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lords flocke, and so continued in good peace till the time of Traianus. Hæc Egesip. & Eusch. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Domitian broken-hearted vnto his death.

Dauids flocke feared of the emperor.

Two nephues of Iude the Lords brother pursued.

The kingdome of Christ not of this world.

By this those here recited may appeare, what were the causes why the emperors of the Romane monarchie did so persecute the christians: which causes were chiefly these: feare and hatred. First, feare for that the emperors and senate of blind ignorance, not knowing the maner of Christs kingdome, feared & misdoubted lest the same would subuert their emperie, (like as the pope thinketh now that the gospel will ouerthrow his kingdome of maiestie) and therefore sought they all meanes possible, how by death and all kinds of torments vtterly to extinguish the name and memorie of the christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old law of the Romane senate: Non debere dimitti christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propter eum merit: that is, that the christians should not bee let goe, which were once brought to the iudgment seate, except they changed their purpose, &c. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21. Secondly, hatred, partly for that this world of his owne naturall condition hath euer hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly againe, for that the christians being of a contrarie nature and religion, seruing onely the true liuing God, despised their false gods, shake against their idolatrous woolshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan, working in their idols. And therefore Satan the spirite of this world, stirred vp the Romane princes and blind idola-

The causes why the emperours and state of Rome did so rage against the Christians. The kingdome of Christ hated of Romane princes.

Lex antiqua Romana contra Christianos. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21.

The kingdome of Christ hated of Romane princes.

ters

False accusations and slanders against the christians. Ex apologia Iu. Hinc Martyr.

ters to beare the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the christian seruants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes soeuer malice could inuent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed to the christians, as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their conuentikes, putting out their candels, they ran together in all filthie manner, that they killed their owne children, that they vsed to eate mans flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not sweare by the fortune and prosperitie of Cesar, that they would not adore the image of Cesar in the market place, that they were pernicious to the emperie of Rome. Briefly, whatsoeuer mishappened to the citie or prouinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, warres, wonders, vnseasonableneste of weather, or what other euils so euer happened, it was imputed to the christians, as Iustinus recordeth. Duer and beside all these, a great occasion that thirred vp the emperors against the christian, came by one Publius Tarquinius the chiefe prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Damertinus the chiefe gouernour of the citie, in the time of Traianus, who partly with monie, partly with sinister and pestilent counsell, partly with infamous accusations (as witnesseth Sauclerus) incensed the minde of the emperor so much against Gods people.

Dublius Tarquinius & Damertinus persecutors.

Also among these other causes aboue said, crept in some peece of couetousneste withall (as in all other things it doth) in that the wicked promoters and accusers for lucre sake, to haue the possessions of the christians, were the more readie to accuse them to haue the spoile of their goods.

Ex Iust. Mart. in 2. Apolog. The forme of inquisition against the christians in the old time.

Thus hast thou christian reader, first the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the cruell lais of their condemnation; thirdly, now heare more what was the forme of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second apologie of Iustinus) to this effect, that they should sweare to declare the truth, whether they were in deede christians or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded. Iust. apol. 2.

The crueltie of tyrants in killing of christians in mein.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death onely, to bereaue the life from the bodie. The kinds of death were diuers, and no lesse horrible than diuers. Whatsoeuer the crueltie of mans inuention could deuise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the christians, as partly I haue mentioned before, and more appeareth by the epistle sent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Traitie traines, outcries of enemies, imprisonments, stripes & scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron laid vnto them burning hot, deepe dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallowes, tolling vpon the hornes of bulls: moreuer, when they were thus killed, their bodies laid in heapes and dogs there left to keepe them, that no man might come to burie them, neither would any prayer obtaine them to be interred and buried. Ex epistola fratrum Viennensium ac Lugdunensium, &c.

Ex epist. fratrum Viennensium & Lugdunensium, ad fratres per Asiam & Phrygiam scripta.

And yet notwithstanding, for all these continuall persecutions, and horrible punishments, the church of the christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles, and of men apostolicall, and watered plentifully with the blood of saints, as saith Niceph. lib. 3. Whereof let vs heare the worthy testimony of Iustinus Martyr in his dialogue with Tryphon. And that none saith he can terrifie or remoue vs which beleeue in Iesus, by this it daily appeareth: for when we are slaine, crucified, cast to wilde beasts, into the fire, or giuen to other torments, yet we go not from our confession: but contrarie, the more crueltie and slaughter is wrought against vs, the more they be that come to pietie and faith by the name of Iesus: no otherwise then if a man cut the vine tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine tree planted by God & Christ our sauiour, is his people. Hæc Iust.

Ex Nicephoro. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Ex Iustin. Martyr. in dialogo cum Tryphon.

The church increaseth by persecution.

¶ To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard in such barietie and diuersitie of matter to keepe such a perfect order and course of yeares and times, that either some be not left out, or that euery one be reduced into his right place, especially seeing the authours themselues, whom in this present worke we follow, do diuersitie dissagree both in the times, in the names and also in the kind of martyrdome of them that suffered. As for example, where the common reading and opinion of the church, and the epistles decretall do take Anacletus to succeed after Clement, next before Euaristus: contrarie Eusebius lib. 3. & lib. 5. cap. 6. making no mention of Cletus but of Anacletus, saith that Euaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Rufinus and Epiphanius speaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus: whereby it may appeare that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus Aenead. 7. lib. 2. speaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and saith that they were ordeined helpers vnder Peter, while he laboured in his apostleship abrode, and so

Disagreement in authors, touching the times and names of martyrs.

Linus bishop of Rome.

Cletus and Anacletus both one.

faith also Marianus Scotus: contrarie Irenæus, lib. 3. contra hæref. speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appeare by the way, what credit is to be giuen to the decretall epistles, whom all the latter histories of the pope his church do follow in this behalfe, as Platina, Antoninus, Vincentius, Iacobus in supplemento, Simoneta, Iustinus, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs: Eusebius in his ecclesiasticall historie writing of them, maketh thereof no mention.

Clement a bishop counted a martyr.

And first as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter) they say that hee was sent out in banishment of Traianus, beyond Pontus, with two thousand christians, where he opened to them a liuelyuing, which in the wilderneste were condemned to the mines. Afterward being accused to the emperor, he was throwne into the sea with a millstone fastened about his neck, and that not long after his body was cast vp and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found full in the daies of pope Nicholas the first: Faciol. tempor. But so soone as I find or this martyrdome no sure relation in the ancient authors, but onely in such new writers of latter times, which are wont to paint out the liues and histories of good men, with fained additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the fame of lesse credit, as I do also certaine decretall epistles, falsely (as may seeme) ascribed and attributed to his name. Eusebius in his third booke, writing of Clement, giueth no more of him, but thus: After he had gouerned the church of Rome nine yeares, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Euaristus.

The lies of martyrs painted out with fained miracles.

Euaristus bishop of Rome and martyr.

Of which Euaristus next bishop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 3. Peter and Paul (saith hee) committed the charge of that church to Linus: after whom came Anacletus, then succeeded Clemens, next to Clemens followed Euaristus, after whom came Alexander, and then Sixtus the sixth bishop of Rome after y apostles: after Sixtus sat Telesphorus, then Higinus, then Pius, then Aniceius. And lohen Soter tolde the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Euaristus in the second or third yeare of Traianus, as saith Eusebius: or as Nicephorus saith, the fourth yeare of the said emperor. But howsoeuer the count of yeares standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other bishops of Rome in those daies. Whereby it may appeare that no great account was then made of Romane bishops in those daies, whose acts & deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to histoie. Notwithstanding, certaine decretall epistles are remaining, or rather thrust vpon vs in their names, containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with lawes, inhibitions, and stately decrees, little to the purpose, and lesse sauoring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbred the two epistles of this Euaristus.

The decretall epistles.

And when hee had giuen these orders, and had made six priests, two deacons, and fiue bishops, for sundrie places (saith the storie) he suffered martyrdome. But what kind of death, or what cause he suffered, what constancie hee shewed, what was the order or conuersation of his life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories doe say: because the old ancient writers haue no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not haue passed such things ouer in silence, if they had been true. Againe, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdome, which Sauclerus writeth to be in the last yeare of Traianus: but Platina thinketh rather that hee suffered vnder Hadrianus. Faciol. temporum referreth it to the third yeare of Hadrian, Volaterranus to the beginning of the reigne of Hadrian. Contrarie, Eusebius comming neare to the simple truth (as seemeth) doth affirme that Euaristus decreed Clement in the third yeare of Traianus, so giuing to him nine yeares, it should follow thereby that Euaristus deceased the twelfth yeare of Traianus.

Naucle. ge. 1. Platina. Volaterran. Antropo. lib. 22. Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Alexander bishop of Rome and martyr.

After whom succeeded next Alexander in the gouernance of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus saith he was the fourth bishop from Peter: but that could not be. Some say hee was the sixt & some the seuenth: but they likewise were deceiued, for the matt part all doe grant Sixtus to be the first: Damasus affirmeth that he was in the reigne of Traian. And how can that be, when the said Damasus affirmed before that Euaristus his predecessor suffred in the last yeare of Traian, and then the bishoppike stood at least a moneth void, except hee meane that the said Alexander succeeded Euaristus in the last yeare of Traianus. But then how can that stand with Beda and Rufinus Scotus, which say that he suffered vnder Traianus, or with Otho Frisingensis, which saith he suffred the fourth yeare of Hadrian, when he had been bishop ten yeares, by the generall consent of most writers.

Authors disagree.

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop, as Bergomensis Antonius, Equelinus, and such as follow them, declare that he had conuerted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes a great



great man in Rome, whose sonne being dead, Alexander raised againe to life, and likewise restored sight to his maid being blind. Hadrian the emperor then absent hearing this, sent word to Aurelianus gouernour of Rome, to appehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith, his two deacons, & Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their storie recordeth, Alexander, inclosed in a diuers prison from Hermes: notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angell though three doores with three locks a peece, was brought with candle light to the lodging of Hermes; and so returning to the prison againe, cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina, by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole houshold were all baptised, and suffered also for the faith of Christ.

Alexander, Eleutherius, Sixtus, Hyginus with Pius and Aniceius lawfully but sometime liued, martyrs.

Ex Platina in vita Alexandri.

Thus then (saith the storie) about the second yeare of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler tooke Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole houshold, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fiftie, & threw them in prison. And not long after the said Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes and the rest were burned in a furnace. The diuersities an other deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelte of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdome.

Quirinus also the same time (as saith Antoninus) hauing first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: Quintinus saith that he was beheaded and cast into Tiber in the raigne of the emperor Claudius: but that cannot bee, albeit Platina maketh relation but onely of Alexander with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring moreouer, that in the time of this bishop, Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Romane suffered martyrdome.

Saphira and Sabina martyrs. Ex Florileg.

Plinius secundus wrote to Traian to stop the persecution.

Flosilegius, the author of Flores historiarum, affirmeth that Alexander bishop of Rome was beheaded seuen miles out of Rome, where he lieth buried, in the yeare one hundred and fiue: but that it agreeth not with the chronicles aboue recited. Eusebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third yeare of Hadrian, he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten yeares.

Diuers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and lines of saints; which as I denie not but may be true, so because I cannot auouch them by any graue testimonie of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirme them, but doe refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, what soeuer is to be thought of his miracles, this is to bee affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and vertuous bishop.

The ordinances of Euaristus. Dist. 3. cap. Diaconi.

And as I say of his miracles, the like iudgement also I haue of the ordinances both of him and of Euaristus his predecessor, testified in the popes decrees by Gratianus, as Dist. 93. cap. Diaconi, where is said that Euaristus diuided diuers titles in the citie of Rome to the priests, also ordained in euerie citie seuen deacons to associate and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witnesse of truth. Notwithstanding, sp probable coniectures might stand against the authoritie of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of priests was first forbidden by Euaristus, and whether the institution of priests was first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be giuen to the contrarie, that this institution seemeth to take his first beginning at the councell of Chalcedon, and of pope Telesphorus the councell of Placentia. In the which councell of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Euaristus at all) doe expresse forth, that any ecclesiasticall person either priest or deacon should be ordained absolutely, otherwise the imposition of hands without some proper title of the partie ordained, to stand voide and frustrate, &c. And likewise Urbanus in the councell of Placentia doth decree the same, alleaging no name of Euaristus, but the statutes of former councels.

Ex dist. 90. cap. Neminem.

Ibidem, cap. Sanctorum.

Moreouer in the time of Euaristus, the church then being vnder terrible persecutions, was diuided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselues. And as the church of Rome in those daies was not diuided into seuerall parishes or cures (as I suppose) so neither was then any such open or solemne preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimonie of seuen deacons either could auaile among the multitude of the heathen, or else needed amongst the christian secret congregations. Againe, the constitution of seuen deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the counsel of Neocesaria long after Euaristus, where it was appointed that in euery citie there it neuer so small, there should bee seuen deacons after the rule. And this rule the said councel taketh out of the booke of the acts of the apostles, making no word or mention of Euaristus at all. Dist. 93. But these (as is said) bee but onely coniectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but onely shewing what may be doubted in their epistles decretall.

Ex dist. 93. cap. Diaconi.

The institution of Archpriests first instituted. De consecrat. Dist. 3.

Now whether it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, wherof we read De consecr. dist. 3: that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mixt with salt, to purge and sanctifie them vpon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the dist. be these: Aquam sale conspersam in populis

benedicimus, vt ea cuncti aspersi sanctificentur & purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus, &c: that is, We bleste water mixt with salt among the people, that all men being sprinkled therewith may be sanctified and purified: and this we command all priests to doe, &c.

The mixing of water with the wine in the chalice.

The opinion is also, but how true I haue not to affirme, that by him first was ordained water to be mixt with wine in the chalice.

Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the masse canon, beginning: Qui pridie, &c. And thus much of these forenamed bishops of Rome, martyred in the daies of Traian and Hadrian.

Qui pridie put in the masse canon.

## The third persecution.

The third persecution of the church. Anno 100

Betweene the second Romane persecution and the third, was but one peare, vnder the emperor Nerua, after whom succeeded Traianus: and after him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to bee both one, hauing no more difference but one peare betweene them. This Traianus, if we take well vpon his politike and ciuill gouernance, might seeme (in comparison of others) a right worthie and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so behauing himselfe toward his subiects, as hee himselfe would haue the prince to be to him, if he himselfe were a subiect. Also he was noted to be a great obseruer of iustice, in so much that when hee ordained any pretor, giuing to him the sword hee would bid him vse the sword against his enemies in iust causes: and if he himselfe did otherwise then iustice, to vse then his power against him also. But for all these vertues toward christian religion he was impious and cruell, who caused the third persecution of the church. In the which persecution Plinie the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the intollerable slaughter of christians, and moued therewith to pitie, spake to Traianus of the pitifull persecution: certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrarie to the Romane lawes worthie persecution: fauning that they vsed to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymnes to a certaine God whom they worshipped, called Christ. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Wherby the persecution by commandement of the emperor was greatly staied and diminished. The forme and copie of which epistle of Plinie I thought here not inconuenient to set downe, as followeth.

The tell mouse of the heathen of the christians.

### The epistle of Plinie, an heathen philosopher, to Traian the emperor.

The epistle of Plinie to Traianus.

IT is my propertie and maner (my soueraigne) to make relation of all those things vnto you wherein I doubt. For who can better, either correct my slacknesse, or instruct mine ignorance then you? I was neuer yet present my selfe at the examination and execution of these christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administred, and how farre, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plaine ignorant, not able to resolue in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person, whether the yong and tender ought to be with like cruelty intreated as the elder and stronger, whether repentance may haue any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to denie which hath been a christian, whether the name onely of christians without other offenses, or whether the offenses ioyned with the name of a christia ought to be punished. In the meane season, as touching such christians as haue been presented vnto me, I haue kept this order. I haue inquired the second and third time of the, whether they were christians, menacing the with feare of punishment; and such as did perseuere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that what soeuer their profession was, yet their stubbornesse and obstinacie ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madneste, whom because they were citizens of Rome, I thought to send them backe againe to the citie. Afterward, in further processe & handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

There was a libel offred to me bearing no name, wherein was contained the names of many which denied themselues to bee christians, contented to do sacrifice with incense & wine to the gods, and to your image (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought) & to blaspheme Christ: whereunto none such as were true christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let goe. Othersome confessed that they had been christians, but afterward denied the same, &c: affirming vnto me the whole summe of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont at certaine times appointed, to conuent before day, and to sing certaine hymnes to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselues to abstaine from al theft, murther, and aduulterie, to keepe their faith and to defraud no man: which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort againe to take meate in companies together both men and women one with another. and yet without any act of euill.

The vse of ceremonies in the primitiue church.

In the truth whereof to be further certified whether it were so

or

The maidens racked for Christ.

or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the racke, and with torments to bee examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them, but onelie leaud and immoderat superstition, I thought to forbeare of further inquire, till time that I might be further aduertised in the matter from you, for so the matter seemed vnto me worthie and needfull of aduisement, especiallie for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For verie manie there were of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were and more are like hereafter to incur the same perill of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not onelie in cities, but villages also and burroughs about, which seeneth that it may be staied and reformed. For as much as we see in manie places that the temples of our gods which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from euerie part to be sold, which before verie few were found willing to buie them. Whereby it maie easilie be coniectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be giuen them, wherein they may be reclamed.

*The epistle of Traianus to Plinie.*

The answere of Traian to Plinies letter.

THe act and statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the christians which yee ought to follow, ye haue rightly executed. For no such generall law can be enacted, wherein all speciall cases particularlie can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they be brought and conuicted, then let them suffer execution: so notwithstanding, that whosoeuer shall denie himselfe to be a christian, and that he do it vnfainedlie in open audience, & do sacrifice to our gods, howsoeuer he hath beene suspected before, let him be released vpon promise of amendment. Such libels as haue no names, suffice not to anie iust crime or accusation, for that should giue both an euill president, neither doth it agree with the example of our time.

Tertullian writing vpon this letter of Traianus aboue prefixed, thus saith: O sentence of a confused necessitie. He would not haue them to be sought for, as men innocent, and yet causeth them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although not withstanding many naughtie disposed men and cruell officers there were, which vpon false pretense to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the christians in diuers prouinces; and especially if any occasion were giuen neuer so little for the enemies to take hold, or if any commotion were raised in the prouinces abroade, by and by the fault was laid vpon the christians. As in Hierusalem after that the Emperor Traianus had sent downe his commandement, that whosoeuer could be found of the stocke of Dauid, he should be inquired out and put to death. Vpon this diligence was vniting, saith, that certaine sectaries there were of the Iewish nation, who accused Simeon the bishop then of Hierusalem and some of Cleophas to come of the stocke of Dauid, and that he was a christian. Of the which his accusers it happied also (saith the said Egesippus) that certaine of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stocke of Dauid, and so right rustlie were put to execution themselues, which sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the foresaid Egesippus thus writeth, that Simeon the lords nephue, then he was accused to Attalus the proconsull, by the malicious sect of the Iewes, to be of the line of Dauid, and to be a christian, was scourged, during the space of many daies together, being of the age of an hundred and twenty yeares. In which his martyrdome he indured so constant, that both the consull and all the multitude did marueil to see him of that age so constantlie to suffer, and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

The Rocke of Dauid feared and inquired for of the Roman emperors. *Ex Egesippo.*

Simeon some of Marie Cleophas.

A iust punishment of God vpon the malicious accusers of the christians.

The age of Simeon.

The death and martyrdome of Symeon.

In this persecution of Traianus aboue specified (which Traianus next followed after Nerua) besides the other afore mentioned, also suffered Phocas bishop of Pontus, whom Traianus, because he would not doe sacrifice to Neptunus, caused to be cast into a hot limeskine, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath, where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life. Anton. Equil. Fascic. temporum.

Phocas bishop of Pontus martyr.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Severinianus, two Romans; whose wiues are said to be Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did conuert to the faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina Iacobus Philippus author of the booke called Supplementum, reporteth that in the mount of Auentine in Rome, she was beheaded of Clepidus the gouernour, in the daies of Hadrian. Vnder whom also suffered Seraphia a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus witnesseth.

Sulpitius, Severinianus, Euphrosina, Theodora, martyrs. Sabina martyr. *Ex supplic. chr.* Seraphia.

The fourteined authors Antonius and Equilius make mention moreouer of Nereus and Achilleus, who in this persecution of Traiane, had the crowne of martyrdome, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius in his fourth booke, cap. 26. maketh mention of one Saggaris, who about the same time suffered martyrdome in Asia, Seruilius Paulus being then proconsull in that prouince.

Nereus, Achilleus martyrs.

Saggaris martyr.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffred the blessed martyr of Christ Ignatius, who vnto this date is had in famous reuerence among verie manie. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishoppike of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do saie, that he being sent from Syria to Rome, because he preached Christ, was giuen to the wild beasts to be deuoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being vnder the most strict custode of his gardeners, he strengthned and confirmed the parishes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God: and admonished them especiallie and before all other things, to beware and shun those heresies risen vp, and springing newlie among them, and that they should cleaue and sticke fast to the tradition of the apostles, which he for their better safegard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing verie necessarie to trauell in. And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarpus was, he wrote one epistle to the congregation of Ephesus, wherein he made mention of Onesimus their pastor, and an other he wrote to the congregation of Magnesia, being at Smyrne, wherein also he forgetteth not Dama their bishop. Also another he wrote to the congregation of Tralles, the gouernor of which citie at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Unto which congregation he made an exhortation, lest they refusing martyrdome, should lose the hope that they desired.

Ignatius martyr. Anno 111

*Ex Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 35. 36.*

*Ex Hier. in catalogo script. eccles.*

Onesimus pastor at Ephesus.

Polybius gouernor of Tralles.

Dama bishop of Antioch.

Yet it shall be verie requisit that I allege somewhat thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote therefore as the words lie, in this sort. From Syria (saith he) euen till I came to Rome, had I a battell with beasts, as well by sea as land, both date and night, being bound in the midest of ten cruell libards (that is, the companie or band of the souldiers) which the more benefits that they receiued at my handes became to much the worse vnto me. But I being exercised and now well acquainted with their iniuries, am taught euerie daie more and more: but hereby am I not yet iustified. And would to God I were once come to the beasts, which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were readie to come vpo me, whom also I will prouoke that they without delaie make deuoure me, and forbeare me nothing at all, as those whom before they haue not touched or hurt for feare! And if they will not tarie, if they be prouoked, I will then inforce them against my selfe. Pardon me I praie you. How much beneficiall it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a scholer, I force or esteeme no liuelie things, nor yet inuisible things, so that I maie get or obtain Christ Iesu. Let the fire, the gallowses, the deuouring of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or prestling of my whole bodie, and the torments of the diuell of hell it selfe come vpon me, so that I maie win Christ Iesus.

The wordes of Ignatius. The strict handling of Ignatius.

The notable constancie and burning zeale to Christ in this blessed martyr, to be marked.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid citie vnto the congregations which he haue recited. And when he was euen now iudged to be throwne to the beasts, hee spake for the burning desire that he had to suffer, that time he heard the lions roaring: I am the wheat of God, saith he, of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of wilde beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleuenth yeare of Traian the Emperor. Hæc Eusebius & Hieronym.

Ignatius deuoured of wilde beasts.

*Ex Hier. lib. de viris illustr.*

Besides this godlie Ignatius, manie Christians also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius Secundus aboue recited, written vnto the emperour. Hierome in his booke intituled De viris illustribus maketh mention of one Publius bishop of Athens, who for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution was put to death and martyred.

Publius bishop of Athens martyr.

## Hadrian emperour.

NExt after this Traianus succeded Hadrian the emperor, vnder whom suffered Alexander the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Eucntius and Theodorus: also Hermes and Quirinus with their families, as late before was declared.

Alexander bishop of Rome martyr. Eucntius and Theodorus deacons. Hermes. Quirinus.

It is signified moreouer in the histories, that in the time of this Hadrian, Zenon a noble man of Rome with ten thousand two hundred and three were slaine for Christ. Henricus de Erfordia, and Bergomensis, lib. 8. make mention of ten thousand in the dales of this Hadrian to be crucified in the mount Ararath, crowned with crosiones of thorne and thrust into the sides with sharpe darts, after the example of the Lords passion, whose captains (as Antoninus and Vincentius in spec. histor. declare) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this Zozie be the same with the other aboue of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angell, I refer the certaintie thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seeme to be told then to be true.

Zenon with 10000. martyred for Christ. *Ex Henr. de Erfordia & alijs.*

Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, Carcerius, with ten thousand martyrs.

There was one Eustachius a captaine, whom Traianus in time past had sent out to warre against the Barbarians. After he had by Gods grace ballantlie subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victorie; Hadrianus by meeting him in his iourney to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victorie gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no meanes thereto be enforced, being

Eustachius with his wife and children: martyred for Christ.



ing brought to Rome, there with his wife and children, suffred martyrdome vnder the foresaid Adrian. It were a long processe here to recite all the miracles contained or rather suspected in this storie of this Eustachius concerning his conuersion and death. How the crucifix appeared to him betweene the hornes of an hart. Of the sauing of his wife from the shipmen. Of one of his sonnes saued from the lion, the other saued from the wolfe. Of their miraculous preseruation from the wild beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomensis, Vincentius, and others. All which as I find them in no ancient records, so I leaue them to their authors, and compilers of the legends.

We read also of Faustinus and Iobita, citizens of the citie of Isyria, which suffred martyrdome with like grieuous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words: Verè magnus Deus christianorum: that is, Verily great is the God of christians. Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdome. Ex Ant. Equilin.

Faustinus and Iobita, Calocerius, martyrs.

The storie of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia a godly woman, who committed her sonne Eleutherius to Anicetus bishop of Rome, to be brought vp in the doctrine of christian faith, who afterwards being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foresaid mother Anthia, Onomast.

Eleutherius with his mother Anthia martyrs. *Ex Nicephoro & ex Onom.*

Iustus also and Pastor two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their liues in a city of Spaine called Complutum, vnder the said Adrian the emperor.

Iustus and Pastor brethren and martyrs.

Likewise Symphorosa the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her seuen children, is said about the same time to suffer: who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards was hanged vp by the haire of her head; last hauing an huge stone fastened vnto her, was throwne headlong into the riuer, and after that her seuen children in like manner, with sundrie and diuers kinds of punishment diuerslie martyred by the tyrant.

Symphorosa with her seuen children martyred.

The storie of S. Hermannus and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, to suffer vnder the said emperor, about the peace of our Lord one hundred and thirtie.

Sophia with her three children martyred.

As concerning Alexander bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira, and Sabina, some writers, as Bede, and Marianus Scotus record, that they suffered vnder Traianus. Others againe, as Onuph. Frising. with like more, repoit that they suffered in the fourth yeare of this emperor Adrian, but of these martyrs sufficiently hath been said before.

While Adrian the emperor was at Athens, hee purposed to visit the countrie of Elusina, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles gods, after the maner of the Grecians, had giuen free leaue and libertie, whosoeuer would, to persecute the christians. Whereupon Quadratus a man of no lesse zeale excellent, as of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimonie of Christ) did offer vp and exhibit vnto Adrian the emperor a learned and excellent apologie in the defence of the christian religion. Wherein hee declared the christians, without all iust cause or desert, to bee so cruelly intreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides another no lesse excellent philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and comming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreouer, he did exhibit vnto the said emperor a memorable apologie for the christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Hierome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loued so fine wit and learning. Diuers and beldes these, there was also another named Serenus Granius a man of great nobilitie, who likewise did write verie pithie and graue letters to Adrian the emperor, shewing and declaring therein to be consonant with no right nor reason, for the blood of innocents to bee giuen to the rage and furie of the people, and so to bee condemned for no fault, onely for the name and seat that they followed.

Quadratus bishop of Athens offereth an apologie of christian doctrine.

Aristides a philosopher of Athens, defendeth before the emperor the religion of Christ.

Serenus Granius defender of christian religion. *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

Thus the godwisdo of God being moued with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the christians, became more fauourable vnto them. And immediatly vpon the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned) proconsull of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremitie against the christians, as to condemne any of them, hauing no other crime obiected against them but only their name. The copie of which his letter, because that Iustin in his apologie doth alleage it: I thought therefore to expresse the same in his owne words as followeth.

The emperor writeth for the christians.

### The letter of Adrian the emperor to *Minutius Fundanus.*

IHaue receiued an epistle written vnto mee from Serenus Granius, our right worthie and welbeloued, whose office you doe now execute. Therefore I thinke it not good to leaue this matter without further aduisement and circumspection to passe, lest our subiects be molested, and malicious sycophants boldned and supported in their euill. Wherefore if the subiects of our prouinces doe bring forth any accusation before the iudge against the christians, and can proue the thing they obiect against them, let them doe the same, and no more, and other wise for the name onely, not to inpeach them, nor to crie out against them. For so, more conuenient it is, that if any man will be an accuser, you to take the accusation quietly, and iudge vpon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the christians, and complaine of them as malefactors, doing contrarie to the law, then giue you iudgement according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding whosoeuer vpon spite and malicious suggestions shall commenie or enuill against them, see you correct and punish that man for his vnordinat and malicious dealing.

The letter of Adrian to the emperor Antoninus Pius to the commons of Asia.

Thus by the mercifull prouidence of God, some more quiet and rest was giuen to the church, although Hermannus thinketh these Adrian dates did not verie long continue, but that the emperor changing his edict, began to renue againe persecution against Gods people, albeit this sound eth not to bee so by the words of Melito in his apologie to Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the meane time this is certaine, that in the dates of this Adrian, the Iewes rebelled againe and spoiled the countrie of Palestina. Against whom the emperor sent Iulius Severus, who ouerthrew in Iurie fiftie castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourescore villages and townes, and slue of the Iewes fiftie thousand: with famine, sickenesse, sword, and fire, Iurie was almost desolate. But at length Adrian the emperor, which otherwise was named Aelius, repared and enlarged the citie againe of Ierusalem, which was called after his name Aeliopolis, or Aelia Capitolina, the inabitance whereof he granted onely to the Gentiles, and to the christians, forbidding the Iewes vtterly to enter into the citie.

Rebit from persecution.

The second destruction of the Iewes. Ierusalem rebuilded and inlarged. Some write that the place where Christ was crucified, was taken into the walls. Ierusalem called by a new name Aelia Capitolina.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, about the yere of our Lord, one hundred and fourtie, and raigned twentie and three yeares, who for his clemencie and modest behauiour, had the name of Pius, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather saue one citizen, then destroy a thousand of his aduersaries. At the beginning of his raigne, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to persecute the christians: yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude for the causes aboue specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and ascribing to the christians whatsoeuer misfortune happened contrarie vnto their desires: moreouer inuenting against them all falle crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. Wherefore whereof, diuers there were in sundrie places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either hee raised vp no persecution against the christians, or else he some staied the same being moued. As well may appeare by his letter sent downe to the countries of Asia, the tenor whereof here insueth.

Antoninus Pius an emperor. Anno 140

### The epistle of Antoninus Pius to the *commons of Asia.*

EMperor and Cæsar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune eleuen times, consull three, vnto the commons of Asia greeting. I am very certaine that the gods haue a care of this, that they which be such, shal be knowne, and not lie hid. For they doe punish them that will not worship them more then you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming therby the opinion which they haue conceiued, and doe conceiue of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their ioy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they couet to die for their God, then to liue. Whereby they are victorers, and doe ouercome you, giuing rather their liues, then to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconuenient to aduertise you of the earthquakes, which haue and do happen among vs, that when as the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then conferre your case with them. For they vpon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and feareless, much more then you: who in all the time of this your ignorance, both doe worship other gods, and neglect the religion of immortalitie, & such christians as worship him, thy you do driue out, and persecute them vnto death. Of these and such like matters many presidents of our prouinces did write to our father of famous memorie heretofore. To whom hee directed his answere againe, willing them in no case to molest the christians, except they were found in some trespasse preiudicial against the empire of Rome. And to me also many there be, which write, signifying their mind in like manner. To whom I haue answered again, to the same effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble, to such, hauing no other cause, but onely for that they are such,

The letter of Antoninus Pius to the commons of Asia.

A notable argument of the inuincible patience and constance of christians, against the false conference of the heathen.

He meaneth by Antoninus Pius in whose time Iustin the martyr did liue.

let him that is appeached, be released and discharged free, yea although he be found to be such (that is a christian) and let the accuser sustaine the punishment, &c.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclamed at Ephesus, in the publike assemblie of al Asia, whereof Melito also bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention in his apologie written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare. By this meanes then the tempest of persecuti on in those daies began to bee appeased, through the mercifull providence of God, which would not haue his church vtterly to bee ouerthrowne, though hardly yet to grow.

## The fourth persecution.

M. Antonius Verus emperor. Anno 162

After the decease of the foresaid quiet and mild prince Aurelius Antonius Pius (who among all other emperors of that time make the most quiet end) followed his sonne M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the yeare of our Lord one hundred threescore and three, a man of nature more fierce and seuere. And although in studie of philosophie, and in ciuill gouernment no lesse commendable: yet toward the christians sharpe and fierce, by whom was moued the fourth persecution of the Nero. In whose time a great number of them which truely professed Christ, suffred most cruell torments and punishments, both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarpus, the worthie bishop of Smyrna, who in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, seuering many other most constant saints was also martyred. Of whose end and martyrdome I thought it there not conuenient to commit to histosie, so much as Eusebius declareth to be taken out of a certaine letter or epistle, written by them of his owne church to the brethren of Pontus: the tenor of which epistle here followeth.

Polycarpus, the blessed martyr bishop of Smyrna.

Ex euseb. lib. Eccles. hist. cap. 15. Hieron. in catalogo.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philemilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercie to you, peace and the loue of God our father, and of our Lord Iesu Christ, be multiplied. Amen. We haue written vnto you brethren of those men which haue suffred martyrdome, and of blessed Polycarpus, which hath ended and appealed this persecution as it were by the shedding of his owne blood. And in the same epistle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarpus, they discourse of other martyrs, describing what patience they abode and shewed in suffering their torments: which was so great and admirable, saith the epistle, that the lokers on were amazed seeing and beholding how they were so scourged & whipped, that the inward veines and arteries appeared, yea euen so much that the verie intrailes of their bodies, their bowels and members were seene, and after that, were set vpon sharpe shels taken out of the sea, egged, and sharpe, and certaine nailes and thornes for the martyrs to go vpon, which were sharpened and pointed, called Obelisci. Thus suffered they all kind of punishment and torment that might be deuised: and lastly, were throwne vnto the wilde beasts to be deuoured. But especially in the foresaid epistle mention is made of one Germanicus, how hee most worthilie perseuered and ouercame by the grace of God, that feare of death which is ingraffed in the common nature of all men, whose notable patience and sufferance was so notable that the whole multitude wondering at them bewed marry of God, for this his so bold constancie, and also for the singular strength and vertue proceeding of the whole multitude of the christians. began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying: Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarpus be sought for. And whilest a great vproze and tumult began thus to be raised vpon those cries, a certaine Phrygian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, who seeing and abhorring the wild beasts, and the fierce rage of them, of an ouer light mind betraied his own safetie. For to the same letter of him both report, that hee, not reuerently, but more maliciously then was requisite, together with others rushed into the iudgement place, and so being taken, was made a manifest example to all the beholders, that no man ought rashly and vnreuerently with such boldnesse to thrust in himselfe, to intermeddle in matters wherewith hee hath not to doe.

Germanicus a most constant martyr.

Quintus a Phrygian too hardie & bold.

But now we will surceasse to speake more of them, and return to Polycarpus, of whom the foresaid letter consequently declareth as followeth: How that in the beginning, when hee heard of these things, was nothing at all afraid nor disquieted in mind, but purposed to haue taried still in the citie, till being persuaded by the intreatie of them that were about him (which desired him instantly that he would conuey himselfe away) bid himselfe in a grange or village not farre off from the city, & there abiding with a few more in his companie, did nothing else (night nor day) but abode in supplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the preseruing of peace into all the congregations throughout the world. For that was his accustomed manner so to doe. And as he was thus making his praiers three daies before he was apprehended, in a vision by night he saw the bed set on fire vnder his head, and suddenly to be consumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by and expounded vnto them that were present his vision, and told them before what thing should come to passe, that is, how that in the fire hee should lose his life for Christs cause. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand, which so narrowly sought for him, that he was inforced for the affection and loue of his brethren to flie into another village, to which place notwithstanding within a little while after the pursuers came, and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they so beat one of them with whips, that by the bewraying or confession of him they were brought into the same where Polycarpus was. And they say that the pursuers making no great haste to enter, found him in the vppermost place of the house, from whence hee might haue escaped into other houses, if hee would; but this hee would not doe, saying: The will of God bee done. Furthermore, when hee knew that they were come, as the said historie theweth, hee came downe, and spake vnto them with a cheerfull and pleasant countenance, so that it was a wonder to see those which a while agone knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comelie age, and his graue and constant countenance, lamented that they had so much employed their labour, that so aged a man should be apprehended. To conclude, hee commanded that straight way without any delay the table should be laid for them, and perswaded them that they would eate and dine well, and required of them boldly, that he might haue an houres respit to make his prayers. Which thing after it was granted, he arose and went to pray, so being replenished with the grace of God, that they which were present, and hearing the prayers that he made, were astonied at it, and now many of them were sorie that so honest an godly an aged man should be put to death.

Polycarpus threatned with wilde beasts.

Polycarpus pursued and taken.

Polycarpus might escape and would not.

Polycarpus falleth to praier.

After this, the foresaid epistle or letter, proceeding the history, addeth more as followeth: After hee had made an end of his prayers, & had called to his remembrance all those things which euer happened vnto him, and to the vniuersall catholike church throughout all the world (whether they were small or great, glorious or else inglorious) and that the houre was now come in which they ought to set forward, they set him vpon an asse, and brought him to the citie vpon a solemne feast day. And there met him Herarchus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which causing him to come by into the chariot where they sat, perswaded him and said: What hurt I pray thee shall come thereof to thee, if thou say (by the way of satisfaction) My lord Cesar, and do sacrifice, and thus to saue thy selfe? But he at the beginning made them none answere, till that when they inforced him to speake, he said: I will not doe as ye counsell me I should. When as they saw he could not be perswaded, they gaue him very rough language, and of purpose molested him, that in going downe the chariot from them, he might hurt or breake his legs. But he forcing nothing light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merie and diligently forward, making haste vnto the place appointed. And when there was such noyse in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of fewe, there came a voice from heauen to Polycarpus, as he was going into the stage or appointed place of iudgement, saying: Be of good cheere Polycarpus and play the man. No man there was, which saw him that spake, but very many of vs heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noise made by them which understood that Polycarpus was apprehended. The proconsul asked him then that he was come, whether his name was Polycarpus or not: And when he said, yea it was, he gaue him counsel to deny his name, & said vnto him: We good vnto thy selfe, and fauour thine old age: and many other such like words spake he vnto him, as is their vse and maner. Perswade, saith he, by the emperors good fortune, take pentance matter for thou with vs: Destroy these naughtie men. Then Polycarpus looking with constant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giuing a great sigh, looked vp to heauen, saying: Thou, then it is that wilt destroy these wicked naughtie men. And the proconsul thus being earnestly in hand with him, said: Take thine oth, and I will discharge thee, defie Christ. Polycarpus answered: Fourescore and six yeares haue I been his seruant, yet in all this time hath hee not so much as once hurt me: how then may I speake euill of my king and sauiour my Lord, which hath thus preserued me? Then the proconsul againe inforced him and said: Sweare thou I aduise thee by Cesars prosperitie. Polycarpus replied: If thou require of me this fond word of vaine boasting, feining not to know (as thou saiest) who I am, I doe thee to wit that I am a christian: and if thou desire to know the doctrine of christianitie, appoint a day, and thou shalt heare. Perswade the people vnto this, said the proconsul. Truely, saith Polycarpus, I haue thought it my part thus to say vnto you, for so much as we are commanded to giue vnto the gouernors and powers ordained of God, the honour meete and due to them, and not hurtfull vnto vs: but as for those, I doe iudge them vnworthie to purge my selfe vnto them. Hereupon the proconsul stod vp: I haue, saith hee, wilde beasts to whom I will throw thee, vnlesse thou take a better waie. Whereunto Polycarpus answered: Let them come, we haue determined with our selues that wee will not by repentance turne vs from the better way to the worse: but rather

Polycarpus desired to be slaine.

Polycarpus prayeth for the church.

Polycarpus hath a vision of his burning.

Polycarpus comforted by a voice from heauen.

His prayer before his death.

Polycarpus allured to change his name & would not consent.

The thanksgiuing of Polycarpus.

A faithfull seruant of Christ his Lord.

A miracle shewed.

Polycarpus readie to giue a reason of his doctrine.

An example of much constancie.

Polycarpus obedient to higher powers.



rather conuenient it is, that a man turne from things that be euill, vnto that which is good and iust. Against saith the proconsull, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou set not by the wilde beasts, nor yet repent. Then said Polycarpus; You threaten me with fire which shall burne for the space of an houre, and shall be within a little while after put out and extinguished; but thou knowest not the fire of the iudgement that is to come and of euerlasting punishment, which is reserued for the wicked and vngodly. But why make you all these delaies? giue me what death soeuer ye list. These and many other such like things being by him spoken, he was replenished with ioy and boldnesse, and his countenance appeared so full of grace and fauour, that not only he was not troubled with those things which the proconsull spake vnto him, but contrarily the proconsull himselfe began to be amazed and sent his crier, which in the middle of the stage was commanded to crie thrie times; Polycarpus hath confessed himselfe to bee a christian: which words of the crier were no sooner spoken, but that all the whole multitude both of the Gentiles and Iewes inhabitting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loud voice cried; This is that doctor or teacher of Asia, the father of the christians, and the destroyer of our gods, which hath instructed a great number, that our gods are not to be worshipped: and after this they cried vnto Philip the gouernour of Asia, and required him that he would let loose the lion to Polycarpus. To whom he made answere that he might not so do, because he had alreadie his prey. Then they cried againe all together with one voice that hee would burne Polycarpus aliue. For it was requisite that the lyon which he fain'd concerning his pillow or bolster should be fulfilled: which when he had some burnt, as he was in his prayer, hee turned himselfe vnto the faithfull sort which were with him, saying by the way of prophesie, It will so come, that I shall bee burned aliue. And the proconsull had no sooner spoken, but it was out of hand performed. For why? the multitude by and by brought out of their shops, workehouses, and barns, wood and other like matter for that purpole, and specially the Iewes were most seruiceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.

And thus the pile being laid, and that he had now put off his gaunts and vndons his girdle, and was about to pull off his shoes, which he had not done before, for that all the faithfull sort among themselues strued (as it were) who should first touch his bodie at their farewell, because for the good conuersation of his life, yea, from his yonger age, hee was had in great estimation of all men. Therefore straight way those instruments which are requisite to such a bonefire, were brought vnto him, and when they would haue nailed him to the stake with iron hoopes, hee said, let me alone as I am, for he that hath given me strength to suffer and abide the fire, shall also giue power, that without this your prouision of nailes, I shall abide, and stirre not in the middest of this fire ov pile of wood. Which thing when they heard, they did not naile him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, euen as the chiefest ram taken out of the flocke, hee was sacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, saying: O Father of thy welbeloued and blessed Sonne Iesus Christ, by whom we haue attained the knowledge of thee, the God of Angels and powers, and of euerie creature, and of all iust men which liue before thee, I giue thee thankes, that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day that I may haue my part amongst the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ, vnto the resurrection of eternall life both of bodie and soule, through the operation of the holy Spirit; among whom I shall be this day received into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared, and reuealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, which cannot lie, O thou most true God. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, bleste thee, and glorifie thee by our euerlasting bishop Iesus Christ, to whom be glorie euermore. Amen.

And as soone as he had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire, and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we to whom it was giuen to discerne the same, saw a marueilous matter, which were also to this purpose preserued, that we might shew the same to others. For the fire being made like to a rose or vaut of a house, and after the manner of a shipmans saile, filled with winde, compassed about the bodie of the martyr as with a certaine wall, and hee in the middle of the same, not as flesh that burned, but as gold and siluer when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a sauour so sweet as if myrrhe or some other pretious balme had giuen a sent. At the last, when those wicked persons saw that his bodie could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come to him, and thrust him thorow with his sword. Which being done, so great a quantitie of blood ranne out of his bodie, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marueiled that there was so much diuersitie betweene the infidels and the elect of whom this Polycarpus was one, being a disciple of the apostles, and a prophetical instructor of our times, and bishop of the catholike church of Smyrna: for what word soeuer he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the

Polycarpus threatned with wilde beasts.

The Iewes kinsmen alwaies to the christians.

Warke that he saith, we loue them, and worship them not.

Twelue martyrs put to death in Smyrna.

Ex Irenco. lib. 3. cap. 3. Euseb. lib. cap. 14.

Germanicus. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15. Histor. eccle.

The old age of Polycarpus.

Polycarpus was the scholler of Iohn.

Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 1.

The epistle of Polycarpus to the Philippians.

Iustification by faith.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Irenæus conuersant with Polycarpus.

Polycarpus conuersant with the apostles.

subtill and enuious aduersarie, when he saw the worthinesse of his martyrdome, and that his conuersation euen from his yonger yeares could not be reproued, and that he was adorned with the crowne of martyrdome, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gaue in charge, that we should not take and diuide his bodie, for feare lest the remnants of the dead corps should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon diuers whispered Nicetas the father of Herod, and his brother Alces in the eare, to admonish the proconsull, that in no case he should deliuer his bodie, lest (saith he) they leaue Christ and begin to worship him. And this spake they because the Iewes had giuen them secret warning, and prouoked them thereunto, who also watched vs that we should not take him out of the fire: not being ignorant how that we neuer at no time to forsake Christ, which gaue his life for the saluation of the whole world (as many I meane as are elected to saluation by him) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? him we worship as the Sonne of God, but the martyrs do we loue as disciples of the Lord (and that worthilie) for their abundant loue towards their king and master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his disciples. Which therefore the centurion saw and perceiued the labour of the Iewes, the corps being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

Thus good Polycarpus with twelue others that came from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom at Smyrna: which Polycarpus specially aboue the rest is had in memorie, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthie disciple of the apostles, whose historie the brethren of the congregation at Smyrna haue written in this their epistle as is aboue recited.

Irenæus in his third booke against heresies, the third chapter, and Eusebius in his fourth booke and fourteenth chapter of his ecclesiasticall historie reporteth this worthie saying of Polycarpus: This Polycarpus (saith he) meeting at a certaine time Marcion the heretike, who said to him; Doest thou not know me? made answere; I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan. So great feare what euill might ensue thereof had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not speake to them whom they knew to be the deuisers of the verity, euen as Paul saith: The heretike after the first and second admonition, shun and auoid, knowing that he which is such one, is peruerte or froward, and damneth himselfe. This most holy confessour and martyr of Christ Polycarpus suffered death in the fourth perfecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the yeare of our Lord, one hundred threescore and seuen, as Vrspergensis writeth, in the yeare one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius witnesseth in his chronicles, the seuenth before the kalends of Februarie.

Of Germanicus mention is made aboue in the 15 chapter of Polycarpus, of whom writeth Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a yong man, and most constantly to persuere in the profession of Christs doctrine, whom when the proconsull went to perswade to remember his age, and to fauour himselfe, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his owne accord incited and prouoked the wilde beast to come vpon him, and to deuour him, to be deliuered more speedily out of this wretched life. Hæc Euseb. an. 170.

Thus haue you heard out of the epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarpus: wherby it may appeare that he was a verie aged man, who had serued Christ fourescore and six yeares since the first knowledge of him, and serued also in the ministerie about the space of threescore and ten yeares. This Polycarpus was the scholler and hearer of Iohn the euangelist, and was placed by the said Iohn in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his epistle which he wrote in his iourney to Rome, going toward his martyrdome, and commended to him the gouernment of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarpus then was in the ministerie. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarpus after this manner: He alwaies taught (said he) those things which he learned of the apostles, leauing them to the church, and are onely true. Wherevnto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeded after Polycarpus to this day beare witnesse. And the same Irenæus witnesseth also that the said Polycarpus wrote an epistle to the Philippians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarpus, it is doubted of some: notwithstanding in the said epistle diuers things are found very holesome and apostolike: as where he teacheth of Christ, of iudgement, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring that by grace we are saued, and not by workes, but in the will of God by Iesus Christ.

In Eusebius we reade in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared how that the said Irenæus being yet yong, was with Polycarpus in Asia; at what time he saith I well remember, what Polycarpus did, and the place where he sate teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his bodie, with the seruinus and woyds which he said to the people. And furthermore hee perfectly remembreth how that the said Polycarpus often times reported vnto him, those things which he learned and heard them speake of

the Lord, his doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their owne eares, all which were more constant and agreeable to the holy scripture. This with much more hath Irenæus concerning Polycarpus.

This authority of Polycarpus in the churches of Asia.

Hierome also writing of the same Polycarpus, hath how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholler to the apostles, and to them which did see and were conversant with Christ himselfe: whereby it is to be conceived his authoritie to be much not only with them of his owne church, but with all other churches about him.

Polycarpus came to Rome. Polycarpus conferreth with Anicetus. The rest church and Romane church is at one about Easter day.

Out and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenæus, that Polycarpus came to Rome in the time of Anicetus bishop of Rome, about the yeare of our Lord one hundred fiftie and seuen in the reigne of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controuersie of Easter day: wherein the Asians and the Romans some thing disagreed among themselues. And therefore the said Polycarpus in the behalfe of the brethren and church of Asia, take his long iourney thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus, lib. 4. declaring that Polycarpus and Anicetus something varied in opinions and iudgement about that matter, and that notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, in so much that Anicetus in his church gaue place to Polycarpus to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lords supper for honor sake. Which may be a notable testimonie now to vs, that the doctrine concerning the free vse and libertie of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomacke, or breach of christian peace in the church.

Ex Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 29.

Difference of ceremonies reputed no breach of charitie in the primitive church.

This Polycarpus (as is aboue mentioned) suffered his martyrdome euen in his owne church at Smyrna, where hee had laboured so many yeares in planting of the Gospell of Christ, which was about the yeare of our Lord one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius reckoneth in his chronicle, and in the seuenth yeare of Antoninus Verus his reigne: wherein it appeareth that Socrates in Historia tripartita was much deceiued, saying that Polycarpus suffered in the time of Gordianus.

Socrates deceiued in his Tripartit. Hist.

In this fourth persecution beside Polycarpus and others mentioned before, we reade also in Eusebius of diuers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.

Quer and besides in the same persecution suffered moreouer Metrodorus a minister, who was giuen to the fire, and so consumed. Another was warthie Pionius, which after much boldnesse of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his sermons made to the people in the defence of christian faith, and after much reteining and comforting of such as were in prisons, and otherwise discomforted, at last was put to cruell toments and afflictions, then giuen likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed martyrdome.

Metrodorus, Pionius.

After these also suffered Carpus, Papilus, and Agathonica, a woman, who after their most constant and worthie confessions were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia, witnessing Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 7.

Carpus, Papylus, Agathonice, martyrs.

And as these suffered in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her seuen children, who vnder this Sr. Antoninus Verus disclaimed also the cruelties of this persecution. The names of whose children Bergomensis and other histories doe thus recite: Januarius, Felix, Philip, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her first and eldest sonne Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was prest to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their braines beaten out with maules. Siluanus was cast downe headlong, and had his necke broken. Furthermore Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Last of all Felicitas the mother (otherwise then the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children) was slaine with the sword. Ex Supplem.

Felicitas with her seuen children, Januarius, Felix, Philippus, Siluanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, martyrs.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, vnder the raigne of Antoninus Pius, suffered also good Iustinus, a man in learning and philosophie excellent, and a great defender of christian religion, who first exhibited vnto the emperour and to the senat, a booke or apologie in the defence of the christians, and afterward himselfe also died a martyr. Of whom in the historie of Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is thus recorded: that about that time, or a little before that Polycarpus with diuers other saints suffered martyrdome in Pergamopolis a citie of Asia, this Iustinus (as is aforesaid) presented a booke in defence of our doctrine to the emperour, to wit, vnto Antoninus, and to the senat. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdome vnto those, whom he in his booke had defended, through the malicious meanes and crafty circumuention of Crescens.

Iustinus Martyr. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Crescens a philosopher procurer of the death of Iustinus.

This Crescens was a philosopher conforming his life and manners to the Cynicall sect, whom for because this Iustinus had reproued in open audience, and had boone away the victory of the truth which he defended, he therefore as much as in him lay, did worke and procure vnto him this crowne of martyrdome. And this did also Iustine himselfe a philosopher no lesse famous by his profession foresee and declare in his foresaid apologie, telling almost all those things before hand which should happen vnto him, by these words, saying: And I looke after this good turne, that I be slaine going by the way, either of some of those whom I haue named, and to haue my braines beaten out with a bat, or else of Crescens, whom I cannot call a philosopher, but rather a vaine boaster. For it is not conuenient to call him a philosopher, which openly professeth things to him vnknowne, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of vs, that the christians be vngodly and irreligious: and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by error.

Crescens a railing philosopher and a malicious railer.

For whether he obiecteth against vs the doctrine of the christians which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and weake then the vnlearned idiots, who for the most part vse not to dispute or iudge of things they know not, and to beare witnesse of the same. Or put case that he had read it, yet vnderstandeth he not the maiestie of the matters therein contained: or if peraduenture he vnderstandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslaue of vile and beastly both fame and feare. For this I testifie of him, giuing you truly to vnderstand that for a truth, which I declare vnto you, how that I haue opposed him, and haue put vnto him many questions, whereby I know and perceiue, that he vnderstandeth nothing. But if so be that this our disputation with him hath not come vnto your eares, I am ready to communicate vnto you againe those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be vnfit for your princely honor to heare. But if ye know and vnderstand both what things I haue examined him of, as also what answere he hath made, it shall be apparant vnto you, that he is altogether ignorant of our doctrine and learning; or else if he knoweth the same, he dare not vtter it for feare of his auditors, which thing, as I said before, is a proofe that he is no philosopher, but a slaue to vaine glorie, which maketh none account of that, which his owne master Socrates had in so great estimation. And thus much of Iustine, out of Iustine himselfe.

A slaue of fame and feare.

Crescens procured an vnlearned philosopher.

Now to verifie that, which Iustine before of himselfe doth prophesie, that Crescens would and did procure his death: Tatianus (a man brought vp of a child in the institutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behind him many good monuments and commentaries) writeth in his booke against the Gentiles in this sort: And Iustine (saith he) that most excellent learned man, full well foreknowing and weighing his minde, that a snare receiued men were like vnto thieues or liers by the high-way side. And in the said booke speaking afterward of certaine philosophers, the said Tacianus inferreth thus; Crescens therefore (saith he) when he came first into that great citie, passed all others in the vicious loue of children, and was verie much giuen to courteousnesse; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, hee himselfe doth feare death, that he did all his endeuour to oppresse Iustine with death, as with the most greatest euill that was, and all because that Iustine speaking truth, reproued the philosophers to be men only for the belly, and deceiuers: and this was the cause of Iustines martyrdome. Hieronie in his ecclesiasticall catalogue thus writeth: Iustine, when in the citie of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproued Crescens the Cynike for a great blasphemer of the christians, for a belliged, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lecherie: at last by his endeuour and conspiracie was accused to be a christian, and so Christ shed his blood in the peace of our Lord one hundred fiftie and foure vnder Marcus Antoninus, as the chronicles do witnesse, Abbas Vrspergensis, and Eusebius in his chronicle in the thirteenth yeare of the emperor Antoninus.

Tatianus commended.

The praise of Iustine Martyr.

Ex catalogo Hieron.

The death and martyrdome of Iustinus the noble philosopher and christian martyr.

Among these aboue recited is also to be numbred Praxedis a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Aniectus there bishop, was so brought vp in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that she with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimonie vpon the relieuing of poore christians, giuing all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made free all her familie with her seruants after the death of her sister, she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Praxedis, Potentiana, christian virgins.

Vnder the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomeus and Lucius for the confession of Christ, in a citie of Egypt called Alexandria, whose historie because it is described in the apologie of Iustinus Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alledged in Eusebius, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, Lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth, &c.

Ptolomeus, Lucius, martyrs.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 17.

There was (saith he) a certaine woman married vnto a husband, who was giuen much to lasciuiousnesse, wherevnto she her selfe in times past was also addict. But she afterward being instructed in the christian religion, became chast her selfe, and also persuaded her husband to line chastly; oftentimes telling him that it was written in the precepts of the christians, that they should be punished eternally, which lined not chastly and iustly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthinesse, thereby caused his wife to estrange her selfe from his companie. For why? the woman thought it not conuenient to continue in her husbands companie, which contemning the law of

The vision of Vincentius, suspected of vntruth.

Ex Ioan. de Vincentio, & Henrico de Erford. Symmetrius, Flozellus, Pontianus, Alexander.



of nature, sought other wise to satisfie his filthie appetite. Therefore the was purposed to be diuorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolke prouoked her, by promising his amendment, to keepe companie againe with him, and so she did. But not after this touke his iourney into Alexandria, and when it was spoken her, that there he liued more licentiously then at anie time before, so that the would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life by coupling her selfe anie longer with him, she gaue him a letter of diuorce, and so departed from him. Then her husband, who ought rather to haue reioyced to haue so honest and chaste a wife, whych not only would not commit any dishonestie thing her selfe, but also could not abide any lewd or misordered behauiour in her husband, and that by this her separation thee went about to reclaime him from his incest and wickednesse to better amendment of life: hee in reuenge of his wife againe, accused her to bee a christian, which at that time was no lesse then death. Whereupon shee being in great perill and danger, deliuered vp vnto the emperor (as Iustinus in his apologie writing to the emperour himselfe declareth) a supplication, desiring and crauing of his maiestie, first to grant her so much licence as to set her familie in order, and that done, afterward to come againe and make answere to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the emperour condescended. Then her husband seeing that he could haue no vantage against her, deuised with himselfe, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation: vsing the meanes of a certaine Centurion who was his verie friend, whom he perswaded to examine Ptolomeus whether he were a christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loued the truth, and not thinking good to hide his profession) confessed no lesse then to the examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the veritie of christian doctrine. For who so denieth himselfe to be that he is, either condemneth in denying that thing that he is, or maketh himselfe vnworthie of that, the confession whereof he professeth, which thing is neuer found in a true and sincere christian. Thus then he being brought before Vrbicius the iudge, and by him condemned to suffer: one Lucius being also a christian, standing by, and seeing the wrong iudgement, and hastie sentence of the iudge, said to Vrbicius: What reason I pray you or equitie is this, that this man who neither is adulterer, nor fornicatour, nor homicide, nor fellon, neither hath committed anie such crime, wherein he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his name and confession of a christian? This condemnation and these maner of iudgements (O Vrbicius) are neither seemely for the vertuous emperour, nor to the philosopher his sonne, nor yet for the estate of his senat of Rome.

Ptolomeus conuicted and condemned.

Lucius condemned and martyred.

The third man also condemned and martyred.

Which words being heard, Vrbicius making no further examination of the matter, said vnto Lucius: Me thinketh thou art also a christian. And when Lucius had giuen him to vnderstand that he was also a christian, the iudge without further delay commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he answered: I thanke you with all my heart, that you release me from such vnciuil gouernours, and send me vnto my good and most louing father, being also the king of all gods. And in like manner the third man also, coming vnto him, and vsing the like libertie of speech, had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and crowned also with the same crowne of martyrdome. And thus much out of the apologie of Iustinus, by the which storie it may appear not to be true that Gratianus attributeth vnto Higinus bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimoniall, seeing that in Iustinus time (who was in the same age of Higinus) the diuorcement of this woman in this historie aboue touched, was not decided by any ecclesiasticall law, or brought before any bishop, but was brought before a heathen prince, and determined by the law ciuill.

The bold meeke and christian constancie of Lucius.

A place of Gratianus suspected.

Concoydus marry.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the martyrologe of Iuuardus, of one Concoydus a minister of the citie of Spolet, who in the raigne of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice vnto Iupiter, but did spit in the face of the idoll, after diuers and sundrie punishments suffained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius in his tenth booke, chap. 108. recyteth a long storie of his acts and life, whereof some part perhaps may seeme tollerable. But this is vtterly approued to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beside his sepulchre in the forenamed citie of Spolet, vnto the which water was giuen (saith Vincentius) by the vertue of him, for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heale the sicke, and to cast out diuels, &c. Which kind of vertue to open the eyes of the blind, and to expell diuels, neither doth God giue to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concoydus the blessed martyr did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Concoydus spit in the face of the idoll.

Iuuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors more, make relation of diuers other martyrs that by sundrie kinds of torments were put to death, vnder the foresaid Antonius Verus: the names of whom be Symmetrius, Flozellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellius, Valerianus. The cause of whose martyrdome was the repreheuding of idolatrie and be-

Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellius, Valerianus, martyrs. Authors in the writing of miracles of martyrs suspected.

cause at the emperours commandement they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected, the histories of these writers not to be certaine or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appeare in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like sort. In which authors they which lust to reade more of their miracles there may find them.

After before, mention was made of Symphorosa, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulius, with her seuen sons. This Getulius or Getulius, was a minister or a teacher (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis) in the citie of Tiber, which Getulius with Cereals, Amantius, and Primitius, by the commandement of Adrian were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreouer of the seuen sonnes of this Symphorosa, I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Nemelius, Primitius, Iustinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the chronicle of Aco declareth to be put to death at the commandement of Adrian, being fastened to seuen stakes, and so racked vp with a pulley, and at last were thrust through. Crescens in the necke, Julianus in the brest, Nemelius in the heart, Primitius about the nauill, Iustinus cut in euery ioynt of his bodie, Statteus run through with speares, Eugenius cut asunder from the brest to the lower parts, and then cast into a deepe pit, hauing the name by the idolatrous priests, entituled Ad septem Biothanatos. After the martyrdome of whom also Symphorosa the mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Getulus, Cereals, Amantius, Primitius, Julianus, Nemelius, Crescens, Iustinus, Statteus, Eugenius, martyrs. The seuen sons of Symphorosa.

Vnder the said Antonius Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lions and Vienna, two cities in France, giuing to Christ a glorious testimonie, and to all christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancie and fortitude in Christ our Sauiour. The historie of whom, because it is written and set forth by their owne churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to repeate the same in the forme and effect of their owne words, as there is to be seene. The title of which their epistle written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia thus beginneth.

The martyrs in Lions and Vienne, two cities in France. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 1.

## The seruants of Christ inhabiting the cities of *Vienna and Lions, to the brethren in Asia and* Phrygia, hauing the same faith and hope of redemption with vs: peace, grace, and glorie from God the Father, and from Iesus Christ our Lord.

A letter of the brethren of France to the brethren of Asia.

THe greatnesse of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against vs, and the torments which the blessed martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing expresse, as they deserue, set forth. For the aduersarie with all his force gaue his endeuour to the working of such preparatiues, as he himselfe lifted, against his vsurnous comming, and in euerie place practised he and instructed his ministers, how in most spitefull maner to set them against the seruants of God: so that not only in our houses, shops and markets we were restrained, but also were vniuersally commanded, that none (so hardie) should be seene in any place. But God hath alwaies mercie in store, and take out of their hands such as were weake amongst them, and other some did he so fix as stone and immouable pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemie, enduring all their oppozbious punishment they could deuise: to conclude, they fought this battell so that intent to come vnto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light: thereby shewing that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to countervaile the great glorie which shall be shewed vpon vs after this life. And first they patiently suffered whatsoeuer the multitude of franticke people running vpon head did vnto them, as railings, scourgings, drawings, and hallings, stinging of stones, imprisonings, and what other thing soeuer the rage of the multitude is wont to vse and practise against their professed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market place, and there iudged of the captaine and rest of the potentates of the citie, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to prison, vntill the returne of their chiefe gouernour. After this they being brought before him, and he vsing all extremitie that possible he might against them: one Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, replenished with feruent zeale, both toward God and his brethren (whose conuersation although he were a yong man was counted as perfect as was the life of Zacharie the priest, for he walked diligently in all the commandements and iustifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren blameless) he hauing within him the feruent zeale of loue, and spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked iudgement which was giuen vpon the christians; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the iudge would heare the cercle which he was minded to make in the behalfe of

Vetius, Epagathus, martyrs.

the christians, in whom (saith he) is no impietie found. But the people cried againe to those that were assistants with the chiefe iustice, that it might not be so (for in deed he was a noble man borne) neither did the iustice grant him his lawfull request, but only asked him whether hee himselfe were a christian or not: And he immediately with a loud and bold voice answered and said, I am a christian. And thus was he received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the aduocat of the christians.

The stoutnesse of a godly young man.

And he hauing the spirit of God more plentifully in time, then had Zacharie, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gaue his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true disciple of Christ, following the lambe wheresoeuer he goeth.

The fainting of certaine weake christians.

By this mans example the rest of the martyrs were the more animated to martyrdome, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were vnreadie and not so well prepared, and as yet weake, not well able to beare the vehemencie of so great conflict: of whom ten there were in number that fainted, ministring to vs much heauinesse and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest which were not yet apprehended, to beleeue willing there vnto. Then were we all for the variablenes of confession not a little astonied: not that we feared the punishment intended against vs, but rather as hauing respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Sucrie day there were apprehended such as were worthie to fulfill the number of them which were fallen: in so much that of two churches, such as were chiefest, and which were the principall gouernors of our churches, were apprehended. With these also certaine of the Ethnikes, being our menseruants, were apprehended (for to the gouernor commanded, that all of vs in generall without any respect, should be taken) which seruants being ouercome by Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw the saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the meanes of the souldiers, fained against vs that we kept the feastings of Thiestes, and incest of Oedipus, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembred, nor named of vs, nor yet to be thought that euer any man would commit the like.

False slanders of the christians.

The rage of the heathen against the christians.

These things being now buted abroad, euery man began to shew cruelitie against vs, in so much that those which before for familiaritie sake were more gentle towards vs, now behaued themselues disdainfully against vs. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, The time will come that whosoeuer killeth you, shall thinke that he doth God great good seruice. Then suffred the martyrs of God such bitter persecution as is passing to be told: Satan still chasting at this marke, to make them to vtter some blasphemie by all meanes possible. Marueilous therefore was the rage both of the people and prince, specially against one Sanctus, which was deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and against Maturus, being but a little before baptised, but yet a worthie souldier of Christ, and also against Attalus, being borne in Pergama, which was the foundation and pillor of that congregation, and also against Blandina: by whom Christ shewed, that those things which the world esteemed vile and abiect, to be glorious in Gods sight, for the verie loue which in heart and deed they beare vnto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and specially her mistresse in flesh, who also was her selfe one of the number of the foresaid martyrs, left happily for the weakenesse of bodie she would not stand strongly to her confession, the foresaid Blandina was so replenished with strength and boldnesse, that they which had the tormenting of her by course from morning to night, for very weerinesse gaue ouer and fell downe, and were themselues ouercome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marueiled that yet the liued hauing her bodie so torne and rent: and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to haue plucked the life from her bodie. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthie battell, became stronger and stronger, and as often as shee spake these words (I am a christian, neither haue we committed any euill) it was to her a marueilous comfort and bolding to abide the torments.

The cruell handling and great patience of Blandina.

Sanctus a martyr.

Sanctus also another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments, endureing more paines then the nature of a man might atwaie with, also at what time the wicked seruants to haue heard him utter some blasphemous words, for the greatnesse and intollerablenesse of his torments and paines that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constance of minde, that neither he told them his name, nor what countreman he was, nor in what citie brought vp, neither whether he was a free man or a seruant: but vnto euery question that was asked him, he answered in the Latine tongue, I am a christian, & this was all that he confessed both of his name, citie, kindred, and all other things in the place of execution; neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him: wherevpon both the gouernour and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vse him withall, they clapped plates of brasse red hot to the most tenderest parts of his bodie, wherwith his body indeed being scorched, yet he neuer thunke for the matter, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moystened with the fountaine of liuelie water, flowing out of Christs side. Truelie his bodie was a sufficient witnesse what torments he suffered: for it was all

The cruell torments of Sanctus.

one wound and most pitifully wounded and scratched, so that it had therewith lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained vnspeakeable glorie, for that he ouercame his aduersarie, and to the instruction of others declared, that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared where the loue of God is, nor nothing grieuous wherein the glorie of Christ is manifested.

And when those wicked men began after a certaine time again to torment the martyrs, and hoped wel to bring it to passe, that either they should ouercome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his bodie was so sore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand, or else that if he died vnder their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such feare into the hearts of the rest, to cause them to denie Christ. But they were not only disappointed herein, but also contrarie to the expectation of men, his bodie was in the latter punishment and torments supplied and reflored, and tooke the first shape and vse of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the grace of Christ (in stead of punishment) a safe medicine.

A miraculous working of God.

Also Satan now thinking to haue setled himselfe in the hart of one Biblias, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to haue caused her, being a weake and feeble woman in faith, to haue damned her soule, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution: enforcing to wrell some wicked thing out of the mouth of the christians. But she in the middle of her torments, returning to her selfe, and looked as it were out of her dead sleepe, by that temporall paine, called to her remembrance the paines of hell fire, and against all meanes expectations reuiled the tormentors, saying: How should we christians eat young infants (as ye reported of vs) for whom it is not lawfull to eate the blood of any beast? Vpon that, so soone as she had confessed her selfe to be a christian, she was martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannicall torments, by the patience and sufferance of our saints, the diuell yet inuented other engins and instruments. For when the christians were cast into prison, they were shut vp in darke and vgly dungeons, and were drawne by the feet in a rache or engine made for that purpose, euen vnto the fift hole. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious ministers, filled to with diuelish furie, are wont to put men into: so that very manie of them were strangled and killed in the prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would haue to enioy euerlasting life, and set forth his glorie. And surely these good men were so pittifully tormented, that and if they had had all the helpes and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to line, and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison destitute of all humane helpe, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in bodie and mind confirmed, that they comforted and stirred vp the minds of the rest: the younger sort of them, which were latter apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the leth of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpnesse of their imprisonment, but died of the same.

Biblias an holy martyr.

Excelsus ad quinquennium feramen.

Maturus and Sanctus martyred.

Other martyrs died in prison.

The blessed Photinus, who was deacon to the bishop of Lions about fourescore and nine yeares old, and a very feeble or weake man, and could scarcely draw breath for the imbecillitie of his bodie: yet was he of a lively courage and spirit for the great desire he had of martyrdome, when he was brought into the iudgement seat: although his bodie was feeble and weake, both because of his old age, and also through sickenesse, yet was his forte or life preserued to this purpole, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. He, being by the soulders brought to the place of iudgement, many citizens and men of great abilitie following him, and the whole multitude cried vpon him diuerlly, as though he had been Christ himselfe, gaue a good testimonie. For being demanded of the chiefe ruler, what was the christian mans God: he answered: If thou be worthy to know thou shalt know. He being with these words somewhat neere touched, caused him to bee very sore beaten. For those that stood next him, did him all the spite and displeasure that they could both with hand and foot, hauing no regard at all to his old age or white haires. And they which were further off, whatsoeuer came next to hand, they threw at him, and euery man thought that he did verie wickedly refraine, that withheld his hand from not doing the like. For by this meanes they thought that they did reuenge the quarrell of their gods. Photinus now, euen as it were gasping after life, was throwne into prison, and within two daies after died.

Photinus a blessed martyr.

The rage of the people against Photinus.

And heere is the mightie prouidence of God, and the vnspeakeable mercie of Jesus Christ declared, which prouidence being affirmed amongst a fraternitie, is neuer destitute of the aid of Jesus Christ. For those which in their first confession denied Christ, then also were put in prisun, and made partakers of the others affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time helpe them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as christians, neither was there any other crime obiected against them, but the other sort taken like homicids & wicked doers were laid hand on, & had double more punishment then the others had. These men were refreshed with the ioy of martyrdome, the hope of Gods promises, the loue towards Christ, and the spirit of God: the others their consciences

The comfort of the godly standing to their confession.



The deniers of their confession comforted, and not withstanding punished.

sciences accused them, and that very sore, in so much that by their gate, their countenances bewraied vnto the rest their guiltie consciences. For the christians went forth hauing cheerful countenances, very much abouned with glorie and grace, in so much that the very bonds wherewith they were tied, let them out as men in seemely apparell, and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithall fauoured as of the redolent smell of Christ, so that it might be supposed them to be anointed with some sweet balme: whereas the others were doubtfull and sad, abiect, ill fauoured, filled with all shame, and furthermore reuiled of the Gentiles themselues, as wretches degenerat, hauing the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most pretious, glorious, and lively calling of the christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and being apprehended, confessing Christ without any staggering, not hauing so much as the thought of any such disuelish mind of denial. And in the same epistle of the foresaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner: After these things done, the martyrdome of these holy saints were diuided diuerslie into diuers kinds and formes, as the offering to God the father a garland decked with diuers and sundrie kinds of colours and flowers. For it to behoooued the worthie champions of God, after they had suffered diuers kinds of torments, and so winning a triumphant victorie, to obtaine great reward of immortalitie.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus together, were brought to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast and deuoured of the beasts. And Maturus with Sanctus being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all, yea rather as though the aduersarie being ofttentimes put to the worse, they as striuing for the crowne, suffered again more scourgings, the tearing of with beasts, and what thing else soeuer the frantike people on euery side cried for: & wild. And aboue all the rest they brought an iron chaire, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried & broched as on a gridiron fried on the coles, & filled with the fauor of the spring all the people that stood by. And yet for all that, the tormentors ceased not, but vsared more fierce and mad against them, labouring to ouercome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding al this, they could not get out of Sanctus mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning hee declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their most horrible conflict, at the length were slaine, being made all that whole day a spectacle vnto the world, in place and in stead of the games and fights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

The spitefull handling of Gods people.

Maturus and Sanctus martyred.

Blandina brought forth againe.

Now concerning Blandina, who being fastened vpon a stake, was call to the rauening beasts to bee deuoured, which thing was not done without the determinat will of God: to this end, that while she seemed to hang vpon a crosse, as it were by the feruentnesse of her prayer, she much comforted the rest of the saints, as beholding her Christ with her bodilie eies, which in that agonie suffered for them all, and that all which beleeue in him, and suffer for the glorie of Christ, might bee assured to line with him for euer. And when they saw that no beast would come nere her thus hanging, they took her downe from the tree, & call her again into prison till another time, that she hauing the victorie of many battels, might triumph ouer that vgly serpent the diuell, & that she being a weake & sillie woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the inuincible conqueror, might incourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battell might win a crowne of incorruptible glorie.

Blandina and Ponticus a-gaine brought forth.

Now to Attalus: who being also required and called for of the people to punishment already prepared (for his conscience sake) commeth forth to the fight. For he being worthilie exercised in the christian profession, was alwaies a witnesse and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the presse of people was about the scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the Romane tongue, This is Attalus the christia: then the people were in a marueilous rage against him. But the gouernor, vnderstanding that he was a Roman, commanded him againe to prison, with the rest of his prison fellowes: whereof he wrote to the emperour, and waited for answer what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the meane season, nor vnprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the vnspeakeable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before, were now reuiued by them that liued, and they which were martyrs profited them which were none, and the church did much reioyce, as receiuing them againe alive, whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them which before had denied, now by their denial were reconered and stirred vp, and learned to bee confessors. And now being reuiued and strengthened, and tasting the sweetnesse of him which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is merciful to the penitent, came of their owne accord to the iudgement seat against, that they might be examined of the iudge. And so that the emperor had written backe against to him, that all the confessors should be punished and the other let goe, and that the sessions or assises were now begun, which for that multitude that had repaire thither out of euery quarter, was marueilous great:

Attalus commanded to prison.

Alexander the Phrygian martyred.

The wonderfull patience and constancie of Attalus.

Blandina and Ponticus martyred.

Ponticus martyred.

Blandina martyred.

Apoc 20.

The denyers returning againe to their confession.

he caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once againe examined them, and as many of them as bee thought had the Romane freedome he beheaded, the residue he gaue to the beasts to bee deuoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before hap denied him, which againe contrarie to the expectation of the infidels, confelled him euen vnto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their deliuery, which being found confessors, were ioyned to the compane of the martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were ther abode which had no faith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all of the feare of God, but blaspheined his waies by the leaud conuersation of their life, euen such as were the children of damnation. All the residue ioyned themselues to the congregation: which when they were examined, one Alexander a Phrygian borne, and a physitian which had diuelt long in France, and knowne almost of all, for the loue hee had to God, and boldnelle of speaking (neither was he void of the apostolicall lone) this Alexander standing somewhat nere to the barre, by signes and becks perswaded such as were examined, to confelle Christ: so that by his countenance sometime reioycing, some other while forzobing, bee was deserid of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted, by and by again to sticke to their first confession, they cried out against Alexander as one that was the cause of all this mat'er. And when he was inforced by the iudge, and demanded what religion he was of: he answered: I am a christian. He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was iudged to the beasts of them to be deuoured.

The next day following, Attalus of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought foorth together (for the gouernour granting Attalus vnto the people, was baited against of the beasts.) When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a taste of all the instruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agonie they could put them to, were also at the length slaine: of whom Alexander neuer gaue so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottome of his heart praised and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was set in the iron chaire, and began to frie, and the frying fauour of his burning bodie began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Romane language: Behold (saith he) this is to eat mans flesh which you do, for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickednelle. And being demanded what was the name of their God: Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men haue. Then said they, Now let vs see whether your God can helpe you, and take you out of our hands or not.

After this, being the last day of the spectacle, Blandina again, and one Ponticus, a child of fiftene yeares old was brought forth, and this was euery day, to the intent they seing the punishment of their fellowes might be compelled there by to sweare by their idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpole, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor fauouring the sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and paine they could deuise, and ofttentimes inforced them to sweare, and yet were not able to compell them thereunto. For Ponticus being so animated of his sister, as the Ethnikes standing by did see, after that he had suffered all torments and paines gaue vp the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy mother giuen exhortations vnto her children, and had sent them before as conquerors to their heauenly king, and had called to her remembrance all their battels and conflicts, so much reioyced of her childrens death, and so hastened her owne, as though she had been bidden to a bridall, and not in case to bee throwne to the wild beasts. After this her pitifull whipping, her deliuerie to the beasts, and her torments vpon the gridiron, at the length she was put in a net, and throwne to the wild bull, and when she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the hornes of the same beast, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heauenly things, was thus slaine, insomuch that the very heathen men themselues confelled that there was neuer woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelitie thus assuaged against the christians. For the cruell barbarous people, like wild beasts when they be mooued, knew not when the time was to make an end, but inuented new and sundrie torments euery day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the magistrat and people were bered at the very hearts, that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, He that is wicked, let him bee wicked still, and he that is iuli let him be more iuli. For those which in their prisons they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some halfe burned, some left of the wild beasts, and some all to bee mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them

them to the charge of the keepers to see them remaine vnburied.

The Gentiles grinded and gnashed at the christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplifie their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idols, attributing vnto them the cause of this cruelties and vengeance shewed to vs. Such which were of the meaker sort, and seemed to be moued with some pitie, did hit vs in the teeth, saying, Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you giue your liues? These were the sundrie passions and affects of the Gentiles, but the christians in the meane while were in great heauines, that they might not burie the bodies and reliques of the holie martyrs. Neither could the darke night serue them to that purpose, nor any intreatie nor waging them with monie, which were appointed for watchmen: but they so narrowlie looked vnto the matter, as though they should haue gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering flocke, and lay fire daies in the open streetes, at the length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the riuer of Rodes, so that there might appeare no remnant of them vpon the earth. And this did they as though they had been able to haue pulled God out of his seat, and to haue let the regeneration of the saints, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection, wherof they being perswaded (said they) bring in this new and strange religion, and set thus light by death and punishment. Atque hæc ex epistola Viennensium, &c.

Iustinus.

Among others that suffered vnder Antoninus, mention was made also of Iustinus, who (as it is said before) exhibited two apologies, concerning the defense of christian doctrine, the one to the senat of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the emperor, concerning whose suffering, and the causes thereof is partly before declared: this Iustine was borne in Neapoli, in the countrie of Palestine, whose father was Priscus Bachius, as he himselfe doth testifie, by whom in his youth he was set to schole to learne, where in processe of time he became a famous and worthie philosopher, of whose excellencie many learned and notable men doe record. For first he being altogether inflamed and rauished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise bee satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructions singularlie seene in all kind of philosophie, whereupon he writeth of himselfe in the beginning of his dialogue Cum Tryphone thus, declaring that in the beginning he being desirous of that sect and societie, applied himselfe to be the scholer to a certaine Stoike, & remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in diuine knowledge (whereof the Stoike had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessarie) he forsoke him, and went to another of the sect of the Peripatetikes, a sharpe witted man, as he thought: with whom after he had bin a while, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiaritie. Whereupon Iustine accounting him as no philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind but desirous to heare of further learning in philosophie, adioyned himselfe to one that professed the Pythagorian sect, a man of great fame, & one who made no small account of himself. Whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in Musike, Astronomie, and Geometrie, without the sight of which science he said he could not be apt to receiue the knowledge of vertue and felicitie, vnlesse before hee had vsed to applie his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessarie they were: after that Iustine had declared himself not to be scene therin, the philosopher gaue him ouer, which grieued Iustine not a little, and so much the more because he thought his master to haue some knowledge in those sciences. After this, Iustine conferring with himselfe what time was requisit to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose vnto him a singular learned man of that sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernall things, & inuisible formes, insomuch that he thought shortlie to aspire to such sharpenes of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might atchine to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato his philosophie. And in this maner he beStowed his youth: but after ward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Iustine came to the knowledge and profession of christianitie, it followeth likewise in his said first apologie: where hee affirmeth of himselfe (as witnesseth Eusebius in his fourth booke) that when he did behold the christians in their torments & sufferings to be so constant in their profession, was therwith marueilouslie mooued: after this maner reasoning with himselfe, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subiect to any vice or carnalitie, which vices of their owne nature are not able to sustaine any sharp aduersitie, much lesse the bitternes of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his owne nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and vertue) to begin thereby to loue and imbrace christian religion, for so he doth witnesse of himselfe in the end of the first apologie: signifying there how it was his seeking and indeuor to attaine to christianitie: vnderstanding how the christians by malice of wicked persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be euill spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himselfe, he became a christian, through this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietnesse to go aside to some desert and solitarie place void of concourse of people, vnto a village or grange neere to the sea side: whither as he approched, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient father of a comely visage and gentle behauior, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where after long disputation, when the old man had declared vnto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the holy Ghost: and further had reasoned with him of the immortalitie of the soule, of the reward of the godly, and punishment of the wicked: then Iustine being conficted with his reasons & argumentes, yeelded to him of his owne accord: and demanded of him by what means he might attaine to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken: who then counselled him to read and search the prophets, adioyning therewith praier. But what maner (quoth Iustine) should I vse for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to helpe vs if these philosophers (as you say) lacke the truth, and are voide of the same? To whom the old father answering, There haue been (said he) many peeres before these philosophers other more ancient then all these, which being accounted for philosophers were ill and beloued of God: who spake by the spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to passe, and therefore they are called prophets. These only haue knowne the truth and reuealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any, who were seduced with no opinions of mans inuention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselues both heard and saw, being inspired with the holie spirit of God: whose writings and works yet to this day remaine, out of which the reader may receiue great profit and knowledge of things, as concerning the first creation of the world and end of the same, with all other things necessarie to be knowne of euery true philosopher which will giue credit vnto them. Neither in their teaching doe they vse any demonstration, as being more certaine of themselues, then that they need any such demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things both past and now present, constraineth vs of necessitie to beleeue the words and doctrin which they taught: which men not only therfore are to be beleeued, but also for their miracles and wonders done, are worthie of credit; for that they both preached of God the maker and creator of all things, and also did prophesie before of Christ his sonne to be sent of him; the which the false prophets being seduced with false & wicked spirits, neither haue done, nor doe, but only take vpon them to worke certaine prodigious wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the world false and vncleane spirits. But then afore all things make thy praier that the gate of light may be opened vnto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained vnto of euery man, but onlie of such to whom God and his Christ giueth vnderstanding.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serueth not to prosecute) after the foresaid old father had declared vnto him, hee departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken: and after that Iustine (as he himselfe witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediatlie after this, Iustine being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his breST, began to conceiue a loue and zeale toward the prophets and all such as were fauoured of Christ. And thus he reuoluing in his mind more and more these words, found only this philosophie among all other professions both sure and profitable, and so became hee a philosopher, and in time by these meanes afterwards hee was made a christian and baptized. But where he receiued this holy sacrament of baptisme, it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there vsed certaine exercises which he called Diatribas, disputing there with Crescens a Cynicall philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certaine, how that Iustine after he had receiued the profession of christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same, trauelling and disputing against all the aduersaries thereof, fearing neither perill of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintaine the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of christian beleeuers, as may appeare by his vehement disputations against the heathen philosophers also moreouer as wel appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one Tripho at Ephesus, as also in his confutations of heresithes. Furthermore, his conflicts and apologies which with great courage and securitie he exhibited against the persecutors of the christians, both the emperors and the magistrats, yea and the whole senat of Rome do testifie the same.

Of the which apologies, the first he wrote to the senat of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the emperor, as is before mentioned, where in the first writing with great libertie to the senat, hee declared, that of necessitie hee was compelled to write

Iustine goeth into a desert.

Iustinus meeteth with an old man.

The substance of the old philosophers reproued.

The doctrine of the prophets commended.

The credite of reading the prophets.

Prophets to be credited for two causes.

Iustinus baptized.

Diatribæ.

Iustinus an earnest defender of Christ.

Two apologies of Iustinus.

The summe of his apologies.



write and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the christians they did neglect their dutie, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to Urbicius lieutenant of the citie, said, that he put men to death and tormented for no offence committed, but for the confession onely of the name of Christ, which proceedings and iudgements neither became the emperor nor his sonne, nor the senat: defending moreouer in the said apologie, and purging the christians of such crimes as falslie were laid and obiected against them by the ethnikes.

The second apologie of Iustine.

And likewise in his second apologie writing to Antoninus the emperor and his successors, with like grauitie and free libertie declareth vnto them holy they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as pernitious philosophers, maintainers of iniquitie, louers of learning; but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flatterie nor fauor at their hands, he was constrained thus to write vnto them, but only to sue vnto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their iudgements and sentences (for it becommeth princes to followe vprightnesse and pietie in their iudgements, not tyrannie and violence) and also in plaine words chargeth as well the emperour as the senat with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, inuging men to death not conuicted but only for the hatred of the name. Other men should be apprached (said he) in iudgement, are not condemned before they are conuicted: but on vs you take our name only for the crime. When as indeed you ought to see iustice done vpon our accusers. And againe (saith he) If a christian being accused only denie that name, him you releasle, being not able to charge him with any other offence: but if he stand to his name, only for his confession you may cast him, where indeede it were your dutie rather to examine their manner of life what thing they confesse or denie, and according to their demerits to see iustice done.

The Lord take away this spirit of feare, condemning innocents before they be conuicted.

And in the same further he saith; You examine not the causes, but incensed with rath affections as with the spurre of fury, ye slap and smother them not conuicted, without any respect of iustice. And further he addeth: Some peraduenture will say, certaine of them haue been apprehended and taken in euill doings: as though (saith he) you vsed to inquire vpon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemne them before due examination of their offense for the cause aboue mentioned. Where also in the end of the said apologie after this manner he reprehendeth them: You doe degenerat (quoth he) from the goodnesse of your predecessors, whose example you follow not: for your father Adrian of famous memorie caused to be proclamed that christians accused before the iudge, should not be condemned, vnlesse they were found guiltie of some notorious crime. I find that all his vehement and graue apologie standeth vpon most strong and firme probations, denying that the christians ought by conscience at the will and commandement of the emperors senat to doe sacrifice to the idols: for the which they being condemned, affirme that both they suffer open wrong; affirming moreouer that the true and only religion is the religion of the christians, whose doctrine and conuersation hath no fault. Iustinus although with these and such like perswasions did not so preuaile with the emperour, to cause him to loue his religion and become a christian (for that is not written) yet thus much hee obtained, that Antoninus writing to his officers in Asia in the behalfe of the christians, required and commanded them, that those christians which onlie were founde guiltie of any trespasse should suffer, and such as were not conuicted, should not therefore only for the name be punished, because they were called christians. By these it is apparant with what zeale and faith this Iustinus did strue against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 16. A place of Epiphanius falslie taulte.

This Iustinus by the meanes and malice of Crescens the philosopher (as is before declared) suffered martyrdome vnder Marcus Antoninus Verus, a little after that Polycarpus was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius, Lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceiued in the time of his death, saying, that he suffered vnder Rufficus the president, and Adrian the emperor, being of thirtie yeeres of age, which indeed agreeth not either with Eusebius, nor Hieronie, nor Sulpice, nor others more, which manifestly declare & testifie how he exhibited his apologie vnto Antoninus Pius which came after Adrian. Thus hath thou (good reader) the life of this learned and blessed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fullie and amplie discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable vertues, of whose finall end thus writeth Photius, saying; that he suffering for Christ died cheerefully and with honor.

Thus haue ye heard the whole discourse of Iustinus and of the blessed saints of France, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certaine christian brethren of the same church and place of France. In the which forsaid writing of theirs, moreouer appeareth the great meekenesse and modest constancie of the said martyrs described in these words: Such followers were they of Christ, who when he was in the forme of God, thought it no robberie to be equall with God, being in the same glorie with him, that they not once nor twice but oft times suffered martyrdom, and taken againe from the beasts, & bearing woonds, tearings and shars in their bodies, yet neither would count themselues martyrs, neither would they suffer vs so to call them: but if any of vs either by word or letter would call them martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying; that the name of martyrdome was to be giuen to Christ the faithfull and true martyr, the first borne of the dead, and the captaine of life; testifying moreouer, that martyrdome belonged to such, who by their martyrdom were already pulled out of this life: and whom as Christ by their worthie confession hath received vnto himselfe, and hath sealed by their martyrdome by their end finished: as for them which were not yet consummated, they (said they) were not worthie the names of martyrs, but only were humble and worthie confessors, desiring also their brethren with teares to pray without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true martyrs, in resisting the heathen with much libertie & great patience, without all feare of man, being replenished with the feare of God, refused to be named of their brethren for martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more: They humbled themselues vnder the mightie hand of God by which they were greatly exalted, then they rendred to all men a reason of their faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none, and for them which so euill did intreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephan the perfect martyr, which said: O Lord impute not their sinne to them. And after againe: Neither did they proudly disdaine against them which fell, but of such as they had they imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a mother's affection, shedding their plentifull teares for them to God the father, and prayed for their life and saluation, and as God gaue it them they also did communicat to their neighbours, and thus they as conquerors of all things departed to God. They loued peace, and leauing the same to vs, they went to God, neither leauing any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or trouble to their brethren, but ioy, peace, concord, and loue to all.

The holy martyrs refuse to be called martyrs.

Out of the same writing moreouer concerning these martyrs of France afore mentioned, is recorded also another historie not vnworthie to be noted, taken out of the same booke of Eusebius cap. 3. which historie is this.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Alcibiades.

The strict fasting of Alcibiades corrected by the holy ghost.

There was among these constant and blessed martyrs, one Alcibiades, as is aboue specified: which Alcibiades cuer vsed a very strict diet, receiuing for his food and sustenance nothing else but only bread and water. When this Alcibiades now being cast into prison went about to accustome the same strictnesse of diet, after this vsuall manner, before it was reuealed by God to Attalus afore mentioned, one of the said companie, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict vpon the scaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refused to vse and take the creatures of God, and also thereby ministred to other a pernitious occasion of offensiue example. Whereupon Alcibiades being aduertised, and reformed, began to take all things boldly with giuing thanks. Whereby may appeare to all scrupulous consciences, not only a wholesome instruction of the holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those daies they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the holy spirit of God to be their instructor. Hæc Euseb.

A lesson for scrupulous consciences.

The end of Plato his philosophie.

Irenæus newly made minister, and commended to Eleutherus.

The end of Irenæus.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 8.

Apollinaris and Melito exhibit their apologies to the emperor for the christians.

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.

The summe of Apollinaris apologie of Melito.

Chdginiate & Laini pro Christo perstit.

The singular modestie of the foresaid martyrs declared. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2.

The foresaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Irenæus, newly then made minister, with their letters vnto Eleutherus bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Euseb. in the tenth chapter of the said booke, which Irenæus first was the hearer of Polycarpus, then made minister (as is said) vnder these martyrs: and after their death made bishop afterward of Lions in France, and succeeded after Photinus. Besides this Iustinus, there was also the same time in Asia, Claudius Apollinaris, or Apolinarius bishop of Hierapolis, and also Melito bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the raigne of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited vnto him learned and eloquent apologies in defense of Christs religion, like as Quadratus and Aristides aboue mentioned did vnto the emperour Adrian, whereby they moued him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apolinaris and Melito (stirred by by God) aduenture to defend in writing the cause of the christians vnto this Antonius. Of this Melito, Eusebius in his fourth booke making mention, excerpeth certaine places of his apologie in these words as followeth: Now, saith he, which twas neuer seene before, the godly suffer persecution by occasion of certaine proclamations and edicts proclamed throughout Asia; for villanous sycophants, robbers and spoilers of other mens goods, grounding themselues vpon these proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoile those which doe no harme. And it followeth after; Which if it be done by your commandement, be it so well done; for a good prince will neuer command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustaine the honor of his death. This or we may well humblie beseech your maiestie, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult & contention, then your grace would

would iustly iudge whether wee are worthie of cruell death or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion (which indeede against your barbarous enemies were too bad) the more a great deale we are petitioners to your highneesse, that hereafter you will vouchsafe to heare vs thus scorned and oppressed with these kinde of villanous robberies. And verilie our philosophie and doctrine did first among the barbarous take place, which doctrine first in the daies of Augustus your predecessor, when it had raigne and florish, thereby your empire became most famous and fortunate: and from that time more and more the state of the Romane empire increased in honor, wherevnto you most happily were made successor, and so shall your sonne too, I hope: therefore this philosophie which with your empire sprang vp and came in with Augustus, which your progenitors alwaie all other honored and most esteemed. And verily this is no small argument of a good beginning, that since our doctrine flourished in the empire, no misfortune or losse happened from Augustus time: but contrarie alwaies victorie, good and honorable peeres, as euer any man would wish: once among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian being kindled by diuers naughtie and spitefull persons cauillingly obiected against our doctrine, of whom this prophanticall slandering of vs by naughtie cuttome first came and sprang vp. But your godly fathers espying the ignorance of these, attentiues by their writing corrected their temerous attempts in that behalfe: among whom your grandfather Adrian with many others is read of, to haue written of Fundane the proconsull and lieutenant of Asia: and your father, your auncle father I say, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the cities vnder his signet, as the Larissens, Thessalonicenses, Athenienses and Grecians, rashly to innouat or alter nothing of your highnesse: therefore, who in this case is of that sect as your predecessors were, yea and of a more benigne and philosophicall mind, we are in good hope to obtaine our petition and request.

The christians religion began in the time of the empire of Rome.

Christian religion maruellously flourished vnder Traian.

The bookes of the old testament auncient and receiued.

Thus much out of the apologie of Melito, who writing to Onesimus, giueth to vs this benefit, to know true catalogue and the names of all the auncient bookes of the old testament, receiued in the ancient time of the primitiue church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth: bids that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the bookes appointed of the old testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, & sendeth vnto him as followeth: The fiue bookes of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Iesus Naue, The Iudges, Ruth, Foure bookes of Kings, Two bookes Parahpomenon, The Psalmes, Proues of Salomon, The booke of Wisdome, The Preacher, The song of songs, Iob, The prophets, Esay, Hieromie, Twelue prophets in one booke, Daniel, Ezechiel, Esdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for that it is not vnpossible for these latter times to vnderstand, what in the first times was receiued and admitted as auteintike, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression to returne to our matter omitted, that is, to the apologies of Apolinarius and Melito, in the storie so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a philosopher, and a legat of the christians, it is vncertaine: but this is certaine, that the persecution the same time was staied. Some do thinke, which most probable seeme to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution, did rise vpon a wonderfull miracle of God shewed in the emperors campe by the christians; the storie whereof is this. At what time the two brethren Marcus Antoninus, & Marcus Aurelius Commodus emperors, ioyning together, warred against the Quades, Vandales, Sarmates, and Germans, in the expedition against them, their armie by reason of the imminent assault of their enemies was coped and shut in within the straits and hot die places, where their souldiers besides other difficulties of battell, being destitute of water fiue daies, were like to haue perished, which dead not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this so great distresse and iepardie, suddenly withdrew from the armie a legion of the christian souldiers for their succor, who falling prostrat vpon the earth, by ardent prayer by and by obtained of God double release: by meanes of whom God gaue certaine pleasant showers from the element, wherby as their souldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continuall lightnings which flashed out of the aire. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that euer after he inared gentler and gentler to the christians, and directed his letters to diuers of his rulers (as Tertullian in his apologie witnesseth) commanding them therein to giue thanks to the christians, no lesse for his victorie, then for the preseruation of him and all his men. The copie of which letter iustly.

A miraculous raine obtained by the christians.

Ex Euseb. Hidem.

## Marcus Aurelius Antoninus emperor, to the *senat and people of Rome.*

I Giue you hereby to vnderstand what I intend to doe, as also what successe I haue had in my warres in Germany, and with how much difficultie I haue vitelled my campe, being compassed about with seuentie and foure fierce dragons, whom my Scouts descried to be within nine miles of vs, and Pompeianus our lieutenat hath viewed, as he signified vnto vs by his letters: wherefore I thought no lesse but to be ouerrunne and all my bands of so great multitude, as well my vaward, maineward, as rereward, with all my souldiours of Ephrata; in whose host there were numbred of fighting men, nine hundred seuentie and fiue thousand. But when I saw my selfe not able to encounter with the enemie, I craued aid of our countrie godsat whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driuen of the enemie vnto an exigent, I caused to be sent for those men which wee call christians, who being mustered, were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage the I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their maruellous power, who foorthwith did their indeuor, but without either weapō, munition, armor or trumpets, as men abhorring such preparation and furniture, but only satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carie about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they falling prostrat vpon the ground prayed not onlie for me, but for the host also which was with me, beseeching their God for helpe in that our extremity of victuals and fresh water: for we had been now fiue daies without water, and were in our enemies land, euen in the midst of Germany; who thus falling vpon their faces, made their prayer to a God vnknowne of me. And there fel amongst vs from heauen a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storme of haile mixt with lightning, so that immediatlie we perceiued the inuincible aid of the most mighty God to bee with vs: therefore we giue those men leaue to professe christianitie, left perhaps by their prayer we be punished with the like, and thereby make my selfe the author of such hurt as shall bee receiued by the christian profession. And if any shal apprehend one that is a christian, only for that cause, I will that he being apprehended without punishment, may haue leaue to confesse the same, so that there be none other cause obiected against him, more then that he is a christian; but let his accuser bee burned alue. Neither will I that he confessing and being found a christian, shall be inforced to alter the same his opinion for the gouernor of any of our prouinces, but left to his owne choice. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the senat house, and command the same publikely to be proclamed and read in the court of Traianus: and that further from thence it may bee sent into all our prouinces by the diligence of Veratius gouernor of our citie Pollone. And further, we giue leaue to all men to vse and write out this our decree, taking the same out of our copie publikely in the common hall set foorth.

Ex Vincen. lib. 10. cap. 119. Hen. de Erfor. Peregrinus sent to France and martyred at Rome.

Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

Fullus a senator conuerted to Christ.

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the christians began for a time to allwage partly by the occasion here of, partly also vpon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surcease their perfecution, as great plagues and pestilence hapning vpon the countrie of Italie: likewise great feares, as well in the east parts, as also in Italie and France, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarmes of flies and vermine deuouring their corne fields, &c. And thus much of things done vnder Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus in the beginning of his raigne ioyned with him in the gouernment of the empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also two sith him at the miraculous victorie gotten by the christians, as Eusebius, cap. 5. lib. 5. recordeth. Contrarie, Platina in vita Soteris, and the booke intituled Flores historiarum, referre the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his sonne Lucius Antoninus Commodus, & not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus his brother. But howsoeuer the truth of peeces do stand, certaine it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus the sonne of Verus, who raigned thirteene peeres.

Antoninus Verus, & Aurelius Commodus emperors.

The difference betweene Eusebius and Platina.

Anno 175.

In the time of this Commodus, although hee was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietnesse vniuersallie through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certaine. Some thinke, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia the emperors concubine, which fauored the christians: but howsoeuer it came (saith Eusebius) the furie of the raging enemies was then somwhat mitigated, and peace was giuen by the grace of Christ vnto the church throughout the whole world: at what time, the wholesome doctrine of the gospell allured and reuoked the hearers of all sects of people vnto the true religion of God, insomuch that many both rich and noble personages of Rome with their whole families and houshoulds to their saluation, adioyned them to the church of Christ.

Quietnesse giuen to the church.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a noble man and a senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciously accused vnto the senat by one whom Hieromie writeth to be the seruant of the said Apollonius, and named him Seuerus: but whose seruant soeuer he was, the wretched man came soone enough before the iudge, being condignelie rewarded for that his malicious diligence: for by a law which the emperor made, that no man vpon paine of death should

Apollonius martyr.

Apollonius accused by his owne seruant.



Apollonius reproued an aduersarie of his faith to the senat.

An old wicked law of the Romanes.

The ridiculous pride of the emperor.

should false accuse the christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken soothwith by the sentence of Perennius the iudge, which being an heathen man he pronounced against him: but the beloued martyr of God when the iudge with much adoe had obtained of him to render an account before the honorable senat of his faith, vnder whose defense and warrant of life he did the same, deliuered vnto them an eloquent apologie of the christian beleefe: but the former warrant notwithstanding, he by the decree of the senat was beheaded, and so ended his life, for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said in diuers to be so fierce and feddie handed in calling the dart, that in the open theater before the people he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among diuers other his vicious and wild parts he was too farre surpassed in pride and arrogancie, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himselfe to the people in the shape of a lion, to bee counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, martyrs.

Upon a certaine time being his birth day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great royaltie hauing his lions skin vpon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Iupiter, causing it to be cried through the citie that Hercules was the patrone and defender of the city. There were the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men and instructors of the people, who following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, conuerting the Gentils to the faith of Christ. These hearing the madnesse of the emperor and of the people, began to reproue their idolatrous blindnesse, teaching in villages and townes all that heard them to beleeue vpon the true and only God, and to come alway from such worshipping of diuels, and to giue honor to God alone which only is to be worshipped, willing them to repent and to be baptised, lest they perished with Commodus. With this their preaching they conuerted one Iulius a senator, & others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor hearing hereof, caused them to be apprehended of Titellius his captaine, and to be compelled to sacrifice vnto Hercules: which they stoutlie refused, after diuers grieuous torments & great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death. Vincentius, lib. 10. cap. 119. & Chron. Henr. de Erfordia.

Ex Vincen. lib. 10. cap. 119. Hen. de Erfor. Peregrinus sent to France and martyred at Rome.

Ex Platina in vita Sixti.

This Peregrinus aboue mentioned had been sent before by Eleutherius bishop of Rome into the parties of France, to supplie there the roome of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continuall and horrible persecutions there aboue touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors, where after he had occupied himselfe with much trauile among the flock of Christ, and had kabilled the congregation there, returning home againe to Rome, there finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdome.

Eleutherius bishop of Rome.

Now remaineth likewise to speake of Iulius: which Iulius being (as is afore described) a senator of Rome, and now wonne by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did exhortones inuite them and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fullie instructed in christian religion, he beleeued in the gospell. And sending for one Ruffinus a priest, was with all his familie by him baptised, who (not as the common sort was wont to doe) kept close and secret his faith, but incensed with a marueilous and sincere zeale, openlie professed the same, altogether loathing and praying to be giuen to him by God, not onely to beleeue in Christ but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperour hearing how that Iulius had forsaken his old religion, and became a christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, vnto whom hee spake on this wise: O Iulie, what madnes hath possessed thee, that thus thou doest fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged & worshipped Iupiter and Hercules their gods, and now doest imbrace a new vnfound kind of religion of the christians? At which time Iulius hauing good occasion to shew and open his faith, gaue straight way account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Iupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish with eternal damnation and punishments. Which the emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature verie cholerike) committed him forthwith to Titellus the maister of the souldiors, a verie cruell and fierce man, to see Iulius either to sacrifice to mightie Hercules, or refusing the same to dap him. Titellus (as he was commanded) exhorted Iulius to obay the emperors commandement, and to worship his gods, alleaging how that the whole empire of Rome was not onlie constituted, but also preserued and maintained by them: which Iulius denied vtterly to doe, admonishing sharply in like maner Titellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandements, lest hee with his master should die some grieuous death: wherent Titellus being mooued, caused Iulius with cudgels to be beaten vnto death.

Iulius with his familie baptised and after martyred.

These things being thus briefly recited touching such holie martyrs as hitherto haue suffered, now remaineth that we

returne againe to the order of the Romane bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom wee left, whose successor next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixt bishop counted after Peter, and gouerned that ministerie the space of tenne yeres, as Damasus and others do write. Aespergensis maketh mention but of nine peeres. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, & was buried at Vaticane. But Eusebius speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdome. In the second tome of the councels certaine epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Hyeronie, and other old authors, as they make no reliance, so seeme they to haue no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit epistles, and in Platina apeareth that Xistus was the first author of these ordinances. First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels should be touched but onelie of persons holie and consecrated, especiallie of no woman. Item, that the corporas cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that bishops such as were called vp to the apostolike see, returning home againe, should not bee receiued at their returne, vnlesse they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome, saluting the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Saboth. Where no reuerence is to be noted, that the said Platina, in the life of this Xistus, doth testifie that Peter minifired the celebration of the communion onely with the Lords prayer. These trifling ordinances of Xistus, who is so rude that seeth not so many notable conuicture to bee falslie fathered of Xistus, or of any father of that time: first by the vniforme rudenesse and stile of all those decreall letters, nothing sauouring of that age, but rather of the latter punticall times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome daies. Neither againe is it to be supposed, that any such reuerence of bishops was then to the apostolicall see of Rome, that it was not lawfull to returne without their letters: when as the persecution against the christians was then so hot, in the daies of Adrian, that the bishops of Rome themselues were more glad to flie out of the citie, then other bishops were to come to them vnto Rome. And if Xistus added the Sanctus vnto the masse canon, what peece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xistus? And if they came after Xistus that added the rest, why did they set their peeces before his, seeing they that began the first peece of the canon, came after him?

Xistus the first author of these ordinances.

Peter celebrated the Lords supper onelie with the Lords prayer. Platina in vita Sixti.

The ordinances of Xistus suspected.

The same like wise is to be iudged of the epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next vnto Xistus, and being bishop of that congregation the terme of eleuen yeres, the first yeere of the reigne of Antoninus Pius, died martyr, about the yeere of our Lord, one hundred thirtie and eight. His epistle like vnto the rest containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances. First he commandeth all that were of the clergie to fast and abstaine from flesh eating seuen weekes before easter. That three masses should be said vpon the nativitie day of the Lord. That no lay man should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained moreouer Gloria in excelsis, to be added to the masse, &c. But these things fullie to be fained vpon him may easilly be conicctured. For as touching the seuen weeks fast, neither doth it agree with the old Romane terme commonly receiued, calling it Quadragesima, that is, the foxtie daies fast: neither with the example of our sauiour, who fasted not seuen weeks but onelie foxtie daies. Moreouer, as concerning this foxtie daies fast, whereof the saied epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appeare that this Telesphorus was not the first inuentor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but vntrulie as by many coniectures may be proued) there is read, that in the daies of S. Matthew this Lent fast of foxtie daies was obserued long before Telesphorus by these words that follow: In the daies (saith he) either of Xist, or in the time of other lawfull fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from the eating meat as also from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in so doing not onelie pollution, but also committeth offense, which must be washed away with the teares of repentance. Against Apollonius all truth that Montanus the heretike was the first deuiser and inuenter of these lawes of fasting into the church, which before time was vsed to be free. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18. But especially by Socrates, writer of the ecclesiasticall storie, who liued after the daies of Theodosius, may be argued, that this seuen weekes fast is fallly imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first booke, speaking of this time hath these words: Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas prater Sabbatum & Dominicum continuas ieiunant, that is: The Romans (saith he) doe fast three weeks continuallie before easter, beside the sabbath and the sunday. And moreouer, speaking of the diuers and sundrie fastings of Lent in sundrie and diuers churches, he addeth these words: And because that no man can bring foorth any commandement written of this matter, it is therefore apparant, that the apostles left this kind of fast free to euery mans will and iudgement, left any should bee constrained by feare and necessitie to doe that which is good, &c.

Montanus first brought in the new law of fasting. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 18.

Ex Socrat. eccles. l. 5. lib. 5 cap. 22.

With

w Socrates, l. 7. cap. 19.

With this of Socrates agrée also the words of Sozomenus, hauing much about the same time, in his seuenth book, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some compe-hend in six weeks, as doe the Illirians, and the west churches, with all Libia, Egypt, & Palestina: one in seuen weeks, as at Constantinople, and the parties bordering to Phenice: other some in three weeks, not before the day of Easter, and some again in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that Telesphorus neuer ordained any such fast of seuen weeks: which otherwise neither would haue ben neglected in Rome, and in the west churches: neither again would haue ben vnremembred of these ancient ecclesiasticall writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient bishops & martyrs, which followed after him, as of Higinus in the yere of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who succeeding him and dying also a martyr, as Volaterranus lib. 22. declareth, is said or rather fained to bring in the creame, one godfather and godmother in baptisme, to ordain the dedication of churches: when as in his time so far it was off, that any solemne churches were standing in Rome, that vnneth the christians could safely conuent in their owne houses. Likewise the distributing the orders of metropolitans, bishops, and other degrees, sauor nothing lesse then of that time.

The ordinances of Telesphorus, liable to him attributed.

Higinus bishop of Rome and martyr. Ex Volaterrano Anthrop. lib. 22.

Germane. Our godfather and godmother in baptisme.

Dedication of churches.

After Higinus followed Pius, who as Platina reporteth was so precisely deuout about the holy mysteries of the Lords table, that if any one crum thereof did fall downe to the ground, he ordained that the priest should do penaunce fortie daies: if any fell vpon the superaltar, he should do penaunce three daies: if vpon the linner cloth or napkin, cloth foure daies: if vpon any other linnen cloth nine daies. And if any drop of the bloud (saith he) should chance to be spilled, wheresoeuer it fell it should be licked vp, if it were possible: if not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the vestrie. All which toies may séeme to a wise man more vaine and trifling, then to sauor of those pure and strict times of those holy martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conuersant with Hermes, called otherwise Pastor. Damasus saith he was his brother. But how is that like that Hermes being the disciple of Paul, or one of the three or disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes and of the revelations the foresaid Pius in his epistle decretall (if it be not forged) such mention is declaring that vnto him appeared the angell of God in the habit of a shepheard, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men vpon no other day, but vpon a sunday: wherevpon, saith the epistle, Pius the bishop by his authoritie apostolicall decreed and commanded the same to bee obserued of all men.

Pius bishop of Rome. The danger of hauing the holy mysteries fall from the Lords table.

The reuelation of Hermes. The decretall epistle of Pius.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the yere of our Lord one hundred and fourescore. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius king of Britaine, sent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was conuerted to Christs faith, and baptised about the yere of our Lord one hundred threscore and nineteene. Nauclerus, lib. chro. Gen. 6. saith, it was in the yere one hundred threscore and nine, in the nineteenth yere of Verus the emperor. Some say it was in the first yere of Commodus, which should be about the yere of our Lord one hundred fourescore and fiue. Eusebius in his storie thinketh that Eleutherius came himselfe: but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the writers for the count of yeres: so doth there rise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus lib. 4. cap. 4. saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britaine. Some other allege out of Gildas de victoria, Aurel. Ambrosh. that Joseph of Aramathy after the dispersion of the Iewes, was sent to Philip the apostle from France to Britaine, about the yere of our Lord three score and three, and here remained all his life time, and so with his fellowes laid the first foundation of christian faith among the Britaine people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward confirmed the same and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Clumacensis call the Scotishmen and so doth count them as more ancient christians. For the confirmation hereof might be allaged the testimonie of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no lesse but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the Britaine people, before Eleutherius time, and before the king was converted: but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing) when after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

Anicetus bishop of Rome and martyr. Soter bishop. Eleutherius bishop. England conuerted to the faith of Christ.

Ex Nicep. lib. 2. cap. 4. Ex Gilda de victoria, Aurel. Ambrosh. Whether this land of Britaine receiued the gospel before king Lucius dayes.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among diuers other learned men & famous teachers, whom God stirred vp at that time (as he doth at all other times raise vp some) in his church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirme the truth with their bloud, was Serapion bishop of Antioch, Egesippus a writer of the ecclesiasticall historie from Christs passion to his time, as witnesseth Hierome and Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 8. & 22. which books of his be not now remaining: and those that be remaining (which be fiue De excidio Hierosol.) be not mentioned neither of Hierome, Eusebius, nor of Philippides, which also wrote his apologie in defense of christian religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Aristides before mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heracitus, who first began to write annotations and enarrations vpon the new testament, and epistles of the apostles. Also Theophilus bishop of Cesaria, Dionysius bishop of Corinth a man famouslie learned, which wrote diuers epistles to diuers churches, and among others vnto the church of Nicosia a certaine bishop, Ne graue seruandæ castitatis onus necessarió fratribus imponat, sed multorum esse imbecillitati attemperet, that is, That he would lay no yoke of chastitie of any necessitie vpon his brethren: but that he would consider the infirmitie of others, and beare with it. Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23. Moreouer the said Dionysius in his epistles writing of Dionysius Areopagita, declareth of him how that he was first conuerted to the christian faith by S. Paul, according as in the acts is recorded, and afterward was made the first bishop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his book De hierarchia. Whereby it may easily appeare, that is to be iudged of that booke. Furthermore, by the epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we haue to vnderstand, to be the vse at that time in churches to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers vnto the congregations, as may appeare by these words of Dionysius, who writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter, saith: This day we celebrate the holie sabboticall day, in which we haue read your epistle, which alwaies we will reade for our exhortation, like as we do reade also the epistle of Clement sent to vs before, &c. Eusebius, ibid. Where also mention is made of keeping sunday holy, wherof we find no mention made in ancient authors, before this time, except onely in Iustinus martyr, who in his description declareth two times most especially vsed for christian men to congregat together: first, when any conuert was to bee baptised, the second was vpon the sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed: first, because (saith he) vpon that day God made the world: secondly, because that Christ vpon that day first shewed himselfe after his resurrection to his disciples, &c.

Sitheades ecclesiasticall writer. Heracletus ecclesiasticall writer. Theophilus ecclesiasticall writer. Dionysius Corinthius ecclesiasticall writer.

The yoke of chastitie not to be laid vpon the infirme brethren. Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 23.

The booke of Dionysius Areopagita. De hierarchia suspected.

Celebration of the sunday.

Diuer and beside these abone named, about the daies of Commodus, wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose bookes although for a great part be lost, yet certaine of them yet remaine, wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the bookes and gospels of the new testament, &c.

Clemens Alexandrinus.

Ex Euseb. Antonino Vmbrio, &c.

The same time or soone after liued Pantenus, which was the first in Alexandria that professed in open schoole to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the christians to read and professe in vniuersities. This Pantenus for his excellencie of learning was sent by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria to preach to the Indians, where he found the gospel of S. Matthew written in Hebrue, left there by S. Bartholomew, which booke afterward he brought with him from thence to the librarie of Alexandria.

The gospell of S. Matthew in Hebrue.

During all the reigne of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillitie, although not without some bloudshed of certaine holy martyrs, as is aboue declared, vnto his church. In the which time of tranquillitie, the christians hauing now some leasure from the forreigne enemie, began to haue a little contention among themselues about the ceremonie of Easter: which contention albeit of long time before had ben stirring in the church, as is before mentioned of Polycarpus and Anicetus: yet the variance & difference of that ceremonie brought no breach of christian concord and societie among them: neither as yet did the matter creed so farre, but that the bond of loue, and communion of brotherlie life continued, although they differed in the ceremonie of the day. For they of the west church pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter, but indeed being the tradition of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was vpon the sunday after the fourteenth day of the first moneth. The church of Asia following the ordinance of John the apostle, obserued another, as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when wee come to the time of Victor bishop of Rome. In the meane time as concerning the fourth persecution let this hitherto suffice.

Difference about the ceremonie of Easter.

## The fift persecution.

Severus emperor. Anno 195. The fift persecution.

AFter the death of Commodus raigned Pertinax but fiue moneths, after whom succeeded Severus, vnder whom was raised the fifth persecution against the christian saints: who raigning the terme of eighteene yeres, the first ten yeres of the same was very fauourable and courteous to the christians: afterward through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no christians any more to bee suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred vp on euery side, whereby an infinit number of martyrs were slaine, as Eusebius in his first booke recordeth, which was about the yere of our Lord two hundred and fiue. The crimes and false accusations alleaged against the christians are partly touched before: as sedition and rebellion against the emperour, sacrilege, murthering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, lasciuious communture, whereof certaine indeed called then Gnostici, were infamed. Item, it was obiected against them for worshipping the head of an asse: which whereof it should rise, I find no certaine cause, except it were perhaps by the Iewes. Also they were charged for worshipping the sun, for that peraduenture before the sun did rise, they conuented together, singing their morning hymnes vnto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east: but specially for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 1.

The fate accustomed against christians.

The captaines and ministers of this persecution. Ex Tertul. ad Scapulam.

The captaines and presidents of this persecution vnder the emperor were Hilerianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Vernicianus ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius, also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila iudge of Alexandria, of whom Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5. maketh relation.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the ecclesiasticall storie was innumerable. Of whom the first was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded: with whom also Origen his sonne, being of the age then of seuenteene yeares, should haue suffered (such a feruent desire hee had to be martyred for Christ) had not his mother priuilie in the night season conueied away his cloths and his shirt. Whereupon moze for shame to be seene, then for feare to die, hee was constrained to remaine at home: and when hee could doe nothing else, yet he writeth to his father a letter with these words: Caue tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quàm martyrij constanter faciendi propositum cogites, that is, Take heed to your selfe, that you turne not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c. Such a feruencie had this Origen being yet yong, to the doctrine of Christs faith, by the operation of Gods heauenly prouidence, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him vp from his youth most studiouslie in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy scripture, wherein he had such inward and mystical speculation, that many times he would moue questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the scripture. In so much that his father diuers times would vncouer his breast being asleepe, and kisse it, giuing thanks to God which had made him so happie a father of such a happie child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he with his mother, and six brethren, being brought to such extreame pouertie, did sustaine both himselfe and them by teaching a schole: till at length being wearie of the profession, hee transferred his studie onely to the knowledge and seeking of diuine scripture, and such other learning conducible to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrue & other tongues, that hee conferred the Hebrue text with the translation of the seuentie: and moreouer did confer and sinde out the other translations which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adioyned to these aforesaid other foure translations, whereof moze is in the storie of Eusebius expressed.

Leonides father of Origen martyr.

Origen kept from martyrdome by his mother.

Origen commended. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 3.

They that write of the life of Origen, tellithe of him that he was of wit quicke and sharpe, much patient of labour, a great traueller in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster, his teaching and his liuing were both one: his going was much like vnto a strict obseruer of that saying of the Lord, hauing to haue but one cote, &c. He is said to haue written so much as seuen notaries, and so many maids euery day could pen. The number of his bookes by the account of Hierome, came to seuen thousand volumes, the copies whereof he vsed to sell for three pence or a little moze, for the sustentation of his liuing. But of him moze shall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christs martyrs, that he nothing fearing his owne perill would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kisse them, in so much that he was oft in leopardie to be slone of the multitude: and sometimes by the prouision of christian men had his house guarded about with soulders, for the safetie of them which daily resorted to heare his readings. And many times he was compelled to flit from place and house, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the prouidence of God to preserue him in the midst of all this tempest of Seuerus. Among others which resorted vnto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and died a martyr; and with him Serenus his brother who was burned. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth, was an other Serenus, also beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiena, who was tormented with pitch powred vpon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died also in the fire. This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beautie, who because she could not be remoued from her profession, was committed to Basilides one of the captaines there in the armie to see the execution done. Basilides receiuing her at the iudges hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked aduersaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin to requite against his kindnelle, bad him bee of good comfort, saying that she would pray the Lord to shew mercie vpon him, and so went she to her martyrdome, which she both strongly and quietly did sustaine.

Plutarchus scholar of Origen, and Serenus his brother martyred. Heraclides, Heron, Rhais, Potamiena, & Marcella, scholars of Origen and martyrs.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required to giue an oath in a matter concerning his fellow soulders, which thing he denied to doe, plainly affirming that hee was a christian: for their oath then was wont to bee by the idols and the emperor. At the first hee was thought dissemblingly to sest, but after when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirme the same, he was had before the iudge, and so by him committed toward. The christians marualling thereat, as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conuersion. To whom hee answered againe and said, that Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and so he saw a crowne put vpon his head: adding moreouer, that it should not be long but he should be receiued. Which things thus done, the next day following hee was had to the place of execution and there beheaded. Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 5. Albeit the said Eusebius giueth this storie of no credit, but onely of hearesay, as he there expresseth.

Basilides of a persecutor made a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 5.

As diuers and many there were that suffered in the daies of this Seuerus, so some were againe which through the protection of God his prouidence being put to great toiments, yet escaped with life: Of whom was one Alexander, who for his constant confession and toments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Hierusalem together with Narcillus, who being then an old man of an hundred and three score yeares and three, as saith Eusebius, was vnwoldie for his age to gouerne that function alone.

Alexander confessor and bishop of Ierusalem.

Of this Narcillus is reported in the ecclesiasticall historie that certaine miracles by him were wrought, very notable if they be true. First of water by him turned into oyle at the solemne vigill of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oyle for their lamps. An other miracle is also told of him, which is this: There were three euill disposed persons, who seeing the soundnelle and graue constancie of his vertuous life, and fearing their owne punishment, as a conscience that is guiltie is alwaies fearefull, thought to preuent his accusations in accusing him first, and laying an hainous crime vnto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire if hee said not true; the other to bee consumed with a grieuous sicknelle; the third to lose both his eyes if they did lie. Narcillus although hauing his conscience cleare, yet not able being but one man to withstand their accusation, bound with such oaths, gaue place, and removed himselfe from the multitude into a solitarie desert by himselfe, where he continued the space of many yeares. In the meane time to them which so willingly and wickedly sorsware themselues, this hapned: The first by casualtie of one little small sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his familie. The second was taken with a great sicknesse from the top to the toe, and deuoured with the same. The third hearing and seeing the punishment of the other confessed his fault, but though great repentance powred out such teares, that he lost both his eyes: and thus was their falle periurie punished. Narcillus after long absence returning home againe, was by his meanes both cleared of the fact and received into his bishoppike against whom as is said, for impotencie of his age, Alexander was ioyned with him in execution of the function. Eusebius, histor. eccles. lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this Alexander is recorded in the said ecclesiasticall historie, that after his agonies and constancie of his confession shewed in the persecution of Seuerus, hee was admonished by a vision in the night season to make his iourney vp to Jerusalem and Palestina (for that place remained free from this persecution) to see there the congregation and to pray. Thus he taking his iournep and drawing neere to the citie, a vision with plaine words was giuen to certaine chiefe heads of Jerusalem to goe out of the gate of the citie, there to receiue the bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and received, and ioyned in partner with aged Narcillus, as is before expressed, in the citie of Jerusalem, where hee continued bishop about fortie yeares, vntill the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous librarie, where Eusebius had his chiefest helpe in writing his ecclesiasticall historie. Hee wrote also diuers epistles to diuers churches, and licenced Origen openly to teach in his church. At length being very aged, was brought from Jerusalem to Cesaria before the iudge vnder Decius, where after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison and there died.

Narcillus and Alexander ioyned together in one bishoppike. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 11.

Alexander ordained bishop of Jerusalem by Gods miracle.

The constancie and death of Alexand. bishop.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Seuerus recited of Eusebius, Aimentius also, Lib. 11. cap. 6. ex martyrologio, speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarpus before had sent into France: which Andoclus because hee spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Seuerus, and first beaten with staues and bats, after was beheaded.

Andoclus martyr.

To these above named may also bee added Asclepiades, who although was not put to death in this persecution of Seuerus, yet constantly he did abide the triall of his confession, & suffered much for the same, as Alexander did before mentioned. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seuen yeares, of whom Alexander writeth vnto the church of Antioch out of prison, much

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch confessor.

Irenæus bishop of Lions, and martyr.

ning & giving thanks to God, to heare that he was their bishop.

About the same time, hearing the raigne of Severus, died Irenæus Hæur. de Hæresibus. And as other martyr writers doe hold, that hee was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth yeare of Severus. This Irenæus as hee was a great writer, so was hee greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimũ explorato rem: A great searcher of all kind of learning. He was first scholler and hearer of Polycarpus, from thence either was sent or came to France, & there by Photinus, and the rest of the martyrs was instituted into the ministerie, committed by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length after the martyrdome of Photinus, hee was appointed bishop of Lions, where he continued about the space of three and twenty yeares. In the time of this Irenæus, the state of the church was much troubled, not onely for the outward persecution of the forraigne enemie, but also for diuers sects and errors that sterring against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few of his bookes be now remaining. The nature of this man well agreeing with his name, was such, that he euer loued peace, and sought to set agreement then any controuersie rose in the church. And therfore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renued in the church, betweene Victor bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would haue excommunicated them as schismaticks, for disagreeing from him therein: Irenæus with other brethren of the French church, loue to se such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, conuented themselues together in a common counsell, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent vnto Victor, intreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselues agreed with him in obseruing the sunday Easter as he did: yet with great reasons and arguments exhorted him not to deale so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custome of their countrie manner in that behalfe. And beside this hee wrote diuers other letters about or concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Irenæus followed also Tertullian, about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caracalla his sonne, a man both in Greeke and Latine well expert, hauing great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his bookes declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testifie vnto him. Eusebius Hieronimus & Hilarius giueth such praise, that he calleth him the floure of all Latine writers: and of the eloquence of his stile he thus writeth, that vnder the face of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not perswade, them he compelled to consent vnto him. Into many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences so many victories he had, &c.

Tertullian ecclesiasticall writer.

Such men of doing and writing, God raised vp from time to time, as pillers and staies for his poore church, as he did this Tertullian in the dangerous daies of persecution. For when the christians were bered with wrongs, and falsly accused of the Gentiles: Tertullian taking their cause in hand, defended them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they neuer minded any stir or rebellion, either against the empire or emperors of Rome: so much as the vse of christians was to pray for the state of their emperors and gouernors. And where as they were accused falsly to bee enemies to all mankind, holding that (saith Tertullian to Scapula) seeing the proper office of the christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to loue their enemies, neere requiting euill for euill, when as all other doe loue but onely their friends, and scarcely them: As touching the horrible slander of murthering infants, how can that bee true in the christians (saith he) whose order is to abstaine from all blood and strangled vnto so much that it is not lawfull for them to touch the blood of any beast at their tables when they feed: From whence copulation no sort more free then they, which are and euer haue beene the greatest obseruers of chastitie, of whom, such as may, liue in perpetuall virginitie all their life, such as cannot, contract matrimonie, for auoiding all whoredome and fornication. Neither can it bee proued of the christians to worship the same, which false surmise Tertullian declareth to rise hereof, for that the maner of the christians was to pray toward the east. Such lesse was there any of them so mad as to worship an asses head, whereof the occasion being taken onely of the Iewes, the slander thereof therefore he proueth to be falsly and wrongfully laid to the charge of the christians.

The apologie of Tertullian defending the christians.

Tertullianus ad Scapulam.

The occasion hereof, whence came of the Iewes worshipping the law of an asse in the house of Samson.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders, obiected of the heathen against the christians, the said Tertullian purgeth the christians, declaring them falsly to be beleeued, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but onely for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proueth in the same apologie, the religion of the christians nothing to bee empaired, but rather increased. The more (saith he) we are mowne downe of you, the more rise vp. The blood of christians is seed. For what man (saith he) in beholding the painefull torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is in the cause? And when hee hath found it out, who will not agree vnto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (saith he) this sect will neuer die, which the more it is cut downe, the more it groweth. For euery man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moued the more thereby to search the cause: in searching, he findeth it, and in finding he followeth it. Tertullian in eodem apologe.

Thus Tertullian in this dangerous time of persecution, being stirred vp of God, defended the innocencie of the christians, against the blasphemie of the aduersaries; and moreouer for the instruction of the church hee compiled many fruitfull bookes, whereof some are extant, some are not to bee found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous vertues of this woorthie man, certaine errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origen and Irenæus, and likewise of them, were they neuer so excellent, that followed them. Which errors all here in order to note and compriehend, were to long a matter for; this stoole to prosecute. This by the way shall be sufficient to admonish the reader, neuer to looke for such perfection of any man in this world, how singular so euer he be (Christ onely excepted) but some blemish or other ioyneth himselfe withall, wherof more perchance shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

The errors and imperfections in learned men noted.

And now to returne againe to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the bishoprike of Rome succeeded Victor, who as Platina saith, died quietly in the daies of Severus. But Damasius, Supplement. lib. 8. and such as doe follow the common chronicles, affirme that he died a martyr, after he had sitten ten (or as some say twelue) yeares. This Victor was of great stature (as partly before is signified) in the controuersie and contention of Easter day. For the which he would haue proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenæus then bishop of Lions, with the counsell of other his brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that controuersie of Easter in those daies of the primitiue church, the originall thereof was this, as Cusanus, Socrates, Platina, and others record. First, certaine it is, that the apostles onely being intentiue and attendant to the doctrine of saluation, gaue no heed nor regard to the obseruation of daies and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies & rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Acts of the apostles, as strangled & blood, which was obserued then of the holy ghost, not without a most vrgent and necessarie cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murthering and blood of infants was commonly obiected by the heathen persecutors against the christians, they had no other argument to helpe themselues no to resell the aduersary, but onely their owne law, by the which they were commanded to abstaine not onely from all mens blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therfore that law seemeth by the Apostles spirit to be giuen, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause, that is, the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Beside these lawes read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the libertie of christians, euery man to vse therein his owne discretion, for the vsing or not vsing thereof. Wherupon, as concerning all the ceremoniall obseruations of daies, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such other: all these things neither was the diuersitie among men greatly noted, nor any vniformitie greatly required. In so much that Irenæus writing to Victor of the tradition of daies, and of fastings, and of the diuersitie of these things then vsed among the primitiue fathers, saith: Nihilo tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt, & retinemus etiamnum, & semper mutuantia fidei concordiam commendat, &c. that is, Notwithstanding all this variete, all they kept peace among themselues, and yet we kept it still, and this difference of fasting among vs commendeth more the concord of faith. And so long did the doctrine of christian libertie remaine whole and sound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the yeare of our Lord two hundred, although the diuersitie of the vsages began something before also in the daies of Pius and Anicetus, about the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and three to be mistaken: yet retraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither in the violence of Victor takes such place, but that the doctrine of christian libertie was defended and maintained by meanes of Irenæus and others, and so continued in the church till after the councell of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of christian libertie of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Victor bishop of Rome. Victor reproued of some to bee a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

The doctrine of christian liberte in outward things.

Now to returne to Victor againe, to shew what diuersitie there was in obseruing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the storie. First, in the time of Pius and Anicetus the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and three, the question of Easter day began first to be moued, at what time Pius, by the reuelation of Hermes, decreed the obseruation of that day to bee changed from the wonted maner of the fourteenth day of the moone in the first moneth vnto the next sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, & Eleutherius bishops of Rome, which also determined the same. Against these stood Polita bishop of Sardis, Polycarpus, & as some thinke, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia. Which Polycarpus being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is afore said, to confer with Anicetus

Ex Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 26.



Polycarpus and Anicetus disagreeing in controuersie, yet agreed in charitie.

Vniformitie in ceremonies not to be required as a thing necessarie.

Polycrates bishop of Ephesus.

Bishops in those daies married.

Victor excommunicating the churches of Asia.

Irenæus to Victor.

Diuersitie commendeth the concord of faith.

Zephirinus bishop of Rome.

The epistle and ordinances of Zephirinus subiected to the councelles.

cetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reuerence, and so departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easter day remained a disputation, as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who following after Anicetus and his fellowes, and chiefly stirring in this matter, indeuored by all meanes and might, to driue, or rather subdue the churches of Asia vnto his opinion, thinking moreouer to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia, as heretikes & schismatiks, which disagreed from the Romane order: had not Irenæus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is afore said, which was about the yeare of our Lord one hundred foure score and eleuen, in the reigne of Commodus. Thus then began the vniformitie of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessarie, and all they accounted as heretikes and schismatiks, which dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

With Victor also Theophilus bishop of Cesaria, Narcissus of Ierusalem, Irenæus of Lions, Palmas of Pontus, Bacchillus of Corinth, the bishop of Osroena, and others more. All which condescended to haue the celebration of Easter vpon the sunday, because they would differ from the Iewes in all things as neere as they might, and partly because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

Of the contrary diuers bishops were in Asia, of whom the principall was Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who being assembled with a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parties, by the common assent of the rest, wrote againe to Victor, and to the church of Rome, declaring, that they had euer from the beginning obserued that day, according to the rule of scripture vnchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same. Alleaging moreouer for them the examples of the apostles and holy fathers their predecessors, as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters at Hierapolis: Also John the apostle, and euangelist at Ephesus, Polycarpus at Smyrna, Thraseas at Eumenia bishop and martyr, likewise of Sagaris at Laodicea bishop and martyr, holy Papirius, & Melito at Sardis. Beside these bishops also of his alone kinred, and his olne ancestors, to the number of seuen which all neuer bibbed before him, and the eighth now after them. All which obserued (saith hee) the solemnitie of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we doe now.

Victor, being not a little moued herewith, by letters againe denounceth against them (more bold vpon authoritie, then wise in his commission) violent excommunication, abetted by the vnlouing handling of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was staied. Victor otherwise persuaded. What the persuasions of Irenæus were, partly may appeare in Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 26. the sum whereof tendeth to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, when as this variete is not onely in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in diuers other vsages among the christians. For some fast one day, some two dayes, some others fast more. Others there be, which counting forty houres, both day and night, take that for a full daies fast. And this so diuers fashion of fasting in the church of Christ, began not onely in this our time, but was before among our forefathers. And yet notwithstanding, they with all this diuersitie were in vnitie among themselues, and so bee we: neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And thereto both the examples of the fathers, of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such others, who neither obserued the same vsage themselues, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept christian charitie with such as came to communicate with them, not obseruing the same forme of things which they obserued, as well appeared by Polycarpus and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one forme of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giuing reuerence vnto the other. Thus the controuersie, being taken vp betweene Irenæus and Victor, remained free to the time of Noen councell. Hæc ex Iren. Eusebius. And thus much concerning the controuersie of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

After Victor succeded in the see of Rome Zephirinus, in the daies of the foresaid Severus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and three. To this Zephirinus are ascribed two epistles, in the first some of the councels. But as I haue said before of the decretall epistles of other Romane bishops: so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the stile, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time, doth otherwise giue to thinke of these letters, but that they be verily bastard letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packt in by some, which also determined the same. Against these stood Polita bishop of Sardis, Polycarpus, & as some thinke, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia. Which Polycarpus being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is afore said, to confer with

The first epistle of Zephirinus to the bishops of Sicilia.

Patins of glasse boun to the priest. The ordinances of Zephirinus of small credit.

Golden chalices. Concilium Tiburinum, Rhemense.

Ex Fabrilege. Perpetua, & Felicita, Reuocatus, Saturninus, Geminus, Secundulus, martyrs.

Victor bishop of Rome. Victor reproued of some to bee a martyr.

Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 16.

The doctrine of christian liberte in outward things.

Then to seeke for any primacie or patriarchship, or to driue all other churches to appeale to the see of Rome, or to exempt all priests from the accusation of any tale man: as in the first epistle of Zephirinus is to be seene, written to the bishops of Sicilia, and likewise the second epistle of his to the bishops of the prouince of Egypt, containing no matter of doctrine, nor consolation necessarie for that time, but onely certaine rituall decrees to no purpose, arguethe no lesse but the said epistles neither to haue of that man, nor talt of the time.

Of like credit also semeth the constitution of the patins of glasse, which Damasius saith that the same Zephirinus ordained to be caried before the priest at the celebration of the masse. Against Platina writeth that he ordained the ministration of the sacrament to be no more vsed in vessels of wood, or of glasse, or of any other metall, except onely siluer, gold, and tin, &c. But how these two testimonies of Damasius and Platina ioyne together, let the reader iudge: especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urbanus, that came after him. Against, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be stablished afterward in the councell of Ther and Rhens, if it had been enacted before by Zephirinus? How long this Zephirinus sat, our writers do vary. Eusebius saith, he died in the reigne of Caracalla, & sat seuenteene yeares. Platina writeth that he died vnder Severus, and sat eight yeares, and so saith also Naucerus. Damasius affirmeth he sat fiftéene yeares and two monethes.

Matthews author of the storie intituled Flores historiarum, with other latter chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Reuocatus, his brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brethren, and Secundulus, which in the persecution of this Severus gaue ouer their liues to martyrdome for Christ, being thotwne to wild beasts and deuoured of the same, in Carthage and in the fiftéenth yeare of Severus raught against from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundulus died in prison about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth Floilegus.

Severus martereth in Britain.

This Severus the persecutor reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the terme of eightéene yeares, who about the latter time of his reigne came with his armie hither into Britaine, where after many conflicts had with the Britains, in the borders of the north, he cast vp a ditch with a mightie rampire of earth and turffes, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirtie and two miles from the one side of the sea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reached to the Scotish sea: which done, he remoued to Yorke, and there by the breaking in of the northern men & the Scots, was besieged and slaine, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fourteene, leauing behind him two sonnes, Bassianus and Geta. Which Bassianus surnamed Caracalla, after hee had slaine his brother Geta here in Britain, gouerned the empire alone, the space of six yeares. After whose death, he being slaine also of his seruants (as he had slaine his brother before) succeeded Macrinus with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor, who after they had reigned one yeare, were both slaine of their owne people.

A wall betweene England and Scotland built by Seuerus. Herodian. Spartian. Dion. Xiphilin. Beda. Ex Anno 215 Bassianus emperor. Macrinus with his sonne Diadumenus emperor.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster then a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttonie, filthinesse, and ribaudrie. Such was his pompe, that in his lamps he vsed balme, & filled his fishponds with rose water. To let passe his sumptuous vestures which he would not weare but onely of gold, and most costly silkes: his shoes glittering with pretious stones finely engrained, he was neuer twise serued with one kind of meate, he neuer wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickednesse, some daies his companie was serued at meale with the braines of ostriches, & a strange foiole called phenocoptery, an other day with the tongues of popingais, and other sweet flesh ing birds. Being nigh to the sea, he neuer vsed fish: in places far distant from the sea, all his boule was serued with most delicate fishes: at one supper he was serued with seuen thousand fishes, and fiue thousand foules. At his removing in his progresse, often there followed him six hundred chariots laden onely with bauds, common harlots, and ribauds. He sacrificed with yong children, and preferred to the best aduancements in the common weale most light personages, as bauds, minstrels, carters, and such like: in one word, he was an enemie to all honestie and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers, that he should die a violent death, he prouided ropes of silke to hang himselfe, two dos of gold to kill himselfe and strong poyson in iacinths, and emrauds to poison himselfe, if needs he must thereto be forced; moreouer he made an high tower, hauing the floore of bords couered with gold plate, bordered with pretious stones from the which tower he would throw himselfe downe, if he should be driuen of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his prouision, he was slaine of the soulders, drawen through the citie, and cast into Tiber, after he had reigned two yeares and eight moneths, as witnesseth Eutropius others say foure yeares.

Zephirinus bishop of Rome. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 21. Heliogabalus slaine of his soulders. Ex Eutropio. Alexander Severus emperor. Anno 224

This Heliogabalus, hauing no issue, adopted to his sonne and heire Aurelius Alexander Severus, the sonne of Mammea, who entring his reigne the yeare of our Lord one hundred twentie and four, continued thirteene yeares, well commended for vertuous, wise, gentle, liberall, and to no man hurtfull. And as hee was not vnlearned himselfe though,

the diligent education of Mammea his mother, so he was a great fauourer of men wise and learned. Neither did hee any thing in the common weale, without the assistence of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him, to beare such stomacke against corrupt iudges, that when he chanced to meete with any of them, by the commotion of his minde he would cast vp choler, being so moued with them that he could not speake, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eies. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and vnnedefull seruants, saying, that he was no god pupill, which fed idle seruants with the bowels of his common weale.

Against corrupt iudges.

The hoording of Alexander to be noted and followed.

Vile seruants cast vp by the bowels of the common weale.

Among his other god vertues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and fauourable vnto the christians, as by this at may be gathered: for when the christians had occupied a certaine publike place in some god vse, belike for the assembling and conuenting together of the congregation, the company of the cokes or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong vnto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he iudged it more honest, the place to the worship of God, howsoeuer it were, then to the dirtie slubbering of cokes and scullians.

A rare worthie to be marked.

By this it may be vnderstood, that in Rome no christian churches were erected vnto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this fauor of the emperor) no publike house could quietly be obtained for the christians. So that by the reason hereof may appeare the decretall epistle and ordinance of pope Higinus, concerning the dedication of churches aboue mentioned to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the altar, or Superalare to be also false. For what Superalare was it like they had in the time of Higinus and Pius, when as this time which was long after, no publike place almost could be granted them for the christians to assemble together?

Platina in vita Pontiani.

Of this Alexander Platina writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him, and bringeth in a storie of one Turtius, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people beleeue that he was of great authoritie with the emperor, and that he could helpe them to what soeuer they sued for. Whereof the emperor being certified, caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there billed with smoke, where the crier stod thus crying to the people: Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished.

Punished with smoke, that sold smoke.

Mammea, the mother of this Alexander aboue mentioned (whom Herome calleth a deuout and religious woman) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, being then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antio-, desirous to heare and see him: vnto whom the foresaid Origen according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the emperour and his mother, returned againe to Alexandria.

Mammea the mother of the emperor.

And thus continued this god emperor his raigne the space of thirteene yeeres, at length at a commotion in Germanie, with his mother Mammea he was slaine. After whom succeded Maximinus, contrarie to the mind of the senat, onely appointed by the souldiers to be emperor. During all this time betweene Seuerus and this Maximinus, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some meane tranquillitie from persecution. Albeit some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Eusebius giueth this reason: For although (saith he) Alexander being persecuted sought the intreating of his mother Mammea, did fauor the christians yet notwithstanding, there was no publike edict or proclamation prouided for their safegard. By reason whereof, diuers there were which suffred martyrdome vnder Almachius and other iudges. In the number of whom after some stories, was Calixtus bishop of Rome, who succeded next vnto Zephirinus aboue mentioned; and after him Urbanus also, which both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, vnder Alexander Seuerus.

Ex Nauclero.

Calixtus bishop of Rome and martyr.

This Calixtus in his two decretall epistles, written to Benedictus, and to the bishops of France, giueth these ordinances, that no actions or accusations against the prelats or teachers of the church should bee receiued, that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops: item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate: also no bishop to communicate or to deale in an others diocesse. And here herpon doth the diocesse, or the parish of any bishop or minister to bee his wife. The wife (saith the apostle) is bound to the law, so long as the husband liueth: when he is dead, she is free from the law: so (saith Calixtus) the wife of a bishop (which is his church) so long as he liueth, is bound duely to him, neither ought to bee iudged or disposed by any other man, without his will and iudgement: after his death she is free from the law, to marrie to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is, Regularier, regularly. In the end of the said his epistle decretall, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen, are not to be received againe. Which heresie after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Nouatus, in the daies of Cornelius. Moreouer, in his said first epistle decretall, is contened the fast of the foure times, commonly called the Ember fast, whereof also Sarianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corne, wine, and oyle.

The decretall epistles of Calixtus examined

The place of S. Paul vnfitly expounded.

Ember fast first ordained.

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quicke reader to finell out the craftie ingining of that person or persons whosoeuer they were, that falsely haue ascribed these decretall institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what leisure had the christians to lay in their accusations, against their bishops, then we neuer reade nor find in any storie any kinde of variance in those daies among them, but all loue, mutuall compassion, and hartie communion among the saints: And as wee read of no variance among the people in those daies, nor of any fault or backsliding among the bishops, who for the most part then died all constant martyrs: so neither doe we read of any tribunall seate or constitorie vsed or frequented then about any such matters. Againe, if a man examine well the dangers of those busie daies, he shall see the poore flocke of the christians so occupied and pitifullie oppressed by the cruell accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the cause bid, yet the time would not serue them to commense any law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, that conspiracie either would they then practise against them, which alwaies gaue their lines for their defence: Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when neuer a true christian durst put his head out of his doores, neither was there in the church any christian in those perillous daies, except he were a true man indeed, such as were far from all false conspiracies? And when as all the world almost in all places conspired against them: what time, what cause, or what heart trow yee could they haue to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of the decretalles, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Donatus the author that heresie was after him in the time of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the laton of Calixtus euery diocesse bee the proper wife of euery bishop or minister, then hold many bishops wiues, and parsons wiues had the aduouterous pope of Rome beloued in these latter daies of the church, which so prodily and impudently hath intermedled and taken his pleasure and his olunie profit, in euery diocesse and parish almost throughout all christendome, without all leaue and licence of the good man, who hath been in the meane time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoeuer the popes holinesse commeth, Vigilante flertere nafo, and to giue him leaue to aske it, to doe what he list. Wherefore if this canon decretal be truely his, why is it not obserued, so as it both stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged vpon him, & the church of Christ deceiued? And concerning lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions vnder the false pretence of antiquitie, either was begun in the church to deceiue the people: or that it hath remained so long vndetected. For as I thinke, the church of Christ will neuer bee perfectly reformed, before these decretall constitutions and epistles which haue so long put on the visor of antiquitie, shall be fullie detected, and appeare in their owne colours, wherein they were first painted.

Against the decretall epistles and constitutions.

And yet neither do I say this, as thinke contrarie, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome and of the same name haue beene the true authois of these traditions. But here commeth in the error (as I credibile suppose) that when other latter bishops of the like name haue deuised these ceremoniall inuentions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitiue fathers, although being of an other time, yet bearing the same name with the true inuentors thereof. But of Calixtus enough: who as Damasus saith, in the daies of this Alexander Seuerus died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was throwen into a ditch. Eusebius speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdome, and saith hee lat fiue yeares, Platina saith six yeares, Sabellicus giueth him seuen yeares, and so doth Damasus.

Calixtus a martyr. Ex Dionysio in epist. ad Antiochen. lib. 7. cap. 6.

After Calixtus followed Urbanus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred twentie and seuen, who in his epistle decretall (comming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, making no mention of the heanie persecutions of the church, nor ministring any exhortation of comfort or constancie to the brethren, onely giueth many strict precepts, for not trusting nor esteeming the gods of the church, and to pay truely their offerings, which they vsed to haue all common among the clergie. Moreouer, about the end of his epistle he instituteth the confirmation of children after baptisme (which the papists be wont to take into the number of their seuen sacraments) affirming & denouncing more then scripture will beare, that the imposition of the bishops hand bringeth the Holy-ghost, and therefo to be made full christians, &c. But of these decretall epistles inough is said before, more hap hereafter considered of the discreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late storie writers doe hold as is aforesaid, that he died a martyr in the daies of Alexander Seuerus, after he had gouerned that seat foure yeares, as Damasus and Platina do witnesse, as Sarianus saith, eight yeares.

Urbanus bishop of Rome. Anno 227

Urbanus martyred.

The same Damasus & Platina do testifie of him, that he by his preaching and holinesse of life conuerted diuers Ethniks to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius and Valerianus the husband of Cecilia, which both being noble men of Rome,

Tiburtius, Valerianus, martyrs.



Rome, remained constant in the faith vnto the end and martyrdome. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrologe by Ado, that Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian his husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with his exhortations had made them constant vnto martyrdome, after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the bolts to do sacrifice: which thing when she abhorred to doe, she should be presented before the iudge to haue the condemnation of death. In the meane time, the sergeants and officers which were about his beholding his comely beautie, and the prudent behauior in his conuersation, began with many persuasions of words to solicite his mind to fauour his selfe, & that for excellent beauty, and not to cast his selfe away, &c. But she against to replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yeeld to that religion, which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiuing desired of the iudge Almachius a little respit: which being granted, she sendeth for Urbanus the bishop home to his house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with diuers others at the same time baptised both men and women, to the number (as the storie saith) of foure hundred persons, among whom was one Gordianus a noble man. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the iudge where she was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the iudge, where she was inclosed in a hot bath, but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hart, as in a cold place, was brought out againe, and commandement giuen that in the bath she should bee beheaded. The executor is said to haue foure blowes at her or more, and yet for hast making cut off, she (as the storie giueth) liued three dayes after, and so died this holy virgin martyr, whose bodie in the night season Urbanus the bishop tooke and buried among the other bishops. Also the compiler of this martyrologe addeth that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. But that cannot be, for so much as Urbanus by all histories was long after those emperors, and liued in the daies of this Alexander, as is aboue declared. Antoninus, Vincentius, Gesnius, Equilinus, with such other writers set forth this history with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in conuerting her husband Valerianus and his brother, in shewing them the angell which was the keeper of her virginitie, and of the angell putting on crowines vpon their heads. But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they bee true or fabulous, so beside that they haue no certaine nor sufficient or graue authors, but taken out of certaine new legendes, I doe therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

The martyrdome of Cecilia.

Cecilia martyr. Ex martyrologio Adonis.

Origenes de martyrio.

Under the same Alexander diuers others there be, whom Bergomensis mentioned to haue suffred martyrdome, as one Agapetus of the age of fifteene yeres, who being apprehended and condemned at Penestle in Italie, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with single commentes, first with whips scourged, then hanged vp by the feet, after hauing hot water poured vpon them, at the last cast to the wild beasts: with all which tormentes when he could not bee hurt, finallie, with sword was beheaded. The executor of these punishments (as by Henricus Erfordiensis may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who in the executing of the foresaid tormentes suddenly fell downe from his iudicial seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gaue vp the breath. Henr. de Erfordia lib. 6. cap. 29.

Agapetus a bleſſed martyr. Ex Bergomensis lib. 8.

A notable example of Gods iuſt plague vpon a persecutor. Ex Henr. Erfordiensis lib. 6.

Also with the same Agapetus is numbred Calepodius a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawen through the citie of Rome, and after cast into Tiber. Bergo. ibidem.

Calepodius martyr.

Then followeth Pammachius a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of fortie and two.

Pammachius with his wife and children martyrs.

After, another noble senator of Rome named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged vp in diuers gates of the citie for a terror of others, that none should profeſſe the name of Christ.

Fortie and two martyrs. Simplicius martyr.

Besides these suffred also Quirinus a noble man of Rome, who with his mother Iulla and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Quirinus, Iulla his mother, martyrs.

Tiburtius, Valerianus, brethren and martyrs.

Tiburtius, Valerianus, citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffred (as Bergomensis saith) the same time, who first being buried and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Martina a virgin and martyr.

Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Erfordiensis, make mention of Martina a christian virgin, which after diuers bitter punishments being constant in pit saith, suffered in like maner by the sword.

Albeit as touching the time of these so named martyrs, as I find them not in other writers: so do I suppose them to suffer vnder Parminius or Decius, rather then vnder Alexander.

## The sixth persecution.

Maximinus emperor and persecutor. The sixth persecution. Anno 237

After the death of Alexander the emperor, who with his mother Mammea (as is said) was murdered in Germanie, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the souldiers, rather then by the authority of the senat, about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred thirtie and seuen, who for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth) raised vp the sixth persecution against the christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captaines of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose rather the martyrdome of Urbanus the bishop, and of the rest aboue specified, to haue happned vnder the tyrannie of this Maximinus then vnder Alexander. In the time of this persecution, Origen wrote his booke De martyrio: which booke if it were extant would giue vs some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence vnknowen: and no doubt but a great number they were and more should haue been, had not the prouident mercie of God shortened his daies and limbled his tyrannie, for he reigned but three yeares. After whom succeded Gordianus in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fortie, a man no lesse studious for the vtilitie of the common wealth, as mild and gentle to the christians. This Gordianus, after he had gouerned with much peace and tranquillitie the monarchie of Rome the space of six yeares, was slaine of Philip emperor after him.

Gordianus emperor. Anno 240

In the daies of these emperors aboue recited, was Pontianus bishop of Rome, who succeded next after Urbanus aboue rehearsed, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred thirtie and six, in the twelfth yere of Alexander, as Eusseb. lib. 6. cap. 28. noteth, declaring him to sit fiue yeares. Contrarie Damasius and Platina write, that he was bishop nine yeres and a halfe, and that in the time of Alexander, he with Philippus his priest was banished into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more probable that he was rather banished vnder Parminus, and died in the beginning of the reigne of Gordianus. In his epistles decretall (which seeme likewise to be fained) he appeareth very deuout after the common example of other bishops to vphold the dignitie of priests and of clergie men, saying; that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, & forgiueth their sins, and reconcileth them vnto him also, that they to make the bodie of the Lord with their diuine mouth, and giue it to others, &c. which doctrine how it standeth with the testament of God and glorie of Christ, let the reader vse his diuine iudgement.

Pontianus bishop of Rome. Diuersitie betweene Damasus and Eusebius. Pontianus banished.

This doctrine feigned to bergamasis to Christ and blasphemous.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised vp in the church, as Philetus bishop of Antioch, which succeded after Asclepiades afore mentioned, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and twentie, and after him Zebinus bishop of the same place, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fortie.

Philetus & Zebinus bishops.

To these also may be added Ammonius schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas suppoleth, also the sinnen of Porphyrie the great enimie of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius indued with better grace, as he left diuers bookes in defence of Christs religion, so did he constantly persteere (as Eusebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ which he had in the beginning receiued, who was about the daies of Alexander.

Ammonius a christian writer.

Julius Aphricanus also about the time of Gordianus aforesaid, is numbred among the old and ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth to bee the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Julius Aphricanus writer.

Unto these doctors and counsellors may be adioyned the fauris of Natalius mentioned in the first booke of Eusebius. This Natalius had suffered persecution before like a constant confessor, who being seduced & perſuaded by Asclepiodotus & Theodonus (which were the disciples of Theodocus) to take vpon him to bee bishop of their sect, promising to giue euery moneth an hundred and fiftie pieces of siluer, and to be ioyning himselfe to them, was admonished by vision & reuelation from the Lord, for such was the great mercy of God & our Lord Christ Jesu, that he would not his martyr (which had suffered so much for his sake) so to perish out of his church: for which cause (saith Eusebius) God by certaine visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honor, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels, in so much that he being made herby very foie, and early on the morrow putting on sackecloth, with much weeping & lamentation went to Zephirinus the bishop of Rome mentioned, where he falling downe before him & all the christian congregation, shewed them the stripes of his body, and praied them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be receiued into their communion againe, from which he had sequestred himselfe before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

Natalius, confessor. Ex Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 28.

The Lord will not leaue them which haue done or suffered any thing for him.

After the deceasse of Pontianus bishop of Rome afore mentioned, succeded next in that place Antertus, of whom Eusardus writeth, that Pontianus departing away, did substitute him in his roome: but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediatly after him. Damasus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therfore he was put to martyrdome himselfe by Parminus the iudge. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers do greatly iar. Eusebius and Sarianus Scotus affirme that he was bishop but one moneth, Sabellicus saith that not to be so. Damasus affgreeth to him in the yeres one moneth. Violatchus, Bergomensis, and Henricus Erfordiensis, giue to him three yeres and one moneth. Nauclerus writeth that he sat one yeare and one moneth. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop

Antertus bishop of Rome martyr.

Authors disagree.

Eſt, was

Hippolytus bishop and martyr.

was Fabianus, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Of Hippolytus also both Eusebius and Hieronymus maketh mention that he was a bishop, but where, they make no relation. And so likewise both Theodoretus writeth him to be a bishop, and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelasius contra Eutychen saith, hee died a martyr, & that he was bishop of an head city in Arabie. Nicephorus writeth, that hee was bishop of Oliva, a port towne neere to Rome. Certaine it is, hee was a great writer, and left many workes in the church, which Eusebius and Hierome do recite: by the supputation of Eusebius, he was about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred & thirty.

Dindentius Deirlepha.

Dindentius in his Persephanon, making mention of great heapes of martyrs buried by themselves together, speaketh also of Hippolytus, and saith that hee was drawen with wild beastes through fields, dales and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitifull storie.

Philippus emperor. Anno 246

Philippus the first christian emperor.

After the emperor Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his son governed the space of fiuer yeares, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred fortie and fiue. This Philippus with his son and all his familie was christened and commerted by Fabianus and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Seuera his wife to be baptised, being the first of all the emperors that brought in christianitie into the imperiall seat. Howbeit Dionysius Letus reporteth of him to be a dissembling painted thing: it is certaine, that for his christianitie he with his son was slaine. Decreta de his Philippensis, lib. 8. wherein this hatred of Decius against Philippus to be conceiued, for that the emperor Philip both the father and the son had committed their treasures vnto Fabianus then bishop of Rome.

Philippus slaine.

## The seuenth persecution.

Decius emperor. Anno 250

The seuenth persecution. The cause and occasion of this persecution. Fabianus bishop of Rome.

THus Philippus being slaine, after him Decius inuaded the crowne about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moued a terrible persecution against the christians, which Decius noteth to be the seuenth persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant conceiued against the christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor, which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

Euseb. lib. 6.

This Fabian first being a maried man (as Platina writeth) was made bishop of Rome after Anterius aboue mentioned by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius doth thus describe in his fifth book. When the brethren (saith he) were together in the congregation about the election of their bishop, and had purposed among themselues vpon the nomination of some noble and worthie personage of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others was there present, who of late before was newly come out of the countrie to inhabit in the citie. This Fabian as is said, thinking nothing lesse then of any such matter, suddenly commeth a doue flying from aboue, and sitteth vpon his head, wherewpon all the congregation being moued, with one mind and one voice the chiefe him for their bishop, in the which function he remained the space of fifteene yeares, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say fourteene yeares vnto the time of Decius: who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his raigne caused him to be put to death, sending out moreouer his precepts and writs to all quarters, that all wholy prohibited the name of Christ should be slaine.

The first ordinations of Fabianus recited. Cyle and exorcist. A ruling of liturgie. Appealing to citeis apostolicall. Marriage not without the holy degree.

To this Fabian he ascribed certaine ordinances, as of consecrating new oyle once euery yere, and burning the old, of accusations against bishops of appealing to the see apostolike, of not marying within the fift degree, of communicating three a yeare, of offring euery sunday, with such other things more in his three epistles decretalles, which epistles, as the diuers other euidences may be supposed to be truely named vpon him, giuing no signification of any matter agreeing to that time: to doe I find the most part of the third epistle word for word standing in the epistle of Sixtus the third, which followed almost two hundred yeares after him, beside the brisenesse doctrine also in the end of the said epistles contained where he commaunds to the intent of the gospell applieth remission of sins (onely due to the blood of Christ) vnto the offerings of bread and wine by men and women euery sunday in the church.

False doctrine detected.

Origen.

To this Fabianus wrote Origen De orthodoxia fidei, that is, Of the right cousines of his faith wherby is to be vnderstood, that he continued to the time of Decius: some say also to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how both a learned he was in the daies of Seuerus, in assisting confirming, exhorting and kindling the martyrs that were imprisoned and suffred for the name of Christ, with such danger of his owne life, that had not been the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily to his house to bee catechised and instructed in the christian faith by him that foulders were hired of purpose to beleeue the place where he taught them. Againe, such search sometime was set for him, that scarcely any shifting of place or countrie could couer him. In whose laborious trauels and affaires of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fiftie two yeares, vnto the time of Decius and Gallus. Diuers and great persecutions he sustained, but especially vnder Decius, as testifieth Eusebius in his sixth booke, and declaring that for the doctrine of Christ he sustained bandes and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffred in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the same, saith further concerning him, that the said Origen after diuers and fundrie other torments which he manfully and constantly suffred for Christ, at length was brought to an altar, where a foule filthie Ethiop was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered vnto him, whether he would sacrifice to the Idol, or to haue his body polluted with that foule and ogliе Ethiop. Then Origen (saith hee) who with philosophicall mind euer kept his chastitie vndefiled, much abhorring that filthie villanie to bee done to his bodie, condescended to their request: whereupon he hadge putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire vpon the altar: for the which impietie hee afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth that he being vrged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughes in his hand, wherewith the beasts were wont to honor their gods, called vpon the christians to come and do honor to Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking, removed him from their communion: whereupon Origen driuen away with shame and horrour out of Alexandria, went into Iurie, where being in Ierusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the priests and ministers, he being also a priest, to make some exhortation in the church, refused a great while to doe. At length by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, role vp, and turning the booke as though he would haue expounded some place of the scripture, onely read the verse of the fortie ninth psalme: But God said to the sinner, why dost thou preach my iustifications and why bost thou take my testament in thy mouth? &c. Which verse being read, he shut the booke, and sat downe weeping and waling, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him. Vnto Niceph. Doze what became of Origen it is not found in history, but only that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyrus. Eusebius affirmeth, that hee departed vnder the emperor Gallus, about the yeare of our Lord two hundred fiftie and fiue, and the seuentih yere of his age, in great miserie (as appeareth) and penurie.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39. The persecutions of Origen.

Ex Suidas & Nicepb. lib. 5. cap. 32.

The fall of Origen.

Origen excommunicated.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40.

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, martyr. Ex Hieron. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 5. Epist. of Gaius circius reppounde.

The repentance of Origen.

In this Origen diuers blemishes of doctrine bee noted, whereupon Hierome sometimes doth inueigh against him; at best in some places against his doth extoll and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his apologie against Ruff. and in his epistle to Pammachius and Ocean, where he praiseth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpretor, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet in his prologue vpon the homilies of Origen on Ezechiell, he calleth him another master of the churches after the apostles. And in an other preface vpon his questions vpon Genesis, hee writheth to himselfe the knowledge of the scriptures, which Origen had, also with the ennie of his name. Athanasius moreouer calleth him singular and laborious, and vseth also his testimonies against the Arians. Socrates, Lib. 6. cap. 13.

Blemishes noted in Origen.

Origen commended for his learning.

Ex Socrat. lib. 6. cap. 13.

Heraclas bishop of Alexandria.

Besides his singular order of life he requireth next to speake of Heraclas his scholer, a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not onely in philosophie, but also in all liberall faculties as to a christian diuine doe appertaine. This great towardnes of wit & learning when Origen perceiued in him, he appointed him aboue all others to be his scholer & vnderteacher, to helpe in his schole of vniuersitie of Alexandria in the reigne of Antonius Caracalla sonne of Seuerus. And after in the tenth yeare of Alexander, Origen departing vnto Cesaria, he succeeded in his roome to gouerne the schole in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Gordianus after the decease of Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said citie: Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 29. In the which function he ministred the terme of sixteene yeres. Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 35. Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himselfe, that hee, although being priest, yet ceased not to read ouer and perule the bookes of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their diuine bookes confute their errors, &c.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 29.

Heraclas called pope, yet no bishop of Rome.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius Alexandrinus in the bishoprike of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in the schole before: which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas vnto Philemon a priest of Rome, thus saying; Hunc ego canonem & typum a beato Heraclа pontifice accepi, &c. that is, This canon and type I receiued of blessed Heraclas, our pope, &c. This Heraclas was no martyr, which died three yeares before Decius about the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fiftie. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of Alexandria Dionysius Alexandrinus, who also suffered much vnder the tyrannie of Decius as hereafter shall be shewed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of Valerian.

Anno 250

Eusebius moreouer in the first booke treeteth of the epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, diuers that he suffred diuerslie at Alexandria; the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the ancientnesse of the author to insert and notifie in his owne woords, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

Ex Nicepb. lib. 5. cap. 29.

Eorchorous in his first booke and others which write of this persecution vnder Decius declare the horriblenesse thereof to be so great and so innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith it is as easie to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did deuour. In the which persecution the chiefest doctors and teachers vnder the emperor appeare in the historie of Nicentius to be these: Optimus the vnder consull, Secundianus, Marianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to insert all and singular persons in order that died in this persecution, yet such as remaine most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of him for whose cause they suffred.

Persecutors.

Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, martyr.

In the former reaction of the first persecution, mention was made before of Alexander bishop of Hierusalem, and of his troubles suffred vnder Severus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed bishop of Hierusalem, where he continued a verie aged man aboue the terme of fortie yeares gouernor of that church, till the time of the first yere of Decius, at what time he being brought from Hierusalem to Cesarea into the iudgement place, after a constant and stedfast confession of his faith made before the iudge, was committed vnto prison, and there finished his life, as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the first booke of Eusebius. After whome succeeded in that seat Mezabanes the thirtie and first bishop of that citie, after Iames the apostle.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40.

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, martyr. Ex Hieron. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 5. Epist. of Gaius circius reppounde.

Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Asclepiades also before of Asclepiades bishop of Antioch, suffred vnder Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persuere a constant confessio, and as Vincent. testifieth in his eleuenth booke, suffred martyrdome at last vnder this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time, for somuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the said Asclepiades after Serapion, entred the bishops seat of Antioch, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred and fourteene, & not fiftie yeare before the time of Gordianus, after whom succeded Philetus, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred twentie & one, gouerning the function twelue yeares. And after him Zebinus followed in the yeare of our Lord two hundred thirtie and two, and so after him Babylas, which Babylas if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, seeing he long before him was deceased.

Babylas bishop of Antioch, martyr. Ex Christ. lib. contra Gentiles. The death of Babylas.

The story of Babylas bishop of Antioch, & the oracles of Apollo.

The repentance of the persecutors of Babylas bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander bishop of Hierusalem aboue rehearsed.

The same Babylas bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that vnder Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander bishop of Hierusalem aboue rehearsed.

The tale of Babylas, read in a certeine treatise of Chrysostome, intituled Contra Gentiles, a notable and a long historie of one Babylas a martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certeine emperor, not suffring him to enter into the temple of the Christians vntill the murder committed, the story of which murder is this. There was a certeine emperor, who vpon conclusion of peace made with a certeine nation, had receiued for hostage of furetie of peace the sonne of the king being of young and tender age, with conditions vpon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should euer be vexed of him. Vpon this the kings sonne was deliuered not without great care & store of the father vnto the emperor, whom the cruell emperor contrarie to promise, caused in short time without all fault cause to be slaine. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the temple of the christians, where Babylas being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not into that place approch. The emperor therewith not a little incensed, in great rage bade him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could beare, & from thence to attic after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going constantie and boldlie to his martyrdome, desired after his death to be buried with his irons & bands, & so he was. The losie proceedeth moreouer, and saith, that in continuance of time in the reigne of Constantius Gallus then made the questor of the East partes, caused the bones of Babylas to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with diuelish oracles and answers giuen by that idoll, or by the diuell rather in that place. In the which temple after the bringing of the bodie of Babylas, the idoll ceased to giue anie more oracles, saying, that for the bodie of Babylas hee could giue no more answers, but complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated vnto him, but now it is full of dead mens bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the comming of Iulianus, who inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holie martyr to be remoued againe from thence by the christians, whom he then called Galileans. They comming in a great multitude both men, maidens, & children, to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandement of the emperor, singing by the waie as they went, the verse of the psalme in words as followeth; Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glorie in idols, &c. Which coming to the emperors ears, set him in great rage against the christians, stirring vp persecution against them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise, saying, that so soone as the bodie of him & other martyrs were remoued & translated out of the temple of the idoll with the image, in the night time fire came from heauen & burnt the temple, with the image: which Iulian seeing, fiered vp with anger, persecuted the christians, as shall be shewed (Christ willing) in his order & place hereafter.

Ex Zonara, tom. 3.



And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the same Babylas bishop then of Antioch, or an other of the same name, it appereth not by Chrysostome, which neither maketh mention of the emperors name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Againe, the stopping of the emperor out of the church impieth as much, as that emperor to haue beene a christian: for otherwise, if he had come in as an heathen and as a persecutor, it was not then the maner of christian bishops violentlie to withstand the emperors or to stop them out. Diuer and beside the testimonie of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witnesse contrarie in his first booke, that this Babylas which was then bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison: wherefore it is not impossible, but this Babylas and this emperor which Chrysostome speaketh of, may be an other Babylas then that which suffered vnder Decius. Nicephorus in his fift booke maketh mention of an other Babylas beside this that suffred vnder Decius, which was bishop of Nicomedia.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 39.

Nicepb. lib. 5. cap. 33.

Babylas bishop of Nicomedia martyr. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 12.

In the forenamed citie of Antioch, Vincentius lib. 11. speaketh of fortie virgins martyrs, which suffred in this persecution of Decius.

Fortie virgins martyrs.

In the countrie of Phrygia, and in the towne of Lampsar, the same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter which there was apprehended, & suffred bitter torments for Christs name vnder Diotimus the proconsull. And in Troada likewise of a number martyrs that there suffered, whose names were, Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia a virgin. Lib. 11. cap. 46.

Peter of Phrygia martyr.

Andreas, Paulus, Nicomachus, Dionysia virgin, martyrs.

Also in Babylon (saith he) diuers christian confessors were found of Decius which were led awaie into Spaine, there to be executed: Lib. eodem, cap. 43.

Martyrs of Babylon, Germania, Eleophilus, Cesarius, Cletalis, Diodorus, Keliq.

In the countrie of Cappadocia at the citie of Cesarea, in like manner of the said author is testified of Germanus, Theophilus, Cesarius, and Mitalis, to suffer martyrdome for Christ. Eodem, cap. 52. And in the same booke mention also is made of Polychronius bishop of Babylon, cap. 89. and in Pamphilia of Nestor there bishop that died martyr, cap. 52.

At Perside in the towne of Carbala, Olympiades & Maximus in Tyrus also Anatolia virgin, and Iudar gaue their liues likewise to death for the testimonie of Christs name.

Olympiades, Maximus notable men. Anatolia virgin, Audaes, martyrs. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 44.

Eusebius moreouer in the first booke treeteth of the epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, diuers that he suffred diuerslie at Alexandria; the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the ancientnesse of the author to insert and notifie in his owne woords, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

The epistle of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria to Fabius.

The persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but began a whole yere before, by the occasion and meanes of a wicked person, a southsaier, and a follower of wicked arts: who comming to our citie here, stirred vp the multitude of the heathen against vs, and incited them to maintein their owne old superstition and gentilitie of their countrie, whereby they being set agog, and obteining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought me to leese declared, all their pietie and religion to consist onelie in the idolatrous worship of diuels, and in our destruction. And first laying vpon a certeine preest of ours named Metra, apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speake after their wicked blasphemie, which when he would not do, they laid vpon him with fistes and clubs, and with sharpe reeds pricked his face and eies, & afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they take a faithfull woman called Quinta, & brought her to the temple of their idols to compell her to worship with them: which when she refused to doe, and abhorred their idols, they bound her feet, & drew her through the whole street of the citie vpon the hard stones, and so bathing her againe with stripes, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the suburbs as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in great outrage and wilde a multitude running together, they burst in to houses of the religious and godlie christians, spoiling, sacking, and carying awaie all that they could find of any price. The rest of things such as were of lesse value and of no vse, they brought into the open market and set them on fire. In the meane time the brethren bended aside, and withdrew themselues, taking patientlie and no lesse ioifullie the spoiling of their goods, then did they of whome S. Paul doth testifie: neither doe I know any of them all (one onlie excepted) apprehended of them, which reuolting from his profession, denied the Lord yet to this present daie.

Metra, martyr.

Quinta a faithfull woman and martyr.

Patience and ioy in affliction. The constancie of the martyrs of Alexandria.

Among the rest that there were taken, there was a certeine virgin well stricken in yeres named Apollonia, whome they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her iawes, made a great fire before the citie, threatning to cast her into the same, vnlesse she would blaspheme with them and denie Christ: whereat she staying a little with her selfe as one that would take a pause, suddenlie leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

Apollonia a blessed virgin and martyr.

There was one also Serapion, whome they take in his owne house, and after they had assailed him with sundrie kinds of tormentes, and had broken almost all the ioints of his bodie, they cast him downe from an vpper lofe, and so did he complet his

Serapion martyr.

The first punishment of God running the cruelties of adulterers vpon themselues.

his martyrdome. Thus was there no way neither priuie nor publike, nor corner nor alley left for vs, neither by day nor by night to escape, all the people making an outcrie against vs, that vnlesse we vttered words of blasphemie, we should bee drawne to the fire and burned. And this outragious tumult indured a certaine space, but at length as the Lord would the miserable wretches fell at diuision among themselues, which turned the crueltie they exercised against vs vpon their owne heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the furie of the heathen people by this occasion asswaged.

Shortly then after this, vnto vs was brought vnto vs of the state of the empire, which before was something fauourable to vs, to be altered and changed against vs, putting vs in great feare. And consequently vpon the same followed the edit of the emperor so terrible & cruell, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might haue been thereby subuerted. Vpon that edict such feare came ouer vs all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for feare came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawne by their neighbors being cited by name, to those impure and idolatrous sacrifices. Other some came trembling and shaking, as men not which should doe sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselues, the multitude laughing them to scorne. Some againe came boldly to the altars, declaring themselues neuer to haue been of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall bee saued. Of the residue, some followed one part, some an other, some ran away, some were taken; of whom certaine continued to bands and torments constant; others again after long imprisonment, before they should come before the iudge renounced their faith. Some also after they suffered torments, yet after recouered. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillers of the Lord, fortified with constancie agreeing to their faith, were made faithfull martyrs of the kingdome of God.

Iulianus martyr.

Of whom the first was Iulianus, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to go, being caried of two men, of whom the one quickely denied; the other Cronion surnamed Saurus, with the foresaid Iulianus the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid vpon camels, and there scorged, at length cast into the fire, with great constancie were consumed.

A certaine souldier martyr.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdome, there was a certaine souldier, who in their defence take part against them that rashly vp on them. For the which cause the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and being constant in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Macar a blessed martyr.

Like wise one Macar, a man borne in Libia, being admonished and exhorted of the iudge to denie his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions was burned aliue.

Ephemachus, Alexander, with foure women martyrs.

After these suffered Ephemachus, and one Alexander, who being long detained in prison tied in bands, after innumerable paines and torments with rasors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with foure other women with them, which all there ended their martyrdome.

Ammonarion virgin, martyr.

Also Ammonarion an holy virgin, whom the cruell iudge had long and bitterly tormented, for that shee promising the iudge before, that for no punishme nt the would yeild to his requests, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise martyrdome, with two other women, of whom there was an aged matrone, named Hermeria, the other was called Dionysia, being a mother of many faire children, whom yet notwithstanding she loued not aboue the Lord. These after they could not be ouercome by any tormets of the cruell iudge, but hereby ashamed and confounded to be ouercome of silly women, at length they being pall seling of all tormets, were slaine with the sword. At ll Ammonarion like a valiant captaine suffering before them.

Hermeria, Dionysia, Didymus, Dolorus, martyrs.

Heron, Ater, Isidorus, Dioscorus, also a child of fiftene yeares, were crowned with the same crowne of martyrdome. And first the iudge began with the child, thinking him more easie to bee won, with words to entice him, then with tormets to constraine him: but hee perceiuing immediately, giuing neither place to perswasions nor punishments. The rest, after he had cruelly tormented being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. At Dioscorus the iudge greatly marueiling for his wise answeres and graue constancie dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respit: which Dioscorus is yet also with vs at this present, waiting for a longer triall.

Nemesion martyr. Theores in the end of the 8. booke of Eusebius.

Nemesion being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a companion of theeues, but being purged thereof before the centurion, was then accused of christianitie, and for the same being in bands, was brought to the president, who most vnmercifully tormenting and scourging him double to all other theeues and fellons; at length among the theeues burned him to death, making him a blessed martyr.

Ammon, Zenon, Ptolemeus, Ingenius, Theophilus martyr cornelius.

There were standing before the tribunall seat certaine of the warriers or knights, whose names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolemeus, Ingenius, and with them a certaine aged man called Theophilus, who standing by, at what time a certaine christian man was before the iudge examined, and there seeing him so feare ready to incline and fal away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselues, making signes to him with their hands, and all gestures of their bodie, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers by, they were readie to lay hold vpon them, but they preuenting the matter, prested vp of their owne accord before to the bench of the iudge, professing themselues to be christians. In so much that both the president with the benchers were all astonied, the christians which were iudged more imboldened to suffer, and the iudges thereby terrified. This done, they departed aside from the place, glad and reioycing for the testimonie that they had giuen of their faith. Many other besides were in other cities and townes rent and torne asunder vp the heathen, among whom one I will speake of for cause worthie of memorie.

A notable example of a christian courage in confessing Christ.

Ischirion, one that was in seruice with a certaine noble man, was commanded of his master to make sacrifice, who for not obeying, was therefore rebuked: after persisting in the same, was grieuously threatned with charge and menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

Ischirion martyr.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickenesse, theeues, or wild beasts, of whose birds deuoure they which escaine alme are not without fere & menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickenesse, theeues, or wild beasts, of whose birds deuoure they which escaine alme are not without fere & menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

Chremon, a bishop had a wife.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickenesse, theeues, or wild beasts, of whose birds deuoure they which escaine alme are not without fere & menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 40. 41. 42.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickenesse, theeues, or wild beasts, of whose birds deuoure they which escaine alme are not without fere & menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

Martyrs wandring in mountaines.

What shall I speake of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountaines, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickenesse, theeues, or wild beasts, of whose birds deuoure they which escaine alme are not without fere & menacing words. At last his master, when he could not perswade against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through into the body and slue him.

The epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, to Germanus. This Germanus was a bishop in that time, which charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himselfe. God wisled Dionysius to flie in persecution.

Foure virgins martyrs. Triphon martyr.

Moreouer, the foresaid Dionysius in an other place writing to Germanus, of his owne dangers and of others, sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: For (saith he) whom before the sight of God I lie not, and be knowen, I lie not, who that I hauing no regard of mine owne life, and not without the motion of God, did flie and auoid the danger of this persecution. Yea and also before that this persecution of Decius did rage against vs, Sabinus the same boure sent a farmer to seeke me, at what time I remaining at home waited three daies for his coming. Wet he searching narrowly for me by all waies, fields, floods, and corners, where he thought I might best haue hid my selfe, or to haue passed by, was stricken with such blindnes, that he could not find my house, thinking with himselfe nothing lesse then y I would abide at home in such so dangerous persecution. Thus these three daies being past, vpon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to flie, and also my selfe likewise opening to me the way, I with my children and many other brethren went out together. And this not to come of my selfe, but to be the worke of Gods prouidence, the sequell of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not vnpossitable peradventure to some, &c.

Ego bishops then had wiues and children.

Againe in another place shortly after, the foresaid Dionysius proceeding in the narration of himselfe, thus inferreth: Then I comming to Jerusalem with them with whom I was, was sent for by Fabulus the Tyrothite, where as Timotheus (by the prouidence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken. Who then returning home, found his house desert, and officers watching about the same, and so within taken, &c. And againe shortly after it followeth: And to see (saith hee) the admirable disposing of God his workes; as Timotheus was thus flying with much hast and great feare, a certaine man, as happened, a doer of euil, met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily: to whom Timotheus answering declared al the matter simplie as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his iourny, whither he was purposed to go, which was to a marriage, the matter of which mariages then was to sit by all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus as he was come sitting with them at the feast, he telleth his companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. Into this no sooner told, but all they fastning with vpon a heat, as stricken with a sudden furie rushing out together, made toward his as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seeme simply terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the souldiers that had vs in keeping, being afraid ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying vpon formes and benches. Then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with my selfe that they had been theeues, which came to spoile and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt and vp as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me. I offered to them that then willed me to all hast to rise and get away, whereby I then perceiuing the cause of their comming, cried vnto them, desiring that they would suffer vs so to doe: and if they would do any benefit to me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carie me away, I prayed them that they would present them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus vnto them, casting my self grouelling vpon the

The epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, to Germanus. This Germanus was a bishop in that time, which charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himselfe. God wisled Dionysius to flie in persecution.

Martyrs in Egypt, Nitria, Thebais, Alexandria, Libya.

Ego bishops then had wiues and children.

The epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, to Germanus. This Germanus was a bishop in that time, which charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himselfe. God wisled Dionysius to flie in persecution.

Warmianus, Malchus, Martinianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, Constantinus, seuen martyrs.

The epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, to Germanus. This Germanus was a bishop in that time, which charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himselfe. God wisled Dionysius to flie in persecution.

Ego bishops then had wiues and children.

The table of the vanishing of their faces martyrs. Ex Vincent. Nicephor. Ex Sordiensi

the same persecution, in a citie of Tuscia called Aretium, whose names I find not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius mentioned in Equilinus, lib. 5. cap. 80.

Such as renoūce to and forsake this persecution.

Now that I have recorded of them sufficiently, which under this tempest of Decius constantly gaue their liues to martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ: it remaineth, that a few words also be spoken of such that for feare or frailty in this persecution did shrinke and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first commeth in the remembrance of Serapion an aged old man. Of whom writeth Dionysius Alexandrinus vnto Fabius, declaring: that this Serapion was an old man, which lined amongst them a sincere and vpright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times desired to bee receiued againe, but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after he fell into sickenesse, where hee remained three daies dumbe, and benummed of all sences. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recouer, hee called to him his sisters sonne, and said How long, how long (my sonne) do ye hold me here? Make haste I pray you that I were absolued. Call hither some of the ministers to me: and so saying no more, held his peace as dumbe and speechlesse. The boy ran, it was then night, vnto the minister, who at the same time being sicke, could not come with the messenger, but said: For so much as he willed heretofore (as he said) that such as lay a dying, if they coūt to be receiued and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence: therefore he gaue to the boy a little of the * eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy eucharist. As he was now neere at hand before hee had entred in, Serapion the old man, speaking againe: Comest thou (said he) my sonne? The priest, quoth the messenger, is sicke and can not come, but doe as he willeth you, and let me goe. And the boy hurried the eucharist, and dropt it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little, immediately gaue vp the ghost, &c. Haec Dionys. ex. Euseb.

Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 44.

* Note here the sacrament to be called the eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

The holy eucharist in time of great need & distresse committed to a boy.

The repentance and reconciliation of Serapion.

The goodnes of God shewed to Serapion.

Ex Hen. de Erford.

In the citie of Troad, as the processe was grieuously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out that he was no christian, and so was let downe againe. And when after he had sacrificed, he was taken ofstoons with a wicked spirit, and so throwne downe vpon the ground, where hee biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed. Hen. de Erford.

A terrible example of despaire, shewed vpon Nicomachus. Dionysius ad Fabi. in Cypriānus Serm. de la. sct.

Dionysius in his epistles also writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terrour of this persecution declareth, how that many worthie and notable christians, for feare and horror of the great tyranny therof, did shew themselues feeble & weake men. Diuers some for bread, some of their olmes accord, others after great torments suffred, yet after reuolted from the constancie of their profession. Also saint Cyprian in his treatise De lapsis reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth, how that a great number at the first threatning of the aduersarie, neither being compelled nor yet one downe with any violence of the enemie, but of their voluntarie weakenesse, fell downe themselues. Neither (saith he) tarying while the iudge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke fricken in the field, turned their backes, and played the coūardes; not only comming to their sacrifices, but preuenting the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreouer their infants and children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their owne accord, and exhorting moreouer others to do the like after their example.

The weaknesse of christians comming right faith.

Of this weaknesse and falling, the said author theireth two causes, either loue of their goods and patrimonie, or feare of torments: and addeth moreouer examples of the punishments of them which reuolted; affirming that many of them were taken and bound with wicked spirits; and of one man among other, which after his voluntarie denial, suddenly was stricken dumbe. Against an other after his abiuration, as hee should communicate with others, in stead of bread receiued ashes in his hand. Item, of a certaine maiden, who being taken & vexed with a spirit, did teare her own tongue with her teeth, & tormented with paine in her belly & inward parts so deceased.

The examples of God his punishment after denial. S. Cyprian de lapsis.

Among others of this sort S. Cyprian. lib. 2. ep. 8. maketh also mention of one Successus a bishop in Africa, who leauing his charge, and making shipwracke of his faith, went wandring about in other countries, forsaking his owne flocke. In like maner he maketh also mention of Nicostratus a deacon, who forsaking his deaconship, and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries. Albeit Bertonensis giueth that this Nicostratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there was, whom neither feare could remoue, nor paine could diuert, vow to cause them to betray their confession, but that they stood like glorious martyrs vnto the end. Cyprian.

Cyprian. lib. de mortalitate.

The same Cyprianus also in an other booke De mortalitate, reciteth a notable story of one of his owne colleagues and fellow priest, who being oppressed with weakenesse, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leaue to depart, and to be discharged. As hee was thus intreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honorable and reuerend maiestie, of a tall stature, and comely behauiour, of bright and cleare to behold, that scarce mans carnall eyes were able so to doe, which was moreouer able to depart this world. To whom this young man speaking with a certaine indignation of minde and voice, thus said: Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis? To suffer ye dare not, to goe out ye will not, what would ye me to doe vnto you?

Notable voice of God to a priest of Carthage.

Vpon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose vp first the quarrell and heresie of Nouatus, who in these daies made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for feare of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. This Nouatus being first priest vnder Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring vp discord and factions, began to disturbe the bishoprike of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Felicissimus, against the bishops mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certaine of the brethren from the bishop; all which Cyprian. lib. 2. epist. 8. doth well declare. After this the said Nouatus going to Rome, kept there the like stirre with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. doth testifie) setting himselfe vp as bishop of Rome against Cornelius, which was the lawfull bishop of Rome before. The which to bring to passe, hee vsed this practise. First he had allured to him to bee his adherents, three or foure of good men and holy confessors, which had suffered before the three torments for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he enticed three simple bishops about the coasts of Italie to repaire to Rome, vnder pretence to make an end of certaine controuersies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunke, or by other craftie counsell, to lay their hands vpon him, and to make him bishop, and so did. Wherefore the one of those three bishops hardly was receiued to the communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two by discipline of the church were displaced from their bishoprikes, and others possessed with their romes. Thus then were there two bishops together in one church of Rome, Nouatus and Cornelius, which were vnfeemely, and contrarie to the discipline of the church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of saint Cyprian, writing in his epistles so much of one bishop, and of the vnitie to be kept in ecclesiasticall regiment, as appeareth, Lib. 4. epist. 2. de simplicit. prælat. Item lib. 3. epist. 11, &c. And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himselfe of one bishop, saying: Eaque vindex illecumpeth, ignorant vnum esse debere episcopum in catholica ecclesia, &c: that is, He knew not that there ought to bee one bishop in a catholike church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way I trust. I haue touched briefly, to detect or refute the cauilling meelling of the papists, which falsely applie these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintaine the popes supremacie therby, as ouer the whole vniuersall church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that euery one catholike church or diocelle ought to haue one bishop ouer it, not that the whole world ought to be subiect to the dominion of him onely that is bishop of Rome. Now to the storie againe. Nouatus bring thus bishop to be not a little vpon him, going about by all meanes to defeate Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. In so much that (as in the forsaid booke of Eusebius appeareth) when Nouatus came to the distributing of the offerings, and should giue euery man his part, hee compelled the simple persons euery man to sweare, before they should receiue of the benediction, and of the collets or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and bidding them so long, speaking these words vnto them (Sweare to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ, that thou wilt not leaue me and goe to Cornelius) till that they sweating vnto him, in stead of amen (to bee said at the receiuing of the * bread) should answere, I will not returne to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latine booke of Christoforsons translation, in this place, craftilie leaueth out the name of bread. This storie being written in Eusebius, also contained in Stephanus, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect hee name out of him, both declare in plaine words in both the authors (who so will marke the same) that the sacrament of the body of Christ is learned with the plaine name of bread, after the consecration.

The occasion and rising vp of Nouatus heresie.

Cornelius epist. ad Fabianum. Ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

The meaning of Cyprian opened, writing of one bishop onely to gouern in a catholike church falsly wrested of the papists to the papacie. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

* Note here the sacrament of the body to be called bread. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43. Nicepho. lib. 6. cap. 3. The Latine translation of Eusebius corrupted by Christoforson lib. 6. cap. 43.

It followeth now in the storie, that Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiuing at length the craftie dissimulation and arrogancie of Nouatus, left him, and with great repentance returned againe to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themselues writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an epistle gratulatorie doth declare: lib 2. epist. 3. and Cornelius also in his epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this epistle the said Cornelius moreouer writeth of one Moses a confessor martyr, which once being a follower also of Nouatus, after perceiuing his wickednesse forsooke him, & did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him a blessed confessor. lib. 2. epist. 4. Damasus in his pontificall saith, that he was apprehended with Parsinus and Nicostratus aboue mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Nouatus, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a synod was holden at Rome of three score sundrie bishops in the time of Cornelius, and vnder the reigne of Decius, in the yere of our Lord two hundred fiftie & fiue; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

Matthias bishop of Rome, and martyr.

Bishops were chosen then not without the voice of the people.

A censure of the best epistle of Cornelius.

After Fabianus (or as Zonaras calleth him Flauianus) next succeeded into the bishoprike of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthie bishop, & for his great vertue and manerlie continencie much commendable, chosen to that rowme, not so much of his own consent, as of the full agreement both of the clergie men, and also of the people. Hieronie addeth also that he was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appeare those two epistles decretall, which go in his name not to be his, both for the rudenesse of the barbarous & grosse stile, and also for the matter therein conteined, nothing tasting of that time, nor of that age nor doings then of the church. Whereof in the first he writeth to administers and brethren of the church, concerning the lifting vp of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, De cathecumbis, & translated to Vaticanum, at the instance of a certaine deuout woman named Lucina, hauing no great argument or cause to write thereof into the churches, but onelie that he in that letter doth desire them to pray vnto the Lord, that through the intercession of those apostolicall saints, their sinnes might be forgiuen them, &c. In the second epistle writing to Rufus a bishop of the East church, he decreeth and ordeineth that no oth ought of be required of exacted of any head or chefe bishop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of priests or ministers ought to be handled in any strange or forreine court, without his presence, except onelie in the court of Rome by appellation: whereby who seeth not the traine of our latter bishops, going about craftilie to aduance the dignitie of the court of Rome, vnder and by the pretended title of Cornelius, and of ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any epistles to any indeed in those troubulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would haue touched in the said his letters, either in ministring consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would haue giuen some touch also of the matter of Nouatus, with whom he had so much to doe, and vnder his bishoprike to haue had the ouersight of the papists to the papacie. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.

Cyprian. lib. 1. epist. 1.

The constancie of Cornelius in his martyrdome.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Nouatus, sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himselfe verie constantlie and faithfully, which sustained great conflicts with the aduersaries, as saint Cyprian plentifully witnesseth. lib. 1. epist. 1. Hieronie testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so appeareth also by saint Cyprian, which hath these words: Et tyrannum armis & bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit. But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers, affirme that he was both exiled & also martyred vnder the tyrannous reigne of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this storie, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith: that Cornelius by the commandement of Decius, was banished into a towne called Centumcellas, bordering in Hetruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian againe to him. This comming to the eares of Decius the emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him: how he durst be so bold to shew such stubbornesse, that he neither caring for the goods, nor fearing the displeasure of his princes, durst go against the commonwealth, giue and receiue letters from others? To whom Cornelius answering againe, thus purged himselfe, declaring to the emperor, that letters indeed he had written and receiued againe concerning the praises and honoring of Christ, and of saluation of soules, but nothing as touching any matter of the common wealth. And it followeth in the storie: Then Decius moued with anger commanded him to be beaten with plumbats (which, as saith Sabellicus, a kind of scourging) and so to be brought to the temple of Mars: either there to doe sacrifice, or to suffer the extremitie. But he rather willing to die, then to commit such iniquitie, prepared himselfe to martyrdome, being sure that hee should die. And so commending the charge of the church vnto Stephanus his archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he endeth his life in faithfull martyrdome. Eusebius in one place saith that he sat two yeres, in an other place he saith that he sat three yeres, and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diuersitie of the said Eusebius. Damasus giueth him onelie two yeres.

Tom. iiij. recited for writing letters to Cyprian.

Plumbatis cedi.

Cornelius martyred.

In this forsaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished: but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reigne of Gallus next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in this place hereafter. In the meane time the said Cyprian in his second booke, epist. 5. & 6. maketh mention of two that suffered either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius a youthie and lustie young man, who was twise in torments for his confession, which he neuer denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the aduersarie till he was banished, and also after: and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certaine brethren to haue him for their lector, as in the forenamed epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Pappalicus, who in the baie before he suffered, declaring to the proconsull in the midst of his torments, and saying: Videbis cras agonem: that is, To morrow you shall see the running for a wager, &c: was brought forth, according as he forespeake, to martyrdome, and there with no lesse constancie then patience did suffer.

Aurelius martyr.

Pappalicus martyr.

And thus much of the tyrannie of this wicked Decius against God his saints. How to touch also the power of God his vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonlie a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue: so it hapned with this tyrannicall tormentor, who reigning but two yeres, as saith Eusebius or three at most, as writeth Diodius, among the middle of the Barbarians with whom he did warre was there slaine with his sonne, like as he had slaine Philippus and his sonne his predecessors before. So was he with his sonne slaine by the righteous iudgement of God himselfe. Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 1. Plutin. Pomponius affirmeth that he warring against the Gothians, and being by them ouercome, left the should fall into their hands, ran into a whirlepit, where he was drowned, and his bodie neuer found after.

The death and destruction of Decius.

Orosius lib. 4. cap. 14.

The last reuenge of God against persecutors.

Neither did the right hand of God plague the emperor onlie, but also reuenged as well the heathen Gentils and persecutors of his word throughout all prouinces and dominions of the Roman monarchie, amongst whom the Lord immediatlie after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten yeres together, that horrible it is to heare, and almost incredible to beleeue. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierar a bishop in Egypt. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 21. 22: where he declareth the mortalitie of this plague to be so great in Alexandria where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole citie free. And although the greatnesse of the plague touched also the christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: beside that the order of the christians in the one and in the other was much diuers. For as the forsaid Dionysius doth record, the christians throughout the whole one and pietie, did not refuse one to visit and comfort an other, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger: for diuers there were who in closing vp their eies, in washing their bodies, & burying them in the ground, were next themselues which followed them to their graues. Yet all this staid not them from doing their dutie, and shewing mercie one to an other: whereas the Gentils contrarlie being extremelie visited by the hand of God felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbor, but euerie man thrusting for himselfe, neither cared one for an other, but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors halfe dead to be deuoured of dogs and wild beasts, some they let die within their houses without all succor, some they suffered to lie vnburied for that no man durst come nere him: and yet notwithstanding for all their voiding and thrusting, the pestilence followed them whither so euer they went, and miserablie consumed them. In so much that Dionysius bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his owne citie, that such a mortalitie was then among them, that the said citie of Alexandria had not in number of all together both old and young, as it was wont to conteine before of the old men onlie from the age of three score to seuentie, such as were found in time past common to lie almost in that citie. Pomponius Letus and other Latine writers also making mention of the said pestilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they thinke) out of Ethiope, and from the hot countries, and so inuading and waisting first the south parts, from thence spread into the east, and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especiallie where for the edicts of the emperor went against the christians, it followed after and continued the most part of the inhabitants, where they many places became desolate and void of all concourse, and so continued the terme often yeres together.

A terrible pestilence reigning through all the Romane monarchie.

This pestilerous mortalitie (by the occasion whereof Cyprian take the ground to write his booke De mortalitate) began as is said, immediatlie after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reigne of Cilbius Gallus, and Volusianus his sonne, by he succeeded through treason next vnto Decius, about the yere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and fiue, and continued their reigne but two yeres.

Cyprianus lib. de mortalitate.

Gallus and Volusianus emperors.

Anno 255

His Gallus, airy on the first beginning of his reigne was some thing quiet, yet thattie after following the steps of Decius, by whom rather he should haue taken better heed, set forth edicts in like maner for the persecution of christians, albeit in this edict we find no number of martyrs to haue suffered, but onlie all this persecution to rest onlie in the enlement

of bishops or guides of the flocke. Of other sufferings or executions we doe not read, for the terrible pestilence following immediatlie kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Vnto this time of Gallus, rather then to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage, of the which banishment he himselfe testifieth in diuers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise vpon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himselfe, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said Cyprian though being absent, yet had no lesse care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had been present with them, and therefore neuer ceased in his epistles continuallie to exhort and call vpon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst diuers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himselfe, writing to certaine that were condemned to mining for metalls, whose names were Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, with other bishops, priests and deacons, declareth vnto them; How it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioiced at, to suffer banishment or other paines for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they doe shew themselues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodie, the hearts of the brethren to christian martyrdome, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children to follow the likenesse of their punishment and suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a christian: for a christian mans breast, whose hope doth wholie consist in the tree, dreadeth neither bat nor clubswounds and skarres of the bodie be ornaments to a christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonestie to the partie, but rather prefereth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for christian mens bodies to take their rest, yet they haue their rest in Christ: and though their wearie bones lie vpon the coldground, yet is it no paine to lie with Christ. Their feet haue been fettered with bands and chains, but happilie he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose: happilie doth he lie tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heauen. Neither can any man tie a christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They haue no garments to saue them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficientlie coted. Doth bread lacke to their hungrie bodies? But man liueth not onlie by bread, but by euerie word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (saith he) shall be turned to honor, your mourning to ioy, your paine to pleasure, and felicitie infinit. And if this doo grieue you that ye cannot now enioy your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner, yet your sacrifice dailie censeth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer vp dailie your bodies a liuelie and a glorious sacrifice vnto the Lord, which is the sacrifice, that pleaseth God. And though your trauell be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certaine to follow: for God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confesse his name, in their willing mind approoueth them, in their striuing helpeth them, in their victorie crowneth them, rewarding that in vs which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With these, and such like comfortable words he doth animat his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a ioifull journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enioy after this darknesse a stable light and brightnesse greater then all their passions, according to be apostles saying: These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightnesse of the glory that shall be reuealed in vs, &c.

Cypr. lib. 4. ep. 5. 6. 7.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation writting to Seagrius and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bonds for the testimonie of truth, Doth encourage them to continue stedfast and patient in the way wherein they haue begun to run: for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with vs to the worlds end, and therefore willeth them to set before their eies in their death immortalitie, in their paine euerlasting glory, of the which it is written: Pretious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters: for the Lord hath tried the as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer, admonishing them that it is appointed from the beginning of the world that righteousnesse heere should suffer in secular conflicts, for so vnto Abel was slaine in the beginning of the world, and after him all iust and good men, the prophets also & the apostles first of the Lord himselfe, vnto whom all the Lord iust gaue ensample in humilitie, teaching that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himselfe, saying by these words: He that loueth his life in this world shall lose it, &c. And againe, Feare ye not them that slaie the bodie, but haue no power to slaie the soule. And S. Paul likewise admonishing all them whosoeuer couet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord, saith: If we suffer together with him, we shal reigne together, &c.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage heere the holie martyrs which were in captiuitie, to persist: so likewise writing to the priests and deacons which were free, exhorteth them to be seruiceable and obsequious with all care and loue, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds. Cypria. lib. 2. epist. 6. Whereby maie appeare the feruent zeale and care of this good bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

Lucius bishop of Rome banished.

In the same time and vnder the said Gallus reigning with his sonne Volusianus, was also Lucius bishop of Rome sent to banishment who, next succeeded after Cornelius in that bishoprike, about the yere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and six. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistle of S. Cyprian, lib. 3. epist. 1. may appeare. As to all other bishops of Rome in those primitiue daies certaine decretall epistles with seuerall ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names & tities as hath been afore declared: So also hath Lucius one epistle fathered vpon him, in the which epistle he writing to the brethren of France and of Spaine, appointeth such an order and forme of the church as scarcely not to agree with the time then present: for so he declareth in that epistle that a bishop in all places whither so euer he goeth, should haue two priests with three deacons waiting vpon him to be witnesses of all his iniuries and doings. Which ordinance although I denie not but it may be and is commendable, yet I see not how that time of Lucius could serue them for a bishop to carie such a pompe of priests and deacons about him, or to studie for any such matter: for so much as bishops commonlie in those daies were seldome free to go abroad, vnlesse they were so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or els in banishment. Moreouer in the said epistle holy pompoustlie writeth he to the church of Rome: This holie and apostolicall church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all churches of Christ, which by the grace of God omnipotet hath neuer been prooued to swarue out of the path of apostolicall tradition, neither hath euer fallen or been depraued with heretical innouations: but euen as in the first beginning it receiued the rule of the apostolicall faith by his first instructors, the princes of the apostles, so it continueth euer immaculat and vndefiled vnto the end.

The epistle decretall of Lucius bishop.

Theyr dinners of Lucius.

The pompous stile of the church of Rome.

Vnto this Lucius also is referred in the decrees of Gratian this constitution, that no minister what soeuer after his ordination, should at any time reenter to the chamber of his owne wife in paine of losing his ministerie in the church, &c. Eusebius in his seuenth booke making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdome, saith that he sat but eight months: but Damasius in his martyrologe holdeth that he sat three yeres, and was beheaded the second yere of Valerian and Galienus emperors, and so doth also Sarianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with other that follow Damasius affirme the same.

Dist. 81. ministri. Ministers restrained from their owne wiues.

Eusebius and Damasius varie in time. Lucius bishop of Rome, martyr.

After him came Stephanus next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasius, Platina, and Sabellicus, affirme to haue sit seuen yeres and fiue months, and to die a martyr. Contrarie Eusebius and Violaterranus holding with him, giue him but two yeers: which part cometh neist neere to the truth, I leaue to the readers iudgement. Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to write for two respects, either for that concerning these decretall epistles suspicionslie intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church, suff cientlie hath been said before, or els because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it selfe therein conteined is such, that although no testimonie came against it, yet it easilie refelleth it selfe. As where in the second epistle he decreeth, That no bishop being expulsed out of his seat, or depriued of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answere for himselfe, before that by the law regularly he be restored againe fully to his former state, and that the primats and the synod reuder vnto him againe all such goods and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the lawes canon and also secular. First here I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himselfe, who be these heere ment which either vsed or might despoile these bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such wrongfull causes, but onely kings and emperors which at this time were not yet christened no: vsed any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as either primats or synods could restore them again to their places and possessions: again, what priuat goods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them, when as churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the church, it pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in generall to the subuention of the poor in the church, as in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius may appeare, alleaged in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. where in speaking of his church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of fortie and six priests, seuen deacons, with seuen subdeacons, fortie two acolithes, of widowes and poore afflicted persons to the number of fiftene hundred and aboue, found and nourished in the same by the mercifull benignitie and prouidence of God: Eusebius. lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the end of the said canon, Which thing is forbidden both by the lawes ecclesiasticall,

Cypr. lib. 3. epist. 6.

Primats, metropolitans, archbishops.

The number of the poore found at Rome to be cherished by the church goods.



call, and also secular, &c. Now what lawes secular were in the time of Steuen for Bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were reduced againe to their state, let any reader marking well the state of the heathen lawes that then were, iudge, and in iudging I doubt not but this matter alone though there were no other, will be enough to descrie the vntruth hereof.

Lawfull to appeale to Rome.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephanus it may be easily espied, this epistle to be feined and misauthorised, especially by the 5 canon of the said epistle, where he so solemnely entreateth of the difference betweene primats, metropolitans, and archbishops, which distinction of degrees and titles fauouring more of ambition then of perfection, giueth me iustly to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephan, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the church began to be setled in more prosperitie, and orders therein to be taken for: euery man to know his degree and limits of his authoritie, according as is specified by the first and seuenth canon of Nicen councell, decreeing of the same matter.

Ecclesiments and holy vessels seruing for the altar.

The like estimation may be conceiued also of the seuenth canon of the said epistle, where he willeth and appointeth all causes iudiciarie to be decided and determined within the precinct of their owne proper prouince, and not to passe ouer the bounds thereof, vnlesse (saith he) the appeale be made to the apostolicall sea of Rome, which sauoureth in me not rather of a smacke of poperie, then of the being of christianitie, especially in these tiures, during this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretall epistle of Stephanus, although of the first epistle also written to Hilarius some thing may be said, as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestiments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar seruing to diuine worship, and therefore not to be touched no: handled of any man, saying of priests alone. Concerning all which implements, my opinion is this, that I thinke the church of Rome not to haue bin in so good state then, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to bide their owne heads, had any mind or cogitation to studie vpon such vnnecessarie inuentions seruing in publike churches: neither do I see how the heathen in those daies would haue suffered these ornaments to be vnconsumed, which would not suffer the bishops themselues to liue amongst them, notwithstanding Isidorus and Polybotus iudge the contrarie. Betweene this Stephan and Cyprian bishop of Carthage was a great contention about rebaptising of heretikes, wherof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Besides these bishops aboue specified, diuers others there were also sent into banishment vnder the foresaid emperors Gallus and Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermannus on this wise: That Gallus not seeing the euill of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction & ruine, stumbled himselfe also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: for at the first beginning when his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he draue out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safegard, and so with them reiected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwise of any bloodshed or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not reade.

Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

Discord and division among the brethren.

After the raigne of which emperour Gallus and of his son Volusianus being expired, who raigned but two yeares, Emilianus which liue them both by ciuill sedition, succeeded in their place, who raigned but three months, and was also slaine. Next to whom Valerianus and his sonne Galienus were aduanced to the empire.

Gallus and Volusianus emperours slaine. Emilianus emperour three monthes. Valerianus and Galienus his sonne emperour. Persecution ceased for a time.

About the changing of these emperors the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague raigning in all places, partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entrance of the empire for the space of three or foure yeares was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted to the senat. Neither was there any of all the emperours before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewen himselfe so louing and familiar toward the christians as he did: in so much that (as Dionysius writing to Hermam doth testifie) all his whole court was replenished with holy saints and seruants of Christ and godly persons, so that his house might seeme to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan through wicked counsell these quiet daies endured not very long. For in procelle of time this Valerian being charmed or incensed by a certaine Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a matter of the charmes or inchantes, into which he was troubled so that he could not do his magicall feats for the christians, was solas enticed and beiotted, that through the detestable procuratrions of that diuelish Egyptian, he was wholly turned vnto abominable idols, and to execrable impietie, in sacrificing yong infants, and quartering bodies, and diuiding the intrails of children new borne, and so proceeding in his furie, moued the eight persecution against the christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not

The good beginning of Valerian.

No bishop ought to be accused, after he be expulsed, before he be restored againe.

Ex Dionysio etiamic. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Niceph. lib. 6. cap. 10. Wicked counsell what euill it doth.

## The eight persecution.

The eight persecution.

IN the which persecution the chiefe administers and executors were Emilianus president of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus viceregerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius speaketh also of Nicretius and Claudius presidents, &c.

Anno 259

The chiefe occasions of this persecution.

What was the chiefe original cause of this persecution, partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and politicall cause, so S. Cyprian sheweth other causes more speciall and ecclesiasticall in his fourth booke, epist. 4. whose words be these: But we (saith he) must vnderstand and consider, that this turbulent oppression and calamitie, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole companie, and doth daily consume, riseth chiefely of our owne wicked nesse and sinnes, while we wothe not in the way of the Lord, nor obserue his precepts left vnto vs for our institution. The Lord obserued the will of his Father in all points, but we obserue not the will of the Lord, hauing all our minde and studie set vpon lucre and possessions, giuen to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicitie and faithfull dealing, renouncing this world in word onely, but nothing in deed, euery man pleasing himselfe, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges doe we not deserue, when the confessors themselues (such as haue bid the triall of their confession) and such as ought to bee an example to the rest of well doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore beeause some such there be, proudly puft vp with this swelling and vnmanerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send vs to the crowne, except by the mercie of God, some being taken away by quicknesse of death, doe preuent the tediousnesse of punishment. These things doe wee suffer for our sinnes and deserts, as by the Lords censure we haue been forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my law and will not walke in my iudgements; if they shall prophane my institutions, and will not obserue my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) wee feele, which neither cease God our good deeds, nor repent in our euil deeds. Wherfore the said Cyprian adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and entreat from the bottome of their heart and whole mind, the mercie of God, which promiseth, saying: But yet my mercie I will not scatter from them, &c. Let vs aske, and we shall obtaine; and though (saith Cyprian) it be with tariance, yet for so much as we haue grieuously offended, let vs continue knocking, for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our praiers, sighings & weepings knock stil at the doore with continuance, and if our praiers be ioined together with brotherly agreement, &c. Moreouer, what vices were then principally raigning among the christians, hee further specifieth in the said epistle, which chiefly were diuision & dissension among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a vision by these words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, Pray, and ye shall obtaine; afterward it was required of the congregatio there present, to direct their prayers for certaine persons affigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were distonant in their consent and petition: which thing (saith Cyprian) did greatly displease him that spake vnto them; Pray, and ye shall obtaine, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voice and heart, nor one simple and ioynt concord among the brethren, wherof it is written in the sixty and seuenth Psalme, God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c. And so by the occasion hereof, hee writeth vnto them in the foresaid epistle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreement. For (saith he) if it be promised in the gospell to be granted whatsoeuer any two consenting together shall aske, what shall then the whole church do agreeing together? Or what if this vnanimity were among the whole fraternity? Which vnanimitie (saith Cyprian) if it had bin then among the brethren, *Non vesisset fratribus hæc mala, si in vnum fraternitas fuisset animata*, that is: These euils had not hapned to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie, &c.

Psalm. 67.

A vision foretheuing persecution to come. Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.

After the causes thus declared of this or other persecutions, the said S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed epistle (worthie to be read of all men) declareth like vnto a certaine vision, wherein was shewed vnto them by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this. There was a certaine aged father standing at whose right hand stood a yong man verie sad and pensiue, as one with an indignation sorrowfull, holding his hand vpon his breast, his countenance heauie and vncheerefull. On the left hand sate another person, hauing in his hand a net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marueilling that saw the sight thereof, it was said vnto him: The yong man whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad & sorie that his precepts be not

of bishops or guides of the flocke. Of other sufferings or executions we doe not read, for the terrible pestilence following immediatlie kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Vnto this time of Gallus, rather then to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage, of the which banishment he himselfe testifieth in diuers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise vpon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himselfe, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said Cyprian though being absent, yet had no lesse care of his flocke and of the whole church, then if he had been present with them, and therefore neuer ceased in his epistles continuallie to exhort and call vpon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst diuers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himselfe, writing to certaine that were condemned to mining for mettals, whose names were Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, with other bishops, priests and deacons, declareth vnto them; How it is no shame but a glory not to be feared, but to be reioiced at, to suffer banishment or other paines for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they doe shew themselues to be as valiant captaines of vertue, prouoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodie, the hearts of the brethren to christian mayrydome, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children to follow the like: as for punishment and suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a christian: for a christian mans brest, whose hope doth wholie consist in the tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club: wounds and skarres of the bodie be ornaments to a christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonestie to the partie, but rather preferreth and feeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the mettals be digged there be no beds for christian mens bodies to take their rest, yet they haue their rest in Christ: and though their wearie bones lie vpon the coldground, yet is it no paine to lie with Christ. Their feet haue been fettered with bands and chains, but happilie he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose: happilie doth he lie tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heauen. Neither can any man tie a christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They haue no garments to saue them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficientlie cloted. Doth bread lacke to their hungrie bodies? But man liueth not onlie by bread, but by euerie word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformitie (saith he) shall be turned to honor, your mourning to ioy, your paine to pleasure, and felicitie infinit. And if this doo grieue you that ye cannot now employ your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted maner, yet your sacrifice dailie conseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer vp dailie your bodies a liuelie and a glorious sacrifice vnto the Lord, which is the sacrifice, that pleaseth God. And though your trauell be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certaine to follow: for God beholding and looking downe vpon them that confesse his name, in their willing mind approoueth them, in their striuing helpeth them, in their victorie crowneth them, rewarding that in vs which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in vs perfected. With these, and such like comfortable words he doth animat his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a ioifull iourney, halting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, hereto inioy after this darknesse a stable light and brightnesse greater then all their passions, according to be apostles saying: These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightnesse of the glory that shall be reuealed in vs, &c.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation writting to Seagrius and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bonds for the testimonie of truth, Doth encourage them to continue stedfast and patient in the way wherein they haue begun to run: for that they haue the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with vs to the worlds end, and therefore willeth them to set before their eies in their death immortalitie, in their paine euerlasting glory, of the which it is written: Pretious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortalitie, and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters: for the Lord hath tried the as gold in the fire. And writeth moreouer, admonishing them that it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousnesse heere should suffer in secular conflicts, for so iust Abel was slaine in the beginning of the world, and after him all iust and good men, the prophets also & the apostles sent of the Lord himselfe, vnto whom all, the Lord first gaue an example in himselfe, teaching that there is no comming to his kingdome, but by that way which he entred himselfe, saying by these words: He that loueth his life in this world shall lose it, &c. And againe, Feare ye not them that slaie the bodie, but haue no power to slaie the soule. And S. Paul likewise admonishing all them whosoeuer couet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord, saith: If we suffer togither with him, we shal reigne togither, &c.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage heere the holie martyrs which were in captiuitie, to persist: so likewise writing to the priests and deacons which were free, exhorteth them to be seruiceable and obsequious with all care and loue, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds. Cypria. lib. 3. epist. 6. Wherebv maie appére the feruent zeale and care of this god bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the same time and vnder the said Gallus reigning with his sonne Volusianus, was also Lucius bishop of Rome sent to banishment into, next succeded after Cornelius in that bishoprike, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and six. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistle of S. Cyprian, lib. 2. epist. 1. may appére. As to all other bishops of Rome in those primitiue daies certaine decretall epistles with seuerall ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names & titles as hath been afore declared: So also hath Lucius one epistle fathered vpon him, in the which epistle he writing to the brethren of France and of Spaine, appointeth such an ordenance for the time of the church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he declareth in that epistle that a bishop in all places whither so euer he goeth, should haue two priests with three deacons waiting vpon him to be witnesses of all his waies and doings. Which ordinance although I denie not but it may be and is conuenient, yet I see not how that time of Lucius could serue then for a bishop to carie such a pompe of priests and deacons about him, or to studie for any such matter: for so much as bishops commonlie in those daies were seldome srée to go abroad, vnlesse they neuer so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or els in banishment. Moreouer in the said epistle holy pompouslie writeth he to the church of Rome: This holie and apostolicall church of Rome (saith he) the mother of all churches of Christ, which by the grace of God omnipotet hath neuer been prooued to swarue out of the path of apostolicall tradition, neither hath euer fallen or been depraued with heretical innouations: but euen as in the first beginning it receiued the rule of the apostolicall faith by his first inductors, the princes of the apostles, so it continueth euer immaculat and vndefiled vnto the end.

Vnto this Lucius also is referred in the decrées of Gratian this constitution, that no minister what soeuer after his ordination, should at any time reenter to the chamber of his owne wife in paine of losing his ministerie in the church, &c. Eusebius in his seuenth booke making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdome, saith that he sat but eight months: but Damasus in his martyrologe holdeth that he sat three yéres, and was beheaded the second yére of Valerian and Galienus emperors, and so doth also Marianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with other that follow Damasus affirme the same.

After him came Stephanus next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus, affirme to haue sit seuen yéres and fiue monthes, and to die a martyr. Contrarie Eusebius and Volaterranus holding with him, giue him but two yeers: which part cómeth most nére to the truth, I leaue to the readers iudgement. Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to tarie for the respects, either for that cócerning these decretall epistles suspitionlie intituled to the names of the fathers of the primitiue church, suff cientlie hath been said before, or els because both the phrase barbarous and incongrue, and also the matter it selfe therein conteined is such, that although no testimonie came against it, yet it easilie refelleth it selfe. As where in the second epistle he decréeth, That no bishop being expulsed out of his seat, or depriued of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answere for himselfe, before that by the law regularly he be restored againe fully to his former state, and that the primats and the synod render vnto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the lawes canon and also secular. First heere I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to cónsider with himselfe, who be these here ment which either bled or might depriue these bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their seats for such wrongfull causes, but onely kings and emperors which at this time were not yet christened nor bled any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as either primats or synods could restore them again to their places and possessions again. What primat gods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them, when as churches yet neither were indued with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the church, it pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in generall to the subuention of the poor in the church, as in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius may appeare, alleaged in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 43. where he speaking of his church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of foztie and six priests, seuen deacons, with seuen subdeacons, foztie two acolouthes, of widowes and poore afflicted persons to the number of fiftéene hundred and aboue, found and nourished in the same by the mercifull benignitie and prouidence of God: Eusebius. lib. 6. cap. 43. It followeth more in the end of the said canon, Which thing is forbidden both by the lawes ecclesiasticall, call, and also secular, &c. Now what lawes secular were in the time of Steuen for bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored againe to their state, let any reader marking well the state of the heathen lawes that then were, iudge, and in iudging I doubt not but this matter alone though there were no other, will be enough to deserie the vntruth hereof.

Moreouer, by diuers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephanus it may be easily espied, this epistle to be feined and misauthorised, especially by the fift canon of the said epistle, where he so solemnely entreateth of the difference betweene primats, metropolitans, and archbishops, which distinction of degrées and titles sauouring more of ambition then of persecution, giueth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephan, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the church began to be setled in more prosperitie, and orders therein to be taken for: euery man to know his degrée and limits of his authoritie, according as is specified by the first and seuenth canon of Nicen councell, decreeing of the same matter.

The like estimation may be conceiued also of the seuenth canon of the said epistle, where he willeth and appointeth all causes iudiciarie to be decided and determined within the precinct of their owne proper prouince, and not to passe ouer the bounds thereof, vnlesse (saith he) the appeale be made to the apostolicall sea of Rome, which fauoureth in my nose rather of a smacke of poperie, then of the veine of christiantie, especially in these times, bureing this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretall epistle of Stephanus, although of the first epistle also written to Hilarius some thing may be said, as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestiments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar seruing to diuine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, sauing of priests alone. Concerning all which implements, my opinion is this, that I thinke the church of Rome not to haue bin in so good state then, that either Stephanus or Sixtus before him being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to vide their owne heads, had any mind or cogitation to studie vpon such vnnecessarie inuentions seruing in publike churches: neither do I see how the heathen in those daies would haue suffered these ornaments to be vnconfirmed, which would not suffer the bishops themselues to liue amongst them, notwithstanding Isidorus and Polydorus iudge the contrarie. Betweene this Stephan and Cyprian bishop of Carthage was a great contention about rebaptizing of heretikes, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Besides these bishops afore specified, diuers others there were also sent into banishment vnder the forenamed emperors Gallus and Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermannus on this wise: That Gallus not seeing the euill of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction & ruine, stumbled himselfe also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: for at the first beginning when his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drawe out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safegard, and so with them reuoked also the prayers which they made for him, &c. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Otherwise of any bloodshed or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not reade.

After the raigne of which emperour Gallus and of his son Volusianus being expired, who raigned but two yeares, Emilianus which slue them both by ciuill sedition, succeded in their place, who raigned but three months, and was also slaine. Next to whom Valerianus and his sonne Galienus were aduanced to the empire.

About the changing of these emperors the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague raigning in all places, partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entrance of the empire for the space of three or foure yeares was right curteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted to the senat. Neither was there any of all the emperours before him, no not of them which openly professed Christ, that shewed himselfe so louing and familiar toward the christians as he did: in so much that (as Dionysius writing to Herman doth testifie) all his whole court was replenished with holy saints and seruiants of Christ and godly persons, so that his house might séeme to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan though wicked counsell these quiet daies endured not verie long. For in processe of time this Valerian being charmed or incensed by a certaine Egyptian, a chiefe ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or inchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his magicall feats for the christians, was so far instaunced to and bewitched, that through the detestable prouocations of that diuelish Egyptian, he was wholly turned into abominable idols, and to execrable impietie, in sacrificing yong infants, and quartering bodies, and diuiding the intrals of children new borne, and so proceeding in his furie, moued the eight persecution against the christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magicall inchantings, about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred fiftie and nine.

## The eight persecution.

In the which persecution the chiefe administers and executors were Emilianus president of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus viceregent of Rome, and of Perennius. Tiuicentius speaketh also of Nicetius and Claudius presidents, &c.

What was the chiefe originall cause of this persecution, partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and politicall cause to S. Cyprian the which other causes more speciall and ecclesiasticall in his fourth booke, epist. 4. whose words be these: But we (saith he) must vnderstand and confesse, that this turbulent oppression and calamitie, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole companie, and doth daily consume, riseth chiefely of our slowe wickednesse and sinnes, while we walke not in the way of the Lord, nor obserue his precepts left vnto vs for our institution. The Lord obserued the will of his Father in all points, but we obseue not the will of the Lord, hauing all our minde and studie set vpon lucre and possessions, giuen to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicitie and faithfull dealing, renouncing this world in word onely, but nothing in deed, euery man pleasing himselfe, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges doe we not deserue, when the confessors themselues (such as haue bid the triall of their confession) and such as ought to bee an example to the rest of well doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puft vp with this swelling and vnmannerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send vs to the crowne, except by the mercie of God, some being taken away by quicknesse of death, doe preuent the tediousnesse of punishment. These things doe wee suffer for our sinnes and deserts, as by the Lords censure we haue been forewarned, saying: If they shall forsake my law and will not walke in my iudgements; if they shall prophane my institutions, and will not obserue my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) wee feele, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our euil deeds. Wherfore the said Cyprian adding this exhortation withall, exhorted them to pray and entreat from the bottome of their heart and whole mind, the mercie of God, which promiseth, saying: But yet my mercie I will not scatter from them, &c. Let vs aske, and we shall obtaine; and though (saith Cyprian) it be with tariance, yet for so much as wee haue grieuously offended, let vs continue knocking, for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our praiers, sighings & weepings knock till at the doore with continuance, and if our praiers be ioined together with brotherly agreement, &c. Moreouer, what vices were then principally raigning among the christians, hee further specifieth in the said epistle, which chiefly were diuision & dissension among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a vision by these words, *Petite & impetrabitis*, that is, Pray, and ye shall obtaine: afterward it was required of the congregatiō there present, to direct their prayers for certaine persons affigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condesend altogether of the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissonant in their content and petition: which thing (saith Cyprian) did greatly displease him that spake vnto them; Pray, and ye shall obtaine, for that there was no vniforme equalitie of voice and heart, nor one simple and ioynt concord among the brethren, wherof it is written in the sixty and seuenth Psalme; God which maketh to dwell in the house together men of one accord, &c. And so by the occasion hereof, hee writeth vnto them in the foresaid epistle, and moueth them to prayer and mutuall agreement. For (saith he) it is be promised in the gospell to be granted whatsoeuer any two consenting together shall aske, what shall then the whole church do agreeing together? Or what if this vnanimity were among the whole fraternity? Which vnanimitie (saith Cyprian) if it had bin then among the brethren, *Non ouenissent fratribus haec mala, si in omnem fraternitatem fuisset animata*, that is: These euils had not hapned to the brethren, if the brethren had ioyned together in brotherly vnanimitie, &c.

After the causes thus declared of this or other persecutions, the said S. Cyprian moreouer in the forenamed epistle (worthie to be read of all men) describeth likewise a certaine vision, wherein was shewed vnto them by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this. There was a certaine aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a yong man verie sad and pensiue, as one with an indignation sorrowfull, holding his hand vpon his brest, his countenance heauie and vncheerefull. On the left hand sate another person, hauing in his hand a net, which he threatned to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marueilling that saw the sight thereof, it was said vnto him: The yong man whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad & sorie that his precepts be not





The first banishment of Cyprian.

Cyprian. lib. 3. epist. 6.

Lucius bishop of Rome banished.

Anno 256.

Primats, metropolitans, archbishops.

The epistle decretall of Lucius bishop. Superordinances of Lucius.

Lawfull to appeale to Rome.

Ornaments and holy vessels seruing for the altar.

The pompous stile of the church of Rome.

Dist. 81. minist.

Ministers restrained from their owne wiues.

Eusebius and Damasus varie in time.

Lucius bishop of Rome, martyr.

Stephanus bishop of Rome, martyr.

Bishops banished in the time of Gallus.

The censure of the decretall epistles and ordinances of Stephanus.

Gallus and Volusianus emperours slaine. Emilianus emperour three months.

Valerianus and Gallienus his sonne emperour.

Persecution ceased for a time.

The good beginning of Valerian.

No bishop ought to be accused, after he be expulsed, before he be restored again.

Ex Dionysio ciuente. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 10. & Niceph. lib. 6. cap. 10.

Wicked counsell what euill it doth.

The number of the poore found at Rome by the Church goods.

The eight persecution. Anno 259.

The chiefe occasion of this persecution.

The speciall causes of this persecution.

Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.

The sinnes of the christians cause of persecution.

Discord and diuision among the brethren.

Psalm. 67.

Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.

A vision for shewing persecution to come.

Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 4.

obserued. But he on the left hand danceth and is merrie, for that occasion is giuen him to haue power of the aged father to afflict me. And this vision was seene long before this tempest of persecution hapned, wherin is declared the same that before is said. The sinnes of the people to be the cause why Satan in this persecution and all others, hath had and hath still such power with his net of destruction, to rage against the bloode of christian men, and all because (saith Cyprian) we foreslacke our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we shouldwherefore the Lord beseecheth vs to watch vs, correcteth vs; correcteth vs to amend vs, amendeth vs to saue vs, &c. Cyprian.

Another reuelation geuen to S. Cyprian.

Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle writing of his diuine reuelation or message sent to him, thus saith: And to his leall seruant both sinfull and vnworthie, meaning by himselfe) God of his tender goodnesse hath vouchsafed to direct this word; Tell him (saith he) that he be quiet and of good comfort for peace will come, albeit a little day there is for a while, for that sorte remaine yet to be proued and tried, &c. And shortly also in the same place of another reuelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drinke, lest his mind giuen to heauenly meditation might be caried away with worldly allurements of oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinkes, should be lesse apt or able to prayer and spirituall exercise.

Sparc diet and sober drinke requisite in a christian professor.

The peace of the church to come, foreshewed by the Lord.

Finally, in the latter end of the foresaid epistle mention also followeth of other reuelations or shewings: Wherein the Lord (saith Cyprian) doth vouchsafe in many of his seruants to foreshew to come the restauring of his church, the stable quiet of our health and safegard; after raine faire weather, after darknesse light, after stormie tempest peaceable calme, the fatherly helpe of his loue, the wont and old glorie of his diuine maiestie, whereby both the blasphemie of the persecutor shall be represt, and the repentance of such as haue fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shal reioyce and glorie. Thus much hath S. Cyprian, writing of these things to the clergie. Lib. 4. epist. 4.

Crimes and faults falsely laid to the christians.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the christians, this was the principall: First, because they refused to do worship to their idols and to the emperours, for that they professed the name of Christ; to the emperours then, for that they professed the name of Christ; besides, all the calamities and euils that hapned in the world as warres, famine, and pestilence, were only imputed to the christians. Against all which marshalling accusations, Cyprian doth eloquently defend the christians in his booke Contra Demetrianum: like as Tertullian had done before, writing Contra Scapulam. And first touching the obiection for not worshipping idols, hee cleareth the christians both in his booke *Contra Demetr.* and also *De vanitate idol.* prouing those idols to be no true gods, but images of certaine dead kings, which neither could saue themselues from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimonie of Sosthenes, Plato, and Trismegistus, the which God the christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the christians were thought to be the causes of publike calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles idols, he purgeth the christians thereof, prouing that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Against, for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that toward the end of the world should come warres, famine, and pestilence. Moreouer, if there be any cause thereof more proper then other, it is most like to be imputed to their vaine idolatrie, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such euils be encreased by the wickednesse of the people, so that to speake in his own words, *Famem maiorem facit rapacitas quàm faciebat*, that is, Famine commeth more by auarice of men, then by drought of the aire, but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruell shedding of the innocent blood of the christians, &c.

The apologie of Cyprian for the christians.

*Cyprianus De vanitate idol.*

Thus with many other probations doth Cyprian defend the christians against the barbarous exclamations of the heathen gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full summe, first of his life and bringing vp, then of his death and martyrdome, as the worthinesse of that man deserueth to be remembred. Of this Cyprian therefore, other wise named Statius, thus writeth Pontius, Nazianzenus, Iacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Iolaterranus, Hieronymus, and others, that he being an African and borne in Carthage, first was an idolater and gentile, altogether giuen to the studie and practise of the magicall arts, of whose parentage and education in letters from his youth, no mention is made but that he was a worthie rhetorician in Africa: of whose conuersion and baptisme he himselfe in his first booke and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent historie. Which his conuersion vnto the christian faith as Hieronymus affirmeth in his commentarie vpon Ionas, was through the grace of God and the meanes of Cecilius a priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the historie of the prophet Ionas. The same Hierome moreouer testifieth how he immediatly vpon his conuersion distributed among the poore all his substance, and after that being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeded Agrippinus of whom he often maketh mention, which also was the first author of rebaptisation, or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth vncertain. But this is most true, he himselfe shined in his office and dignitie with such good gifts and vertues, that as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the gouernment of the whole east church, and church of Spaine, and was called the bishop of the christian men.

Cyprian made first priest, then bishop of Carthage.

The vertues of Cyprians life declared.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly vertues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his owne works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthie writers: he was courteous and gentle, louing and full of patience, and therwithall sharpe and seuere in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first booke and third epistle. Furthermore, as he was most louing and kind toward his brethren, and took much paine in helping and relieuing the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons of his bishoprike, that with all study and endeuour they should gentlie entertaine and cherish pleasure vnto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The care of Cyprian toward the afflicted but christians.

The third epistle of his first booke doth declare of what stomache and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marueilous modestie, whereby he attempted nothing vpon his owne head and iudgement, but with the consent of his fellow bishops and other inferior ministers: and that chiefely (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third booke witnesse. He was of a marueilous liberall disposition towards the poore brethren of other countries: for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poore men to his fellow officers, and wrote vnto them, that of their owne proper goods they would helpe their banished brethren to that which was necessarie for them, as writeth the twentie and fourth epistle of his third booke. He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was indued, as touching the visions and heauenly admonitions of the persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the gouernment of the church in his first booke and third epistle, and fourth booke and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the forme or manner of a certaine vision which we haue before sufficiently expressed.

The modestie of Cyprian in conferring with his fellow brethren.

Visions concerning the troubles and peace of the church, recited and expounded by Cyprian.

He had moreouer great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the first epistle of his fourth booke. Also Augustine doth attribute vnto him many worthie vertues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humilitie, in his second booke of baptisme, the fourth chapter, against the Donatists, and in his seuenth booke and eleuenth chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also of his courtesie and meekenesse: by which vertues he concealed nothing that he vnderstood, but vttered the same meekely and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiasticall peace and concord with those that were of another opinion then he was of. Lastly, that he neither circumcised nor did preiudice any man, but setteth out that thing which seemed good in his iudgement, it is manifest in S. Augustine his first booke, De baptismo contra Donatistas. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that Hierome writeth that he was verie diligent in reading, especially the workes of Tertullian: for he saith that he saw a certaine old man whose name was Paulus, which told him he saw the notarie of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man when he himselfe was but a springall in the citie of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprians wont, neuer to let one day passe without some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say vnto him: Giue me my master, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Cyprian marke and pattent.

Cyprian a great reader of Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdome. Of his epistles which he wrote backe to his congregation, treading his life in exile, mention is made aboue, wherein he sheweth the vertue beseeming a faithfull pastour, in that he tooke no lesse care as well of his owne church, as of other bishops being absent, then he did being present. Wherein also he himselfe doth signifie that voluntarily he abiected himselfe, lest he should do more hurt then good to the congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolat places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth vnto his brethren, as in his third booke and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to be done in the raigne of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned againe out of exile in the raigne of this Valerianus, he was also after that the second time banished of Paternus the proconsull of Africa into the citie of Churbin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth; or else as Pontius the deacon saith, into a citie named Furabilitana, or Cucabitana. But when Paternus the proconsull was dead, Galienus Marinus succeded in the rome and office of Paternus, who finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his sergeants, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the proconsull breaking forth in these words, said: Long hast thou liued in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracie, and hast shewed thy selfe an enemie to the gods

The second banishment of Cyprian.

The apprehension of Cyprian.



gods of the Romans, and to their holy lawes: neither could the sacred emperours Valerianus and Galienus reuoke thee to the feat of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to haue his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his necke to the stroke of the sword (as Hieronymus affirmeth.) And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord, Iesus then being bishop of Rome, as Eusebius noteth, in the yeare of our Lord two hundred fiftie and nine. Sabellicus saith that he was martyred in the raigne of Galius and Volusianus, Lucius being bishop of Rome: but that seemeth not like.

The martyrdome of Cyprian.

Anno 259.

The bookes of Cyprian.

Now remaineth to speake something likewise of his workes and bookes left behind him, although all peraduenture do not remaine that he wrote: whereof some are missing, some against which in the inuerie of his name and title, are not his: but such as be certainely his by the stile and sense may some be discerned: such is the eloquence of his phrase, and grauitie of his sentence, vigor of wit, power in perswasion, so much differing from many others, as hee can lightly be imitated but of fewe. Of the which his bookes with vs extant, as the flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the schole of Rhetoricians, so is the authoritie thereof no lesse of reputation, not only among vs of this age of the church, but also among the ancient fathers. Whereof Saint Augustine speaking in his commendation, saith: Ego (inquit) litteras Cypriani non vt canonicas habeo, sed eas ex canonicis confidero: & quod in eis diuinarum scripturarum autoritati congruit cum laude eius accipio: quod autem non congruit, cum pace eius respuo, &c. By which words it may appeare that Augustine, although he did not repute the bookes and writings of Cyprian to be equiualent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding next after the holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

The iudgement of Augustine vpon the bookes of Cyprian. *August. contra Cresconium. lib. 2. cap. 32.*

Tertullus and Lazarus Celestinus reciting the names of diuers bookes, bearing the title of Cyprian (more perchance then he truly hath) do collect out of them a certaine extract of his most wholsome sentences, all which here to repeat were to tedious. To giue a taste of the speciall, I thought it not impertinent. As where he speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth, saying:

Sentences of Cyprian collected. *Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 63.*

Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.
Let it not sleepe in thy treasures, that may profit the poore.
Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine, cor semper nouas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones proferendo.
Two things neuer war old in man, the heart euer imagining new cogitations, the tongue euer in vttering the vaine conceptions of the heart.
Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro diuina remuneratione distribuendum est.
That which a man must needs forgo of necessitie, willesome it is a man to distribute so, that God may euerlastingly reward him.
Disciplina est morum præsentium ordinata correctio, & malorum præteritorum regularis obseruatio.
Discipline is an ordinat amendment of manners present, and a regular obseruation of euils past.
Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, vbi qui improbos damnent, desunt: & soli qui damnentur, occurrunt.
Where can be no integritie, where as they which should condemne the wicked are euer wanting: and they only which are to be condemned, are euer present.
Auari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent, vt ne alteri possidere liceat.
A couetous man only possesseth his goods for this, because another should not possesse them.
Sericum & purpurum induræ, Christum induere non possunt.
Women that aduance themselues in putting on silkes and purple, cannot lightly put on Christ.
Fœminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præsagio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.
They which colour their lockes with red and yellow, begin betime to prognosticat of what colour their haire shall be in hell.
Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quàm creauit Deus; metuant ne cùm resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.
They which loue to paint themselues in this world other wise must beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed martyrs were holy men; yet notwithstanding they were men, that is, such as might haue, and had their falles and faults: men I say, and not angels, nor gods, saued by God, not saniours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthie doctors, yet with their learning they had their errours also annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be) of great authoritie, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said it must stand for a truth. What preheminence of authoritie only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For

Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum sed erogandum est, quia multorum iam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purganda conscientiæ.
The more children and greater household thou hast at home, the more cause thou hast not to hoord vp, but to dispersle abroad, for that many sinnes are to be redeemed, many consciences are to be purged.

The place of Scripture expounded, *Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat.* Tob. 4. *Ex Cypr. lib. 4. epist. 2.*

¶ Moreouer lest the papists here of should take an occasion by this text, grounded vpon the text of Tob. cap. 4. Almes (saith he) deliuereth from all sinne and death: to build vp the workes of satisfaction, the said Cyprian, lib. 4. epist. 2. more plainly expounded both himselfe, and that place of Scripture, writing in these words: Quia scriptum est, Eleemosyna ab omni peccato & morte liberat: Tob. 4. Non vtique ab ea morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, & à qua nos salutaris baptismi & redemptoris nostri gratia liberauit, sed ab illa quæ per delicta postmodum serpit, &c. that is, Almes doe deliuer from all sinne and from death: Tob. 4. Not from that (saith Cyprian) which the blood of Christ hath once extincted, and from which the wholesome grace of our baptisme, and of our redeuer hath deliuered vs, but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by sinne, &c. Cyprian, lib. 4. epist. 2. By which words it is apparant, that Cyprian meaneth this deliuerance (which commeth by almes giuing) from death and sinne, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death euerlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth saue vs: but for temporall or transitorie punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this booke of sinne. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporall tortures may haue their temporall rewards in this life, and likewise sinnes committed may haue temporall punishments both of vs and in our families, ere eternall salnation standing euermore firme in Christ yet notwithstanding.

How far the authoritie of the doctors ought to extend.

The blemishes and errors of Doctors also.

The foresaid Vincentius moreouer speaking of another booke of Cyprian (although the said book be not numbred in the catalogue of his workes) maketh mention of twelue abuses, or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these:

Twelue abuses in the life of man noted out of Cyprian.

1 Sapiens sine operibus. A wise man without good workes.
2 Senex sine religione. An old man without religion.
3 Adolescens sine obedictia. A yong man without obedience.
4 Diues sine eleemosyna. A rich man without almes.
5 Fœmina sine pudicitia. A woman shamelesse.
6 Dominus sine virtute. A guide without vertue.
7 Christianus contentiosus. A christian man contentious.
8 Pauper superbus. A poore man proud.
9 Rex iniquus. A king vnrighteous.
10 Episcopus negligens. A bishop negligent.
11 Plebs sine disciplina. People without discipline.
12 Populus sine lege. Subiects without law.

As the hue hitherto set forth the communion of Cyprian this blessed martyr: to muse we now take head again, that we do not here incur the old and common danger, which the papists are commonly accustomed to run into, whole fault is alwaies almost to be immoderat and excesse in their procedings, making too much almost of euery thing. So in speaking of the holy Sacraments, they make more of them then both the nature of Sacraments require; not vsing them, but abusing them, not referring or applying them, but adoring them, not taking them in their kind for things godly as they are, but taking them for God himselfe, turning religion into superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselues signified, &c. To the church likewise and ceremonies of thy church, to general councels, to the blessed virgin Marie mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case, not contented to attribute that which is sufficient, they exceed moreouer the bounds of iudgement and beritie, iudging so of the church, and general councels, as though they could neuer, or did neuer erre in any tot. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth both giue; but to say that she was borne without all originall sinne, or to make of her an aduocat, or mother of mercie, there they runne further then truth will beare. The ceremonies were first ordained to serue but onlie for order sake, into the which they haue attributed so much at length, that they haue set in them a great part of our religion, yea and also saluation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein the papist haue not exceded?

The facte of papists to make too much of euerie thing.

The learning of Cyprian ioyned with his blemishes.

Wherefore to auoid this common error of the papists, lie must beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed martyrs were holy men; yet notwithstanding they were men, that is, such as might haue, and had their falles and faults: men I say, and not angels, nor gods, saued by God, not saniours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthie doctors, yet with their learning they had their errours also annexed. And though their bookes be (as they ought to be) of great authoritie, yet ought they not to be equall with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said it must stand for a truth. What preheminence of authoritie only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For

Origen.

of men and doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehension. In Origen (although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular) yet how many things be there, which the church now holdeth not? But examining him by Scriptures, where he said well, they admit him, where otherwise they leave him. In Polycarpus y church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter day after the Jewes. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings: as where he maketh the fasting upon the Sunday or the Sabbath day as great an offence, as to kill Christ himselfe: Ignat. epist. ad Philip. contrarie to this saying of Saint Paul, Let no man judge you in meat and drinke: also where the said Ignatius speaketh De virginitate, and of other things more. Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. Hee seemeth also to defend free will in man, in those things also that be spirituall. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fiftie yeares old, abiding this place of the Gospell: Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, &c. Tertullian (whom Saint Cyprian never had out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliast: also to have been of Montanus set. The same did hold also with Justine, Cyprian, and others, that the Angels fell first for the concupiscence of women: Lib. de habitu mulierum. He defendeth free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the errour of them, which defend the possibilitie of keeping Gods law. Concerning marriage; Vnum matrimonium (inquit) nouimus, sicut vnum Deum: that is, We know (saith he) one marriage, as we know one God; condemning the second marriage, Lib. de Monogam. Diuers other things of like absurditie in him be noted. Justinus also seemeth to have inclined vnto the errour of the Chiliasts, of the fall of certaine Angels by women, of free will of man, of possibilitie of keeping the law, and such others. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholler of Tertullian, vtterly exempt from the blot of them, who contrarie to the doctrine of the church, did hold with rebaptizing of such, as were before baptized of heretikes, whereof speaketh Saint Augustine, misliking the same errour of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second booke Contra Cresconium. Cypriani, inquit, laudem ego consequi non valeo, eius multis literis mea scripta non comparo, eius ingenium diligo, eius ore delector, eius charitatem miror, eius martyrium veneror: non accipio quod de baptisandis hæreticis & schismaticis sensit, &c. Vpon the which matter there was a great contestation betweene the said Cyprian, and Stephan bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himselfe likewise, of Ambrose, Hierome, Chrysostome, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearely passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose at this present to intreat. And thus much concerning the storie of Cyprian the holy learned martyr of Christ.

Polycarpus.

Ignatius.

Irenæus.

Tertullianus.

Justinus.

Cyprian.

Contention between Cyprian and Stephan the bishop of Rome.

Albeit heere is to be noted by the way, touching the life and storie of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of (as is aboue mentioned) who from art magicke was converted to be a christian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward bishop of the same citie, and was martyred vnder Diocletian: whereas this Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, and died vnder Valerianus, as is said, &c. By the decrees of Gratian, dist. 10. quoniam, it appeareth moreover that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus the emperour apostata, long after both these aforenamed: for so giueth the title prefixed before the said distinction, Cyprianus Iuliano imperatori: the distinction beginning: Quoniam idem mediator Dei & hominum homo Christus Iesus, sic actibus propriis, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis vtriusque discernit, &c. Vpon the which distinction the glosse commeth in with these words, saying: that the popedome, and the seat imperiall, haue both one beginning of one, that is, Christ: who was both bishop, and king of kings. And that the said dignities be distincted, albeit the pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both some time. And therefore although they be distincted, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally vnder the other, so that the imperiall dignity is subiect vnder the papal dignitie, as the inferiour is subiect vnder the superiour: that as there is one ruler ouer the whole world, which is God; so in the church is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawfull right of both the heauenly and terrene dominion. Hæc glossa.

Dist. 10. Quoniam.

Glossa. Alium glossæ challenging a deny these words to the pope's hand.

A distinction of Gratian disproued.

Thus much I thought heere to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered vpon Cyprian, which is false, for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred yeares, and so likewise by the other Cyprian, which died martyr vnder Diocletian. Of any Cyprian besides these two we reade not; neither is it credible, that if there were any such Cyprian, he would ouer haue written of any such matter, of the difference and mutuall need of christian emperours and christian popes: when as that emperour being an apostata, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any pope.

Xistus the second bishop of Rome martyr.

About this time, and vnder the same emperour Valerianus suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome, who being accused of his aduersaries, to be a christian, was brought with his fiue deacons to the place of execution, where hee with Nemesius and other his deacons were beheaded and suffered martyrdome. Laurence in the same time being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Xistus (as one being grieued) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the sonne from the father. To whom the bishop answering againe, declared that within three daies he should follow after. In the meane time he willed him to go home & to distribute his treasures, if he had any, vnto the poore. The iudge belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be giuen to the poore, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custodie, commanded him to bring the same to him, according as in the discourse of his storie here vnder written more fully may appeare. Which historie, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthie to be noted of the reader; we haue therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God his glorie thereof in hunt.

Six deacons with Xistus martyr.

Now then as order requireth, let vs enter the storie of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ S. Laurence, whose words and workes deserue to be as freshly and greene in christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurell tree. This thirstie hart longing after the water of life, desirous to passe vnto it through the strait doore of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepheard Xistus, led as an harmelesse lambe of harmefull tyrants to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart inuincible, saying; O deere father whither goest thou without the companie of thy deare sonne? Whither hastnest thou, O reuerend priest without thy deacon? Neuer vsedst thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? hast thou proued me vnnaturall? Now trie (sweet father) whether thou hast chosen a faithfull minister or not? Denedt thou vnto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lords blood? See that thy iudgement be not nullified, whilest thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abasing of the scholar, is the disgracing of the master. What? Peter we not learned that worthie masters haue obtained most worthie fame by the worthie acts of their disciples and scholars? Finally Abraham sacrificed his onely begotten Isaac: Moued Stephan prepared the way to preaching Peter: euen so father declare thy manifold vertues by me thy sonne. Offer thou him that proffereth himselfe; grant that the bloud of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with teares Saint Laurence vttered, not because his master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of deaths cup which hee tasted after.

The true treasure of Christ his church.

The loue and martyrdome of Laurence. Ex Ambros. lib. 1. offic. cap. 41. Ex Prudentio. lib. περὶ στεφ.

The words of Laurence to Xistus.

Then Xistus to his sonne shaped this answere: I forsake thee not O my sonne. I giue thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weake old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lustie and yong thou art, and more lustilie, yea more gloriously shalt thou triumph ouer this tyrant; thy time approcheth, cease to weepe and lament, three daies after thou shalt follow me: decent is it that this space of time come betweene the priest and the Leuit. It may not betseeme thee, O sweet pupill, to triumph vnder thy master, lest it be said he wanted an helper. Why eraued thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I frequently vnto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enioy my presence? Let weake scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those to whom master may ouer the victorie, which haue no need by master to be gouerned. So Helias left behind him his beloued Helisæus. I yeeld vp into thy hands the succession of my vertues. Such was their contention not vnmeet for so godly a paire, and so zealous a ministers, striuing with themselues who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

The answere of Xistus to Laurence.

In tragicall historie we haue it mentioned, that through ioy and admiration, people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himselfe Orestes; Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himselfe to be Orestes: Pilades wishing to die for Orestes, Orestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake, but neither of them might escape death, for both these lours were guiltie of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence the martyr most constant, was by no meanes enforced to make this proffer, sauing only by his ardent zeale and feruent spirit, who thirsting after the cup of martyrdome, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let vs draw neere to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The mercilesse tyrant tenderlanding this vertuous Leuite, not onely to be a minister of the Sacraments, but a distributer also of the church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xistus) promised to himselfe a double prey by the apprehension of one silly soule. First with the rake of auarice to scrape to himselfe the treasure of pore christians, then with the fierie fourke of tyrannie so to toste and turmoile them, that they should wax wearie of their cruell profession: with furious face and cruell countenance the greedie wolfe demanded where this

Some say that this tyrant was Decius the emperour, but that cannot be, considering Valerianus & some other iudge now was called by the name of Decius.

The constant confession of Dionysius and his deacons.



this deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church. Who craning three daies respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the meane time he caused a good number of poore christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answere was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence stretching out his armes ouer the poore, said: These are the pretious treasure of the church, these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ raigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion place. What more pretious iewels can Christ haue, then those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungrie and ye gaue me to eat: I was thirstie, and yee gaue me to drinke: I was harborlesse, and ye lodged me. And againe: Loke what ye haue done to the least of these, the same haue ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our master possesse, then the poore people, in whom he loueth to be seene? Oh, what tongue is able to expresse the furie and madnesse of the tyrants heart! Now he stamped, he skared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boze fomed, his teeth like a helhound grinded. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion he might be called. Kindle the fire (he cried) of wood make no spare. Hath this villaine deluded the emperour? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, teare him with rods, buffet him with fists, braine him with clubs. Iesketh the tyrant to with the emperour? Pinch him with fire tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chaines, and the fire forks, and the greatest bed of iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebell hand and fot, and when the bed is fire hot, on with him: roll him, broile him, rosse him, turne him: on paine of our high displeasure do euery man his office. O ye tormentors. The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

Laurence tormented on the fierie gridiron.

After many cruell handlings, this mackle lambe was laid. I will not say on his firie bed of iron, but on his soft bed of downe. So mightily God brought with his martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of consuming paine, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it vnto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor might seeme to be tormented: the one broyling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed downe with fire pikes for a great space, in the mightie Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

The singular patience of Laurence in his paines.

This side is now rosted enough, turne vp a tyrant great:
Assay whether rosted or raw, thou thinkst the better meat.

O rare and vnaccustomed patience! O faith inuincible! that not only not burneth, but by meanes vnspeakable doth recreat, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted and troubled. And why so mightily comforteth thou the persecuted? Because though they be broyled in Gods pannies yet infallible. Vp thee this glorious martyr ouercommeth his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the christians, sleepeth in peace, and raigneth in glorie. The God of might and mercie grant vs grace, by the life of Laurence to learne in Christ to liue, and by his death to learne for Christ to die, Amen.

The martyrdome and end of blessed Laurence.

Such is the wisedome and prouidence of God, that the bloud of his deare saints (like good seed) neuer falleth in vaine to the ground, but it bringeth some encrease: so it pleased the Lord to worke at the martyrdome of this holy Laurence, that by the constant confession of this worthie and valiant deacon, a certaine souldier of Rome being therewith compuncted and conuicted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptised of him: for the which he being called for of the iudge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded. Henr. de Erford.

A Romane souldier conuerted by Laurence, and martyred.

Under the same Valerianus suffered also Dionysius bishop of Alexandria much affliction and banishment, with certaine other brethren: of the which he writeth himselfe, and is alledged in the ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius, lib. 7. cap. 11. the words whereof tend to this effect. Dionysius with three of his deacons, to wit, Maximus, Faustus, and Cheremon also with a certaine brother of Rome, came to Emilianus then president, who there declared vnto them in circumstance of words how he had signified vnto them the clemencie of his lords and emperors: who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would returne to them, and worship the gods and keepers (as he called them) of their emperie, asking them what answere they would giue him thereunto: trusting as he said that they would not shew themselues ingrateful to the clemencie of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said: All men worship not all gods. but diuers men diuers gods; so as euery one hath in himselfe a mind or phantasie to worship. But wee worship not many nor diuers gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords Valerianus and Galienus the gouernement of their emperie, making to him our prayers incessantly for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the president said: And what hurt is it, but that you may both worship your God, what god soeuer he be, and yet our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods as all men know to be gods. Dionysius answered, We worship none other, but as we haue said. Emilianus the president said: I see you are ingrateful men, and consider not the benignitie of the

Dionysius bishop of Alexandria with his fellowes banished.

Maximus, Faustus, Cheremon, a certaine Roman banished.

The examination of Dionysius before the president.

The constant confession of Dionysius and his deacons.

emperor, therefore you shall remaine no longer in this citie, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libia, vnto a towne called Cephyo: for that place by the commandement of the emperor I haue chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawfull for you, to conuent your assemblies, or to resort, as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your perill be it. And thinke not contrarie, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place as is commanded you. And it followeth more in the said Dionysius speaking of himselfe: And as for me (saith he) although I was sicke, yet he bided me so strictlie to depart, that he would not giue me one daies respit. And how (saith he, writing to Germanus) could I congregat or not congregat any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth: And yet neither am I altogether absent from the copsoll societie of the Lords flocke, but I haue collected them together, which were in the citie, being absent, as though I had been present, absent in bodie, yet present in spirit. And in the same Cephyo, a great congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the citie, as also of them which were remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the doze of his word, although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idols and were conuerted vnto the Lord. And so by us the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which ministerie after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed vs to another place. For Emilianus translated vs from thence to more sharpe and stricter places of Libia, commanded vs to meet all together at the citie Parcota, thinking there to separate vs seuerally into sundrie villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent vs by the way. After we were come thither, it was alleged to me (saith Dionysius) to go to Collusthion, which place I neuer heard of before: which was the more grieue to me, yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was neere to a citie named Paretonium. For as my being at Cephyo got me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, so my hope was that the vicinitie of that place (where I should be) to the citie, might procure the familiaritie and concourse of certaine louing brethren, which would resort and assemble with vs, and so it came to passe, &c.

Infidels conuerted by Dionysius in the banishment. Ex Dionysio contra Germanum. Euseb. lib. 7.

Moreouer the said Dionysius in his epistle Ad Domitium & Dydimum, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth in these words, saying: It were superfluous (saith he) here to recite the names peculiarly of all our brethren slaine in this persecution, which both were many and to me vnknowne. But this is certaine, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wiues, soule piers, simple innocents, and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword obtained victorie, and got the crowne. Some continued a great time, and yet haue been reserued. In the which number am I reserued hitherto to some other opportune time knowne vnto the Lord, which saith: In the time accepted I haue heard thee, and in the day of saluation I haue helped thee, &c. Now as concerning my selfe in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I and Caius, and Faustus, Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the Centurion, were taken away by certaine of the towne of Pareota, I haue declared to you before. Now I and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included in a well place of Libia, distant the space of three daies iourney from Paretonium, &c. And in proceasse further he addeth: In the citie (saith he) were certaine priuily which visit the brethren: of priests, Marinus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons he tides them whom sickenesse hath consumed, Faustus, Eusebius, and Cheremon, are yet alue. Eusebius hath God raised and stirred vp to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to burie the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the president cease yet to this day, cruelly murthering such as he bringht afore him, some tearing with torments, some imprisoning and keeping in custodie commanding that no man should come to them, enquiring also who resorted vnto them. Bet notwithstanding God with cheerefulnes and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted. Hæc Dionysius.

Dionysius long persecuted, at last a martyr.

Concerning these deacons aboue recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus the priest afore said had the ministration of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, vnto the latter persecution, where he being a verie old man at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Eusebius the deacon made bishop of Laodicea. Maximus bishop of Alexandria. Faustus long

As touching Dionysius himselfe, thus the stories report, that he surviuing all these troubles and persecutions, by the prouidence of God, continued after the death of Valerian vnto the twelfth yeare of the raigne of Galienus, which was about the yeare of our Lord two hundred threescore and eight. And so departed in peace in great age, after that he had gouerned the church of Alexandria the space of seuentene yeares, and before that had taught the schole of the said citie of Alexandria

The end and death of Dionysius.

the terme of sixteene yeares, after whom succeeded Sarimus, as is aboue specified. And thus much touching the full storie of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other alsa martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

Paulus, Diocletius, Alexander, a Woman, martyrs.

In Cesarea Palestine suffered also the same time, Paulus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the countrie, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieued with themselues, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishnesse, and towardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselues so cold and faint hearted, in laboring for the crowne of christian martyrdome: first consulting and agreeing with themselues, came to Cesarea, and there stepping to the iudge, declared themselues that they were, and obtained the end they came for, being giuen to the wilde beasts. After which like manner also and in the same citie of Cesarea, a certaine woman whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion was brought before the president, and likewise obtained the same martyrdome. Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 12.

Eu. lib. 8. cap. 1. Three hundred martyrs in Carthage.

Eusseb. Vincent. lib. 11. cap. 8.

Neither was the citie of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be giuen to the speculative glasse of Vincentius, who citing out of Hugo, recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which three hundred martyrs the historie saith thus, that the president setting before them coales and incense to do sacrifice, by a lime kilne, which was there neere at hand, offered into them this condition, either to set incense to the coales for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the fornace of lime: whereupon they all together with a generall motion suddenly rushed into the kilne, and there with the dustie smoke of the lime were smothered. Vincent. Erford.

In Africa also in the citie of Tuburba, the said Vincentius out of the martyrologe inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Sarima, Donatilla, and Secunda, who in the persecution of this Valerian and Gallienus, first had giuen for their drinke vineger and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented, and rubbed with lime: then were scorched upon the fierie gridiron, at last were cast to the wilde beasts, who being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded. Vincent. Erford.

Sarima, Donatilla, Secunda, virgins, martyrs.

Bontius martyr.

In Sutria a citie in Italie, vnder the Alps, one Bontius being there apprehended, by the commandement of Claudius the president, was hanged first upon the racke, then was cast to the wilde beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire: and finally neither touched therewith, (if the storie of Vincentius be true) was beheaded by the ruers side, and his bodie throwne into the flood. where immediatly the same houre, the foresaid Claudius with his assistant Arabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserable vexed, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Eu. lib. 7. cap. 17. Ex Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77. Ex Bergomen. lib. 8. Eusseb. lib. 6. cap. 17.

Zenon martyr.

Zenon also bishop of Verona is said also in the same persecution to haue suffered martyrdome.

Bergomensis cognitus.

Moreouer in the same citie of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis in his eight booke, writing of the storie of Valerianus emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, bishop of the said sect of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was vnder the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approued storie, nor standeth with the truth of time that any such Philip then was bishop of Alexandria, or any other except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteene yeares, and after him Theonas, &c. So that by the ancient records of old writers it appeareth not, that Philippus euer any other of that name was bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other latter writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certaine historie of one Philippus president of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Gallienus, elected by the emperour and senat of Rome, to governe those quarters, where he was at length converted to the christian faith, and after made priest or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria: but that not to be so, the testimonie of ancient writers both resell. The hitstorie of this Philippus twitnessed in our latter chronicles, is this: Philippus being promoted to the presidentship of Alexandria, came downe with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Acutus, and Sergius, and with his daughter named Eugenia, of the which Eugenia a long historie full of strange and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the storie, leauing to the iudgement of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.

Ex Antonino, part. 1. cap. 6.

The storie of Philippus and Eugenia.

Eugenia, Philippus, Claudius, Martirius, Emilenus.

This Eugenia daughter of Philippus, being of singular beautie, and diligently brought vp by her parents in the studie of science and learning, was by occasion of hearing christians, reduced and brought vp to christianitie, with two other eunuchs her schole-fellowes, called Protthus and Hiacinthus: with whom she taking counsell, vpon occasion, whether to auoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marrie with a pagan, vnknowne to her parents and friends did flie away; and because she more boldly she might resist to heare the tydings of Helenus then an aged bishop and of others, changed her selfe into mans apparell, and named her selfe Eugenius, vnder the which name she was at length admitted into a certaine monasterie, of a societie of christians in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly beleeue that any monasterie of christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted) where also at the last for her excellencie of learning and vertue, she was made head of the place.

Eugenia leauing her parents, changeth her selfe into mans apparell.

Helenus bishop of Hieropolis.

Here by the way I omit the miracles of the foresaid Helenus, bishop (as the storie saith) of Hieropolis) how he caried burning coales in his lap, and how he aduentured himselfe to go in the burning fire, to reuil wicked Zenas a pagan, remaining in the same vnburned. Here also I omit the carefull search of her parents for her, and of the answere of the bishop nisse againe vnto them, that she was taken vp to the heauen among the goddesses. I omit moreouer the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The storie proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certaine matrone of Alexandria named Melancia, who after she had sued the helpe and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate loue, seeking by all meanes how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. In so much that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to breake her minde, and to entice her to her lewdnesse. Eugenius contrarie exhorted her to vertue and honestie, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the perill of that folly. Melancia seeing that by no meanes she would be allured nor by force drawne to her desire, and fearing moreouer that she in detecting of her would bring her to shame, beginneth first to make an outcrie of Eugenius, declaring how that she went about corrupthy to dessloure her, and so presenting her accusation before Philippus the president, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that companie. This matter being heard, and the woman well knowne, the crime began to seeme suspicious, and so much the more, because it was obiected against the christians. By reason whereof Eugenius with her fellow christians was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging her selfe and her houstie, although with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding perceiuing that it could take no place, whatsoeuer she said, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her owne selfe, as specially of her brethren which troubled her more: desired of the iudge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and to shewe her selfe that she was, and how she was his daughter, the other to be Protthus and Hiacinthus the two eunuchs, her schole-fellowes, uttering moreouer to him and to her brethren the cause of her departing from them. At the narration where of Philippus her father, and her two brethren comming to the knowledge of her, conceiued no little ioy, in receiuing their Eugenia againe, whom they thought had been lost. No lesse gladnesse was among the people, to see the exultation of the matter so plainly to trie out the truth of the one, and the falsenesse of the other. Whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first for her dishonestie falsely cloaked, secondly so: the untruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth moreouer, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia tryed her honestie to her parents and friends, not only was receiued of them again, but also by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did winne them to Christ. Whereby Philippus the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his owne daughter to a more perfect life, and whom once he thought to haue been lost, not only he found again, but also with her found his owne soule, and his owne life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philippus (saith the storie) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdome. Concerning whose martyrdome I denie not but it may be true, but that he was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently prooued out of Eusebius and other ancient historicians.

Eugenia knowne of her parents.

False accusation conuicted.

The notable plague of God against Christian the persecutor.

Philippus by his daughter conuerted vnto Christ.

Philippus martyr.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia after the martyrdome of her father, returning to Rome with Protthus and Hiacinthus, by occasion of conuerting Basilla (who should haue been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the christian faith, was assailed with sundrie kinds of death, first being tied to a great stone and cast into Tiber, where she was carried vp from drowning, then put in the hot baths, which were extincted, and the preserued: afterward by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendarie miracles I leaue to the reader to iudge of them as shall seeme good vnto him. At last the storie saith, she was with the sword beheaded. Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

Basilla, Eugenius, martyrs.

Ex Eusseb. in sermone ad conuentum Constantinum, Valerian the persecuting emperor excoriat of the Persians.

Gods punishment to be noted.

And because in this present historie mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellowes noteth to be the bishop of Hieropolis, here is to be vnderstood and obserued by the way, that as Philippus in the foresaid historie is falsely said to be bishop of Alexandria, so likewise untrue it is that Helenus was bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, lib. 7. cap. 5. alledging the words of Dionysius, that he was bishop of Tarsus.

Corrections in the storie about touched. Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 5.

Helenus bishop of Tarsus.



bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had there ouersight of that church from the time of our Lord God two hundred fiftie and foure, to the yeare of our redemption, two hundred seuentie and foure.

The first yere of Valerianus and Galienus we reade in the historie of Hertodienus, cited out of Iuardus, of Victor and Victorinus, who lying in prison the space of three yeares with Claudianus & Polla his wife, are said to haue sustained great torments and martyrdome for the testimonie and name of Christ. Ex Iuardo.

The punishment of God vpon Claudius persecutor of the emperor.

Aurelius Prudentius in his book intituled Peristephanon, inscreth mention of Fructuosius bishop of Tarracona in Spaine, who with his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdome, being burned after six daies imprisonment vnder the foresaid emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christs name: their iudge and condemner was Emilianus; their imprisonment indured six daies; the kind of death minstred vnto them was fire; wherin they being all together cast with their armes bound behind them, their bands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolued, their hands vntouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this iudge vnto the bishop was this, that he should worship the gods whom the emperor Galienus worshipped. To whom Fructuosius the bishop answering; Nay (said he) I worship no dumbe God of stocks and blocks, whom Galienus doth worship, but I worship the Lord and maker of Galienus, the father and creator of all things, and his only sonne sent hether to vs, of whose flocke I am here the pastor and shepheard. At this word Emilianus auaunting againe; Nay (saith he) say not thou art, but say thou wast. And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manicles being losed by the fire, they lifted vp their hands to heauen, praising the liuing God to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the element which seemed to rise from them, might worke his full force vpon them, and speedilie dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the meane space as they were in the fire, there was a certaine souldier in the house of Emilianus, who did see the heauens aboue to open and these foresaid martyrs to enter in the same, which souldier likewise shewed the sight the same time vnto the daughter of Emilianus the president, who beholding the same sight with the souldier, was a present witnesse of the blessednesse of them whom her cruell father had condemned.

Fructuosius and his deacons threwish, ned in the fire.

The fauour of God toward his martyrs openly declared.

Another great of Galienus vnto the christian bishops.

> Anno 263 <

Ex Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 15.

At this godly bishop was preparing to his death (saith Prudentius) the brethren approching to him, brought him drinke, desiring him with much weeping to receiue and drinke with them; but that he refused to doe, requiring them moreouer to restraine their teares. With like readinesse the brethren also were diligent about him to plucke off his shoes and hose as he was addelling himselfe to the fire: but neither would he suffer any seruants helpe in that wherein he was no lesse willing as able to helpe himselfe. And thus this blessed and fruitfull bishop Fructuosius with his two deacons Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ with the shedding of their bloud. Aurel. Prudentius, Ado, Equilinus.

The ennobled of Fructuosius.

And this far continued wicked Valerian in his tyrannis against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the christians had their deserued reward at the last hand of God, which tendeth to euery man according to his works: so this cruell Valerian, after he had raigned with his sonne Galienus the terme of five or seuen yeres, and about two yeres had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the full stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had prouoked, thereof we haue to witnesse Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volaterranus: for making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud & treason of some about him, or whether by his owne rashnesse, it is doubtfull: but this is certaine, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of foure score yeres, where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captiuitie. In so much that Sapores the king of the Persians vsed him (and well worthie) not for his riding sole, but for his riding blocke: for whensoeuer the king should light vpon his horse openlie in the sight of the people, Valerian emperor Quondam, was brought forth in stead of a blocke for the king to tread vpon his backe in going to his horseback. And so continued this blockish butcherlie emperour with shame and shoot enough vnto his finall end, as witnesseth Letus and Aurelius Victor.

Valerian a rich senatour and consulor.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certaine sermon to the congregation, declareth a more cruell handling of him, affirming that he was taine, writing in these words: Sed & tu Valeriane, quorum eandem homicidiorum seuitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, iustum Dei iudicium declarasti, dum captiuus ac vinctus vna cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abducêtus, ac tandem a Sapore Persarum rege excoriari iussus, saléque conditus, perpetuum infelicitatis tuæ trophæum erexisti, &c: that is, And thou Valerian for so much as thou hast exercised the same crudelitie in murthering of the subiects of God, therefore hast procured vnto vs the righteous iudgement of God, in that thy selfe hast been bound in chaines, and caried away for a captiue slaue with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperiall attire, and at length also being commanded of Sapores king of the Persians to be slaine and powdered with salt, hast set vp vnto all men a perpetuall monument of thine otone wretchednesse, &c. Euseb.

Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 15.

The like seueritie of God by his terrible iudgement is also to be noted in Claudius his president and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth, that he was possessed and vexed of the diuell, in such sort, that he biting off his owne tongue in many small peces, so ended his life. Erford.

Neither did Galienus the sonne of Valerian after the captiuitie of his father vtterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the vnstable captiuitie of his father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen; also such tumults, commotions and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon vp to the number of thirtie together, which in sundrie places all at one time take vpon them to be tyrants and emperors ouer the monarchie of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succor his father though he would. Notwithstanding the said Galienus being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did renounce; at least did moderat the persecution stirred vp by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperiall proclamation, the tenor whereof is recorded after this effect, as is to be seene in Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 13. Emperor and Cæsar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius Fortunatus, Augustus, vnto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and to all other the like bishops. The bountifull benignitie of my gift, I haue willed and commanded to be proclamed through the whole world, to the intent that such which are detained in banishment for discipline sake, may safelie returne home againe from whence they came; and for the same cause I haue heere sent to you the example of my rescript for you to perufe and to enioy, so that no man so hardie to vexe or molest you; and this which you may now lawfullie enioy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I haue committed the exemplar heereof to the custodie of Aurelianus Cirenius my chiefe steward, where you may fet the copie to see at your pleasure.

Galienus Gaueth for his persecution.

Peace granted to the church.

Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 13.

This mandat aboue prefixed did Galienus send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other christian bishops, permitting to them full libertie to receiue againe their wonted places where they were wont to assemble together, called of them Cœmiteria.

> Anno 263 <

Ex Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 15.

By this it may appeare that some peace was grãted then vnder this Galienus to the church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were which suffered, of whom was one Marinus mentioned in Eusebius lib. 7. This Marinus being a warrior and a noble man in Cesarea, stood for the dignitie of a certaine order, which by alorder of course was next to fall vpon him by right, had not the enuious ambition of him that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life: for he accused him to be a christian, and therefore did take that he was not to be admitted vnto their offices, which was against their religion. Whereupon Achæus then being iudge examined him of his faith, who finding him to be a christian in deede, and constantly to stand to his profession, gaue him three houres to deliberat and aduise with himself. There was the same time in Cesarea a bishop named Theotechnus, otherwise called Theotecnus bishop of Cesarea.

Theotechnus bishop of Cesarea.

Who perceiuing him to stand in doubtfull deliberation and perplexitie in himselfe, tooke him by the hand and brought him into the house or church of the christians, laying before him a sword (which he had vnder his cloke for the same purpose) and a booke of the new testament, and so willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The souldier immediatlie without delay ran to the booke of the gospell, taking that before the sword. And thus he being animated by the bishop, presented himselfe boldlie before the iudge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr. Eusebius ibidem.

Warning and matter by the bishop to die.

Eusseb. ibid.

Whose bodie being dead, one Aspasius a noble senator of Rome, and a man very wealthie among the chiefe of that order (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdome) tooke vp and bare vpon his owne shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honorable committed it to the buriall. Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Aspasius a rich senator and consulor.

Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which Aspasius the said author writeth moreouer this storie: how that in the foresaid citie of Cesarea, the Gentils vsed there of an ancient custome to offer vp a certaine sacrifice by a fountaine side, the which sacrifice by the working of the diuell was wont suddenly to vanquish out of their eies, to the great admiration of the inhabiters by. Aspasius seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting vp his eies to heauen, made his prayer to almightie God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the diuell any longer: by the vertue of whose prayer the sacrifice was seene to swim in the water of the fountaine, and to the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.

The wonder of Satan by aspasius prayer of Aspasius.

Eusseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.

And

And because mention is made here of Cesarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same citie was the woman which in the gospell came to our saviour, and was healed of her bloudie issue, her house being in the citie of Cesarea. Before the doze thereof was set up a certaine pillar of stone, and upon the pillar an image was made of brasse, of a woman kneeling, kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had some suite. Against the which there was another image also of a man proportioned of the same mettall, cunningly engraven in a short semelie vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foote of which pillar greew up a certaine herbe of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation, which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have such vertue, that it was able to cure all maner of diseases. This picture of the man they saw (reported) to have framed the image of Christ. The historie is written in Eusebius, as is said, the credit whereof I referre to the reader, whether he will thinke it true or false. If he thinke it false, yet I haue shewed him mine author: if he thinke it true, then must he thinke withall that this miraculous operation of the herbe proceeded neither by the vertue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumbe pictures, and ingrauen no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels, but to be wrought by some secret permission of God his wisedome, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the beleefe of the stone, or to admonish the christians to consider with themselues what strength, health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other aduocat, seeing the dumbe picture ingrauen in brasse, gaue his efficacy to a poore herbe to cure so many diseases. This picture (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time which was vnder Constantinus the great.

A miracle noted in Euse. lib. 7. cap. 18.

A miraculous gift which an herbe touching the hem of Christs vesture is said to haue had.

As touching the late and order of the Romane bishops hitherto intermitted, after the martyrdome of Xistus above prefixed, the gouernment of that church was committed next vnto one Dionysius, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred fiftie and fiue, who continued in the same the space of nine yeeres, as Eusebius saith; as Damasius recordeth but onlie fiue yeeres and two monethes. Of his decretall epistles because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speake. After whom succeeded Felix in the first yeere of Probus the emperor, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred and eightie, who governed that church fiue yeeres, and died as Platina saith a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Caius, both martyrs, as the histories of some doe record.

Dionysius bishop of Rome. Anno 260.

Felix bishop of Rome and martyr.

Eutychianus bishop of Rome and martyr.

Caius bishop of Rome and martyr.

About the time of these bishops lived Theodorus bishop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called Gregorius Magnus, whom also Nicephorus for his miracles calleth Θαυματοργὸν.

Claudius emperor. Anno 270.

Thus Galienus the foresaid emperor raigned as is declared, with his father Valerian seuen yeeres, after whose captiuitie he ruled the monarchie alone about nine yeeres, with some peace and quietnesse granted to the church.

The dates of this Galienus being expired, followed Claudius a quiet emperor, as most stories doe record. Although Nicentius affirmeth that he was a monster of persecution against the christians, and maketh mention of two hundred fortie and two martyrs, which in his time did suffer; but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius, who would not haue omitted some memorial thereof if it had been true, therefore I refer the same to the free iudgement of the reader to find such credit as it may. This Claudius raigned but two yeeres, after whom came Quintilianus, his brother next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only seuentéene dates, and had to his successor Aurelianus, vnder whom Dositus in his seuenth booke doth number the ninth persecution against the christians.

Quintilianus emperour.

## The ninth persecution.

The ninth persecution raised vnder Aurelianus emperour.

HItherto from the captiuitie of Valerian the church of Christ was in some quietnesse till the death of Quintilianus, as hath been declared: after whom Aurelianus the next successor possessed the crowne, who in the first beginning of his raigne (after the common maner of all princes) shewed himselfe a prince inclined and diuerse, much worthie of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature hee was seuere and rigorous in conuersing, dissolute in maners, in so much that it was said of him in a vulgar prouerbe, that he was a good physician, sauing that he gaue to bitter medicines. This emperor being sicke, neuer sent for physician, but cured himselfe with abstinence, and as his beginning was not vnfruitfull to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the christians, when he did not only tolerat in their religion, but also in their councell, & brung the same time assembled at Antioch, seemed not to be a gratuit them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time through sinister information and instigation of certaine about him (as commonlie such are neuer absent in all places from the cares of princes) his nature somewhat inclinable to seueritie, was altered to a plaine tyrannie, which tyrannie first he shewed beginning with the death of his owne sisters sonne, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to mooue, or at least to purpose persecution against the christians; albeit that wicked purpole of the emperor, the mercifull working of God his hand did soone ouerthrow. For as the edit or proclamation should haue been denounced for the persecuting of the christians, and the emperor now readie to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mightie stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from aboue did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperors hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to worke any violence against the seruants of God, vnlesse his permission do suffer them, and giue them leaue. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Iornandes affirme, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to raise persecution against vs, he was suddenly terrified with lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyrannie. Not long after about the fift or sixt yeere of his raigne, he was slaine betweene Isdiance and Byzacales, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred seuentie and eight. Thus Aurelianus rather intended then moued persecution. Neither is there any more then this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church: therefore I marueil the more that Vincentius collecting out of the martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments vnder this emperor Aurelianus, whereunto Dositus also seemeth to agree in numbring this to be the ninth persecution vnder the said Aurelian.

Ex Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30.

No power against the people of God, except God giue leaue.

The death of Aurelianus. Anno 276

Next after Aurelianus the succession of the emperie fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who raigned but fiue monethes. him succeeded his brother Florianus, who raigned but three score daies, and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appeare.

Ex Eutropio: Tacitus emperour. Florianus emperour.

In the meane time within the compasse of these emperors raigne in a storie recorded of Eusebius, not vnworthie here to be noted, whereby to vnderstand the faithfull diligence of good writers, what good it may doe in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred vp to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bands, & to burie the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great perill of his owne life, and after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, it chanced the said Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the citie to be besieged of the Romans, Pyrrhus being there captaine. In which siege halfe of the citie did hold with the Romans, the other halfe withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captaine was Eusebius, being also in great fauor with the captaine for his worthie fidelitie and seruice shewed: with the other halfe that resisted the Romans, was Anatholius governor or moderator then of the schole of Alexandria, who also was bishop after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius perceiuing the citizens to be in miserable distresse of famine and destruction, by reason of penurie and lacke of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius being then with the Romans, & certifieth him of the lamentable penurie and perill of the citie, intreating him to procure that for hope in the matter. Eusebius vnderstanding the case, repaireth to the captaine, desiring of him so much fauour, that so many as would issue out of the city from their enemies, might be licenced to escape and freelie to passe; which was to him easilie granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captaine, on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the citizens, mouing them to assemble together, and persuading them to giue themselues ouer, in yeelding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof: Yet (said Anatholius) this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lacke of things to auoid out of your citie all such superfluities and vnnecessarie impediments vnto you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not to suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no good to you if they die, and lesse if they liue, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serue them that be more able to defend the citie. The feruat hearing this sentence, and vnderstanding moreouer the grant of the captaine, promising them their safetie, were well consenting thereunto. Then Anatholius hauing a speciall care to them that belonged to the church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and perswading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to hold the citie, and not onlie them, but also a great number of other mo, who perswaded by him vnder that pretense, changing themselues in womens apparell, or feining some impotencie, so escaped out of the citie. At whose comming out, Eusebius on the other side was readie to receiue them, and refreshed their hungrie and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole citie of Alexandria was preserued from destruction. Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 32.

Eusebius deacon of Alexandria.

Anatholius bishop of Laodicea.

The pietie of Anatholius and Eusebius to their country.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 32.

By this little hill ozie of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the seuenth booke of Eusebius, cap. 32. and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle reader) thou maiest partly vnderstand the practise of the prelats, what it was in those daies in the church, which was then only employed in sauing of life, and labozing the common weales wherein they liued, as by these two godlie



godly persons Eusebius and Anatholius may well appeare. Vnto the which practise if we compare the practise of our latter prelats of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appeare.

The yeeres of Eusebius and Anatholius.

Marcus Aurelius Probus emperor. Peace in the church.

The next emperour to Florianus (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wise and vertuous, and no lesse valiant in martiall affaires, as fortunat in the successe of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church, but much quietnesse, as well in matters of religion, as also in the commonwealth. In so much that after his great and many victories, such peace insued, that his saying was, there needed no more souldiers, seeing there were no more enemies to the commonwealth to fight against. It was his saying also, that his souldiers need not to spend coyne and victuall, except they laboured to serue the commonwealth. And for the same cause he caused his souldiers to be set a worke about certain mountaines in Sirmyria and in Bessia to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest, therefore by them at length he was slaine, after he had raigned the space of fiue yeeres and foure monethes, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred eightie and foure: Eutrop.

The saying of Marcus Aurelius.

Souldiers brought vp in idlenes can abide no labour.

Marcus Aurelius slaine. Anno 284

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus succeeded next after Probus in the empire, the raigne of which emperors continued in all but three yeeres. Of the which three first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slaine with lightning. Of Numerianus his sonne, being with his father in his warres against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, which testified of him to be a valiant warriour, an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings sent to the senat; thirdlie, to be an excellent poet. This Numerianus sozowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderat weeping fell into a great sozenesse of his eies, by reason where of he weping close, was slaine not long after of his father in law, named Aper, who straight vpon his slaying to the empire, dissembled his death with a faire excuse to the people, alleging for him, saying, for the pause of his eies he kept him from the wind and weather, till at length by the stinch of his bodie being carried about, his death was vttered.

Carus with his two sonnes Carinus and Numerianus slaine with lightning.

Eutropius: Lactius emperour. Florianus emperour.

Correction of a certaine place of Eutropius, ex editione Probeniana.

In the life of this emperour Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the latter edition set forth by Frobenius, I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appeare) that Numerianus the sonne of this Carus, was he that slue Babylas the holy martyr, whose historie before we haue comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chrysostom, and also for that Vrbegenius declaring the same historie, and in the same words, as it is in Eutropius, saith that it was Cyzillus whom Numerianus killed, the sozie wherof is this: That time Carus the emperour in his iourne going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his son would enter into the church of the christians, to view and behold their mysteries. But Cyzillus their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying that it was not lawfull for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols. Numerianus full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyzillus, in his furie did slay the godly martyr. And therefore iustly (as it seemed) was he himselfe slaine afterward by the hands of Aper.

Eusebius restoreth the emperour.

Cyzillus bishop of Antioch martyr.

Ex Chroni. Vrspergen.

Thus Carus with his sonne Numerianus being slaine in the east parts, as is declared, Carinus the other sonne raigned alone in Italie, where he ouercame Sabinus striuing for the empire, and raigned there with much wickednesse, till the returning home of the armie against to the Persians, who then set vp Diocletian to be emperor, by whom the foresaid Carinus for the wickednesse of his life, being forsaken of his bank, was ouercome, and at length slaine with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two sonnes, Numerianus and Carinus, ended their liues, whose raigne continued not aboue three yeeres.

Carinus emperour slaine. Adulterie punished.

The wrath of God toward his people.

All this meane space we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but was in meane quiet state and tranquillitie, vnto the nintenth yeere of the raigne of Diocletian, so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian, vnto this aforesaid yeere of Diocletian, the peace of the church which God gaue to his people, seemeth to continue aboue foure and fortie yeeres. During the which time of peace and tranquillitie, the church of the Lord did mightily increase and flozish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honor and reuerence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous, in so much that (as Eusebius in his seuenth booke describeth) amongst the emperours themselues, diuers there were which not onely bare singular good will and fauor to them of our profession, but also did commit vnto them offices and regiments ouer countries and nations, so well were they affeared to our doctrine, that they panished the same with libertie and indemnitie. What needeth to speake of them which not onely lined vnder the emperors in libertie, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselues, intertained with great honor and speciall fauour beyond the other seruitors of the court? As was Dorotheus with his wife, children, and whole familie, highly accepted and

The yeeres of the church from Valerian to the tenth persecution rased vnder and fortie yeeres. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Dorotheus, Gorgonius, christians of great reputation in the emperors court.

The peaceable state of the church after-wards.

Corruption through much peace and prosperitie emongst the christians.

Hatred and disdaine among the christians.

Christians persecuting one another.

Diocletian emperour. Eutr. Vopis.

Ayer slaine which slue Numerianus.

advanced in the palace of the emperour, also Gorgonius in like manner with diuers others more, who for their doctrine & learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like reuerence also were the bishops of cities and dioceses, with the presidents and rulers where they liued: who not onely suffered them to liue in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselues vpright, and continued in God his fauor. Who is able to number at that time the mightie and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in euery citie, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great churches new builded from the foundation for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by processe of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot by daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither enuie of men could infringe, nor any diuell could inchant, neither the craftie policie of mans wit could supplant: so long as the protection of God his heauenly arme went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of christian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of it selfe vnruile and vntoward, alwaies seeketh and desireth prosperitie, and yet can neuer well vse prosperitie, alwaies would haue peace, and yet hauing peace alwaies abuseth the same: so here likewise it happened with these men, which through this so great libertie and prosperitie of life began to degenerat and languish into idlenesse and delicacie, and one to worke spite and contumelie against another, striuing and contending amongst themselues for euery occasion, with railing words after most despitefull maner: bishops against bishops, and people against people, mooting hatred and sedition one against another, byelines also cursed hypocrisie and dissimulation with all extremitie increasing more and more. By reason whereof the iudgement of God after his wonted maner (whilest yet the congregation began to multiplie) began by a little and a little to visit our men with persecution, falling first vpon our brethren which were aboade in warfare, but when that toucht the other nothing or very little, neither did they seeke to appease Gods wrath, and call for his mercie, but wickedlie thinking with our selues, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one vpon another, and they which seemed to be our pastors, refusing the rule of pietie, were inflamed with mutuall contentions one against another. And thus whilest they were giuen onely to the study of contentions, threatnings, emulations, mutuall hatred, and discord, euerie man seeking his owne ambition, and perseuting one another after the manner of tyrannie: then, then, I say, the Lord according to the voice of Jeremie tooke away the beautie of the daughter of Sion, and the glozie of Israel fell downe from heauen, neither did he remember the footstoole of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord ouerturned all the comelie ornaments of Israel, and destroyed all her goodlie buildings, and according to the saying of the psalme, subuerted and extinguished the testament of his seruant, and prophaned his sanctuarie in destruction of his churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquie to all the diuellers about. For he hath exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the helpe of his sword from her, nor aided her in the battell, but eraled from the purging of her and her seat. He strooke downe to the ground, and diminished her dates, and ouer all this powred vpon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled vpon vs, when we saw the temples raced from the top to the ground, and the sacred scriptures to be burnt in the open market place, and the pastors of the church to hide themselues some here, some there, some other taken prisoners with great shame, were mocked of their enemies, when also according to the saying of the prophet in another place: Contempt was powred out vpon the princes, and they caused to goe out of the way, and not to keepe the straight path.

## The tenth persecution.

The tenth persecution.

BY reason whereof (the wrath of God being hinded against his church) insued the tenth and last persecution against the christians, so horrible and grieuous, that mateth the pen almost to tremble to write vpon it; so tedious that neuer was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten yeeres together. This persecution although it passed through the hands of diuers tyrants & workers more then one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Diocletian, who was emperor as is aboue noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Diocletian euer hauing an ambitious mind, aspired greatlie to be emperour. To whom Dyuas his concubine said, that first he should kill a wild bore before he should be emperor. He taking effect at these words, vsed much with hands to kill wild boares: but seeing no successe to come thereof, vsed this prouerbe: Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur, that is: I kill the boars, but others do eat the flesh. At length the said Diocletian being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the emperour)

Anno 295. Maximianus Herculius, & Constantius Chlorus made Emperors.

Anno 303. Dioclesian & Maximian the 8. time Consuls. Dioclesian celebrateth his Triumph. Persecution. Christ is borne 303. yeares before the same.

Christian temples destroyed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2.

Bookes of the Scriptures burned.

Christian magistrates displaced.

Christian subiects imprisoned. Euseb. lib. 8. c. 3. Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 1. Zonaras tom. 2. Bishops and others constrained with torments to sacrifice.

perour, standing thereby ſware to the ſouldiers that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running vpon Aper with his ſword, ſlue him: Vopiſc. After this he being ſtabbed in the empire, and ſeeing on every ſide diuers and lamentable commotions riſing vp againſt him, which he was not well able hiuſelfe to ſuſtaine, in the firſt beginning of his reigne he thruſteth foorth his callegue Maximianus ſurnamed Herculius, father of Serpentius. Which two emperors, becauſe of diuers warres that roſe in many prouinces, choſe to them two other noble men, Galerius and Conſtantius, whom they called Ceſars. Of whom Galerius was ſent into the eaſt parts againſt the Perſians. Conſtantius was ſent ouer to Britaine to take the iuriſdiction of England to recouer the tribute, where he ſojourned to wife Helena the daughter of king Coill, which was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no leſſe famouſlie brought vp in the ſtudie of learning, of whom was borne Conſtantinus the great.

All this while hitherto no perſecution was yet ſtirred of theſe foure princes againſt the church of Chriſt, but quietly and moderately they gouerned the commonwealth; wherefore according to God proſpered their doings & affaires, & gaue them great victories. Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Aphrike and in France, Galerius in Perſia, Conſtantius in Scotland and in France alſo. By reaſon of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian puft vp in pride, ordained a ſolemne triumph at Rome, after which triumph Dioclesian gaue commandement that he would be worſhipped as God, ſaying, that he was brother to the ſunne and moone, and adorning his ſhoes with gold and pretious ſtones, commanded the people to kiſſe his feet.

And not long after by the iudgement of God, for certaine occaſions vſed in the church, aboue touched, began the great and grieuous perſecution of the chriſtians, mooued by the ragious crueltie of Dioclesian, which was about the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, who in the moneth of March, when the feaſt of Eaſter was nie at hand, commanded all the churches of the chriſtians to be ſpoiled and caſt to the earth, and the bookes of holy ſcripture to be burned.

Thus moſt violent edicts and proclamations were ſet foorth, for the ouerthrowing, as is ſaid, of the chriſtians temples throughout all the Romane empire. Neither did there want in the officers any cruell execution of the ſame proclamations. For their temples were defaced euen when they celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the firſt edict giuen out by Dioclesian. The next proclamation that came forth, was for the burning of the bookes of the holy ſcripture; which thing was done in the open market place as before: then next vnto it were edicts giuen foorth for the diſplacing of ſuch as were magiſtrats, and that with great ignominie, and all other whatſoeuer bare any office; impriſoning ſuch as were of the common ſort, if they would not abiure chriſtiantie, and ſubſcribe to the heathen religion: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 8. Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonoras alſo in his ſecond tome. And theſe were the beginning of the chriſtians euils.

It was not long after but that new edicts were ſent foorth, nothing ſo to their cruelties inferiour to the firſt: for the caſting of the elders and biſhops into priſon, and then conſtraining them with ſundrie kinds of puniſhments, to offer vnto their idols. By reaſon whereof inſued a great perſecution amongſt the gouernours of the church, amongſt whom many ſtood manfully, paſſing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were ouercome therewith, being tormented and examined diuers of them diuerſlie, ſome ſcourged all their bodies euen with whips and ſcourges, ſome with ſtacks, a paſſing of the ſtaffe intolerable were cruciated; ſome one way, ſome another way put to death. Some againe violently were drawne to the impure ſacrifice, and as though they had ſacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let goe. Other ſome neither conuming at all to their altars, nor touching any peece of their ſacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed, and ſo ſuffering that falſe infamation of their enemies, quietly went awaie. Other as dead men were caried and caſt alway, being but halfe dead. Some they caſt downe vpon the pauement, and trailing them a great ſpace by the heles, made the people beleeue that they had ſacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which ſtoutly withſtood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no ſuch ſacrifice. Of whom ſome laid they were chriſtians, and gloried in the profeſſion of that name; ſome cried ſaying, that neither they had, nor would euer be partakers of that idolatrie: and thoſe being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the ſouldiers, were made to hold their peace, and ſo thruſt out with violence. And if the ſaints did ſeeme nor ſo little to doe what the enemies would haue them, they were made much of: albeit all this purpoſe of the aduerſarie did nothing preuaile againſt the holy and conſtant ſeruants of Chriſt. Notwithſtanding, of the weake ſort innumerable there were, which for feare and infirmitie fell and gaue ouer, euen at the firſt brunt.

Sinceritie required in the true ſeruice of God.

At the firſt comming downe of theſe edicts into Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worth of memorie, of a chriſtian, being a noble man borne, which r. moued by the zeale of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was ſet vp, by and by rent and teare downe the ſame, and openly tare and rent it in peeces, not fearing the preſence of the two emperours, then being in the citie. For which act he was put to a moſt bitter death, which death he with great faith and conſtancie endured euen to the laſt gaſpe. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3. & 5.

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 5.*

After this the furious rage of the malignant emperours, being let looſe againſt the ſaints of Chriſt, proceeded more and more, making hauocke of Gods people throughout all quarters of the world. Firſt Dioclesian (which had purpoſed with himſelfe to ſubuert the whole chriſtian religion, executed his tyrannie in the eaſt) and Maximianus in the weſt. But while Dioclesian began very ſubtillie, for he put the matter firſt in practiſe in his owne campe, among whom the marſhall of the field, as Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 4. affirmeth, put the chriſtian ſouldiers to this choice, whether they would obay the emperors commandement in that maner of ſacrifice he commanded, and ſo both to keepe their offices, and lead their bands, or elſe to lay away from them their armor and weapons. Whereunto the chriſtian men corragiouſlie anſwered, that they were not one iote readie to lay away their armour and weapons, but alſo to ſuffer death if it ſhould with tyrannie be enforced vnto them, rather then they would obay the wicked decrees and commandements of the emperor.

*Perſecution firſt beginning in the emperors campe.*

*Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 4.*

*3 notable religion and faith in ſouldiers.*

There might a man haue ſeene very many which were deſirous to liue a ſimple and poore life, and which regarded no eſtimation and honour in compariſon of true pietie and godlineſs. And this was no more but a ſubtill and wilie flatterie in the beginning, to offer them to be at their owne libertie, whether they would willingly abiure their profeſſion or not; as alſo this was another, that in the beginning of the perſecution, there were but a few tormented with puniſhment, but afterward by little and little he began more manifeſtlie to braſt out into perſecution. It can hardly be expreſſed with words what number of martyrs, and what bloud was thed throogh all cities and regions for the name of Chriſt. Euſebius in his eight booke and ſeuenth chapter ſaith, that he himſelfe ſuruied the worthie martyrs that were in Paleſtina. But in Tyre & Phenicia he declareth in the ſame a marueilous martyrdome made, there certaine chriſtians being giuen to moſt cruell wilde beaſts, were preſerued without hurt of them, to their great admiration of the beholders; and thoſe lions, beares and beaſts, kept hungry for that purpoſe, had no deſire to deuoure them, which notwithſtanding moſt behementlie raged againſt thoſe by whom they were brought into the ſtage, ſtanding as they thought without danger of them, ſuch were firſt deuoured. But the chriſtian martyrs becauſe they could not bee hurt of the beaſts, being ſlaine with the ſword, were afterward throwne into the ſea. At that time was martyred the biſhop of Sidon. But Syluanus the biſhop of Gazenſis with nine and thirtie others were ſlaine in the mettall mines of Phenicia. Pamphilus the elder of Ceſarea, being the glorie of that congregation, died a moſt worthie martyr, whoſe both life and moſt commendable martyrdome Euſebius oftentimes declareth in his eight booke and thirteenth chapter, in ſo much that he hath written the ſame in a booke by it ſelfe. In Scythia all the chiefe teachers of the congregation were firſt committed to priſon, as a moſt beaſtie and cruell ſpectacle to behold, as alſo the biſhops, elders, and deacons, which all were eſteemed as menquillers, and perpetrators of moſt wicked facts: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 6. After that line peade of another, whoſe name was Tyrannion, which was made meate for the fiſhes of the ſea, and of Zenobius which was a very good phyſician, which alſo was ſlaine with hickbats in the ſame place: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 13.

*Martyrs of Nicomedia. Perſecution in Nicomedia exceeding.*

*Peter a moſt ſtaffaſt and conſtant martyr.*

*Dorotheus, Gorgonius, martyrs.*

*Anthimus biſhop of Nicomedia with a great multitude of martyrs beheaded. Lucianus the elder of Antioch martyr.*

*Serena wife of Dioclesian emperor martyred. Nicep. lib. 7. cap. 14. Eulampius, Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, Anaſtaſia, martyrs.*

*Pamphilus biſhop of Ceſarea martyr. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

*Martyrs of Syria. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6.*

*Tiranmion martyr. Zenobius a phyſician martyr.*

Furthermore he maketh mention in the ſame place of others which were not tormented to death, but euery day terrified and feared without ceaſing: of ſome others that were brought to the ſacrifices and commanded to doe ſacrifice, which would rather thruſt their right hand into the fire, then to touch the prophane or wicked ſacrifice; alſo of ſome others that before they were apprehended, would caſt downe themſelues from ſteepe places, leſt that being taken they ſhould commit any thing againſt their profeſſion. Alſo of two virgins very faire and proper, with their mother alſo which had ſtudiouſly brought them vp, euen from their infancie in all godlineſſe, being long ſought for, and at the laſt found, and ſtrictlie kept by their keepers, whileſt they made their excuſe to do that which nature required, they in themſelues doune headlong into a riuer: alſo of other two young maidens being ſiſters, and of worthipfull ſtocke, indued with many goodly vertues, which were caſt of the perſecutors into the ſea: and theſe things were done at Antioch, as Euſebius in his eight book and thirteenth chapter affirmeth. But Syluanus the biſhop of Emiſſa the notable martyr together with certaine others, were throwne to the wild beaſts: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

*Perſecution in Phenicia.*

*Two virgins with their mother martyrs. Two other maidens ſiſters martyrs. Sylvanus biſhop of Emiſſa martyr.*

*Martyrs of Pelopponeſus. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

Diuers and ſundrie torments were the chriſtians in Meſopotamia moleſted with, where they were hanged vp by the feet, and their heads downewards, and with the ſmoke of a ſmal fire ſtrangled; and alſo in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

*Martyrs of Cappadocia.*

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the martyrs of Tharſus in Cilicia, as Tharatus, Probus, & Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus ſuffered farre more

*Martyrs of Tharſus, Tharatus, Probus, Andronicus, martyrs. Martyrs of Pontus.*



paſſing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention: Euſebius ibid. So outragious was the beginning of the perſecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bythinia, as before is ſaid, that he refrained not from the ſlaughter of the children of emperors, neither yet from ſlaughter of the moſt chiefe princes of his court, who a little before he made as much of as if they had been his owne children. Such another was Peter, which among diuers and ſundrie torments (among whom he being naked was lifted vp, his whole bodie being beaten with whips and torne, that a man might ſee the bare bones, and after they had mingled vinegar and ſalt together, they powred it vpon the moſt tender parts of his bodie, & laſtly rolled at a ſoft fire, as a man would roſt fleſh to eate) as a victorious martyr ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius being in great authoritie and office vnder the emperour, after diuers torments were ſtrangled with a halter, which both being of the priuie chamber to him, when they ſaw and beheld the grieuous puniſhment of Peter their houſhold companion: Wherefore (ſaid they) O emperor, do you puniſh in Peter that opinion which is in vs? Why is that accounted in him an offence, that all we confeſſe? We are of that faith, religion, and iudgement that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almoſt with like paines to be tormented as Peter was, and after wards hanged: Euſeb. Ruſin. lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom Anthimus the biſhop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confeſſion, and bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. Theſe men being thus diſpatched, the emperour barely thought that he might cauſe the reſt to doe that euer him liſted. To this end came Lucianus the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apologie before the emperor: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 13.

Hermanus alſo, that monſter, cauſed Serena the wife of Dioclesian the emperor, to be martyred for the chriſtian religion: ſo much did the rage of perſecution bitterly forget all natural affects. Other martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his ſeuenth booke & fourteenth chapter recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, & Anaſtaſia, vnder Iſyricus chiefe officer, were bound hand & foote to a poſt & burnt: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 66. And alſo Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. mentioneth ſuch another like matter full of horror & griefe. There aſſembled together in their temple many chriſtian men to celebrate the memorie of the natiuitie of Chriſt, of euery age and ſort ſome. There Sapinianus thinking to haue them giuen a very fit occaſion to execute his tyrannie vpon the poor chriſtians, ſent thither ſuch as ſhould ſhut the temple. He poſted being ſtuft & cloſed in on about; thither come they with fire, but firſt they commanded the crier with a lond voice to crie, that whoſoeuer would haue life, ſhuld come out of the temple, and doe ſacrifice vpon the next altar they came to of Jupiter; & vnleſſe they would doe this, they ſhould all be burnt with the temple. Then one ſtepping vp in the temple, anſwered in the name of all the reſt with great courage & boldnes of mind, that they were all chriſtians, & beleeued that Chriſt was their only God and king, & that they would doe ſacrifice to him, with his Father & holy ghoſt, & that they were now all ready to offer vnto him. With theſe words the fire was kindled & compaſſed about the temple, & there were burnt of men, women, and children certaine thouſands. There were alſo in Arabia very many martyrs ſlaine with axes, as Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phygia a city, vnto which the emperor ſent his edicts that they ſhould doe ſacrifice to the gods, and worſhip idols; all which citizens, the maior himſelfe, the queſtor and chiefe captaine confeſſed that they were all chriſtians. The citie vpon this was beſieged and ſet on fire, and all the people: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina a region of Armenia, the biſhops and elders were caſt in priſon: Euſeb. eodem cap. 6. In Arabiace a region more adioining to Armenia Cuſtratius was martyred, as Nicephorus declareth, lib. 7. cap. 14. This Cuſtratius was that countele man borne, and very ſkilfull in the Greeke tongue, executing by the emperors commandement the thriffes office at Licia in the eaſt, which alſo vpo execution there vpon the chriſtians, and was a ſcribe of great eſtimation, called Ordinis ducalis. This man beholding the marueilous conſtancie of the martyrs, thirſted with the deſire of martyrdome, for that he had priuily learned the chriſtian religion. Therefore he not abiding for other accuſers, detected himſelfe, & voluntarilie profeſſed that he was a chriſtian, openly execrating the madnes and damnitie of the wicked etymiis. Ye therefore being carried away, was tied vp, being firſt moſt bitterly beaten. After that hee was parched with fire being put vnto his bowels, & then baſted with ſalt & vinegar, and laſtlie ſo ſcorched and benangled with the ſhards of charpe and cutting ſhels, that his whole bodie ſeemed to be all one continuall wound; howbeit, by Gods great goodnes afterward, it was reſtored to the firſt integritie. After this he was cauſed away to Sebaſtia, where with his cõpanion Dyoſcres he was burnt. At that time alſo ſuffered Eugenius, Aurentius, Nardarius: Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 14. And in no leſſe wiſe raged this perſecution throughout all Egypt, where Euſebius in his eight booke & thirteenth chapter maketh mention of Peleus & Nilus martyrs & biſhops in Egypt. But at Alexandria eſpecially were declared moſt notable conflicts of

*Anthimus biſhop of Nicomedia with a great multitude of martyrs beheaded. Lucianus the elder of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apologie before the emperor: Euſebius lib. 8. cap. 13.*

*Hermanus cauſed Serena the wife of Dioclesian the emperor to be martyred for the chriſtian religion. Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 14. Eulampius, Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, Anaſtaſia, martyrs.*

*Twentie thouſand martyrs burnt together in one church. Martyrs of Arabia. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

*Martyrs in a certaine citie of Phygia burnt with the whole citie. Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 11. & 6.*

*Martyrs of Melitina in Armenia. Cuſtratius of a perſonage made a martyr. Ex Nicepho. lib. 7. cap. 14.*

*Nicetph. lib. 7. cap. 14. Diocles martyr. Eugenius, Aurentius, Nardarius, Peleus, Nilus, biſhops and martyrs in Egypt.*

chriſtian and true conſtant martyrs that ſuffered: which Philo as the biſhop of Thmuitan deſcribeth, as after God willing) ſhall be declared. In this perſecution of Alexandria, the principall that then ſuffred was Peter the biſhop of Alexandria with the elders of the ſame, moſt worthie martyrs, as Faultus, Dionis, Ammonius, alſo Phileas, Heſichius, Pathuminus, and Theodorus, which all were biſhops of the congregations within Egypt, & beſides them many other both famous & ſingular men. The whole legio of chriſtia ſouldiers, which lay at Thebes in Egypt, vnder the chriſtian captaine Mauritius, when they would not obay the emperors commandement touching the worſhipping of images, were tithed to death once, & then againe and at laſt through the exhortatiõ of Mauritius, died altogether like conſtant martyrs: Vincentius in ſpeculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewiſe at Antino diuers chriſtian ſouldiers, notwithſtãding they were ſeriouſlie diſſuaded, ſuffered death together, among whom were Aſela, Philemon, & Apollonius, ibidẽ. cap. 50. And alſo in the other parts of Africa & Mauritania, was great perſecution, as Euſeb. li. 8. ca. 6. Alſo in Samnium, of which place Thonicon maketh mention, and Sicilia, where were 79. martyrs ſlaine for the profeſſion of Chriſt: Henr. de Erfordia.

Now let vs come into Europe. Nicephorus in his ſeuenth book and fourteenth chapter ſaith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the martyrs were in moſt miſerable and pitifull caſe handled, where Lilias had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon ſuffered Euphemia vnder Pulcus the proconſull: Vincent. li. 12. ca. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia ſaith that at Rome, Johannes & Criſpus being prieſts, had the execution of martyrs. And at Boemia, Agricola, & Vitalis: Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the emperor commanded euery man to kill the chriſtians: Vincent. lib. eod. ca. 58. And among thoſe martyrs he maketh mention of Felices & Fortunatus. Reginus alſo writeth that in other places of Italie the perſecution became great, as at Florentia, Pergamus, Naples, Campania, Beneuentus, at Venuſa in Apulia, and in Thuſcia: Henricus de Erfordia ſaith alſo at Verona. In France doubtleſſe Rectonarus appointed to that office plaied the cruell bellhound, of whole great crueltie againſt the chriſtians many hiſtories are full. At Pedoladus ſuffered Victor. And at Maſſilia, Sparinianus ſet foorth by his decre, that either they ſhould all do ſacrifice vnto the gods of the gentils, or elſe be all ſlaine with diuers kinds of torments. Therfore many martyrs there died for the glorie of Chriſt: Antoninus & Vincent. lib. 12. ca. 2. In Belgacus ſuffered Lucian.

Tiuentius and Reginus with of many places in Spaine where was great perſecution, as at Emerita, where ſuffered Eulalia of whom more followeth hereafter, & Adula, where alſo ſuffered Vincentius, Sabina, & Chriſtina. At Toletum ſuffered Leucadia & virgin, at Ceſarea Auguſta, where were put to death eightẽne, beſide a great number of other martyrs, which ſuffered vnder Decianus the gouernor, which afflicted with perſecution all the coaſt of Spaine, as ſaith Vincent. li. 12. ca. 123. 124. 128. 130. 134. The foreſaid Rectonarus made ſuch perſecution at Treuers nere the riuer of Moſella, that the bloud of the chriſtia men that there ſlaine ran like ſmall brooks, and coloured great and maine riuers. Neither yet did this ſuffice him, but from thence ſent certain horſemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into euery place, and charge all ſuch as had taken and apprehended any chriſtians, that they ſhould immediatlie put them to death: Vincent. lib. 13. cap. 136.

*The perſecution in Bythinia.*

*Peter biſhop of Alexandria. Faultus, Dionis, Ammonius, Phileas, Heſichius, Pathuminus, Theodorus, & theyr aſſiſtants.*

*The chriſtian ſouldiers and martyrs of Thebes.*

*The chriſtian ſouldiers and bishops in Antino, Aſela, Philemon, Apollonius, martyrs. Samnite and Sicil martyrs.*

*The perſecution in Europe. Euphemia.*

*Lucianus martyr.*

*The perſecution in Spaine. The bloud of the chriſtians made riuers.*

*Eulalia, Adula, Vincentius, Sabina, Chriſtina, Leucadia, martyrs.*

*Eighteene martyrs in Spaine.*

*Rectonarus a notable tyrant. Pedoladus, Victor martyrs. Maſſilia, Sparinianus, Decianus, perſecutors.*

Also Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great perſecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Auguſta were martyred, as alſo in the prouince of Rhetia.

*Agrippina, Auguſta, martyrs.*

*The perſecution in Britannie & England.*

Beda alſo ſaith, that this perſecution reached euen vnto the Britains, in his booke De tatione temporum. And the chronicle of Martinus, and the Poleſcay of time do declare that all the chriſtians in Britannie were vtterly deſtroyed: furthermore, that the kindes of death & puniſhment were ſo great and horrible, as no mans tongue is able to expreſſe. In the beginning, when the emperor by his ſubtilte and wilinelle rather baited then ſhewed his rigor, he threatned them with bands and impriſonment: but within a while, when he began to worke the matter in good earneſt, hee deuiſed innumerable ſorts of tormentes and puniſhments, as whippings and ſcourgings, racking, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, and chybbotes, wherin a great number being put were ſunke and drowned in the bottom of the ſea: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 6. & 7. Alſo hanging them vpon croſſes, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads downeward, hanging them by the middles vpon gallowſes, till they died for hunger, throwing them aliue to ſuch kind of wild beaſts as would deuour them, as lions, beares, libards, & wild buls: Euſeb. li. 8. cap. 8. pricking and thruſting them in with bodkins and talons of beaſts till they were almoſt dead, lifting them vp on high with their heads downward, euen as in Thebaide they did vnto the women being naked and vnclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and ſo hanging downe with their bodies, which thing to ſe was very pitifull, with other deuiſed ſorts of puniſhments moſt tragicall, or rather tyrannicall, and pitifull to deſcribe: as firſt, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughes thereof; the pulling and tearing aſunder of their members and ioints, bring tied to the boughes and armes of trees: Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 9. the mangling of them with axes, the choking of them with ſmoke by ſmall and ſoft fires,

*Dioclesian did but make ſpt for the beginning of the perſecution. Sundrie ſorts of torments deuiſed againſt the chriſtians.*

*Euſeb. lib. cap. 6. 7. 8.*

*The women of Thebaide martyrs.*

*Euſeb. lib. & cap. 9.*

Diſcretion

The persecution in Antioch.

dismembred of their handes, eares, and feet, with other tormets, as the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching & broyling of them with coles, not vnto death, but euery day renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus other horrible punishments and fearefull to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer, of which, some had their fingers ends vnder the nailes thrust in with sharpe bodkins, some all to besprinkled with boiling lead, hauing their most necessarie members cut from them, some other filthy most filthie, intollerable, and indurable torments and paines in their bowels and priuie members: Eusebius eodem cap. 12.

The persecution in Alexandria.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which raigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundrie kinds of new deuised punishments the martyrs were afflicted: Phileas, the bishop of the Thmuitans, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his epistle to the Thmuitans, the copie whereof Eusebius hath in his eight booke and tenth chapter, out of the which we meane here briefly to recite somewhat. Because (saith he) euery man might torment the holy martyrs as they listed themselues, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords, and this example of beating was in sundrie wise executed, and with much crueltie. For some of them hauing their hands bound behind their backes, were lifted vp vpon timber logs, and with certaine instruments their members and ioynts were stretched foorth, whereon their whole bodies hanging, were subiect to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides only, (like as homicides were) but vpon their bellies, thighs, and legs, they scratched them with the talens and clawes of wild beasts. Some others were seene to hang by one hand vpon the engine, whereby they might feele the more grieuous pulling out of the rest of their ioynts and members. Some others were in such sort bound vnto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, hauing no stay vnder their feete, and were violently weighed downe with the peise of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawne out, might be more grieuously tormented. And this suffered they not onely during the time of their examination, and while the shiriffe had to doe with them, but also the whole day long. And whilest the iudge went thus from one to another, he by his authoritie appointed certaine officers to attend vpon those hee left, and not to be let downe, vntill either through the intollerablenesse of the paine, or by the extremitie of cold, they being neere the point of death, should be let downe: & so were they haled vpon the ground. And further they were commanded that they should shew not so much as one sparke of mercie or compassion vpon vs, but so extreamely and furiously die deale with vs, as though our soules and bodies should haue died together. And therfore yet another torment our aduersaries deuised, to augment our former plagues. After that they had most lamentably beaten them, they deuised moreouer a new kind of racke, wherein they lying vpright, were stretched by both the feete aboue the fourth stop or hole with sharpe shels or shares strowed vnder them, after a strange kind of engine to vs here vnknowne. Othersome were cast downe vpon the pauement where they were oppressed so thicke, and so grieuously with torments, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

Strange kinds of torments.

Thus they lying in paines and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some halfe dead and halfe alue were thrust into prison, where shortly after by paines and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some againe being cured of their wounds by their indurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice and inioy their wicked liberty, or else sustaine the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremitie, remembring with themselues what is written in the scriptures, He that sacrificeth (saith he) to strange gods, shall be exterminat, &c. Item, Thou shalt not haue any strange gods beside me, &c. Thus much wrot Phileas to the congregation where hee was bishop, before hee receiued the sentence of death, being yet in bands, and in the same exhorteth his brethren constantly to perstil after his death, in the truth of Christ professed. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10. & Sabellicus, li. 7. cap. 9.

Sabellicus in his seuenth Ennead. and eight booke, saith that that chistened man, which tore and pulled downe the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being stript and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vinegar, was then slaine with this cruell kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.

An holy martyr of Nicomedia tormented.

But as all their torments were so their horribleness, marueilous and notable, and there withall so studiously deuised, and no lesse grieuous and sharpe: so notwithstanding, therewith were these martyrs neither dismaid, nor ouercome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened, so merilie and ioyfullie sustained they whatsoeuer was put vnto them. Eusebius saith, that he himselfe beheld and saw the huge & great persecution that was done in Thebaide, in so much that the very swords of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselues for wearinesse sat downe to rest them, and others were faine to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murthered christians shewed their marueilous readinesse, willingnes, and diuine fortitude, which they were indued with, with stout courage, ioy, and smiling receiuing the sentence of death pronounced vpon them, & sung euen vnto the last gaspe hymnes and psalmes to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas aboue mentioned. The holy martyrs (saith he) keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the loue of better rewards, sustained not only at one time whatsoeuer labour and deuised punishments they had to lay vpon them: but now also the second time haue done the same, and haue bene all the menaces of the cruell souldiers, not onely in words wherewith they threatned them, but also whatsoeuer in deed and worke they could deuise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all feare, with the perfection of their vnspeakeable loue towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpitius saith in the second booke of his sacred historie, that then the christians with more greedie desire preached and sought for martyrdome, then now they doe desire bishoprikes.

The hangmen waxed blunt, and the hangmen waxed weary with slaughter.

The marueilous constancie of the martyrs of God in persecution and at the time of death.

Martyrdome more desired in the old time then bishoprikes be now.

Although some there were also, as I haue said, that with feare and threatnings, and by their owne infirmities were ouercome and went backe: Eusebius lib. 8. ca. 4. among whom Socrates nameth Pilerius, lib. 1. cap. 6. and Athanasius in his second apologie nameth the bishop of Licus, a citie in little Egypt, whom Peter the bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed vnto the gentiles gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus the bishop of Rome, I will speake afterwards; for he being persuaded by others, and specially of the emperour Diocletian himselfe, did sacrifice, whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was againe received into the congregation, & made martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the booke of the generall councels affirme. The number of the martyrs increased daily, sometimes ten, sometimes twentie were slaine at once, sometimes thirtie, and often times three score, and otherwhiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by diuers kinds of death: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 9. Also Damasus, Beda, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witnes, that there were slaine in this persecution by the names of martyrs, within the space of thirtie daies, seuenteene thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metall mines and quaries with like cruelties.

Christians that denied in this persecution.

Sellius excommunicateth from the faith, and is excommunicated.

Marcellinus the bishop reuolteth and commeth again to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martyrs in one day.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

Seuenteene thousand martyrs in one moneth.

Three hundred slaine at one time in Alexandria.

Orosius martyr.

At Alexandria with Peter the bishop, of whom I haue made mention before, were slaine with axes three hundred and aboue as Sabellicus declareth. Orosius was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellowes, as saith Henricus de Erfordia. Maurilius the captaine of christian religion, with his fellowes six thousand six hundred sixtie and six. Victor in the citie of Troy now called Xanthus, with his fellowes three hundred and threescore were slaine, as saith Otto Phrisingensis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Regino reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twentie.

Orosius.

Maurilius with 6666. martyrs.

Victor with 360 martyrs slaine.

And for so much as mention here hath been made of Maurilius and Victor, the particular description of the same historie I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado and other storie writers, as insueth.

Maurilius came out of Syria into France and Italie, being captaine of the band of the Theban soldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred & three score, being sent for of Maximianus, to goe against the rebellious Bangandes: but rather as it should seeme by the treason of the tyrant, which thought he might better in these quarters vse his tyrannie vpon the christians then in the east part. These Thebans with Maurilius the captaine, after that they had entred into Rome, who were there of Marcellus the blessed bishop confirmed in the faith, promising by oth, that they would rather be slaine of their enemies, then forsake that faith which they had receiued, who followed the emperors host through the Alpes euen into France. At that time the Cesarians were incamped not farre from the towne called Octodor, where Maximianus offred sacrifice to his diuels, and called al the souldiers both of the east and west to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, and persecute the christian enemies of the emperors gods: which his commandement was shewed to the Thebans host, which were also encamped about the riuer of Rode, and in a place that was named Agaunse; but to Octodor they would in no wise come, for that euery man did certainely appoint and perswade with themselues rather in that place to die, then either to sacrifice to the gods, or beare armour against the christians. Which thing indeed bery stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, vpon their oth before taken to Maximianus when he sent for them. Wherwith the tyrant being wrathful and al moued, commanded euery tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto strayngtie and with great reioycing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith, Maurilius himselfe was a great incourager, who by and by with a most graue oration exhorted & animated his soulders both

The historie of Maurilius captaine of the Theban soulditers.

The number of the christians executed for all this persecution.

Diocletian and Maximinian were tired with persecution, and gaue vp their kingdome.

Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Euery tenth man in the legion slaine.



The oration of the soulditers to the emperour.

both to fortitude and constancie. Which being against called of the emperour, answered in this wise saying: We are ô emperor your soulditers, but yet also to speake freely, the seruants of God. We owe to thee seruice of warre, to him innocencie: of thee we receiue for our trauell wages; of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey thee ô emperour, to denie God our author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewise, will ye, nil ye. If we be not so extreamely enforced that we offend him, doubtlesse as we haue hitherto before, we will yet obey you: but otherwise we will rather obey him then you. We offer heere our hands against any other enemies: but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours haue skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies: but to spoile and murther the godlie and citizens, they haue no skill at all. We haue in remembrance how we tooke armour in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We fought alwaies for iustice sake, pietie, and for the health of innocents. These haue been alwaies the rewards of our perils and trauell. We haue fought in the quarell of faith, which in no wise we can keepe to you, if we do not shew the same to our God. We first sware vpon the sacraments of our God, then afterward to the king: and doe you thinke the second will auaile vs, if we breake the first? By vs you would plague the christians, to do which feate we are onely commanded by you. We are heere readie to confesse God the author of all things, and believe in his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellowes and partakers of our labours and trauels, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their blood; of which our most blessed companions and brethren, their end and death we haue not bewailed nor mourned, but rather haue been glad, and haue reioyced thereat, for that they haue bin counted worthie so suffer for the Lord their God. The extreame necessitie of death cannot moue vs against your maiestie, neither yet any desperation, ô emperour, which is wont in ventrous affaires to do much, shall arme vs against you. Behold here we cast downe our weapons, and resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, then kill, and guiltlesse to die, then guiltie to liue. Whatsoeuer more yee will command, appoint and enioyne vs, we are heere readie to suffer, yea both fire and sword: and whatsoeuer other torments. We confesse our selues to be christians, we cannot persecute christians, nor will do sacrifice to your diuellish idols.

Maurelius and his compaine martyred.

With which their answere the king being altogether incensed and moued, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case martyred. That cruelitie also being accomplished, at length when the christian soulditers would in no wise condescend vnto his mind, he set vpon them with his whole host, both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set vpon them, they making no resistance, but thoyping down their armour, yeelded their liues to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

The constant boldnes of Victor in refusing to eat with the ensuit persecutors, for the which he was also slaine. Victor martyr.

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any souldier, but one being an old souldier, and dismissed for his age. At which time he comming suddenly vpon them as they were banquetting and making merrie with the spoiles of this holy martyrs, was bidden to sit downe with them: and first allking the cause of that their so great reioycing, and vnderstanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eate with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a christian or no? openly confessed and denied not, but that he was a christian, and euer would be. And thereupon they rushing vpon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdome and honor.

The number of the christians executed for all this persecution.

Beda in his historie writeth, that this persecution being vnder Diocletian, endured vnto the seuenth yeare of Constantinus. And Eusebius lib. cap. 6. saith, that it lasted vntill the tenth yeare of Constantinus. It was not yet one yeare from the day in which Diocletian and Maximinian laying themselues together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the christians rather to encrease then to diminish, not withstanding all the cruelties that euer they could shew, and now were out of all hope for the vtter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise, & hauing now euen their fill of blood, and lothing as it were the shedding therof, they ceased at the last of their owne accord to put any more christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legges at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of mettals, not so much for the vse of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemencie and release of the cruelties of those princes, which said ý it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blood of citizens, and to make the emperours highnesse to be distained with the name of cruelties, but to shew his princely beneficence and liberalitie to all men. Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Diocletian and Maximinian had raigned together emperours one and twentie yeares (Nicephorus saith two and twentie yeares) at length Diocletian put himselfe from his emperiall dignitie at Nicomedia, and liued at Salona, Maximian at Mediolanum, and led both of them a priuat life in the three hundred and ninth yeare after Christ. This strange and marueilous alteration gaue occasion, and so came to passe, that within three space after, there were in the Roman common wealth many emperours at one time.

The names of the tyrants. Diocletian and Maximinal emperours deposed. Galerius Maximinus. Constantius raigneth.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Diocletian being made emperour, take to him Maximinian. Also how these two governing as emperours together, chose other two Cesars vnder them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius the father of Constantine the great. Thus then Diocletian raigning with Maximinian, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, began his furious persecution against the christians, whose raigne after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrants mouth, that within two yeares after, he caused both him and Maximinian (for what cause he knoweth) to giue ouer their emperiall function, and so to remaine not as emperours any more, but as priuat persons. So that they being now displaced and disposselled, the emperiall dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two diuided the whole monarchie betweixt them: so that Maximinus should gouerne the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius as a modest prince, onely contented with the emperiall title, refused Italie and Aphrike, contenting himselfe only with France, Spaine, and Britaine. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two sonnes Maximinus and Seuerus. Likewise Constantius tooke Constantinus his sonne Cesar vnder him. In the meane time, while Maximinus with his two Cesars were in Asia, the Romane soulditers set vp for their emperour Maxentius the sonne of Maximinian, who had before deposed himselfe. Against whom Maximinus the emperour of the east sent his sonne Seuerus, which Seuerus was slaine in the same voyage of Maxentius, in whose place then Maximinus tooke Licinius. And these were the emperors and Cesars, which succeeding after Diocletian and Maximinian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Diocletian and Maximinian before begunne, during neere the space of seuen or eight yeares, which was to the yeare of our Lord three hundred and eightéene: saue onely that Constantius with his sonne Constantinus, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Clorus for his paleneslie, was the sonne of Eutropius, a man of great nobilitie of the Romane nation, as Lelius affirmeth. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mightie dominions, and therefore parted he the empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britaine and Spaine, refusing the other kingdomes for the troublesome and difficult gouernment of the same. Wherefore he was appince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, verie excellent, ciuill, meke, gentle, liberall, and desirous to doe good vnto those that had any priuate authoritie vnder him. And as Cyrus once said, that he gat treasure enough, when he made his friends rich: euen so it is said that Constantius would often times say, that it were better that his subiects had treasure, then he to haue it in his treasure house. Also he was by nature suffered with a little, in so much that he vsed to eat and drinke in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation) and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would lend for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these vertues he added yet a more worthie ornament, that is, deuotion, loue, and affection towards the word of God, as Eusebius in his eight booke and thirteenth chapter affirmeth: after which vertues ensued great peace and tranquillitie in all his prouinces. By which word he being guided, neither tolerated any warres contrarie to pietie and christian religion, neither added he any other that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the christians should be preserued and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious iniuries. And when that in the other iurisdictions of the empire, the congregations were molested with persecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his first booke and first chapter, he only gaue licence vnto the christians to liue after their accustomed manner. This wonderfull act of his following, besides others, both shew that he was a sincere worshipper of the christian religion.

Constantius priuately vpon whose true christiana in his court, and who were not.

Those which bare the chiefe offices amongst the ethnikes, draue out of the emperours court all the godlie christians: whereupon this ensued, that the emperours themselues at the last were destitute of helpe, when such were driuen away: which dwelling in their courts, and liuing a godly life, powred out their prayers vnto God for the prosperous estate & health both of the empire and the emperor. Constantius therefore minding at a certaine time to trie what sincere and good christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and seruants in the same, fayning himselfe to chuse out such as would do sacrifice to diuels, and that those only should dwell there and keepe their offices; and that those which would refuse to do the same should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers diuided themselues into companies: the emperor marked which were the constanter & godliest from the rest. And when some said that they would willingly do sacrifice, other some openly and boldly denied to do the

Ex Euseb. de vita Constant. li. 1.

Ex Sozomeno lib. 1. cap. 8.

Falle christians differred from true.

saints, then the emperour sharpely rebuked those which were so readie to do sacrifice, and iudged them as false traytors vnto God, accounting them vnworthie to be in his court, which were such traytors to God, and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended them, which refused to do sacrifice and confessed God, affirming that they only were worthie to be about a prince, forthwith commanding them that thenceforth they should be the trustie counsellers and defenders both of his person and kingdome, saying thus much more, that they only were worthie to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to haue them in more estimation, then the substance he had in his treasurie. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first booke of the life of Constantinus, and also Sozomenus in his first booke and first chapter.

Diocletian an enemie to the Christians.

With this Constantius ioyned (as hath been afore said) Galerius Maximinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very cruell and a puffing god fouldier: furthermore, a fauourer of vnlearned and learned men, of a quiet disposition, not vitious, but in his drunkennesse, whereof he would some after repent him, as Victor writeth: whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his sonne, it is vncertaine. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him in his eight booke and first chapter. For he saith he was of a tyrannicall disposition: the fearefullest man that might be, and curious in all magicall superstition, in so much that without the diuinations and answeres of diuels he durst doe nothing at all, and therefore he gaue great offices and dignities to inchanters. Furthermore that he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberall to those that were flatterers, giuen to surfetting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkennesse most like a mad man, a ribaud, an adulterer, which came to no citie but he rauished virgins and defiled mens wiues. To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built vp temples in euery citie, and repaired those that were fallen in great decay: and he chose out the most worthie of his politicall magistrates to be the idols priests, and deuised that they should execute all their office with great authoritie and dignitie, and also with warlike pompe. But vnto christian pietie and religion he was most inexorable, and in the cast churches exercised cruell persecution, and vsed as executioners of the same, Venectius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus beside others.

The wicked deeds of Maximinus reuiued.

Maximinus a terrible blasphemer by Satans procurement.

Notwithstanding he was at length reuoked from his cruelties by the iust iudgement and punishment of God. For he was suddenly perced with a fatall disease most filthie and desperat, which disease to describe was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his bodie. For in the pruie members of his bodie there happened vnto him a sudden putrifaction, and after in the bottome of the same a botchie corrupt bile, with a filthie, consuming and eating vp his intrails, out of the which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stinke that no man could abide him. And so much more, for that all the grossenesse of his bodie by abundance of meat before he fell sicke, was turned all to fat; which fat now putrified, and stinking, was so ougsome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the physitians which had him in cure, some of them not able to abide the intollerable stinke were commanded to be slaine. Other some, because they could not heale him being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length being put in remembrance that his disease was sent of God, he began to bethinke the wickednesse that he had done against the Saints of God, and so comming againe to himselfe, first confesseth to God all his offences, then calling them vnto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the christians: requiring moreouer that they should set vp his emperiall proclamations, for the restoring and receiuing of their temples, and that they would ordaine this of the christians, in their assemblies (which without all feare and doubt they might be bold to make) that they would deuoutly pray to their God for the emperour. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the emperiall proclamations in euery citie were set vp, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the christians were before decreed, the copie whereof ensueth.

Maximinus his countermand in the behalfe of the christians.

Amongst other things, which for the benefit and commoditie of the commonweale we haue established, we commanded to reforme all things according to the ancient lawes and publike discipline of the Romans, and also to vse this policie, that the christians, which had forsaken the religion of their forefathers, should be brought againe to the right way. For such phantasticall singularitie was amongst them, that those things which their elders had receiued and allowed, they reiected and disallowed, deuising euery man such lawes as they thought good, and obserued the same, assembling in diuers places great multitudes of people.

Therefore when our foresaid decree was proclamed, many there were that felt the penaltie thereof, and many being troubled therefore suffered many kinds of death. And because we see yet that there be many which persewere in the same, which neither giue due worship vnto the celestiall gods, neither receiue the God of the christians, we hauing respect to our accustomed benignitie, wherewith we are wont to shew fauour vnto all men, thinke good in this cause also to extend our clemencie, that the christians may be againe tollerated, and appoint them places where againe they may meet together, so that they doe nothing contrarie to publike order and discipline. By another epistle we meane to prescribe vnto the iudges, what shal be conuenient for them to do. Wherefore according as this our bountifull clemencie deserueth, let them make intercession to God for our health, commonweale, and for themselues; that in all places the state of the commonweale may be preserued, and that they themselues may be able safely to liue within their bounds.

*Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vlt.*

*Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vlt.*

But one of his seuerity officers, whose name was also Parminus, was not well pleased when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the prouinces where he had to do. Bethe being qualified by this example, that it was not conuenient for him to repugne the pleasure of those princes which had the chiefe authoritie, as Constantinus and Parminus, set forth of himselfe no edict touching the same: but commanded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the christians: of which commandement of the inferior Parminus, each of them gaue intelligence vnto their fellowes by their letters. But Sabinus, which then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignitie, to the substitutes of euery countrie wrote by his letters the emperours pleasure in this wise.

A heathen accusation against the christians by harlots.

Sabinus in the fauour of the christians publisheth the decree.

Maximinus recountermand grauen in braste.

The maiestie of our most gratious and soueraigne lords the emperours, hath lately decreed with speciall diligence and deuotion, to enduce all men to an vniforme life, so that they which seemed to dissent from the Romane custome by a strange manner of liuing, should exhibit to the immortall gods their due and proper worship: but the wilfull and obstinate mind of diuers so much, and so pninually resisted the same, that by no law full meanes they might be reuoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terrour or punishment. Because therefore it so came to passe, that by this meanes many put themselues in perill and ieopardie: the maiestie of our soueraigne lords the emperours, according to their noble pietie, considering that it was far from the meaning of their princely maiesties that such things should bee, whereby so many men and much people should bee destroyed, gaue mee in charge that with diligence I should write vnto you, that if any of the christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their religion, that in no wise you molest the same, neither for that cause you do iudge anie man worthie of punishment: for that in all this time it hath euidently appeared, that by no meanes they might be allured from such wilfulnesse. It is therefore requisit that your wisdome write vnto the questors, captaines, and constables of euery citie and village, that they may know it not to be full for them, or any of them, to do contrarie to the prescript of this commandement, neither that they presume to attempt the same.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.*

The edict of the recountermand made against the christians.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.*

Persecution ceaseth for a time.

The gouernors therefore of euery prouince supposing this to be the determinat pleasure (and not fained) of the emperour, did first abuertise thereof, the rusticall and pagan multitude: after that they released and set at libertie all such prisoners as were condemned to the mettall mines, and to perpetuall imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceiued) that the doing therof would please the emperor. This therefore seemed to them as vnlooked for, and as light to trauellers in a darke night. They gather themselues together in euery city, they call their synods and councels, and much marueil at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselues extoll the only and true God of the christians. The christians receiue againe all their former liberties, and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repent themselues, and after penance done, they returned againe to the congregation. Now the christians reioyced in euery citie, praysing God with hymnes and psalmes: Eusebius ibidem. This was a maruelous sudden alteration of the church, from a most vnhappie state into a better: but scarce suffred Maximinus the tyrant the same six moneths vnviolated to continue. For what soeuer seemed to make for the subuersion of the same peace (yet scarce) hatched, that did he only meditate. And first of all he take from the christians all libertie and leaue for them to assemble and congregat in churchyards vnder a certaine colour. After that he sent certaine miscreants vnto the Athenians, to solicit them against the christians, and to prouoke them to asse of him as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any christian to inhabit in their countrie: and amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant, an inchanter, and a most deadly enemie against the christians. He first made the way whereby the christians were put out of credit and accused to the emperour, to which fraud also he erected a certaine idoll of Iupiter to be worshipped of the inchanters and coniurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies full of detestable witchcraft. Lastly, hee caused the same idoll to giue this sound out of his mouth, that is: Iupiter commandeth the christians to bee banished out of the citie and suburbs of the same, as enemies vnto him. And the same sentence

The wicked blasphemie.

The infidels acknowledge the God of the christians.

The workes of the liuing God falsely imputed to dead stockes and stones.

One alteration vpon another.

Horrible blasphemie.

The diuelish practise of Theotechnus.

The like argument of weather and corne, and pietie, made by the faithfull Iewes, and also make now our faithlesse papists.



sentence did the rest of the gouernours of the prouinces publish against the christians, and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high priests and bishops in euery citie to offer sacrifice vnto idols, and exercised all those that were in great offices vnder him, that they should not only cease to pleasure them and to do so: them, but also that they should with new deuised accusations against them, at their pleasure, put as many to death as by any meanes they might. They also did counterfeit certaine practises of Pilat against our Sauiour Christ full of blasphemie, and sent the same into all the empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the same should be published and set vp in euery citie and suburbs of the same, and that they should be deliuered to the schoolemasters, to cause their scholers to learne by rote the same.

The vaine practises of the heathen against Christ and his religion.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

After that, one named Præfectus castrorum, whom the Romans do call captaine, assured certaine light women, partlie by feare, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus in Phœnicia, and taken out of the court, wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing that they were once christians, and that they knew what wicked and lasciuious acts the christians were wont to execute amongst themselues vpon the sundaies, and what other things they thought good to make more of their owne head, to the slander of the christians. The captaine sheweth vnto the emperour their words, as though it had been so indeed: and the emperour by and by commanded the same to be published throughout euerie citie. Furthermore, they did hang vp in the middest of euery city (which was neuer done before, the emperours edicts against the christians, grauen in tables of braste. And the children in the scholes with great noyse and clapping of hands did euerie day resound the contumelious blasphemies of Pilat vnto Iesus, and what other things soeuer were deuised of the magistrates, after a most despitefull manner. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And this is the copie of the edict, which Maximinus caused to be fastened to pillers, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 3.*

The wicked and imbecill rebellion of mans mind (all obscuritie and blindnesse of ignorance set apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miserable men in the pernicious darkenesse of ignorance) is now at the length able to discerne, that the same is gouerned, as also corroborated by the prouidence of the immortall gods the louers of vertue: which thing, how acceptable it is to vs, how pleasant and gratefull, and how much proofe the same hath declared of your well disposed willing minds, is incredible to be told: although this was not vnknowne before, with what diligence and deuotion ye serued the immortal gods, whose wonderfull and constant faith is not knowne by bare and naked words, but by your worthy & notable deeds. Wherefore worthily is your citie called the habitation and seat of the immortall gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth, & prospereth by the presence of the celestiall gods. For behold, your citie not regarding your priuat businesses, nor esteeming that which should haue bin for the speciall commoditie thereof, when it perceiued that cursed vanitie to begin againe to creepe, and as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands therof began to kindle & make a great flame: by and by without delay ye hauing recourse vnto our pietie, as vnto the metropolitan of all diuine worship & religion, craued remedy and help, which wholsome mind for your pieties sake, it is most manifest that the gods haue indued you with. Therefore he, euen that most mightie Iupiter, I say, which preserueth your most famous citie: to that intent he might deliuer and make free your countrie gods, your wiues and children, your houshold gods and houses, from all detestable corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing mind, shewing and declaring how worthie, notable, and healthfull a thing it is, to worship and to sacrifice to the immortall gods. For who is so void of reason and vnderstanding, that knoweth not that this thing hapneth vnto vs by the careful studie of the goodnesse of our gods, that the ground denieth not to giue her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the husbandmans hope, nor that wicked war dare shew her face vpon the earth, nor that the corruption of the aire is now cause of pestilence, neither that the sea swelleth with immoderat winds, neither that sudden storms are cause of hurtfull tempests: to conclude, that the ground which is as the nurse and mother of all things, is not swallowed vp of her deep chaps and gapings, by terrible earthquake; neither that the hils made leuell with the earth, are not with gaping clifts deuoured: all which euils and greater then these, before this time to haue hapned, euery man knoweth. And all these mischiefes came vpon vs for the pernicious errors sake of the extreme follie of those wicked men the christians, when filthinesse is fesse (as I may call it) so occupied their minds, and ouerran the world. Let them behold the fields now all about full of corne, and ouerflowen as it were with ears of corne. Let them view the pleasant medows clothed with flowers, & moistned with showers from heauen, and also the pleasant and temperat weather. Therefore let all men reioyce, that by your pietie, sacrifices and worshipping, the maiestie of the most sterne god of battell Mars is appeased, and that therefore wee enioy pleasant and firme peace. And how many soeuer haue left that blind errour and straying

The edict of Maximinus against the christians.

Perfection required alredy.

Sylvanus bishop, Lucianus elder, Petrus bishop, Auxentius bishop, Marcellus bishop, Timotheus elder, martyrs.

The persecution of Maximinus the younger.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

*Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44.*

Sylvanus beheaded.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

*Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 44.*

Ex fasciculo temporum.

Cosmas, Damianus, Dorothea, with other martyrs.

Two hundred christians and nineteene martyrs.

Semonitanus with diuerse and nineteene martyrs.

Seuen all kinds of torments.

*Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 15.*

of the christians vnfainedly, and bee of a better mind, let them specially reioice, as men deliuered out of a sudden great tempest, and from a grieuous disease, and haue afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtlesse, if they had remained in that execrable vanitie, far off had they been chased from your city and suburbs of the same (according to your desire) that your citie by that meanes, according to your commendable diligence, cleansed from all impuritie and impietie, may offer sacrifices according to the meaning of the same, with due reuerence of the immortall gods. And that you may perceiue in how good part your supplication was vnto vs (yea vnasked and desired) we are inest willing and readie to further your honest endeauours, and grant vnto you for your deuotion, what soeuer you aske of our magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith aske and haue. And this thing with all speed endeauour you to obtaine, which shall be a perpetuall testimonie of pietie exhibited of your citie to the immortal gods, and shal be a president to your children and posteritie, and wish all you shall obtaine of vs for this your willing desire of reformation, condigne and worthie reward. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7.*

Thus came it to passe that at the length persecution was as great as euer it was, and the magistrates of euery prouince were very vnbainefull against the christians which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three christians at Emisa in Phœnicia, with whom Sylvanus the bishop a very old man, being fortie yeares in the ecclesiasticall function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apologie concerning the doctrine of the christians, was cast in prison, and after put to death. In Anasea a citie of Cappadocia, Binges the lieutenant of Parminius, had at that time the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus a most worthie bishop was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Nicephi. li. 7. ca. 44. Dutinus the bishop of Sebastanus hauing a handmill tied about his neche, was throwne headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a ring while floted aboue the water, and when he opened his mouth to speake to the lookers on that they should not be dismaid with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned: Chron. Euseb. At Rome died Marcellus the bishop, as saith Platina, also Timotheus the elder, with many other bishops and priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundrie places euery where were martyred, whose names ye boke intituled Fasciculus temporum declareth, as Nicodemus, Symphorianus, Castorius with his wife, Castulus, Cesarius, Gennus Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martyrs. Crasinus, Bonifacius, Iuliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Callinus with seuen others. Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia, Ciriallis, Agricola, Acha. Philemon, Barcicus, Januarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius Spoletanus, Agnes, Chionia, Hirenea. Theodora, & two hundred three score & ten other martyrs. Flauinius, Primus & Felicianus, Titus & Podestius, Crescentia. Albinius, Rogatianus, Donatianus. Pancratius, Catharina. Margarera, Lucia the virgin, & Anthesus the king with many thousand martyrs more. Simplicius. Faustinus, Beatrix, Pantaleon, Cerogius, Iustus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other more (to an infinit number) suffred martyrdome in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the booke of life. Also Felix Otato with his parents, Lucia the widow Gemenianus with threescore and nineteene others, Sabinus, Anastasia, Cyprogonius, Felix and Audacius. Adrianus Natholia, Eugenia. Agnes also when she was but thirteene yeeres old was martyred. Eusebius in his eight booke and fifteenth chapter rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishments, that is to say, fire, wilde beasts, the sword, crucifixings, the bottome of the sea, the cutting and burning of members, the thrusting out of eyes, disnumbring of the whole bodie, hunger, imprisonment, and whatsoeuer other cruelties the magistrates could deuise. All which notwithstanding the godly ones, rather then that they would do sacrifice as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women anything at all behind them. For they being enticed to the filthy vse of their bodies rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselues. Neither yet could the christians liue safely in the wildernesse, but were fetched euen from thence to death and torments, in so much that this was a more grieuous persecution vnder Maximinus the tyrant, then was the former cruell perfecution vnder Maximianus the prince: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.*

And for so much as we haue heard the cruell edict of Maximinus proclamed against the christians grauen in braste which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion: now marke against the great handie worke of God, which immediatly fell vpon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proning all to be false and contrarie that in the brasen proclamation was contained. For where the forsaid edict boasted so much of the prosperitie and plentie of all things in the same time of this persecution of the christians, suddenly befell such vnreasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people, besides also the wars with the Armenians. That all was found vntrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence the people were greatly consumed, in so much that one

The workes of God against the forsaid edict.

The parents and blasphemers proclamation of the emperour contrarie.

measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Athens coine, by reason whereof innumerable died in the cities, but many more in the countrie and villages, so that most part of the husbandmen and countrimen died vp with the famine and pestilence. Diuers there were which bringing out their best treasure, were glad to giue it for any kind of sustenance, were it neuer so little. Others selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreame pouertie and beggerie. Certaine eating grasse, and feeding on other vnwholesome herbs, were faine to relieue themselues with such food as did hurt and poyson their bodies. Also a number of women in the cities, being brought to extreame miserie and penurie, were constrained to depart the citie, and fall to begging through the countrey. Some others were weake and faint (as images without breath) wandring vp and downe, and not able to stand for feeblenesse, fell downe in the middle of the streets, and holding vp their hands most pitifull, cried for some scrape or fragments of bread to be giuen them, and being at the last gaspe, readie to giue vp the ghost, and not able to vtter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungrie. Of the richer sort diuers there were, who being wearie with the number of beggers and askers, after they had bestowed largely vpon them, became hard hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same miserie themselues, as they which begged. By reason whereof, the market place, streets, lanes, and allies lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and vnburied, to the pitifull and grieuous beholding of them that saw them. Wherefore many were eaten of dogs, for which cause they that liued felt to the killing of dogs, lest they running mad, should fall vpon them, and kill them.

A terrible hunger among the creatures, prouided for mans sustenance.

Pestilence among the pestilent.

In like manner the pestilence scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no lesse consume them, especially those which through plentie of victuals escaped famine. Wherefore the rich princes and presidents, and other inmunerable of the magistrates, being the more apt to receiue the infection, by reason of their plentie, were quickly dispatched, and turned vp their heeles. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning, neither was there any thing else seene, but wailing and weeping in euery corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake vp and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one house to one funerall.

These were the rewards of the vaine bragg of Maximinus and his edicts, which he did publish in all townes and cities against vs, when it was cuident to all men, how diligent and charitable the christians were to them all in this their miserable extremitie. For they only in all this time of distresse, shewing compassion vpon them, trauelled euery day, some in curing the sicke, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their owne sort were forsaken. Other some of the christians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in ieopardie of famine, distributed bread vnto them, whereby they ministred occasion to all men to glorifie the God of the christians, and to confesse them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their workes. By the meanes and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the christians, who before had shewed his anger & indignation against all men, for their wrongfull afflicting of vs, opened againe vnto vs the comfortable light of his prouidence, so that by meanes thereof peace fell vnto vs, as light vnto them that sit in darknesse, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceiue God himselfe to bee a perpetuall diuider of our doings, who many times chastiseth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction againe theweth himselfe mercifull and fauourable to them which with trust call vpon him.

The charitie of the christians to the enimies, Let your light so shine among men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen.

By the narration of these things heretofore premixed, taken out of the storie of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so is it wonderfull to marke and note, how these counsels and rages of the gentiles atchieued against Christ and his christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselues. And whereby they thought most to confound the church and religion of Christ, the same turned most to their owne confusion, and to the profit and praise of the christians (God of his marueilous wisedome so ordering and disposing the end of things.) For where the brasen edict of the emperour promised temperat weather, God sent drought: where it promised plentie, God immediatly sent vpon them famine and penurie: where it promised health, God strooke them euen vpon the same, with grieuous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort, that the most reliefe they had, was chiefely by the christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honor of our God.

The wisedome and policie of God ouerthrowne in his owne nature. Deus omnipotens in sapientia sua.

This most plainly and euidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring vs, that the gates of hell shall not preuaile against his church builded vpon his faith: as sufficiently may appeare by these ten persecutions aboue specified and described. Wherein as no man can denie, but that satan and his malignant world haue assayed the vttermost of their power and might to ouerthrow the church of Iesus: so must all men needs grant, that

The promise of Christ verified. Matth. 16.

The gates of hell shall not preuaile against the rock of builded vpon the faith of Christ.

reade these stories, that when satan and the gates of hell haue done their worst, yet haue they not preuailed against this mount of Sion, nor euer shall. For else what was here to be thought, where so many emperours and tyrants together, Diocletian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Seuerus, Parentius, Licinius, with their captaines and officers, were let lose, like so many lions, vpon a scattered and vnarmed flocke of sheepe, intending nothing else, but the vtter subuersion of all christianity, and especially also when lawes were set vp in braue against the christians, as a thing perpetually to stand: what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the name and religion of christians? But what followed, partly ye haue heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the storie followeth.

The death and end of Maximinian.

I shewed before how Parentius, the sonne of Maximinian, was set vp at Rome by the pretorian souldiers to be emperour. Whereunto the senat, although they were not consenting, yet for feare they were not resisting. Maximinian his father, who had before deposed himselfe with Diocletian, hearing of this, take heart againe to him, to resume his dignitie, and so laboured to perswade Diocletian also to do the same: but when he could not moue him thereunto, he repaireth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his sonnes hands. But when the souldiers would not suffer that, of a craftie purpose he flieth to Constantinus in France, vnder pretence to complaine of Parentius his sonne, but in very deed to kill Constantinus. Notwithstanding that conspiracie being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Constantinus had married, so was Constantinus through the grace of God preserued, and Maximinian retired backe. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

The wicked nesse of Parentius discerned.

Now let vs returne to Parentius againe, who all this while raigned at Rome, with tyrannie and wickednesse intolerable, much like to another Pharao or Nero. For hee slew the most part of his noble men, and take from them their goods. And sometime in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people at home by his souldiers, as Eusebius declareth, Lib. 8. cap. 14. Also he left no mischeuous nor lasciuious act vnattempted, but was the vtter enemie of all womanly chastitie, which vsed to send the honest wiues, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonestie vnto their husbands (being worthie senators) after that he had rauished them. Hee abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the vnquenchable lust of deflouring of women. Letus declareth that he being at a time far in loue with a noble and chast gentlewoman of Rome, sent vnto her such courriers of his, as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in great estimation then any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the commonweale. These first fell vpon her husband and murthered him within his owne house, then when they could by no meanes neither with feare of the tyrant, or with threatning of death pull her away from him: at length the being a christian desired leaue of them to go into her chamber, and after her prairs she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber, vnder this pretence, she killed her selfe. But the courtiers when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they being displeased therewith, brake open the doores, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they and declared this matter to the emperour, who was so farre past shame, that in stead of repentance he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

Eusseb. lib. 8. cap. 14.

A chamefull act of incontinencie.

An admonition concerning the materiall crosse not to be worshipped, but to be a meanes to bring Constantine to the faith of him which was crucified.

He was also much addict to the art magicall, which to execute, he was more fit then the emperiall dignitie. Also sometime he would rip women when they were in labor, and would search the place where the infant lay, being borne a little before. Often he would inuocate diuels in a secret manner, and by the answeres of them he sought to breake the wars, which he knew Constantinus and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his mischieuous and wicked attempts, which in his vngratious mind he had conceiued, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his raigne he fained himselfe to be a fauourer of the christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting of the christians. And he himselfe in the meane season abstained from no contumelious veration of them, till that he began at the last to shew himselfe an open persecutour of them: at which time as Donatus writeth he most cruelly raged against the christians thereabouts, being them with all manner iniuries. Which thing he in no lesse wise did, then Maximinus, as Eusebius in his eight booke and fifteenth chapter seuenth to attaine. And Platina declareth in the life of Marcellus the bishop, that he banished a certaine noble woman of Rome, because shee gaue her goods to the church.

A christian woman slayeth herselfe to auoid the lust of Parentius.

A monster in the likelihood of an emperour.

A timely patterne of an hypocrite.

Eusseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Thus by the grieuous tyrannie and vnspeakeable wickednesse of this Parentius, the citizens and senatours of Rome being much grieued and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters vnto Constantinus, with much sute and most heartie petitions, desiring him to helpe and release their countrie and citie of Rome: who hearing and vnderstanding their miserable and pitifull state, and grieued therewith not a little,

The Romans send to Constantine for succour.



little, first sendeth by letters to Parentius, desiring and exhorting him to refraine his corrupt doings, and great cruelties. But when no letters nor exhortations would preuaile, at the length preparing the wofull case of the Romans, gathered together his power and armie in Britaine and France, wherewith to repell the violent rage of that tyrant. Thus Constantinus sufficiently appointed with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, entred his iourney comming towards Italie, which was about the last yeare of the persecution, three hundred and eightene. Parentius vnderstanding of the comming of Constantine, and trusting more to his diuelish art of magike, then to the god will of his subiects, which he little deserued, durst not shew himselfe out of the citie, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with priuie garrisons laid in wait for him by the way, in sundrie straits as he should come. Wherin when Constantine had diuers skirmishes, & by the power of the Lord did euer banquith them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding Constantinus yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approching now neere vnto Rome) for the magicall charmes and sorceries of Parentius, wherewith he had banquished before Seuerus sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantinus the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexitie in himselfe, and reuoluing many things in his mind, what helpe he might haue against the operations of his charming, which vsed to cut women great with child, to take his diuelliely charms by the entrails of yinfants, with such other like feates of diuelishnesse which he practised: these things (I say) Constantinus doubting and reuoluing in his mind, in his iourney drawing toward the citie, and calling by his eyes many times to heauen, in the south part, about the going downe of the sunne, saw a great brightnesse in heauen, appearing in the similitude of a crosse, with certaine starres of eyeall bignesse giuing this inscription like Latine letters, IN HOC VINCE, that is: In this ouercome. Eusebius de vita Constant. lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrspurgensis. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in his first booke De vita Constantini, doth witnesse moreouer, that he had heard the said Constantinus himselfe oftentimes report, and also to sweare this to be true and certaine, which he did see with his owne eyes in heauen, and also his souldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his men vpon the meaning thereof, behold in the night season in his sleepe Christ appeared to him with the signe of the same crosse, which he had seene before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carrie it in his wars before him, and so should he haue the victorie.

A miracle of a crosse appearing to Constantine in heauen. In hoc vince. Eusseb. lib 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. Vrspurgensis. Chronic. Paul. Diacon. lib. 11. This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in his first booke De vita Constantini, doth witnesse moreouer, that he had heard the said Constantinus himselfe oftentimes report, and also to sweare this to be true and certaine, which he did see with his owne eyes in heauen, and also his souldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonied, and consulting with his men vpon the meaning thereof, behold in the night season in his sleepe Christ appeared to him with the signe of the same crosse, which he had seene before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carrie it in his wars before him, and so should he haue the victorie.

Eusseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

Now therefore as the Israelites with their Poses at the brimming of their Pharao, sang gloriously vnto the Lord, who miraculously had cast downe the horse and horsemen into the sea: so no lesse reioycing and exceeding gladnesse was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and banquishing his enemies and persecutors.

Exod. 15. The figure of the aforesaid mentioned in the new.

In histories we reade of many victories and great conquests gotten: yet we neuer reade, nor euer shall, of any victorie so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much libertie and life to the posteritie of so many generations. For albeit that some persecution was yet stirring in the east countries by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared: yet in Rome and in all the west parts, no martyr died after this heauenly victorie gotten. And also in the east parts the said Constantinus with the said crosse borne before him, consequently vpon the same so banquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that for the space of a full thousand yeares after that, we reade of no set persecution against the christias, vnto the time of John Wickliffe, when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in further processe of this history (Christ granting) shall appeare. So happie, (so glorious (as I said) was this victorie of Constantine, surnamed the great. For the ioy and gladnesse whereof, the citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the citie of Rome, where he with the crosse was most honorably receiued and celebrated the space of seuen daies together, hauing moreouer in the market place, his image set vp, holding in his right hand the signe of the crosse, with this inscription: Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, ciuitatem nostram iugo tyranni ereptam liberaui: that is, With this wholesome signe, the true token of fortitude, I haue rescued and deliuered our citie from the yoke of the tyrant. Eusseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The glorious and victorious host of Christ.

Perfection in the west craued for a thousand yeares till the time of Wickliffe.

Eusseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heauenly victorie of Constantinus, and by the death of Parentius no little tranquillitie came vnto the church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the east churches the storme of this tenth persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some taile thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three yeares. But of this we minde to speake (Christ willing) hereafter. In the meane season to returne againe to the west parts here in Europe, where Constantine then had most to do, great tranquillitie followed, and long continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand yeares together (to the time of John Wickliffe and Waldenses, as is before touched) by the meanes of the godly beginning of good Constantinus, who with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, ekteames set forth their generall proclamation or edict, not constraining thereby any man to any religion, but giuing libertie to all men, both for the christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adioyne with them, whosoeuer pleased. Which thing was very well taken and highly allowed of the Romans, and all wise men. The copie of the edict or constitution here ensueth.

Note well these thousand yeares and then reade the twentith chapter of the Apocalypse.

Satanas was bound vp for a thousand yeares &c.

## The copie of the emperiall constitution of *Constantinus and Licinius, for the establishing* of the free worshipping of God, after the *christian religion.*

The copie of the emperiall constitution of Constantinus and Licinius. Eusseb. lib. 10. cap. 5

NOt long agone we weying with our selues, that the libertie and freedome of religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leaue ought to be giuen to euery man to do therin according to his wil and mind, we haue giuen commandement to all men to qualifie matters of religion as they themselues thought good, and that also the christians should keep the opinions and faith of their religion: but because that many and sundry opinions by the same our first licence spring and encrease through such libertie granted, we thought good manifestly to adde thereunto, and make plaine such things: whereby perchance some of them in time to come, may from such their obseruance be let or hindred. When therfore by prosperous successe, I Constantius Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus came to Mediolanum, and there sat in councel vpon such things as seemed for the vtilitie and profit of the commonweale, these things amongst others we thought would be beneficiall to all men, yea and before all other things we purposed to establish those things wherein the true reuerence and worship of God is comprehended, that is, to giue vnto the christians free choice to follow what religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestiall grace which is in euery place receiued, may also be imbraced & accepted of al our louing subiects. According therfore vnto this our pleasure vpon good aduisement and sound iudgement, we haue decreed, that no man so hardie be denied to chuse and follow the christian obseruance or religion: but that this libertie be giuen to euery man, that he may applie his mind to what religion he thinketh meet himselfe, whereby God may perfonne vpon vs all his accustomed care and goodnes. To the

intent therefore you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessarie this to write vnto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in our former letters (being sent vnto you in the behalfe of the christians) are contained, and which seeme very vndiscreet and contrarie to our clemencie, may bee made frustrate and adnihilat. Now therefore firmely and freely we will and command, that euery man haue a free liberty to obserue the christian religion, and that without anie griefe or molestation he may bee fusered to doe the same. These things haue we thought good to signifie vnto you by as plaine words as we may, that we haue giuen to the christians free and absolute power to keep and vse their religion. And for so much as this libertie is absolutely giuen of vs vnto them, to vse and exercise their former obseruance, if anie be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the publike tranquillitie of our time, euery man to haue licence and libertie to vse and chuse what kind of worshipping he list himselfe. And this is done of vs only for the intent, that we would haue no man to be enforced to one religion more then another. And this thing also amongst others we haue prouided for the christians, that they may haue againe the possession of such places, in which heretofore they haue been accustomed to make their assemblies; so that if any haue bought or purchased the same either of vs, or of any other: the same places without either money or other recompence, forthwith and without delay we will to be restored againe vnto the said christians. And if any man haue obtained the same by gift from vs, and shall require anie recompence to be made to them in that behalfe: then let the christians repaire to the president (being the iudge appointed for that place) that consideration may be had of those men by our benignitie: all which things we will and command, that you see to be giuen and restored freely, and with diligence vnto the societie of the christians, all delay set apart. And because the christians themselues are vnderstood to haue had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certaine other peculiar places also, not being priuat to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and societie: you shall see also all those to be restored vnto the christians, that is to say, to euery fellowship and company of them, according to the decree, whereof we haue made mention, all delay set apart. Prouided that the order we haue take in the meane time be obserued, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust but be sure to be saued harmelesse by vs. In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalfe of the foresaid companie of the christians, whereby this our commandement may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemencie the common and publike peace may be preserued. For vndoubtedly by this meanes, as before we haue said, the good will and fauour of God towards vs (whereof in many cases we haue had good experience) shall alwaies continue with vs. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisit that the copie of these our letters be set vp in all places, that men may reade and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof.

The effect of the decree which Maximinus made against the christians.

wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus afore mentioned, first repeating vnto him the former decree of Diocletian and Maximinian in few words, with the commandement therein contained touching the persecution against the christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which he himselfe made against them, when he came first to the emperiall dignitie in the east part ioyned with Constantius. Then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the ceasing of the christians, with such fained and pretended causes, as is in the same to be sene. After that, he declareth how he comming to Nicomedia, at the first and supplication of the citizens (which he also fained, as may appeare before) he applying to their sute, reuoked that his former edict, and granted them that no christian should dwell within their citie or territories. Vpon which Sabinus also had giuen forth his letters, rehearing withall the generall recountermand sent forth by him, for the persecution against of the christians. Last of all now he sendeth downe against another surrecountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safetie of the christians, and tranquillitie of them: commanding Sabinus to publish the same. Which edict of his is at large set forth of Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 9. But this surrecountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making wars, and fighting a battell with Licinius, wherein he lost the victorie, comming home againe, take great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard vnto, and honoured: vpon whose answeres he trusting, and depending vpon their inchantments, began his war against Licinius. But after that he perceiued himselfe to be deceiued by them, as by wicked inchanters and deceiuers, and such as had betrayed his safetie and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the christians, and made a most absolute law for the safetie and preseruation of them, with franchise and libertie: the copie whereof ensueth.

The surrecountermand of Maximinus published. Ex Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The vnfained repentance and small decree of Maximinus for the christians.

Imperator Cæsar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessarie that we alwaies carefully prouide and see vnto the benefit and commoditie of such as be our subiects, and to exhibit such things vnto them, whereby they may best obtaine the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and vnderstand what things make best for the profit and commoditie of the commonweale, and best please euery mans disposition. But it is meet and conuenient that euery man haue recourse to that which they haue seene done before their eyes, & that all sorts of men consider the same, and beare it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, vpon the occasion that Diocletianus, and Maximinianus, our progenitors of famous memorie, commanded the assemblies and meetings of the christians to be cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed of our officials: which thing we also perceiue is now put in practise against our subiects, that they in like case may bee spoiled of their goods and substance, which thing chiefely to preuent is our only endeuour. By our letters sent to the gouernors of euery prouince the yeare past, we ordained that if any man were disposed to leane vnto the christian religion, that he might without any iniurie done vnto him accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested: and that he might without any feare or suspicion, do whatsoeuer he therein thought good. But now also we vnderstand that there be certain iudges which haue neglected our commandement, and haue put our subiects in doubt, whether that hath been our pleasure or not; which thing they did, that such men might be the better aduised, how they entred into such religion: wherin they followed their own phantasie. To the intent therefore that after this, all suspicion, doubt, and feare may be taken away: we haue thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to euery man, that it shall be lawfull for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our grant and letters patents, to vse what religion they like best. And also hereby we grant to them licence to build them oratories or temples. And furthermore, that this our grant may more amplie extend vnto them, we vouchsafe to appoint and ordaine, that v. hatsoeuer lands and substance before belonging and appertaining to the christians, and by the commandement of our predecessors were transposed to our reuenue and exchequer, or else be in the possession of any citie, by meanes of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or giuen to any man: all and euery parcell thereof we command shall be restored vnto the proper vse of the christians again, whereby they may all haue in this matter more experience of our godly deuotion and prouidence. *Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.*

A large grant of Maximinus to the christians.

Maximinus thus being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in the guts, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and aduersitie to confesse the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the fauour of those christians, whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they neuer so sterne and stout, at length to stoope, and maugre their hearts to confesse him, as this Maximinus here did, who not long after, by the vehemencie of his disease ended his life. Whereby no more tyrants now were left aliue, to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his persecutions

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 10.* Anno 319. God maketh his enemies to confesse him.

The end and death of Maximinus.



persecutions stirred vp in the east parts, against the saints of God, now remaineth in order of storie to prosecute.

The persecution of the church vnder Licinius.

An enemie to learning. *Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.*

This Licinius being a Dane borne, and made first Cesar by Galerius, as is aboue specified, was afterward ioined with Constantius in gouernment of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts, which before we haue described: although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of vnsatiable riches, giuen to lecherie, ruffle, drunkennesse, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the lawes. He thought no vice worse became a prince then learning, because he himselfe was vnlearned. Eutropius, Lætus, Ignatius, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

There was betweene him and Constantinus in the beginning great familiaritie, and such agreement, that Constantinus gaue vnto him his sister Constantia in matrimonie, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man haue thought him to haue been of any other religion then Constantinus was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantinus in the behalfe of the christians, as we haue shewed: Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. And such was Licinius in the beginning: but after arming himselfe with tyrannie, began to conspire against the person of Constantinus, of whom he had receiued so great benefits, neither fainourable to the law of nature, nor mindfull of his oths, his bond, nor promises. But when he considered that in his conspiracies hee nothing preuailed, for that he saw Constantinus was preserued and safely defended of God: and partly being puffed vp with the vitorie against Parminus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not onely to raise the christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said hee would become an enemie vnto the christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantinus. Therefore first by little and little and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the christians, and banished them his court, which neuer were by any means preiudicial to his kingdome. Then he commanded that all those should be depriued which were knights of the honorable order, vnlesse they would do sacrifice to diuels: Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. The same persecution afterwards stretched hee from his court, into all his prouinces, which with most wicked and deuised lawes he set forth. First, that for no cause the bishops should in any matter communicat together: neither that any man should come at the churches nert vnto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessarie matters and vtilitie of the church.

*Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.* Licinius an apostata.

The fountaine of apostasie.

Knights of the order depriued for not doing sacrifice. *Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.*

A strict charge against the tarrying of the imprisoned christians.

After, that the men and women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come in those places where they vsed to preach and reade the word of God; neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should shut out such women amongst them as should instruct them. The third most cruell and wickedst of all was, that none should helpe and succour those that were cast in prison, nor should destroy any almes or charitie vpon them, though they should die for hunger: and they which shewed any compassion vpon those that were condemned to death should be as greatly punished, as they to whom they shewed the same should be: Eusebius libro primo de vita Constantini. These were the most horrible constitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

*Euseb. lib. 1 de vita Constantini.*

Secret persecution for feare of Constantinus.

After this he vsed violence against the bishops, but yet not openly, for feare of Constantinus, but priuilie and by conspiracie: by which meanes he slue those that were the worthiest men amongst the doctors and prelats. And about Amasea and other cities of Pontus, he raced the churches euen with the ground. Other some he shut vp, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God: and there fore as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantinus, and not at all for him. And from this place in the east parts to the Lybians, which bordered vpon the Egyptians, the christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of Licinius, which he had conceiued against them. Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 2.

*Sozomenus, lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were vnder him, thinking by this meanes to please him, slue and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and hainous offendors: and such rigorousnes vsed they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small peeces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. What shall we speake of the exiles and confiscations of good and vertuous men? For he took by violence euery mans substance, and cared not by what meanes he came by the same: but threatned them with death, vnlesse they would forgo the same. He banished those which had committed none euill at all. Thee commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should bee made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gaue their daughters that were vnmaried to harlets and to wicked ones to be defloured. And Licinius himselfe (although that by reason of his yeres his bodie was spent) yet shamefullie did he vitiate many women, mens wiues & maids. Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Constantini. Which cruell

*Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8.* The violent wrongs of Licinius.

*Euseb. lib. 1. de vita Const.*

outrage of him caused many godly men of their owne accord to forsake their houses: and it was also seene, that the woods, fields, desert places and mountains were faine to be the habitations and resting places of the poore and miserable christians. Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 14. Of those worthie men and famous martyrs, which in this persecution found the way to heauen, Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 10. first speaketh of Theodosius, who first by hanging vpon the crosse, had nailes thrust into his armes & feet, and after that his head stricken off. Also of another Theodorus being the bishop of Tyre: the third was a man of Pergæa: Basilius also the bishop of Amasenus, Nicholaus the bishop of Mirous, Gregorius of Armenia the great; after that Paul of Neocesaria, which by the impious commandement of Licinius had both his hands cut off with a fearing iron. Besides these were in the citie of Sebastia fortie worthie men, and christian souldiers in the vehement cold time of winter soiled and drowned in a horse pond, when Lucias as yet, of whom we spake before, and Agricolaus executing the thirstes office vnder Licinius in the east parts, were aliue: and were in great estimation, for inuenting of new and strange torments against the christians. The wiues of those fortie good men were carried to Heraclea a citty in Thracia, and there, with a certaine deacon whose name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly indured) slaine with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus. Also Sozomenus in his ninth book and second chapter maketh mention of the same martyrs. And Basilius in a certaine oration semeth to intreat of their historie, saiuing that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And Eusebie Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to haue ouerrun all the christians: to which thing neither counsell, nor good will, nor yet opportunitie perchance wanted; vnlesse God had brought Constantinus into those parts where he gouerned: there, in the warres which he himselfe began (knowing right well that Constantinus had intelligence of his conspiracie and treason) toyning battell with him, was most cowardly ouercome.

The christians flee into the wildernesse.

Hot persecution renewed. Sozomenus. Aduise. Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea. Basilius bishop of Amasea. Nicholaus bishop of Myrrha. Gregorius bishop of Armenia. Paulus bishop of Neocesaria, with fortie other holie men. Fortie good men and their wiues martyred. Fortie wiues of fortie men martyred.

The wicked persecution of Eusebie Licinius, had the like not been pronounced by God and slaine by Constantinus.

Diuers battels betweene them were fought, the first fought in Hungarie, where Licinius was ouerthrowne: then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his armie, was againe discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly at Nicomedia yeelded himselfe to Constantine, and was commanded to liue a priuat life in Thessalia, where at length he was slaine by the souldiers.

Licinius ouercome in battell by Constantinus.

Thus haue ye heard the end and conclusion of al the seuen tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chiefe captaine and meenteur of which persecution was first Diocletian, who died at Salena as some say, by his owne poison, in the yere of our Lord three hundred and nintene. The nert was Maximinian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Massilia, about the yere of our Lord three hundred and tenne. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible disease sent of God. Seuerus was slaine by Maximinus, father of Parentius the wicked tyrant, who was ouercome & vanquished of Constantine, in the yere of our Lord three hundred and eighteene. Maximinus the first tyrant tarried not long after, who being ouercome by Licinius, died about the yere of our Lord three hundred and twentie. Lastly, how this Licinius was ouercome by Constantine and slaine, in the yere of our Lord three hundred twentie and foure, is before declared. Vnele Constantius, the father of Constantine being a god and a godlie emperour, died in the third yere of the persecution, in the yere of our Lord three hundred and ten, and was buried at Yorke. After whom succeeded after his godly father Constantinus, as a second Moses sent and set vp of God to deliuer his people out of this so miserable captiuitie, into libertie most ioyfull.

The end and death of these tyrants which were the authors of this tenth persecution.

Now remaineth after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather vp the names and stories of certaine particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth worthie of speciall memorie, for their singular constancie and fortitude, shewed in their sufferings and cruell torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, being in number infinit, in vertue most excellent, it is impossible here to compehend: but the most notable, and in most approued authors expressed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other christians, which may and ought to take vpon their examples, first beginning with Albanus, the first martyr that euer in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

A briefe note of the most notable martyrs that suffered in this tenth persecution.

At what time Diocletian and Maximinian the pagan emperours had directed out their letters with all seueritie, for the persecuting of the christians; Alban being then an infidell, receiued into his house a certaine clerke, fleeing from the persecutors handes, whom when Alban beheld, continuallie both day and night to persecure in watching and prayer, suddenlie by the great mercie of God, hee began to imitate the example of his faith and vertuous life: whereupon by little and little hee being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leauing the blindnesse of his idolatrie, became at length a perfect christian. And when the forenamed clerke had lodged with him a certaine time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessour of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harbored in Albanus house, or euery where vnto him. Whereupon

Albanus.

Albanus martyr.

Fruit of hospitalitie to be noted.

Albanus first conuerted, and by what occasion.

vpon immediatly be gaue in charge to the souldiers, to make more diligent inquisition of the matter. Who as soone as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, by and by putting on the apparell where with his ghest and matter was apparelled (that is, a garment at that time vsed, named caracalla) offered himselfe in the stead of the other to the souldiers: who binding him, brought him forthwith to the iudge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought into the iudge they found the same iudge at the altars offering sacrifice vnto diuels, who as soone as he saw Alban, was straightwaies in a great rage, for that he would presume of his owne voluntarie will, to offer himselfe to perill, and giue himselfe a prisoner to the souldiers, for safegard of his ghest whom he harbored; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the diuels whom he worshipped, saying: For that thou haddest rather hid and conueyed away a rebell, then to deliuer him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemie: loke what punishment he ghuld haue had, thon for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceiue thee any whit to reuolt from our manner of worshipping. But blessed Alban, who of his owne accord had bewraied to the persecutors that he was a christian, feared not at all the menaces of the prince, but being armed with spirituall armour, openly pronounced that he would not obay his commandement. Then said the iudge: Of what stocke or kindred art thou come? Alban answered, What is that to you, of what stocke so euer I came of, if you desire to heare the veritie of my religion, I doe yee to wit that I am a christian, and apply my selfe altogether to that calling. Then said the iudge, I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay. Then said he, My parents named me Alban, and I worship and honor the true and liuing God, which hath created all the world. Then said the iudge straight with furie, If thou will inioy the felicitie of this present life, doe sacrifice: and that out of hand, to these mightie gods. Alban replied: These sacrifices which ye offer vnto diuels, can neither helpe them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their supplicants: but rather shall they, that soeuer they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receiue for their meed euerlasting paine of hell fire. The iudge, when he heard these words, was passing angrie, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessour of God, indeuoring to ouercome the constancie of his heart with stripes, which had preuailed nothing with words. And when he was cruellie beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather ioyfully for the Lords sake. Then when the iudge saw that he would not with torments be ouercome, nor be reduced from the worship of christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

The rest that followeth of this storie in the narration of Beda, as of diuing vp the riuer, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then of making a welspaing in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eies of him that did behead him (with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his storie) because they seeme more legendlike then truthlike: againe, because I see no great profit nor necessitie in the relation thereof, I leaue them to the free iudgement of the reader, to thinke of them as cause shall moue him.

The like estimation I haue of the long storie, wherein is written at large a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of S. Alban, taken out of the librarie of S. Albans, compiled (as there is said) by a certaine pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to Rome, there to be baptised. But because in the beginning of prologue of the booke, the said writer maketh mention of the ruinous walles of the towne of Verolamium, containing the storie of Albanus, & of his bitter punishments which walles were then falling downe for age, at the writing of the said booke, as he saith: thereby it seemeth this storie to be written a great while after the martyrdome of Alban, either by a Britaine, or by an Englishman. If he were a Britaine, how then did the Latine translation take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himselfe doth testifie? If he were an Englishman, how then did he go vp to Rome for baptisme, being a pagan, when he might haue bin baptised among the christian Britains more neare at home?

But among all other euidences and declarations sufficient to dispproue this legendarie storie of S. Alban, nothing maketh more against it, then the very storie it selfe: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr, to speake vnto the people after it was smitten off from the bodie. Also where he bringeth in the angels going vp and comming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long. Item, in the riuer which he saith S. Alban made drie, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottome, were found aliue. With other such like monkish miracles and grosse fables, wherewith these abbie monks were wont in times past to deceiue the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their owne aduantage. Notwithstanding this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithfull martyr of God, who was the first that I did euer find in this realme, to suffer martyrdome for the testimonie of Christ. And worthie no doubt of condigne commendation, especially of vs here in this land; whose christian faith in the Lord, and charitie toward his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish moreouer that the storyes both of him, and of all other christian martyrs might haue been deliuered to vs simple as they were, without the admixture of all these abbeyelike additions of monkish miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glorie of such saints to the moll, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receiue most aduantage.

As touching the name of the clerke mentioned in this storie, whom Alban receiued into his house, I find in the English stories to bee Amphibalus, although the Latine authors name him not, saue the same time flying into Wales, was also set from thence against to the same towne of Verolamium, otherwise called Verlancaster, where he was martyred, hauing his bellie opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawne out, then thrust in with swords and daggers: and at last was stoned to death, as the foresaid legend declareth.

Moreouer the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the foresaid citie of Verlancaster, whose names were Aaron and Julius: besides others, whereof a great number the same time no doubt did suffer, although our chronicles of their names doe make no rehearsall.

The time of the martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third yeere of this tenth persecution, vnder the tyrannie of Diocletian, and Maximianus Herculius, bearing then the rule in England, about the yeere of our Lord two hundred and one, before the conuming of Constantius to his gouernment. Where by the way is to be noted, that this realme of Britaine being so ordered before, yet neuer was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Diocletian and Maximian. In which persecution our stories and Polychronicon doe record, that all christianitie almost in the whole Iland was destroyed, the churches subuerted, all bookes of the scripture burned, many of the faithfull both men and women were slaine: amongest whom the first and chiefe ringleader (as hath been said) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britaine. Now from England to returne againe vnto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage: we will adde hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffred in this persecution (which were impossible, but of certaine most principall, whose singular constance in their strong torments are chiefly reuolued in latter histories: beginning first with Romanus the notable and admirable souldier and true seruant of Christ, whose historie set forth in Prudentius, both thus proceed: so lamentablie by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with drie cheekes to heare it.

Pitilesse Galerius with his grand captaine Asclepiades violentlie inuaded the citie of Antioch, intending by force of armes to driue all christians to renounce vtterly their pure religion. The christians as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolues were at hand which would deuoure the christian flocke: but feare not (said he) neither let this imminent perill disturbe you my brethren. Brought was it to passe, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens were all of one will and mind, most readie to shed their bloud in defence of their christian profession. Word was brought vnto the captaine, that the rout of armed souldiers was not able to wrest the staffe of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did incourage them, that they sticke not to offer their bodies, willingly glorifie to die for the name of their Christ. Seeke out that rebell (quoth the captaine) and bring him to me that he may answer for the whole sect. Apprehended he was, and bound as a sheepe appointed to the slaughter house, was presented to the emperor, who with wrathfull countenance beholding him, said: What? Art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their liues? By the gods I sweare thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the paines, whereunto thou hast incouraged the hearts of thy fellowes. Romanus answered: Thy sentence O emperour I ioyfully imbrace, I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell means as thou maist inuent: and whereas thy souldiers were repelled from the christian congregation, that so happened, because they are not in idolaters and worshippers of diuels, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades wholie inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed vp, and his bowels drawne out. The executioners themselues more pitifull in heart then the captaine, said: Not so sir, this man is of noble parentage, vnlawfull is it to put a noble man to so vnnoble a death. Scourge him then with whips (quoth the captain) with knaps of lead at the ends. In stead of teares, sighs and grones, Romanus sung psalmes all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to fauour him for nobilitie sake; Not the bloud of my progenitors (said he) but christian profession maketh me noble. Then with great power of spirit he inueied against the captaine, laughing to scorne the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the

The stories of the saints corrupted with lies.

Amphibalus, martyr. Flores Hist.

The martyrdome of Amphibalus.

Aaron, Julius martyr.

Persecution in this realme of Britaine.

The lamentable storie of Romanus martyr.

The rebuke of Romanus to the christians.

The christian boldnes of Romanus.

The noble patience of Romanus in his suffering.



true God that created heauen and earth, before whose iudiciall seat all nations shall appeare. But the wholsome words of the martyr were as oile to the fire of the captains furie. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, in so much that he commanded the martyrs sides to be lanced with knines, vntill the bones appeared white againe. Soone am I, O captaine (quoth he martyr) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorowfull, who being corrupted with damnable errours, seducest others. The second time hee preached at large the liuing God, and the Lord Iesus Christ his welbeloued sonne, eternall life through faith in his blond, expelling therewith the abomination of idolatrie, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the liuing God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to skrike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciatio at leastwise might be impaired. The commandement was obayed, his face buffeted, his eie lids torne with their nails, his cheeks scorched with knines, the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh, finallie his seemely face was wholly defaced. The meeke martyr said: I thanke thee, O captaine, that thou hast opened vnto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Sauiour Christ. Looke how many woundes I haue, so many mouths I haue lauding and praysing God. The captaine astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to ceasse from the tortures. He threatneth cruell fire, he reuileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying: Thy crucified Christ is but a pestredaess God, the gods of the gentiles are of most antiquitie.

Heere against Romanus taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternitie of Christ, of his humane nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said: Giue me a child, O captaine, but seuen yeeres of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt heare what he will say. His request was granted. A pretie boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell me my babe (quoth the martyr) whether thou thinke it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one father, or els that we worship infinit gods? Vnto whom the babe answered: That certainly, what soeuer it be that men affirme to be God, must needs be one: which with one, is one & the same: and in as much as this one is Christ, of necessitie Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot beleeue. The captaine hereat cleane amazed, said: Thou young villaine and traitor, where and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother (quoth the child) with whose milke I sucked in this lesson, that I must beleeue in Christ. The mother was called, and the gladly appeared. The captaine commanded the child to be hoysed vp, & scourged. The pitifull beholders of this pitilesse act, could not temper themselues from teares: the ioyfull and glad mother alone, flood by with drie cheeks: yea, she rebuked her tender babe for craning a draught of cold water. She charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlem once dranke of, forgetting their mothers milke and paps: she willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender necke to the dint of his fathers sword. Whilest this counsell was in giuing, the butcherly tortor plucked the skin from the crowne of his head haire and all. The mother cried, Suffer my child, anon thou shalt passe to him that will adorne thy naked head with a crowne of eternall glorie. The mother counselleth, the child is counselled: the mother incourageth, the babe is incouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The captaine perceiuing the child inuincible, and himselfe vanquished, committeth the sillie soule, the blessed babe, the child vncherished, to the stinking pitlon, commanding the torments of Romanus to bee renewed and increased, as chiefe author of this euill.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes and punishments, to be renewed & receiued vpon his old sores, in so much as the bare bones appeared, the flesh al tone awaie wherein no pity was sheweth, but the raging tyrant puffing out of his blasphemous mouth, like a mad man these words, cried out to the tormentors, saying:

Where is (quoth the captaine) where is your might?
What? are yee not able one bodie to spill?
Scant may it, so weake is it, stand vpright:
And yet in spite of vs, shall it liue still?

The griph with talen, the dog with his tooth,
Could soone ye dastards, this corps rent and teare:
He scorneth our gods in all that he dooth,
Cut, pricke, and pounce him, no longer forbeare.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbeare, but nedes he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. Is it painefull to thee (said he) to tarrie so long alue? A flaming fire doubt thou not shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy thy fellow of rebellion shall be consumed into ashes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he loked backe, saying: I appeale from this thy tyrannie, O Iudge vniust, vnto the righteous throne of Christ that ypright iudge: not because I feare thy cruell torments and merciless handlings, but that thy indgements may be knowne to be cruell and bloudie. Now when they were come to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for he had taken it vp in her armes: and the onelie kissing it, deliuered the babe; Farewell, she said, my sweet childe. And as the hangman applied his sword to the babes necke, she sang on this manner:

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord we yeeld to thee:
To whom the death of all thy saints,
We know most deare to bee.

The innocents head being cut off, the mother wrapped it vp in her garment, and laid it to her breast. On the other side a mightie fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast, who said, that he should not burne: whereuppon a great storme arose (if it be true), and quenched the fire. The captaine gaue in commandement that his tongue should be cut out. But was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: neuertheless he spake, saying: He that speaketh Christ shall neuer want a tongue; thinke not that the voice that vttereth Christ, hath need of the tongue to be the minister. The captaine at this, halfe out of his wit, bare in hand that the hangman deceiued the sight of the people by some subtill sleight and craftie conueiance. Not so (quoth the hangman) if ye suspect my deed, open his mouth and diligently search the rots of his tongue. The captain at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commandeth him to be brought backe into the prison, and there to be strangled. Where his sorowfull life and paines being ended, he now inioyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetuall hope of his miserable bodie to be restored againe with his soule into a better life: where no tyrant shall haue any power: Prudentius in hymnis de coronis martyrum.

Gordius was a citizen of Cesaria, a worthie souldier, and captaine of an hundred men. He in the time of extreame persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his owne accord willing exile, and liued in the desert many yeeres a religious and solitarie life. But vpon a certaine day when a solemne feast of Mars was celebrated in the citie of Cesarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games: he left the desert, and got him vp into the chiefe place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle: Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me haue I openlie appeared. By which words he let it to be vnderstood, that of his owne accord he came vnto those games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the sights, loked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soone as it was knowne to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded silence, hee was brought vnto the thirsiffe, who at that instant was present, and ordained the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he tellethe the truth of euery thing as it was; I am come, saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the christian religion, but that I professe Iesu Christ to be my hope and safetie; and when I vnderstood with what cruelties ye handle other men, I tooke this as a fit time to accomplish my desire. The thirsiffe with these words was greatly moued, and reuengeth all his displeasure vpon poore Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while gibbets, and whatsoeuer torments els might be deuised. Wherevnto Gordius answered, saying, that it should be to him an hinderance and damage if he could not suffer and endure diuers torments and punishments for Christ his cause. The thirsiffe being more offended with this his boldnesse, commanded him to feele as many kind of torments as there were. With all which Gordius notwithstanding could not be mastered or ouercome: but lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, singeth this saying out of the psalmes: The Lord is my helper, I will not feare the thing that man can doe to me: and also this saying, I will feare none euill, because thou Lord art with me.

After this, he against himselfe prouoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they fauour him any thing at all. When the thirsiffe saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleneese and inticing words, to turne the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will new Christ: as to make him a captaine of as many men as any other is, to giue him riches, treasure, and what other thing soeuer he desireth. But in vaine (as the prouerb is) pipeth the minstrell to him that hath no eares to heare, for he deriding the foolish madnesse of the magistrat saith, that it lieth not in him to place any in authoritie, which he worthie to haue a place in heauen. The magistrat with these words throughlie angred and vexed, prepareth himselfe to his condemnation. Whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the citie to be burnt. There run out of the citie great multitudes by heapes to see him put to execution, some take him in their armes, and lowlingly kisse him,

The fire quenched with teares that should burne Romanus.

Romanus after long torments strangled & pitcht.

Gordius of his owne accord willingly himselfe to be a christian.

Gordius brought to examination.

The confession of Gordius.

Gordius condemned to be burnt.

The exhortation of Gordius to his fellowes.

him, perswading him to take a better way, & leaue himselfe and that with weeping teares. To whom Gordius answered, Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which alwaies make warre against the christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for vs a fire, purchasing hell fire for themselues in the day of vengeance: and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my soule and mind. Truly (saith he) I am ready for the name of Christ, to suffer & endure a thousand deaths if need were. Some other came vnto him, which perswaded him to denie Christ with his mouth, and to keepe his conscience to himself. My tongue, saith he, which by the goodnes of God I haue, cannot be brought to denie the author and giuer of the same: for with the heart we beleeue vnto righteousnesse, and with the tongue we confesse vnto saluation. Many mo such like words he spake: but especially inciting to them such matter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdome. After all this, with a merrie and glad countenance, neuer changing so much as his colour, his twilingliе gaue himselfe to be burnt. Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

A subtill kind of bill-makers.

None ought to denie Christ with his mouth, and confesse him with the heart.

The martyrdome of Sophias.

Ex Basilio, sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

Genas martyr. Ex Simeon. Metaphrast. 10. sep.

Not much vnlike to the storie of Gordius is the storie also of Genas an Egyptian, who being likewise a souldier by his profession, in this persecution of Diocletian forsooke all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gaue himselfe to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the scriptures. At length returning againe to the citie Cotis, there in the open theatre, as the people were occupied vpon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himselfe to bee a christian, & vpon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president: of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this answer: Conuenient it is that I should (saith he) confesse God, in whom to light and no darkenesse, for so much as Paul the preacher of truth hearteneth vs to right confidence, with mouth confession is giuen to saluation. After this the innocent martyr was most painefully pinched and cruciat with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith inuincible, hauing these words in his mouth being in the midst of his torments: There is nothing in my mind that can bee compared to the kingdome of heauen; neither is all the world, if it were weied in balance, able to bee conferred with the price of one sorle and said, Who is able to separate vs from the loue of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? And moreouer (said he) I haue thus learned of my Lord and my king, not to feare them which kill the bodie and haue no power to kill the soule, but to feare him rather, who hath power to destroy both bodie and soule in hell fire. To make the storie short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, then the last sentence of death was vpon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded; Genas being then had to the place of execution said: I giue thee thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not giuen me to be deuoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made mee to remaine constant in thy pure faith vnto thy last ende. And so this blessed souldier fighting valiantly vnder the banner of Christ, lost his head, and wonne his soule. Simeon Metaphrast. rom. 5. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixitie I doe omit.

The confession of Sophias.

The praier of Sophias at his death.

Genas martyred.

Simeon Metaphrastes. 5.

The storie of fortie martyrs.

Basilius in a certaine sermon of fortie martyrs rehearseth this storie not vnworthie to be noted. There came, saith he, into a certaine place (of which place he maketh no mention) the emperours marshall or officer, with the edict which the emperour had set out against the christians, that whosoeuer confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did priuily sibeare certaine, which should detect and accuse the christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Vpon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheele, and the whips were brought forth at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for feare did flee, some did stand in doubt what to doe: certaine were so terrified at the beholding of these engins and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agonie of martyrdome, but vanquished at length, by the intollerable paine of their torments, made shipwracke of their consciences, and lost the glorie of their confession. Among others, fortie there were at that time, young gentlemen, all souldiers, which after the marshall had shewed the emperors edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same freely and boldly of their owne accord confessed themselues to be christians, & declared to him their names. The marshal seeing that amazed at this their boldnes of speech, stood in doubt what was best to doe. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with faire words, admonishing them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a cruell and untimely death for a sweete and pleasant life: after that he promiseth them manie, and honorable offices in the emperors name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life dignitie, nor many, but onely the celestiall kingdome of Christ, saying further that they are ready for the loue and faith they haue in God, to endure the affliction of the whole, the crosse and the fire. The rude marshall being herewith offended, deuiseth a new kind of punishment. He shed out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which lay full vpon the cold northerne wind, for it was in the winter time, wherin he caused them to be put all that night: but they being merrie and comforting one another, receiued this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their cloths: We put off (said they) now not our clothes, but we put off the old man corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence; we giue the thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparell wee may also put off by thy grace the sinfull man: for by meanes of the serpent wee once put him on, and by the meanes of Jesus Christ wee put him off. When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they felt most vehement cold: in so much that all the parts of their bodies were starke and stiffe therewith. All one as it was day, they yet hauing breath, were brought into the fire, wherin they were consumed, & their ashes throwne into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so neere dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pitie, laid vnto his mother standing by, that they would saue his life. But she with her owne hands taking her sonne, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, & admonished him to accomplish the blessed iournie hee had taken in hand with his companions. Basil.

The martyrs in a cold pond all a winters night.

The martyrs taken out of the pond were cast into the fire.

A like storie of fortie martyrs, which were maried men, we reade of in Nicephorus and Sozomenus, lib. 9. ca. 2. which were killed likewise in a lake or pond at Sebastia, a towne of Armenia, vnder Licinius; if the storie bee not the same with this: Nicep. Sozom.

Another storie of fortie martyrs in a cold pond at Sebastia.

Tyrus, Joannes.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot bee left out and forgot the storie of Tyrus. This Tyrus was a physicion borne in Alexandria, which liuing into Egypt, in the persecution of Diocletian, and Maximian, lead a solitarie life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, vnto whose companie after a certaine time did Joannes borne in the citie of Sodis, beyond the riuer Euphrates, ioyne himselfe, leaning the souldiers life which before that time he had exercised. But whilest as yet the same persecution raged in a citie in Egypt called Cainope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certaine godly christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodata, and Eudoxia: with whom Tyrus was well acquainted. At whose infirmities hee much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, came and visited them for their better confirmation: at which time Lucianus was chiefe captaine and lieutenant of Egypt, of whose wickednesse and cruelnie, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his apologie. And in his epistle in those that lead a solitarie life. This Tyrus therefore and Joannes, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whose perswasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the emperors religion, and could by no meanes be brought to doe sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: Athanasia also and her three daughters being condemned to death. This historie writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.

Athanasia with her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodata, Eudoxia, martyrs. The louing care of one christian toward another.

Tyrus to doe others good lost his life.

Sebastian being borne in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis was a christian, and was lieutenant generall of the vaward of Diocletian the emperour, who also incouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations vnto constancie, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his owne souldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that his bodie was thrown into a lake or sinke. Ambrosius maketh mention of his Sebastian the martyr in his commentarie vpon the hundred and eighteenth psalme; and Simeon Metaphrastes amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian numbreth also these following: Nicostratus with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus with Martia his wife, Tragilinus, Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castellius, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with others mo.

The storie of Sebastian martyr. A worthie example of a captaine to bee followed. Marcus, Marcellinus, Nicostratus with Zoe his wife. Tranquillinus with Martia his wife. Tragilinus, Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castellius, martyrs.

Basilius in another sermon also maketh mention of one Barlaam being a noble and famous martyr, which abode all the torments of the executioners cuen to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him vpon the altar, where they did vse to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had put some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would haue scattered the burning incense vpon the altar, and so haue sacrificed. But of that their hope the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same indured euen as though it had been couered with hot embers, when as Barlaam recited out of the psalmes this saying: Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.

Barlaam.

What desire the heathen had by their tormentes to allure the christians to offer sacrifice.

Agricole, with his seruant Cyriacus martyred. Ex Ambros. in sermone Dei gratia.

To this narration of Basilius touching the martyrdome of Barlaam, wee will annex consequently another storie of Ambrose. He making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution vnder



Agricola dieth as it were vpon the crosse.

A good mother, caring more for the soule then for the bodie of her sonne. Ex Basil. in sermone 40. martyribus.

The cruell martyrdome of Cincennius. Ex Augustin. in sermo.

Vitalis first martyred.

Philoxenus, martyr. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9.

The confession and martyrdome of Philoxenus. Diocletian martyr. The torments and constancie of Diocletian to death.

vnder Diocletian and Maximian (as they to affirme) at Bonone. This Vitalis was seruant to Agricola, who both together betweene themselues had made a compact to giue their liues with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Vitalis being sent before of his maister to offer himselfe to martyrdome, fell sick into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all meanes to cause him denie Christ. Which when he would in no case doe, but stoutly perstibed in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so vnmercifully that there was no whole skin left on all his bodie. So Vitalis in the middest of the agonie and painefull torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himselfe to God, gaue vp his life. After him the tormentors set vpon Agricola his master, whose vertuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked and knowne to the enemies, his suffering therfore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delay and driuing off, and prouoking moreouer the aduersaries to quicker speed, at length was fastned vnto the crosse, and so finished his martyrdome, which he so long desired. Ambrof. in exhortatione ad virgines.

So lesse worthie of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdome of Cincentius, whose historie here followeth. This Cincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite most godly and vertuous, who at this time suffered martyrdome at Valence vnder Dacianus the president, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne Bergomensis in his supplement receiteth these words concerning his martyrdome, out of a certaine sermon of Saint Augustine: Our heart conceiued not a paine and fruitlesse sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies, but certainly a great sight and maruellous, and therewith singular pleasure receiued it, when the painefull passion of victorious Vincentius was read vnto vs. Is there any so heauie hearted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this vnmooueable martyr, so manly, or rather so godlie, fighting against the craft and subtitie of that serpent, against the tyrannie of Dacianus, against the horrors of death, and by the mightie spirit of his God conquering all? But let vs in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the paines thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacianus caused the martyr to be laid vpon the torture, and all the ioynts of his bodie to be distended and racked out, vntill they cracht againe. This being done in most extreame and cruell manner, all the members of his painfull and pitifull bodie were grieuously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, that his dolors and griefes might be augmented, they miserably wered his flesh with iron combs sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meeke & milde martyrs flesh, the tormentors themselues also were busie scourged at the presidents commandement. And lest his passion through want of paines might seeme imperfect or else to ease, they laid his bodie being all out of ioynt, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all into a vile dungeon was this mightie martyr driuen, the floore whereof first was thicke spred with the sharpest shels that might be gotten, his feete then being fast locked in the stockes, there was he left alone without all worldlie comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the holie spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with ioy and gladnesse. But thou prepared a terrible rache (O cruel tyran) to deuouring lion) for the martyrs bed. The Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet vnto him. Rackest thou his bones and ioynts at aliuder? his bones, his ioynts, his haires are all numbred. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortall wounds? The Lord shall powre abundantlie into all his sores of his oile of gladnesse. Thy scraping combes, thy sharpe fleshhookes, thine hote searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shelles, thy pinching stockes shall turne to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plentie of ioy shall he reape into the barne of his soule, out of this mightie harueit of paines that thou hast brought him into. Yea thou shalt prooue him Cincentius in deede: that is, a banquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madnesse by his meekenesse, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold meanes of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifullie inriched.

The martyrs tormented to confesse the christians.

The comfort of the Lord vpon his saints.

The contrarie and brideright exhibited an example of an vnconstant christian.

In this catalogue or companie of such holy martyrs, as suffered in this forsaid tenth persecution, many mo and almost innumerable there be expressed in authors, beside them whom we haue hitherto comprehended. As Philoxonius, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who being perswaded by his friends to fauour himselfe, to respect his wife, to consider his children and familie, did not onely reiect the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the iudge, to keepe the confession of Christ inuiolat vnto the death, and losing of his head: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 9. Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Eusebius beareth witnesse that he was there present himselfe.

Of like estate and dignitie was also Procopius in Palestina, who after his conuersion hyalse his images of siluer and gold, and distributed the same to the poore, and after all kind of

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 15.

torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of going and stabbing in, of fiering, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 15.

To this may be ioyned also Georgius a young man of Cappadocia, who stoutly inueying against the impious idolatry of the emperours, was apprehended and cast into prison, then tone with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords, after that his hands and feet with other members of his bodie being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off: Nicephorus ibid.

Georgius martyr, the sundrie torments of Georgius.

With these aforenamed adde also Sergius and Bacchius, Panthaleon a physitian in Nicomedia, mentioned in Supplem. lib. 8. Theodorus of the citie of Amasia in Hellespant, mentioned of Vincentius, lib. 3. Faustus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 5. Gereon with three hundred and eightene fellow martyrs, which suffered about Colour: Petr. de nat. lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the president of Athens, who being conuerted by the constancy of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Samonas, Gurias and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrast. Pieron also with certaine of his confessors, vnder Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphrastes. Judes and Domnus, who suffered with many other martyrs aboue mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Eustachius, Maximinus the emperors officers, whom Faustia the virgin in her torments conuerted. Also Chirsius, Lucius Callinicus, Apollonius, Philenton, Atlas, Leonides, with Arrianus president of Thebaide, Cyprianus likewise a citizen of Antioch, who after he had continued a long time a filthie magician or sorcerer, at length was conuerted and made a deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 120. of whom partlie wee touched somewhat before. This Cyprian with Justina a virgin suffered among the martyrs. Item Glicerius at Nicomedia, Felix a minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, deacons in the citie of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Cyriacus deacon to Marcellus the bishop, Carpophorus priest at Thuscia, with Abundus his deacon. Item Claudius, Sirinus, Antoninus which suffered with Marcellinus the bishop: Sabel. Enead. 7. lib. 8. Cucufatus in the citie Barcinona. Felix bishop of Aquila, with Audaxius and Tamarius his priest, Fortunatus and Septimius his readers, who suffered in the city Venusina vnder Diocletian: Bergom. lib. 8.

Sergius, Bacchius, Damphaleon, Theodorus, Faustus, Gereon, with 318. fellowes. Hermogenes, Menas a man of Athens, Eugraphus. Saimonas, Surias, Abibus, Pieron with his fellowes, Judes, Domnus. Eustachius, Maximinus, Lucius, Callinicus, &c. as is in the text.

It were too long a trauell or trouble to recite all and singuler names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Diocletian did consume. The number of whom being almost infinit, is not to be collected or expressed. One storie yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Cassianus, whose pitifull trage-rie being described of Prudentius we haue here inserted, vending metre for metre, as followeth.

The lamentable storie of Cassianus martyr. Ex Aurel. Prudent. lib. peristephan.

THrough Forum, as in Italie, I passed once to Roome,
Into a church by chance came I, and stood fast by a toome.
Which church sometime a place had been, where causes great in law
Were scand and tried, and iudgement giuen, to keep brute men in awe.
This place Sylla Cornelius, first built, he rais'd the frame;
And call'd the same Forum; and thus, that citie tooke the name.
In prayer feruent as I stood, casting mine eie aside,
A picture in full pirious mood (imbrude) by chance I spide:
A shotshard wounded marks full bad, all mangled, rent, and torne;
The skin appear'd as though it had been iagd and prickt with thorne.
A scull of pictured boies did band, about that lothsome sight,
That with their sharpned gads in hand, his members thus had dighte.
These gads were but their pens, wherewith their tables written were,
And such as scholars often sith, vnto the scholes doe beare.
Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd sit, and frimeke doest behold,
No fable is, I doe thee wit, vnaskt a prelat told
That waike thereby: but doth declare, the historie of one,
Which written, would good record beare, what faith was long agone.
A skilfull schoolemaster this was, that here sometime did teach:
The bishop once of Brixia was, and Christ full plaine did preach.
He knew well how to comprehend, long talke in a few lines:
And it at length how to amend, by order and by times.
His sharpe precepts and his sterne looks, his beardles boies did feare:
When hate in heart (yet for their bookes) full deadlie they did beare.
The child that learnes, I doe yee weet, termes aie his tutor crule:
No discipline in youth seemes sweet, count this a common rule.
Behold the raging time now here, oppressing so the faith,
Doth persecute Gods children deere and all that Christ bewraith.
This truste teacher of the swarme, profest the liuing God:
The chiefe good thing they count their harme, perhaps he stakes his (rod.
What needs (aske the parties) is he I beare so loud?
Vnto our youth an instrument, they say, and low they bowd.
Go bring the caitiffe foorth, he bids, and make no long delay:
Let him be set the boies amids: they doe as he doth say.
Let him be giuen vnto them all, and let them haue their will,
To doe to him what spite they shall, so that they will him kill.
Euen as they list let them him fray, and him deride so long,
Till weariuesse prouoke their play, no longer to prolong.
Let them I say then vncontroll'd, both pricke and scorch his skin:
To bathe their hands let them be bold, in the hot bloud of him.
The scholars hereat make great game, it pleaseth them full well:
That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell.
They bind his hands behind his backe, and naked they him strip:
In bodkin wise at him they nacke, they laugh to see him skip.
The priuie hate that each one hath in heart, it now appeares:

They

They powre it foorth in gawly wrath, they wreak them of their teares:
Some call great flames, some other breakes, their tables on his face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke (oh barren boies of grace)
The blood runs downe his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams:
Where notes by thē were made (though loth) & wel proponed theams.
Some whet, some sharpe their pensels points, feruing to write withall:
Some other gage his flesh and ioynts, as with a pointed nall.
Sometime they pricke, sometime they rent, this worthie martyrs flesh:
And thus by turnes they doe torment this constellar afresh.
Now all with one consent on him their bloudie hands they lay:
To lee the blood from him to lan, drop downe they make a play.
More painefull was the pricking pang, of children oft and thicke,
Then of the bigger boies that clang, and neere the heart did thicke.
For by the reebl strokes of th'one, death was denied his will:
Of smart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill.
The deeper strokes the great ones gaue, and neerer touch't the quick:
The weleomer he thought the paine, whom longing death made sick.
God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God giue you might at will:
And what y want in yeeres I lay, let cruelte fulfil.
But whilst the hangman breatheth still, and me with you do match,
That weakely worke, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch;
My griefs wax great: what gron'st thou now sir lad some of them againe,
In schoole, adsiled well are th'ou, whom there thou purst to paine?
Behold we pay, and now make good as many thousand fripes,
As when with weeping eies we flood, in danger of thy gripes.
Art thou now angrie at thy hand, that alwaies crieds write, write,
And neuer wouldst that our right hand should rest in quiet plite?
We had forgot our playing times, thou churle deniedst vs oft:
We now but pricke and point our lines, and thus they grin and scof.
Correct good sir your viewed verse, it ought a miss there be:
Now we thy power and then rehearse, that haue not marked thee.
Christ pitye thē sir hangman, with torments torne and tired,
Commands his heart to break euen then, and life that was then hired,
He yeeldy again to him that gaue, and thus he makes exchange:
Immortall for mortall to haue, that in such paine did range.
Thus saith he, that this picture, thou so beholdst, oh gheft,
Of Cassianus martyr pure, doth preach I doe protest.
If thou prudence haue ought in store, in peece to dwelle,
In hope of iust reward therefore, now shew thy louing zeale:
I could not but entreate, I weepe, his tombe I doe imbrace:
Home I returne, and after sleepe, this pitifull preface
I write as a memorall for euer to indure,
Of Cassianus scholemaster, all others to allure
To constancie vnder the croll, of their profession:
Accounting gaine what euer losse for Christ they take vpon.

Cassianus martyr.

No lesse admirable then wonderfull was the constancie also of women and maidens, who in the same persecution gaue their bodies to the torments, and their liues for the testimonie of Christ. with no lesse boldnes of spirit, then did the men themselues aboue specified, to whom how much more insertion they were in bodilie strength, so much more worthie of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here wil mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories y chanceles seeme most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose storie we haue taken out of Prudentius as followeth.

In the west part of Spaine called Portingall, is a citie great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought vp a virgin, borne of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia: which Emerita although for the apt situation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renowme thereof, by the martyrdome, bloud, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin Eulalia. Twelue yeres of age was she, and not much aboue, when shee refused great and honorable offers in mariage, as one not stirred, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgious apparell, or else in pretious balmes, or costlie ornaments and iewels: but forsaking and despising all these and such like pompous allurements, then vnloued thee her selfe most busie in preparing her iournie to her hoped inheritance, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as thee was modeft and discreet in behauiour, sage and sober in conditions, so was shee also wittie and sharpe in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of perfecution inkored her to vowe her selfe amongst Gods children in the houshold of faith, and when the christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to diuels or dead gods: then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and readie wit, thought forthwith (as a couragious captaine) to giue a charge vpon this so great and disordered a battell: & so thee fillie woman, powring out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more prouoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godlie care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of the damsell, so readie to die for Christs cause, might make her guilte of her owne death bid her and kept her close at their house in the countrie, being a great way out of the citie. Shee yet misliking that quiet life, as also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doores (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great hast leauing the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet God knoweth passed through the thornie and bitrie places, accompanied yet with spirituall gard: and although darke and dreadfull was the silent night, yet had shee with her the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Israel comming out of Egypt, had by the mightie power of God, a cloudie piller for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this godly virgin, trauelling in this darke night, when thee flying and forsaking the place where all filthie idolatrie abounded, and hastened her heauenlie iourny, was not oppressed with the dreadfull darknesse of the night: but yet thee before the day appeared in this her speedie iournie, with her selfe considered and mused on a thousand matters and more.

Eulalia martyr.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage shee goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement seat, and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said: I pray you what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without aduisement to destroy and kill mens soules, and to throw their bodies alme & gainst the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you vnfortunat) what I am? Behold, I am one of the christians, an enemie to your diuellish sacrifices. I spurne your idols vnder my feet. I confesse God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. Iliis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Mariminus himselfe, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the workes of mens hands; the other but a cast away, because he worshipped the same worke. Therefore friuolous are they both, and both not worthie to bee set by. Mariminus is a lord of substance, and yet he himselfe falleth downe before a stone, and boweth the honour of his dignitie vnto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppresse to tyrannicall lie, more worthie stomachs and courages then himselfe? He must needs be a good guide and an vpright iudge, which feedeth vpon innocent blood: and breathing in the bodies of godlie men, both rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in defroying and subuerting the faith.

Eulalia disputeth with the heathen iudge.

The godly confession of Eulalia.

Goe to therefore thou hangman, burne, cut and mangle thou these earthie members. It is an easie matter to breake a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst doe. The peeter then of indge, with these words of hirs, set in a great rage, saith, hangman take her and pull her out by the haire of her head, and torment her to the vttermoft: let her feele the power of our countrie gods, and let her know what the imperiall gouernment of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdie girle, faine would I haue thee (if it were possible) before thou die, to reuoke this thy wicked rnelle. Behold what pleasures thou maieft inioy by the honorable house thou canieft of, thy fallen house and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, and the beanie nobilitie of thy kindred maketh dolefull lamentation for thee. What meaneft thou? Wilt thou kill thy selfe so young a flower, and so neere the honorable mariages and great dolonies thou maift inioy? Doth not the glittering and golden pomp of the lode bo moue thee? Doth not the reuerend parle of thine ancestors pricke thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy rathnesse and weakines grieueth? Behold here the furniture readie prepared for thy terrible death: Either thalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with the fe wild beasts thalt thou be pulled in peeces, or else thou being caft into the fierie flames, thalt be (although lamentable brwailed of thy friends & kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou thalt be deliuered from all these punishments. To this Eulalia made no answere, but being in a great furie, thee spitteth in the tyrants face, thee throweth downe the idols, and spurneth abrode with her feet the heape of incense prepared to the censers. Then without further delay the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and pulled one vpon from another, and with the talons of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones: the all this while singing and praising God in this wise; Behold O Lod I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them O Christ y remember thy triumphant victories, to attaine vnto these high dignities, and still calleth vpon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her owne bloud. This sung she with a bold stomach, neither lamentingle nor yet weepinghe, but being glad and merrie, abandoning from her mind all beauinesse and grefe, when as out of a warme fountaine her mangled members with freth bloud bathed her white & faire skin. Then pecred they to flaff and finall torment, which was not onely the gozing and wounding of her mangled bodie with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harowing of her flesh, but burned on euery side with flaming torches her tormented breffs & sides: her haire hanging about her shoulders in two parts diuided (wherwith hir shamefaft chaftity and virginitie was couered) reached downe to the ground. But when the cracking flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her haire, and reacheth the crolune of her head: then thee desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested she in peace.

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdome of Eulalia.

The said Prudentius and Ado, also Equilinus admonet. writing of a white doue flying out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her bodie, also of her bodie couered miraculoulie with snow, with other things more, whereof let euery reader vse his owne iudgement.

Ex Prudent.

As ye haue heard now the christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthie of praise and commendation: so no lesse commendation is worthilie to be giuen to blessed Agnes, that constant damsell and martyr of God, who as she was in Rome of honorable parents begotten, so lieth there as honorably intombed & buried. Which Agnes, for her vnspotted and undefiled virginitie, deserueth no greater praise, and commendation then for hir willing death and martyrdome. Some writers make of hir a long discourse, more in my iudgement then necessary, reciting diuers and sundrie strange miracles by hir done in the processe of hir history; which partly for tedioulnesse, partly for the doubtfulnesse of the author; (whom some father vpon Ambrose) partly for the strangenes & incredibilitie therof I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of hir, as followeth: She was (saith he) young and not mariageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor; lest that through idolatry she might haue yeelded and so forsaken the holy faith; but yet first proued by diuers and sundrie policies to induce hir to the same (as now with the flattering a inticing words of the iudge, now with the threatnings of the scorning executioner) stood notwithstanding stedfast in all courageous strength: and willingly offered hir body to hard and painfull taments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer what soeuer it should bee, yea though it were death it selfe. Then said the cruell tyrant: If to suffer paine and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginitie is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that vnlesse thou wilt make obeisance to the altar of Iphis, and asse forgiuenesse of hir for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the common stewes or brothel-house. Agnes the virgin with more spirit & vehemencie inueieth against both Minerua and hir virginitie: the youth in skuls flocke and run together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their vndiuious prey. Then, saith Agnes, Christ is not forgetfull of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastitie, neither will he leaue them so destitute of helpe: he is alwaies at hand and readie to fight for such as are shamefall and chall virgins, neither sufferreth he his gifts of holy integritie or chastitie to bee polluted. Thou shalt, saith thee, willingly bath thy sword in my blood if thou will, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthie lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but pee commanded that she should bee set naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time, such as were strumpets commonly vsed) the greater part of the multitude both for owing and shaming to see so shameleste a sight, went their wales, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with vncircumcised eyes beholding the damsell, and that in such oppzobious wise, beheld a flame of fire like into a flash of lightening falleth vpon him, & rifleth his eyes out of his head, whereupon hee fo dead falling into the ground, sprafleth in the kennell durt, whose companions taking him vp, and carying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin for this his miraculous deliuerie from the danger & shame of that place, singeth praises to God & Christ.

Agnes martyred.

Strange and miraculous matters omitted.

Ex Pruden. lib. de coronis.

Agnes constant in the confession of hir faith.

Agnes threatned to the brothel house. Agnes bold vpon the helpe of Christ.

The inconuenience of a young man beholding Agnes stricken out.

The yong man restored againe to his health by the prayer of Agnes.

Eulalia allured with faire persuasions.

Eulalia stirreth and prayeth God in hir torments.

There be (saith Prudentius) that report, how that the being desired to pray vnto Christ for the partie, that a little before was with fire from heauen for his incontinencie was stricken, was restored by hir prayer both vnto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes after that she had climed this hir first greese and step vnto the heauenly palace, forthwith began to climbe another: for furie ingendring now the mortall wrath of hir bloudie enemie, wringing his hands crieth out, saying: I am vndone, O thou the executioner draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdie and cruell fellow (to behold) stand behind hir, or approching neere to hir with a naked sword in his hand: I am now gladder, saith she, and reioyce, that such a one as thou being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soulder art come, then one more feeble, weake, and faint should come, or else any other yong man sweetly inhabited, and wearing gay apparell that might deliroy me with funerall shame. This, euen this is hee, I now confesse, that I beleue. I will make haft to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receiue into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breaft will drawe the force thereof euen vnto the hilts, that thus I being married vnto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkenesse of this world, that reacheth euen vnto the skies. O eternall gouernour vouchsafe to open the gates of heauen once that I may go against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receiue (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee. Thus speaking and kneeling vpon hir knees, she prayeth vnto Christ aboue in heauen, that hir neeke might bee the readier for the sword, now hanging ouer the same. The executioner then with his bloodie hand finished hir hope, and at one stroke cutteth off hir head, and by such short and swift death doth hee present hir of the paine thereof.

Agnes beheaded.

The prayer of Agnes.

The historie of Katharine martyr. All things be true and probable that be written of Saints liues.

I haue often times before complained, that the stories of saints haue been powdred and sauced with diuers untrue additions and fabulous inuentions of men, who either of a superstitious deuotion, or of a subtill practise, haue so mingle-mangled their stories and lines, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and vncorrupt, as in the vsuall portues wont to be read for daily seruice is manifeft and euident to bee seene, wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of histo-



rie, if they were throughly tried. This I write vpon the occasion especially of good Katharin, whom now I haue in hand. In whom although I nothing doubt, but in hir life was great holinesse, in hir knowledge excellencie, in hir death constancie: yet that all things be true that be found of hir, neither dare I affirme, neither am I bound so to thinke: so many strange fictions of hir be fained diuerlie of diuers writers, whereof some seeme incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de natalibus writing of hir conuersion declareth, how that Katharine slee- Petrus de natalibus, lib. 10.
ping before a certaine picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his mother Mary appeared vnto hir: and when Marie had offered hir vnto Christ to be his wife, he first refused hir for hir blackneffe. The next time, she being baptised, Marie appearing againe, offred hir to marrie with Christ, who then being liked, was espoused to him & married, hauing a golden ring the same time put on hir finger in hir sleepe, &c. Bergomenlis writeth thus, that becatse she in the sight of the people openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelte, therefore she was commanded and commanded vpon the same to prison: which semeth hitherto not much to digresse from truth. It followeth moreouer, that the same night an angell came to hir, comforting & exhorting hir to be strong and constant vnto the martyrdome, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with hir, to whose honor she did fight, and that he would giue hir a mouth and wisdome which his enemies should not withstand: with many other things more which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fifte philosophers, whom she in disputation conuicted, and conuerted vnto our religion, & died martyrs for the same. Item of the conuerting of Porphyrius himself to Parentius & Faustina the emperors wife. At length (saith the storie) after the proued the rache, and the force thereof cutting wheles, hauing at last hir head cut off with the sword, so she finished hir martyrdome, about the yeere of our Lord, as Antoninus affirmeth) three hundred & ten. Symeon Metaphrastes, writing of hir, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort which couet more therein to be satisfied.

Katharine restrayned by the emperor openly to his face.

Katharine committed to prison and comforted by an angell.

Among the workes of Basil a certaine oration is extant concerning Iulitta the martyr, who came to hir martyrdome (as he witnesseth) by this occasion. A certaine auaricious and greedie person of great authozite, and (as it may appeare) the emperors deputie, or other like officer (who abused y decrees and lawes of the emperor against the christians, to his owne lucre and gaine) violently take from this Iulitta all hir goods, lands, cattels, and seruants, contrarie to all equitie and right. She made hir pitifull complaint to the iudges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman and the spoiling extortioner God both together, the woman lamentable declareth hir cause, the man frowningly beholdeth hir face. When she had proued that of god right the goods were hir owne, and that wrongfully he had dealt with hir: the wicked and bloodthirstie wretch preferring his worldly substance, before the precious substance of a christian body, affirmed hir action to be of no force, for that the was as an outlaw in not seruing the emperors gods, since hir christian faith hath been firft abiured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Thereupon incense and fire were prepared for hir to worship the gods, which vnlesse shee would doe, neither the emperors protection, nor lawes, nor indgement, nor life should shee inioy in that common weale. When this barbarous bo of the Lord heard these words, thee said; Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome pouerte. All that I haue, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, then to speake one wicked and blasphemous word against God my creator. I yeld thee thankes most heartie, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemne and despise this fraile and transitorie world, esteeming christian profession aboue all treasures. Hereofoth when any question was demanded, hir answere was: I am the seruant of Iesus Christ. Hir kindred & acquaintance flocking to hir, admertised hir to change hir mind. But that vehemently shee refused, with detestation of their idolatrie. Forthwith the iudge with the sharpe sword of sentence, not onely cutteth off all hir gods and possessions, but iudgeth hir also to the fire vnleft cruelly. The loyfull martyr imbraceth the sentence as a thing most sweete and delectable. She addresseth hirselfe to the flames, in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the ioy of hir heart, coupled with singular constancie. To the women beholding hir, sententiously she spake: Stricke not, O sisters, to labour and trauell after true pietie and godlinesse. Cease to accuse the fragilitie of femenine nature. What? are not wee created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after Gods image and similitude are we made, as liuely as they. Not flesh onely God vsed in the creation of the woman, in signe and token of hir infirmitie and weaknesse, but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and liuing God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all fidelitie renounced; patient in aduersitty, all worldly ease refused. Stay weary (my deere sisters) of your liues led in darkenesse, and bee in loue with my Christ, my God, my redeemer, my comforter, which is the true light of the world. Perswade your selues, or rather bee ye perswaded, that there is a

The words and exhortation of Iulitta to women about hir.

him, perswading him to take a better way, & save himselfe and that with weeping teares. To whom Sophius answered, Weep not I pray you for me, but rather for the enemies of God which assaile & make war against the christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchasing hell fire for themselues in the day of vengeance: and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my soule mute. Euip saith he) I am ready for the name of Christ, to suffer & endure a thousand deaths if need were. Some other came unto him, which perswaded him to denie Christ with his mouth, and to keepe his conscience to himself. My tongue, saith he, which by y goodnes of God I have, cannot be brought to denie the author and giuer of the same: for with the heart we believe unto righteousnesse, and with the tongue we confesse unto salvation. Many no such like words he spake: but especially uttering to them such matter, whereby he might perswade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdome. After all which, with a merrie and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himselfe to be burnt. Basilius in sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem.

Not much unlike to the storie of Sosbius is the storie also of Menas an Egyptian, who being likewise a soulder by his profession, in this persecution of Diocletian forsake all, and went into the desert; where a long time he gave himselfe to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the scriptures. At length returning again to the citie Cotyæa, there in the open theatre as the people were occupied upon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himselfe to bee a christian, & upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president of whom hee being demanded of his faith, made this answer: Concerning it is that I should saith he) confesse God, in whom is light and no darknesse, for so much as Paul doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousnesse, with mouth confession is given to salvation. After this the innocent martyr was most painefully pinched and cruciat with sundry punishments. All which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having the scriptures in his mouth setting in the midst of his torments: There is nothing in my mind that can bee compared to the kingdome of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weied in balance, able to become ferred with the price of one soule and saie, Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? And no more (said he) I have thus learned of my Lord and my king not to feare them which kill the bodie and have no power to kill the soule, but to feare him rather, who hath power to destroy both bodie and soule in hell fire. To make the storie short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was to be beheaded; Means being then had to the place of execution said: I give the thanks my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remaine constant in thy pure faith unto this my last end. And so this blessed soldier fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and wonne his soule. Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 5. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixitie I doe omit.

Basilius in a certaine sermon of his the martyrs thereof, this storie not untowardly to be noted. There came, saith he, into a certaine place (of which place he maketh no mention) the emperors marshall or officer, with the edict which the emperour had set out against the christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did privily subborne certaine, which should detect and accuse the christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the famous, the gilded, the noble, and eighteenth pilgrim, brought forth at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for feare did flie, some did stand in doubt what to doe: certaine were so terrified at the beholding of these engins and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agonie of martyrdome, but vanquished at length, by the intolerable paine of their torments, made shipwracke of their consciences, and lost the glorie of their confession. Among others, forth there were at that time, young gentlemen, all souldiers, which after the marshall had the bed the emperors edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, fresh and lolde of their olune accord confessed themselues to be christians, & declared to him their meanes. The marshal seme what amazed at this their boldnes of speech, stunderth in doubt what was best to doe. Pet forthwith he goeth about to win them with faire words, admiralling them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a cruell and unmerciful death for a quiet and pleasant life: after that he promiseth them manie, and honorable offices in the emperors name. But they little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life dignitie, nor manie, but onely the celestiall kingdome of Christ, saying further that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to indure the affliction of the whole: the crosse and the fire. The rude marshall being herewith offended, beat



fetch a new kind of punishment. He shed out in the middle of the citie a certaine great pond, which lay full upon the cold northerne wind, for it was in the winter time, wherin he caused them to be put all that night: but they being merrie and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their clothes (The put off shall they) now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence; we give the thanks (O Lord) that with this our apparell wee may also put off by thy grace the sinfull man: for by means of the serpent wee once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ wee have put him off. When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they felt most vehement cold: in so much that all the parts of their bodies were starke and stiffe therewith. Alsoone as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherin they were consumed, & their ashes throwne into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so neere dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pitie, laid unto his mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she with her owne hands taking her sonne, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellowes (crooked for cold) did lie readie to be burnt, & admonished him to accomplish the blessed journie hee had taken in hand with his companions. Basil.

A like storie of twelve martyrs, which were married men, we reade of in Nicephorus and Sozomenus, lib. 9. ca. 2. which were killed likewise in a lake or pond at Sebastia, a towne of Armenia, under Licinius; if the storie bee not the same with this: Nicep. Sozom.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot bee left out and forgot the storie of Cyprus. This Cyprus was a physician borne in Alexandria, which flying into Egypt, in the persecution of Diocletian, and Maximian, lead a solitarie life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, unto whose companie after a certaine time did Joannes borne in the citie of Dacia, beyond the river Euphrates, ioyne himselfe, leaving the soulders life which before that time he had exercised. But whilest as yet the same persecution raged in a citie in Egypt called Caliope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certaine godly christian woman, called Aglaonia, and her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodata, and Eudoxia: with whom Cyprus was well acquainted. At whose infirmities he much feared, and therefore went with his brother John, came and visited them for their better confirmation: at which time Licinius was chiefe captaine and lieutenant of Egypt, of whose wicked nesse and cruelnie, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his apologies, and in his epistle to those that lead a solitarie life. This Cyprus Eutrope and Joannes, being accused & comprehended of the heathen men, as by whose perswasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contemptuously despised the gods and the emperors religion, and could by no means be brought to doe sacrifice, were after the publication of their constant confession put to death by the sword: Athanasia also and her said daughters being condemned to death. This history writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.

Sebastian being borne in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis was a christian, and was lieutenant generall of the ward of Diocletian the emperour, who also incouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancie, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his olune souldiers he was thrall through the body with innumerable arrowes, and after that his bodie was thrlowne into a lake or sinke. Ambrosius maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr in his sermon of Easter day, and eighteenth pilgrim: and Simeon Metaphrastes amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian numbereth also these following: Nicostratus with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus with Partia his wife, Tragilnus, Claudius, Castor, Tiburtius, Castellius, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with others mo.

Basilius maketh another also maketh mention of one Varlaam being a noble and famous martyr, which abede all the torments of the executioners cuen to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the altar, where they did vse to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed: for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same inbred cuen as though it had been coured with hot embers, when as Varlaam recieb out of the plames this saying: Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.

To this narration of Basilius touching the martyrdome of Varlaam, wee will anner consequently another storie of Ambrose. He making a certaine exhortation to certaine virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdome of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution under Diocletian and Maximian (as they so affirme) at Bononie. This Vitalis was seruant to Agricola, who both together betweene themselues had made a compact to giue their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Vitalis being sent before of his master to offer himselfe to martyrdome, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all meanes to cause him denie Christ. Which when he would in no case doe, but flourthy persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully that there was no whole skin left on all his bodie. So Vitalis in the middest of the agonie and painefull torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himselfe to God, gave up his life. After him the tormentors set upon Agricola his master, whose vertuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked and knowne to the enemies, his suffering therfore was the longer deferred. But Agricola not abiding the long delay and driuing off, and provoking moreouer the aduersaries to quicker speed, at length was fastned unto the crosse, and so finished his martyrdome, which he so long desired. Ambros. in exhortatione ad virgines.

So lesse worthie of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdome of Vincentius, whose historie here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Leuite most godly and vertuous, who at this time suffered martyrdome at Valence under Dacianus the president, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymne. Bergomensis in his supplement recitech those words concerning his martyrdome, out of a certaine sermon of Saint Augustine: Our heart conceiued not a vaine and fruitlesse sight (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies) but certainly a great sight and marueilous, and therewith singular pleasure received it, when the painefull passion of blessed Vincentius was read unto us. Je there any so beanie hearted, that will not be moued in the contemplation of this unmooueable martyr, so manly, or rather so godlie, fighting against the craft and subtilie of that serpent, against the tyrannie of Dacianus, against the horors of death, and by the mightie spirit of his God conquering all? But let us insted words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the paines thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacianus caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the ioynts of his bodie to be dilended and racked out, untill they cracked againe. This being done in most extreame and cruell manner, all the members of his painfull and pitifull bodie were grieuously indented with deadly wounds. Whereby (that he might the more grieue) it was ordered, that he vnmercifully bored his flesh with iron combs sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meeke & milde martyrs flesh, the tormentors themselues also were bitle scourged at the Presidents commandement. And lest his passion (though want of paines might seme imperfect or elle to cease, they laid his bodie being all out of ioynt, on a grate of iron, and (when they had opened it with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all into a vile dungeon was this mightie martyr drawne, the flore whereof first was thicke spred with the sharpest shels that might be gotten, his feete then being fast locked in the stockes, there was he left alone without all worldlie comfort: but the Lord his God was with him, the holie spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with ioy and gladnesse. Hall thou prepared a terrible racke (O cruel tyrant, O deuouring lion) for the martyrs bed: The Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Racked thou his bones and ioynts all asunder: his bones, his ioynts, his haires are all numbred. Tormented thou his flesh with mortall wounds: The Lord shall powre abundantlie into all his fozes of his oile of gladnesse. Thy scraping combes, thy sharpe fleshhookes, thine hote searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting thelles, thy pinching stockes shall turne to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall worke contrary to thine expectation, great plentie of ioy shall he reape in to the barne of his soule, out of this mightie haruest of paines that thou hast brought him into. Yea thou shalt procure him Vincentius in deede: that is, a banquisher, a triumpher. A conquero, subduing thy madnesse by his meekenesse, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold meanes of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he hath plentifullie inriched.

In this recital of the triumphs of such holy martyrs, as suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, many mo and almost innumerable there be expressed in authors, beside them whom we haue hitherto comprehended, as Philozomus a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who being perswaded by his friends to fauour himselfe, for respect his wife, to conserue his children and familie, did not onely reiect the counsels of them, but alle neglected the threats and torments of the iudge, to keepe the confession of Christ inuiolat unto the death, and losing of his head: Eusebius lib. 8. cap. 9. Nicephorus lib. 7. cap. 9. of whom Eusebius bearerh witnesse that he was there present himselfe.

Of like estate and dignitie was also Procopius in Palestina, who after his conuersion brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poze, and after all kind of

torments, of racking, of cosbing, of tearing his flesh, of gosing and stabbing in, of sieruig, at length had his head also smitten off, as testifieth Nicep. lib. 8. cap. 15.

To this may be ioyned also Georgius a young man of Cappadocia, who stoutly inueying against y impious idolatry of the emperours, was apprehended and cast into prison, then tone with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with rodes, after that his hands and feet with other members of his bodie being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off: Nicephorus ibid.

With these aforenamed adde also Sergius and Bacchius, Panthaleon a physitian in Nicomedia, mentioned in Suidas. lib. 8. Theophanes of the citie of Amasia in Hellespont, mentioned of Vincentius, lib. 3. Faustus a martyr of Egypt, mentioned of Nicep. lib. 8. cap. 5. Cereon with three hundred and eighteene fellow martyrs, which suffered about Colour: Petr. de nat. lib. 9. cap. 49. Hermogenes the president of Athens, who being converted by the constancy of one Menas, and Eugraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Saturninus, Cyrias and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrast. Hieron also with certaine of his confessors, under Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphrastes. Judes and Dominus, who suffered with many other martyrs above mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Eustasius, Maximius, the emperors officers, whom Faustus the virgin in her torments converted. Also Cyrius, Lucius, Callinicus, Apollonius, Philemon, Atlas, Leonides, with Arrianus president of Thebaide. Cyprianus likewise a citizen of Antioch, who after he had continued a long time a filthie magician or sorcerer, at length was converted and made a deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch. Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 120. of whom particular mention hath been made before. This Cyprian with Justina a virgin suffered among the martyrs. Item Gliceria at Nicomedia, Felix a minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, deacons in the citie of Valent. Artemius of Rome, Cyriacus deacon to Marcellus the bishop, Carpophorus priest at Thusia, with Abundus his deacon. Item Claudius, Sirinus, Antonius which suffered with Marcellinus the bishop: Sabel. Emad. 7. lib. 8. Tuculatus in the citie Barcinona. Felix bishop of Apulia, with Adauctus and Januarius his priest. Fortunatus and Septimus his readers, who suffered in the city Venusina under Diocletian: Bergom. lib. 8.

It were too long a trauell or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Diocletian did consume. The number of whom being almost infinit, is not to be collected or expressed. One storie yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Castianus, whose pitifull storie being described of Prudentius we haue here inserted, rendring metre for metre, as followeth.

THrough Forum, as in Italie, I passed once to Roome,
Into a church by chance came I, and stood fast by a toome.
Which church sometime a place had been, where causes great in law
Were scand and tried, and judgement given, to keep brute men in awe.
This place Sylla Cornelius, first built, he rais'd the frame;
And call'd the same Forum, and thus, that citie tooke the name.
In prayer fervent as I stood, casting mine eie aside,
A picture in full pitious mood (Embrude) by chance I spide:
A thousand wounded marks full bad, all mangled, rent, and torne;
The skin appear'd as though it had been iagd and prickt with thorne.
A scull of pictured boies did band, about that lothsome sight,
That with their sharpened gads in hand, his members thus had dight.
These gads were but their pens, wherewith their tables written were,
And such as scholars often sith, vnto the scholes doe beare.
Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd fit, and firmelie doest behold,
No fable is, I doe thee wit, vnaske a prelat told
That walk thereby: but doth declare, the historie of one,
Which written, would good record beare, what faith was long agone.
A skilfull schoolemaster this was, that here sometime did teach:
The bishop once of Brixia was, and Christ full plaine did preach.
He knew well how to comprehend, long talke in a few lines:
And it at length how to amend, by order and by times.
His sharpe precepts and his sterne looks, his beardles boies did feare:
When haste in heart (yet for their bookes) full deadlie thy did beare.
The child that learnes, I doe yet weet, termes all his sorrowe crude:
No discipline in youth seemes sweet, count this a common rule.
Behold the raging time now here, oppressing so the faith;
Doth persecute Godschildren deere and all that Christ bewraith.
This trustie teacher of the swarme, profest the living God:
The chiefe good thing they counte their hanne, perhaps he shakes his
What rebels (aske the president) is he I heare so loud? (rod.
Vnto our youth an instrument, they say, and low they bowd.
Go bring the caitiffe foorth, he bids, and make no long delay:
Lee him he fet the boies amids that they doe as he doth say.
Let him be giuen vnto them all, and let them haue their will,
To doe to him what spite they shall, so that they will him kill.
Euen as they lift let them him fray, and him deride so long,
Till weariuesse prouoke their play, no longer to prolong.
Let them I fy then vncontrold, both pricke and scorch his skin:
To bathe their hands let them be bold, in the hot bloud of him.
The scholars hereat make great game, it pleaseth them full well:
That they may kill and quench the flame, they thought to them a hell.
They bind his hands behind his backe, and naked they him strip:
In bodkin wise at him they nacke, they laugh to see him skip.
The priuie hate that each one hath in heart, it now appeares:

They

They powre it fourth in gawly wrath, they wreak them of their teares.
Some cast great stones, some other breake, their tables on his face:
Lo here thy Latine and thy Greeke (oh barren boies of grace)
The bloud runs downe his cheeks, and doth imbrue the boxen leams:
Where notes by the were made (though loth) & wel proponed theams.
Some whet, some sharpe their pensels points, seruing to write withall:
Some other gage his flesh and ioynts, as with a painted nail.
Sometime they pricke, sometime they rent, this worthie martyrs flesh.
And thus by turnes they doe torment this confessor afresh.
Now all with one consent on him their bloudie hands they lay:
To see the bloud from him to lan, drop downe they make a play.
More painefull was the pricking pang, of children oft and thicke,
Then of the bigger boies that dang, and neere the heart did sticke.
For by the teeble strokes of those, death was denied his will:
Offmart that made him wo begon, he had the better skill.
The deeper throkes the great ones gaue, and neerer toucht the quick:
The welcome he thought the same, whom longing death made sick.
God make you strong, he saith, I pray, God giue you might at will:
And what y u want in yeeres I lay, let crue the fulfil.
But whilst the hangman breatheth full, and me with you do match,
That wakely worke, yet want no will, my life for to dispatch;
My griefs wax great: what gron'st thou now? said some of them againe,
In schoole, adusted well are thou, whom there thou putst to paine?
Behold we pay, and now make good as many thousand stripes,
As when with weeping eies we stood, in danger of thy gripes.
Art thou now angrie at thy hand, that alwaies crieds write, write,
And neuer wouldst that our right hand, should rest in quiet plite?
We had forgot our playing times, thou churle denieds vs ot:
We now but pricke and point our lines, and thus they grin and scof.
Correct good sir your viewed verse, if ought amisse there be:
Now we thy power and then rehearse, that haue not marked thee.
Christ pitty me, thus groaning man, with torments torne and tired,
Commands his heart to break euen then, and life that was then hired,
He yeelds againe to him that gaue, and thus he makes exchange:
Immortall for mortall to haue, that in such paine did range.
This is saith he, that this picture, thou so beholdest, oh ghest,
Of Cassianus martyr pure, doth preach I doe protest.
If thou prudence haue ought in store, in peuce to deale,
In hope of suit reward therefore, now shew thy louing zeale.
I could not but consent, I weepe, his tombe I doe imbrace:
Home I returne, and after sleepe, this pitifull preface
I write as a memoriall for euer to indure,
Of Cassianus schoolemaster, all others to allure
To constancie vnder the creed of their profession:
Accounting gaine what euer losse for Christ they take vpon.

Cassianus martyr.

No lesse admirable then wonderfull was the constancie also of women and maidens, who in the same perfection gaue their bodies to the torments, and their lines for the testimonie of Christ, with no lesse boldnes of spirit, then did the men themselues aboue specified, to whom how much more inferiour they were in bodily strength, so much more worthie of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here will I (Christ willing) to insert, such as in our stories & chronicles seme most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we haue taken out of Prudentius as followeth.

In the west part of Spaine called Portingall, is a citie great and populous, named Emerita, wherein diuelt and was brought vp a virgin, borne of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia: which Emerita although for the apt situation thereof, was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renowne thereof, by the martyrdome, bloud, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin Eulalia. Twelue yeres of age was she, and not much aboue, when she refused great and honorable offers in mariage, as one not stedfast, nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgious apparell, or else in pretious bables, or costlie ornaments and iewels: but forsaking and despising all these and such like pompous allurements, then thewed she her selfe most busie in preparing her iournie to her hoped inheritance, and heauenly patronage. Which Eulalia as she was modest and discreet in behauiour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also wittie and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution inforced her to ioyne her selfe amongst Gods children in the houshold of faith, and when the christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to diuels or dead gods: then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and readie wit, thought forthwith as a courageous captaine) to giue a charge vpon this so great and disordered a battell: & so the fillie woman, powring out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more pronoketh thereby the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godlie care of her parents, fearing left the willing mind of the damsell, so readie to die for Christs cause, might make her author of her owne death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the countrie, being a great way out of the citie. She yet mistrusting that quiet life, as also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doores (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great hast leauing the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thornie and brierie places, accompanied yet with spirituall gard: and although darke and dreadfull was the silent night, yet had she with her the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Israel comming out of Egypt, had by the mightie power of God a cloudie piller for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this godly virgin, trauelling in this darke night, when thee flying and forsaking the place where all filthie idolatrie abounded, and hastened her heauenly iourny, was not oppressed with the dreadfull darkenesse of the night: but yet thee before the day appeared in this her speedie iournie, with her selfe comforted and nursed on a thousand matters and more.

Eulalia martyr.

Ex Aurel. Prud. Aredii. lib. geraflegij.

The chast and continent behauiour of Eulalia.

Eulalia priuately the course of her iourney to sacrifice to Idolls.

Eulalia kept secret by her parents.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage thee goeth vnto the tribunall or iudgement seat, and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said: I pray you what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without aduisement to destroy and kill mens soules, and to throw their bodies alaine against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you vnfortuniat) what I am? Behold, I am one of the christians, an enemie to your diuelish sacrifices, I spurne your idols vnder my feet, I confesse God omnipotent with my heart and mouth. Ills, Apollo, and Dianus, what are they? Parriuinus himselfe, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the workes of mens hands; the other but a calf alwey, because he worshippeth the same worke. Therefore friuolous are they both, and both not woorthie to bee set by. Mariuinus is a lord of substance, and yet he himselfe falleth downe before a stone, and boweth the honour of his dignitie vnto thole that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppresse so tyrannicall, more worthie stomachs and courages then himselfe? He must needs be a good guide and an vpright iudge, which feedeth vpon innocent blood: and breathing in the bodies of godlie men, doth rent and teare their bowels, and that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subuerting the faith.

Eulalia discouereth the heathen iudge.

The godly confession of Eulalia.

Agnes constant in the confession of hir faith.

Agnes threatned to the brothel-house. Agnes boldy vpon the helpe of Christ.

Eulalia allured with faire perswasions.

God therefore thou hangman, burne, cut and mangle thou these earthie members. It is an easie matter to breake a brittle substance, but the inward mind that thou nor part for any thing thou canst doe. The pretor then of iudge, with these words of his, set in a great rage, saith: Hangman take her and pull her out by the haire of her head, and torment her to the vttermost; let her feele the power of our countrie gods, and let her know what the imperiall gouernment of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdie girle, faine would I haue thee (if it were possible) before thou die, to remoke this thy wickednelle. Behold what pleasures thou maiest inioy by the honorable house thou cannest of, thy fallen house and progenie followeth thee to death with lamentable teares, and the heauie nobilitie of thy kindred maketh dolefull lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thy selfe so young a flower, and so more of these honorable marriages and great bonories thou maist inioy? Doth not the glittering and golden pomp of the bride bed moue thee? Doth not the reuerend pietie of thine ancestors picke thee? Whom is it not, but that this thy rathnelle and weakines grieueth? Behold here the furniture readie prepared for thy terrible death: Either thalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these in bo beasts that thou be pulled in peeces, or else thou being caft into the fierie flames, thalt be (although lamentable) bewailed of thy friends & kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee I pray thee, to escape all these? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, then shalt be deliuered from all these punishments. To this Eulalia made no answere, but being in a great fiurie, thee spitteth in the tyrants face, thee throweth downe the idols, and spurneth abrode with her feet the heape of incense prepared to the censers. Then without further delay the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and pull one iount from another, and with the talons of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones: the all this while singing and praysing God in this wise: Behold O Lord I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them O Christ? remember thy triumphant victories, to attaine vnto these high dignities, and still calleth vpon that holy name, all staines and imbrued with her owne bloud. This sung the with a bold stomach, neither lamentingle nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merrie, abandoning from her mind all beauinesle and griefe, when as out of a marine fountaine her mangled members with freth bloud bathed her white & faire skin. Then pieced they to plaft and small torment, which was not onely the gozing and wounding of her mangled bodie with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on euery side with flaming torches her tormented brests & sides: her haire hanging about her shoulders in two parts diuided, wherwith her thanckfull chastity and virginitie was couered, reached downe to the ground. But when the crackling flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her haire, and reacheth the crolone of her head: then thee desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame, and so rested thee in peace.

Eulalia suffereth God in the torments.

Eulalia put in the fire. The end and martyrdome of Eulalia.

The said Prudentius and Ado, also Equitinus ad more-uer, writing of a white doue issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her bodie, also of her bodie couered miraculoulie with snow, with other things more, whereof let euery reader bis his olone iudgement.

Ex Prudent.

As yet haue heard now the christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthie of praise and commendation: so no leste commendation is worthilie to be giuen to lileden Agnes, that constant damsell and martyr of God, who as she was in Rome of honorable parents begotten, so lieth she there as honora-

Agnes martyr.



bly entombed & buried. Which Agnes, for hir vnspotted and vndefiled virginitie, deserueth no greater praise, and commendation then for hir willing death and martyrdome. Some writers make of hir a long discourse, more in my iudgement then necessary, reciting diuers and sundrie strange miracles by hir done in the processe of hir historie; which partly for tediousnesse, partly for the doubtfulnesse of the author, (whom some farther vpon Ambrose) partly for the strangenes & incredibilitie therof I omit, being fatisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of hir, as followeth: She was (saith he) young and not mariageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly refused the wicked edicts of the emperor; left that through idolatry she might haue denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet first proued by diuers and sundrie policies to induce hir to the same (as now with the flattering & inticing words of the iudge, now with the threatnings of the looming executioner) stood not withstanding stedfast in all contagious strength: and willingly offered hir body to hard and painfull torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer what soeuer it should bee, yea though it were death it selfe. After said the cruell tyrant: If to suffer paine and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarued of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated & vowed virginitie is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that vnlesse thou wilt make obeisance to the altar of Ceres, and aske forgiuenesse of hir for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent of abandoned to the common stewes or brothel-house. Agnes the virgin with more spirit & vehemencie inueieth against both Minerua and hir virginitie: the youth in flocks and run together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their iudgement prey. Then, saith Agnes, Christ is not forgetfull of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastitie, neither will he leaue them to destitute of his help: he is alwaies at hand and readie to fight for his as here shamefull and chaft virgins, neither sufficeth he his gifts of holy integritie & chaftitie to bee polluted. Thou shalt, saith thee, willingly bath thy sword in my blood if thou will, but thou shalt not destile my body with filthie lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but hee commanded that the should bee set naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time, such as were strumpets commonly vsed) the greater part of the multitude both sorowing and thanning to see so shameleste a sight, went their wales, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with vncircumcised eyes beholding the damsell, and that in such opprobrious wise, beheld a flame of fire like vnto a flash of lightening falleth vpon him, striketh his eyes out of his head, wherevpon hee so dead falling vnto the ground, sprallerth in the kennell burt, whose companions taking him vp, and carying him alway, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin for this hir miraculous deliuerie from the danger & shame of that place, singeth praises to God & Christ.

The incontinent eies of a young man beholding Agnes stricken out.

There he (saith Prudentius) that repost, how that the being desired to pray vnto Christ for the partie, that a little before was stricken from his incontinencie was stricken from reflored by hir prayer both vnto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes after that the had climed this hir first greese and step vnto the heauenly palace, forthwith began to climbe another: for sure ingendring now the mostall wrath of hir bloudie enemie, bringing his hands crieth out, saying: I am vnbone, O thou the executioner draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdie and cruell fellow (to behold) stand behind hir, or approching neere to hir with a naked sword in his hand: I am now gladder, saith the, and reioyce, that such a one as thou being a stout, fierce, strong, and stirdy soldier art come, then one more feeble, weake, and faint should come, or else any other young man sweetly inhalined, and wearing gay apparell that might beskrop me with funerall shame. This, euen this is hee, I now confesse, that I do loue, I will make hast to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receiue into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof euen vnto the hilts, that thus I being married vnto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkenesle of this world, that reacheth euen vnto the skies. O eternall gouernour vouchsafe to open the gates of heauen once that vp against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receiue (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee. After speaking and kneeling vpon his knees, the prayeth vnto Christ aboue in heauen, that hir necke might bee the readier for the sword, now hanging ouer the same. The executioner then with his bloodie hammer hit her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off hir head, and by such short and swift death doth hee present hir of the paine thereof.

Agnes threatned to the fire.

Agnes desirous of martyrdome.

Agnes praieth God in the torments.

The prayer of Agnes.

Agnes beheaded.

The historie of Eucharine martyr. All things be not true and probable that be written of Saints liues.

I haue often times before complained, that the stories of saints haue been polluted and sauced with diuers untrue additions and fabulous inuentions of men, who either of a superstitious deuotion, or of a subtill practise, haue so mingle-manded their stories and liues, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and vncorrupt, as in the vsuall pictures wont to bee read for daily seruice is manifest and euident to bee seene, wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of histo-

rie, if they were trialy tried. This I write vpon the occasion especially of good Eucharie, whom now I haue in hand. In whom although I nothing doubt, but in hir life was great holinesse, mendation then for hir willing death and martyrdome. Some writers make of hir a long discourse, more in my iudgement then necessary, reciting diuers and sundrie strange miracles by hir done in the processe of hir historie; which partly for tediousnesse, partly for the doubtfulnesse of the author, (whom some farther vpon Ambrose) partly for the strangenes & incredibilitie therof I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of hir, as followeth: She was (saith he) young and not mariageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly refused the wicked edicts of the emperor; left that through idolatry she might haue denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet first proued by diuers and sundrie policies to induce hir to the same (as now with the flattering & inticing words of the iudge, now with the threatnings of the looming executioner) stood not withstanding stedfast in all contagious strength: and willingly offered hir body to hard and painfull torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer what soeuer it should bee, yea though it were death it selfe. After said the cruell tyrant: If to suffer paine and torment be so easie a matter and lightly regarued of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated & vowed virginitie is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that vnlesse thou wilt make obeisance to the altar of Ceres, and aske forgiuenesse of hir for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent of abandoned to the common stewes or brothel-house. Agnes the virgin with more spirit & vehemencie inueieth against both Minerua and hir virginitie: the youth in flocks and run together, and craue that they may haue Agnes their iudgement prey. Then, saith Agnes, Christ is not forgetfull of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastitie, neither will he leaue them to destitute of his help: he is alwaies at hand and readie to fight for his as here shamefull and chaft virgins, neither sufficeth he his gifts of holy integritie & chaftitie to bee polluted. Thou shalt, saith thee, willingly bath thy sword in my blood if thou will, but thou shalt not destile my body with filthie lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but hee commanded that the should bee set naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time, such as were strumpets commonly vsed) the greater part of the multitude both sorowing and thanning to see so shameleste a sight, went their wales, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with vncircumcised eyes beholding the damsell, and that in such opprobrious wise, beheld a flame of fire like vnto a flash of lightening falleth vpon him, striketh his eyes out of his head, wherevpon hee so dead falling vnto the ground, sprallerth in the kennell burt, whose companions taking him vp, and carying him alway, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin for this hir miraculous deliuerie from the danger & shame of that place, singeth praises to God & Christ.

There he (saith Prudentius) that repost, how that the being desired to pray vnto Christ for the partie, that a little before was stricken from his incontinencie was stricken from reflored by hir prayer both vnto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes after that the had climed this hir first greese and step vnto the heauenly palace, forthwith began to climbe another: for sure ingendring now the mostall wrath of hir bloudie enemie, bringing his hands crieth out, saying: I am vnbone, O thou the executioner draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdie and cruell fellow (to behold) stand behind hir, or approching neere to hir with a naked sword in his hand: I am now gladder, saith the, and reioyce, that such a one as thou being a stout, fierce, strong, and stirdy soldier art come, then one more feeble, weake, and faint should come, or else any other young man sweetly inhalined, and wearing gay apparell that might beskrop me with funerall shame. This, euen this is hee, I now confesse, that I do loue, I will make hast to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receiue into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof euen vnto the hilts, that thus I being married vnto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkenesle of this world, that reacheth euen vnto the skies. O eternall gouernour vouchsafe to open the gates of heauen once that vp against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receiue (oh Christ) my soule that seeketh thee. After speaking and kneeling vpon his knees, the prayeth vnto Christ aboue in heauen, that hir necke might bee the readier for the sword, now hanging ouer the same. The executioner then with his bloodie hammer hit her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off hir head, and by such short and swift death doth hee present hir of the paine thereof.

I haue often times before complained, that the stories of saints haue been polluted and sauced with diuers untrue additions and fabulous inuentions of men, who either of a superstitious deuotion, or of a subtill practise, haue so mingle-manded their stories and liues, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and vncorrupt, as in the vsuall pictures wont to bee read for daily seruice is manifest and euident to bee seene, wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of histo-

Strange and vncertaine miracles omitted.

Ex Prudent. lib. de coronis.

Eucharie.

Petrus de natalibus libr. lib. 10.

Eucharie reciteth the emperors openly to his face.

Eucharine committed to prison and comforted by an angell.

The historie of Iulitta martyr. Ex Basilio in serm.

Iulitta and her mother spoyled of his goods.

The end of Eucharine.

Iulitta denieth the confession of hir faith.

Iulitta and her mother abhorred.

Iulitta stands to the confession of hir faith.

A christian voice of a true martyr.

The answere of Iulitta.

Iulitta condemned to the fire.

The words and exhortation of one of Iulitts to women about hir.

world to come, wherin the worshippers of idols and diuels shal be tormented perpetually, the seruants of the high God shall be crowned eternally. With these words she imbraced the fire and sweetly slept in the Lord.

Barbara, Faustus, Quintinus, Maximinus Iulianus, Antiochus, Eutinus, Ecclesiastes.

There haue been moreouer besides these aboue recited, diuers godly women and faithfull martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Thusia, who after miserable imprisonment, sharpe racks, and burning flames put to her fides, was at last beheaded. Also Faustin the virgin which suffred vnder Maximinus, by whom Sucesides a ruler of the emperors palace, and Maximus the president were both conuerted, and also suffered martyrdome as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item, Iuliana a virgin of singular beautie in Nicomedia, who after diuers agonies suffered likewise vnder Maximinus. Item, Antiffa a maid of Thessalonica, who vnder the said Maximinus suffred Metaph. ibid. Iulian which suffred with Cyprianus bishop of Antioch: not to omit also Dacla; although most writers doe record that she suffred vnder Nero: Platina in vita Caij maketh also mention of Lucia and Agatha. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdome in this tenth and last persecution of Diocletian.

Caius, Marcellinus, Marcellus, Eusebius, Miltiades, bishops of Rome and martyrs. Marcellinus denied and repenteth. Ex lib. conciliorum & Platina.

During the time of which persecution, these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another, Caius who succeeded next after Vitus before mentioned, Marcellinus, Marcellus (of whom Eusebius in his story maketh no mention) Eusebius, & then Miltiades: all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First Marcellinus after the martyrdome of Caius, was ordained bishop: he being brought by Diocletian to the idols, first yelded to their idolatrie, and was true to sacrifice, wherfore being excommunicated by the christians, fell into great repentance, that hee returned againe to Diocletian, where hee standing to his former confession, and publikely condemning the idolatrie of the heathen, recouered the crowne of martyrdome, suffering with Claudius, Cyprianus and Antoninus.

Euseb. in Chron.

Marcellus likewise was tyed of Maxentius to renounce his bishoprike & religion, & to facrifice with them to idols: which when he constantly refused, was beaten with cudgels, & expelled the citie. Then hee entring into the house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the congregation, which when it came to the eares of Maxentius the tyrant, hee turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts, and so with the ritche thereof a miserable handling, was put to death. Eusebius sate bishop of Rome, as Euseb. in Chron. saith, seuen moneths. Marianus Scotus saith eight moneths. Damasus affirmeth sir yeares. Sabellicus alleageth certaine authors that say, that hee was slaine by Maximianus, but confuteth & himselfe, affirming that Maximianus died before him.

Authors disagreeing. Ex Sabel. Ennead. 7. lib. 8.

Miltiades by the testimony of Platina, & others that followe him sat three yeares and seuen moneths, & suffered vnder Maximianus. But that seemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time: for so much as the said Valerius Maximianus raigned but two yeres and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine written to this Miltiades bishop of Rome, plainly conuicting that to be false which Platina affirmeth.

Sabel. ibid.

A place of Platina confuted.

In the booke collected of generall councels, among the decretall epistles, there is a long tractation about the iudgement and condemnation of Marcellinus: whereof the matters and patrons of poperie in these our dates take great hold to prooue the supremacie of the pope to be aboue all generall councels, and that he ought not to be subiect to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written: Nemo vnquam iudicauit pontificem, nec præsul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes nō iudicabitur a quoquam, &c. Although this sentence of Miltiades seemeth apparantly to bee patched in rather by some Holdhardus then by Miltiades, both for that it barreth with little order of sense vpon that which goeth before, and againe, because that Prima sedes hath neuer in times past ordained nor attributed to the see of Rome before the council of Nice, where the order and placing of bishops was first established. But to let this sentence passe, yet notwithstanding the circumstance and proceeding of this iudgement, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little for the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of the councell of Sinuessa did not condemne Marcellinus, for the words of the councell bee plaine; Subscripserunt igitur in eius damnationem & damnauerunt eum extra ciuitatem, that is, They subscribed therefore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the citie. Moreouer by the said councell were brought in the fortie two witnesses against Marcellinus. In the said councell the verdict of the same witnesses was deliuered, & also receiued. Furthermore, Quintus there one of the bishops openly protested, that he would not depart the councell, before the malice of the bishops were reuealed: What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appeare before the iudgement seat of the councell, and there stood subiect to their sentence and authoritie, by the which he was expelled out of the citie? As for the words of the councell, whereupon our papists stand so much, Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius iudicio condemnaberis, &c. Item, Tuo ore iudica causam tuā, &c. These words import not here the authoritie of the Romane bishop to bee a-

A place of the third epistle decretall of Eusebius found untrue.

bone the councell, neither doe they declare what the councell could not do, but what they would & wished rather to be done, that is, that hee should rather acknowledge his crime before God and them, with a voluntarie yelding of his heart, then that the confession of such an hainous fact should bee extorted from him through their condemnation: for that they saw to be expedient for his soules health, otherwise their condemnation should serue him to small purpose, and so it came to passe. For he being urged of them to condemne himselfe, to did: prostrating himselfe and weeping before them. Whereupon immediatly they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the citie. Now whether by this may be gathered that the bishop of Rome ought not to bee cited, accused and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader iudge simplie.

The bishop of Rome condemned by the councell.

As touching the decretall epistles, which be intituled vnder the name of these foresaid bishops, who so well abuseth them, and with iudgement will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained (little seruing to any purpose, and nothing seruing for those troublesome daies then present) may easilie discerne them, either in no part to bee theirs, or much of the same to be falsified and counterfeited by the doings of others, which lined in other times, especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting vp, and to exalt the see of Rome aboue all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeales to the said see of Rome. So the epistle of Caius beginning with the commendation of the authoritie of his see, endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all prouinces what soeuer emerging, to be referred to the see apostolicall. Moreouer, the greatest part of the said epistle from this place (Quicunque illi sint, ita obtecati, &c: to the end of this period, Quoniam sicut ait B. apostolus, magnum est pietatis, &c.) is contained in the epistle of Leo, vnto Leo the emperor, and so rightly agreeth in all points with the first epistle of Leo, that euident it is the same to bee extorted out of Leo, out of the epistle of Caius, or to be rather into the epistle of Caius taken out of Leo.

The decretall epistles and constitutions of these bishops of Rome examined.

The chiefe scope of the constitutions decretall, to magnifie the church of Rome.

The epistle of Caius.

A great part of the epistle of Caius, taken out of the epistle of Leo, to Leo the emperor.

The church of England governed by the pope canon law without sufficient grounds of antiquity. The epistles decretall of Eusebius and Miltiades.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authozitie with the reader, is adnired with a great part of Pauls epistle to the Ephesians, vnto Titus. And how is it like that Marcellinus, which died in the twentith yeare of Diocletian, could inuite of consubstantiality of the three persons, when that controuersie & terme of consubstantiality was not heard of in the church before the Nicen councel, which was twentie three yeares after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bee wasy themselues, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more then only the reading of the same. Such a glorious stile of ambition there in doth appeare, as it is easie to be vnderstood, not to proceed either from such an humble martyr, or to sauour any thing of the miserie of such a time. His words of his first epistle written vnto the brethren of Antioch, and alleaged in the popes decrees by Gratianus are these:

The epistle of Marcellinus.

The epistles decretall of Marcellus.

Ex epist. decretal. Milesiodor.

2.4.4. 1. Rom. mus vos fratres.

We desire you brethren, that you doe not teach nor conceiue any other thing but as ye haue receiued of the blessed apostle Saint Peter, and of other apostles and fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed, wherefore you must not forsake your owne father and follow others. For he is the head of the whole church, to whom the Lord said: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my church, &c. Whole seate was first with you in Antioch, which afterward by the commandement of the Lord was translated from thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the gouernour. From the which church of Rome, neither ought you to separate your selues, seeing to the same church all maner causes ecclesiasticall, being of any importance (Gods grace so disposing) are commanded to bee referred: by the same to bee ordered regularly, from whence they tooke the first authoritie of gouerning, & vnto which consequently vpon the same, And if your church of Antioch, which was once the first, will now yeeld hir selfe vnto the see of Rome, there is no other church else which will not subiect it selfe to our dominion: to whom all other bishops, whosoeuer lifteth, and as they must needs doe (according to the decrees of the apostles and of their Ancestors) ought to flie vnto, as to their head, and must appeale to the same, there to haue their redresse and their protection, from whence they tooke their first instruction and consecration, &c.

In what chapter or leafe of all the whole councels the Lord commandeth the see of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome?

The church of Rome liable to the church of Antioch to yeeld vnto her.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus that blessed martyr, in those so dreadfull daies, I say no more, but onely desire the gentle reader) to iudge.

The second epistle of Marcellus to Maxentius.

In his second epistle inscribed, he thus Marcellus writing to Maxentius the bloodie tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his crueltie, sharply admonishing him how and what to doe: to learne and seeke the true religion of God, to maintaine his church, to honor and reuerence the priests of God, and specially exhorteth him to charitie, and that he would cease from persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to bee true. But note marke good reader) what blanched stuffe here followed vnlesse as where he, alleaging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no bishop nor minister ought to be persecuted or depriued of his goods. And if they be

The epistle of Marcellus to Maxentius blanched.



be, then ought they to haue their possessions and places againe restored (by the law) before they were bound (by the law) to answere to their accusations laid in against them: and so after where to their accusations laid in against them: and so after that an conuenient time, to be called to a councell; the which councell notwithstanding without the authoritie of the holy see, cannot proceed regularly (albeit it remaine in his power to assemble certaine bishops together) neither can he regularly condemne any bishop, appealing to this his apostolicall see, before the sentence definite bo proceed from the foresaid see, &c. And it followeth after; And therefore (saith he) let no bishop of what crime soeuer he be attached, come to his accusation or be heard, but in his owne ordinarie synod at his conuenient time: the regular and apostolicall authoritie being ioyned withall. Moreouer in the said epistle writing vnto Maxentius, he decreeth that no lay man, or any suspected bishop ought to accuse prelats of the church: So that if they be either laymen, or men of euill conuersation, or proued manifest enemies or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any bishops ought not to stand. With other such matters more, concerning the disposition of iudiciall court. Which matter, if pope Gregorie the seuenth had written vnto Henrie the third emperour, or if pope Alexander the third had written to the emperour Fredericus the first: it might haue stood with some reason and opportunitie of time. But now for Marcellus to write these decrees in such persecution of the church, to Maxentius the heathen and most cruell emperor, how vnlike it is to bee true, and how it serued then to purpose, the reader may soone discerne. And yet if these the epistles and constitutions decretall, whereby (vnder the pretensed title of the fathers) all churches of late time, and all ecclesiasticall causes haue been, and yet are in this realme of England to this day gouerned, directed and disposed.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that so lolio of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no pselate or bishop ought to come to his answere (ne Ad item contestatam, as the words of their writing do tearme it) before they be orderly and fully restored againe to their possessions. Who moreouer in the said their epistles still harpe vpon this key of the scripture, Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Declaring moreouer that this priuiledge of binding all maner of to be iudge of no man, but onely to be left to the iudgement of the Lord, was giuen to this foresaid holy see of Rome, from time of the apostles, and chiefly left vnto Peter the holy keeper: so that although the election of the apostles was equall, yet this was chiefly granted to S. Peter, to haue preheminence aboue the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, Quòd semper maiores causæ, licet sint episcoporum, & potiorū curæ negotiorum, ad vnam beati principis apostolorum Petri sedē conflurent; that is, That alwaies all greater causes, as bee the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weightie importance, should be brought to the see of saint Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles, &c. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly bee smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters vpon these ancient holy martyrs.

A place of the third epistle decretall of Eusebius found untrue.

This I cannot but marueil at, in the third epistle of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus his late predecessor before, in his owne time and remembrance did fall to horrible and lewd condemned for the same vilely to bee expulsed the citie by the councell of three hundred bishops: yet notwithstanding the foresaid Eusebius in his third epistle alleaging that place of Tu es Petrus, bringeth in for a proofe of the same, and saith: Quia in sede apostolica extra maculam semper est catholica seruata religio, &c: that is, For in the apostolicall see, alwaies the catholike religion hath been preserued without any spot or blemish.

Miltiades the last bishop of Rome being in danger of persecution.

But whosoeuer the fingers of these decretall epistles haue forgotten themselues, most certaine it is, that these holy bishops, vpon whom they were and are ascribed, liued perfect godly men and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the bishops of Rome here in the west church of Europe, that euer was in danger of persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

The end of these persecutions in all the west churches.

And without doubt we heard the stories and names of such blessed saints, which suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth yeare of Diocletian, to the seuenth and last yeare of Maxentius, with the deaths also and plagues described vpon these tormentors and cruell tyrants, which were the captaines of the same persecution. And here commeth in (blessed bee Christ) the end of these persecutions here in these west churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantinus did chiefly extend.

The persecution under Licinius, Hermius, Maximinus, Seleucius, martyrs. Theodosius captaine, martyr.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not so, the space of foure yeares, as aboue is mentioned by the meanes of wicked Licinius, vnder whom diuers there were holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grieuous torments: as Hermius a deacon, and Stratonicus a keeper of the prison, which both after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the flood Iser. Metaph. Also Theodosius the captaine, who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, & because he brake his gods in pieces, and gaue them to the poore, therefore was sastned to the crosse, and after being pierced with sharpe pitches or bodkins, in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Adde to this also Miles, who first being a souldier, afterward was made bishop of a certaine citie in Persia, where he seeing himselfe could doe no good to conuert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the citie and departed. Which citie shortly after by Sapores king of Persia was destroyed.

Miles martyr. Sapor king of Persia were contemporis. Ex Simeon Metaphrastes.

Persecution in Persia. Acindinus, Pegasius, Aphthonius, Elpidephorus, Simeon archbishop, Cteliphon bishop. Martyrs. 128 martyrs in Persia. The story of Simeon archbishop of Seleucia. Ex Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 8. 9. 10.

In the same countrie of Persia, about this time suffered vnder Sapores the king (as recordeth Simeon Metaphrastes) diuers valiant and constant martyrs, as Acindinus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epimachus, also Simeon archbishop of Seleucia, with Cteliphon an other bishop in Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred twentie eight. Of this Simeon and Cteliphon thus writeth Sozomen lib. 2: That the idolatrous magicians in Persia, taking counsell together against the christians, accused Simeon and Cteliphon to Sapores the king, for that they were growne full & accepted vnto the Roman emperor, & beleaued to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Sapores being moued, tooke great displeasure against the christians, oppressing them with taxes & tributes vnto their bitter impouerishing, killing also their priests with the sword: after that called for Simeon the archbishop, who there before the king declared himselfe a worthie and a valiant captaine of Christs church. For when Sapores had commanded him to be led to sutter torments, hee neither thumbe for any feare, nor beleaued any great humble suite of submission for any pardon: wherefore the king partly marueiling, partly offended, asked why he did not kneele downe as he was wont before to doe? Simeon to this answered: For that, saith he, before this time I was not brought into you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now, so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order & custome of the realme of me required; but now it is not lawfull for me so to doe, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine. When Simeon thus had auouered, the king perstiting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship with him after his maner, promising to him many great gifts, if he would so doe; or if hee would not, threatning to him & to all the other christians within his land, destruction. But Simeon neither allured with his promises, nor terrified with his threatnings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could bee induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betraye the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, to the kings pleasure further knowne.

The wortlie answere of Simeon vnto the king.

The constancie of Simeon.

It befell in the way as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the kings gate a certaine eunuch, an old man, one of schoolemaster of the kings, named Vthazares, who had been once a christian, and afterward falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatrie. This Vthazares sitting at the gate of the kings palace, and seeing Simeon passing by led to the prison, rose vp and reuerenced the bishop. Simeon againe with sharpe words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which being once a christian, would so cowardly reuolt from his profession, and returne againe to the heathenish idolatrie. At the hearing of these words the eunuch forthwith hurling out into teares, laying away his courtly apparell, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting vpon him a blacke and mourning weed, sitteth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himselfe: Woe is me, with what hope, with what face shall I loke hereafter for my God, which haue denied my God, when as this Simeon my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?

The fall of Vthazares.

The repentance of Vthazares.

These words being brought to the eares of the king (as such tale-carriers neuer lacke in princes courts) procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapores the king sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speake him faire, asking him what he ailed, and wherefore he mourned, and whether there was any thing in his house, which he wished him or which he had not at his owne will & asking? Whereunto Vthazares answering againe said: that There was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or wherunto his desire stood. Yea would God (said he) O king, any other griefe or calamitie in all the world, whatsoeuer it were, had happened to me rather then this, for the which I doe most sustie mourne and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather haue died long since, and that I see this sunne, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship, for which cause double wise I am woothie of death. First for that I haue denied Christ; secondly, because I did his dishonour vpon you. And incontinent vpon these words, swearing by him that made both heauen and earth, affirmed most certainely, that although he had played the fole before, he would neuer be so mad againe, as to stead of the creator & maker of all things to worship the creatures which hee had made and created. Sapores the king being astonied at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himselfe whether to bee angrie with those inchanters or with him; whether to intreate him

The entertaining of Vthazares to the king.

him with gentlenesse or with rigor, at length in this mood commanded the said Ulphazares his old ancient seruant, and first tutor and bringer vp of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, hee desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message vnto the king, which was this: sent in by certaine of the kings most trustie eunuches) desiring him, that for all the old and faithfull seruice he had done to his father, and to him, hee would now requite him with this one office againe, to cause to be cried openly by a publike crier in these words following, That Ulphazares was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king or the realme, but onely for that he was a christian, and would not at the kings pleasure deny his God. And so according vnto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did Ulphazares so much desire the cause of his death to bee published: because that as his thinking backe from Christ, was a great occasion to many christians to doe the like, so now the same hearing that Ulphazares died for no other cause but onely for the religion of Christ, should learne likewise by his example to bee feruent and constant in that which they professe. And thus this blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdome. Of the which his late martyrdome Simeon hearing, being in prison was very ioyfull, and gaue God thankes; who in the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend vnto the kings request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandement of the king beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of an hundred and more; all which were put to death before Simeon, hee standing by, and exhorting them with comfortable words: admonishing them to stand firme and stedfast in the Lord, preaching and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true pietie, and proued by the scriptures that to bee true which he had said: declaring moreouer that to bee true life indeed, to bodie; and that to bee death indeed, to denie or to betray God for feare of punishment: and added further, that there was no man aliue, but needs once must die: For so much as to all men is appointed necessarilie heere to haue an end. But those things which after this life follow heereafter, to be eternall, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in diuers men doth differ, and is not in all men like; so the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall render and receiue according to their doings in this present life immortall rewards: such as haue here done well, of life and glorie; such as haue done contrarie, of perpetuall punishment. As touching therefore our well doing, here is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and vertuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, then if a man heere lose his life for his Lord God. With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yeelded vp their liues to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church; Abdeselas and Ananias, which also with him were partakers of the same martyrdome.

Ulphazares the kings Eunuch commanded to be beheaded.

The message of Ulphazares to the king.

The cause of his execution.

The end and thanksgiuing of Ulphazares.

The martyrdome of Simeon archbishop.

The exhortation of Simeon the archbishop to the martyrs at their death.

Abdeselas, Ananias, martyrs.

The life and death of Pusices, martyr.

At the suffering of those aboue mentioned, it happened that Pusices one of the kings officers, and ouerseer of his artificers, was there present: who seeing Ananias being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: O father (saide he) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God.

The free speech and boldnesse of Pusices.

Upon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediatly was apprehended and brought vnto the king; who there confessing himselfe constantly to be a christian, and so that hee was very bold and hardie before the king in the cause of Christs faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdome. For in the vpper part of his necke they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plucked out his tongue out of his mouth, and so hee was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The cruell martyrdome of Pusices. The daughter of Pusices martyr.

A cruell edict of Sapores against the christians.

The next yeare following, vpon the same day, when the christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lords passion, which we call good friday before Easter (as writeth the said Sozomenus) Sapores the king directed out a cruell and sharpe edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them, who for true confessed themselues to be christians. Vpon ground whereof an innumerable multitude of christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in cities and in townes: some being sought for, some offering themselues willingly, lest they should seeme by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the christians that could bee found, without pitie were slaine, and diuers also of the kings owne court and household. Amongst whom was also Azades an eunuch, one whom the king did intirely loue and fauour; which Azades after that the king vnderstood to be put to death, being greatly moued with the fauour thereof, commanded after that no christians to bee slaine, but them onely which were the doctors and teachers of christian religion.

Innumerable christians in Persia.

Azades a noble courtier, martyr.

The execution of Sapor to cease the persecution.

In the same time it happened that the queene fell into a certaine disease, vpon the occasion whereof, the cruell Iewes with the wicked magicians, faithlesse and maliciously accused Trabula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with an other sister also of hirs: that they had wrought priuie charmes to hurt the queene, for the reuenging of the death of Simeon. This accusation being receiued and beleeued, innocent Trabula, with the others were condemned, and with a fauchion in sunder by the middle, whose quarters were then hanged vpon stakes, the queene going betweene them, thereby thereby to bee deliuered of her sickenesse. This Trabula was a maid of a right comely beautie and verie amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great loue, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards sent into the prison to win her to his pleasure: promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be deliuered and set at liberty. But she vtterly refusing to consent vnto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did chuse rather to die, then to betray either the religion of her mind, or the virginitie of her bodie. Sozom.

Trabula twin sister of Simeon martyr.

Trabula the sister of Simeon.

False accusation rashly hearkened.

Trabula and her sister slaine in sunder.

The blind charme of the wicked queen.

Example of manfully chastitie in Trabula.

Now so farre as much as the king had commanded that no christians should be put to death, but onely such as were the teachers and leaders of the flocke: the magicians and archmagicians left no diligence vntried to set forward the matter. Tiberby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, which in all places went to slaughter, especially in the countrie of Bitheane, so that part of Persia aboue all other was most christian. Where Acepsimas the bishop with a great number of his flocke and clergie were apprehended and taken: vpon the apprehension of whom, the magicians to satisfie the kings commandement, dismissed all the rest, onely deprining them of their liuing and gods. Onely Acepsimas the bishop they retained, with whom one Iacobus a minister, a priest of his church was also ioyned: not of any competition, but onely as himselfe to beseech and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and bee coupled in the same bonds to serue the aged bishop, and to receiue (so much as hee might) his calamities, and heale his woundes. For hee had been sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the same thing which they began: but he would not doe, they cast him into prison againe, where this Iacobus was waiting vpon him. At the same time likewise Athalas a priest or minister, also Azadaces and Abdiesus deacons were imprisoned, and miserable scourged for the testimonie of the Lord Iesus. After this, the archmagus clipping his time, complained vnto the king of them, hauing authoritie and commission giuen him (vnlesse they would worship the same) to punish them as hee pleased. This commandement received of the king, the master magus doth declare to them in prison. But they answered against plainely, that they would neuer be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the same; whereupon without mercie they were put to bitter torments, where Acepsimas strongly perfisting in confession of Christ, remained last of death. The other being no lesse rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marcellouslie aliue, and because they wound in no safe time from their constant sentence, were turned againe into prison. Of whom Athalas in the time of his whipping was so wounde and rackt with pulling, that both his armes being loosed out of the ioynts, hanged downe from his bodie: which bee so carried about without vse of any hand to feed himselfe, but as hee was fed of others.

Ex Eccles. hist. Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 13.

Persecution against the bishops and teachers of the church in Persia.

Acepsimus bishop, martyr.

Iacobus priest, martyr.

Example of rare christian chastitie, and singular pietie in Iacobus.

Athalas Deacon, Azades Deacon, Abdiesus deacon, martyrs.

This archmagus and wicked (saith he) was emperor of religion among the Persians before Sapor, who had the greatest stroke in the lamb, next to the king.

The end and persecutor of Acepsimas bishop.

Athalas lost the vse of both his armes being plucke from the ioynts of his body.

Ex Sozo. lib. 2. cap. 13. Ex Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37.

Barbasimes, Danius, Gobidates, Gabelmus, Marcas, Sabbatius, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Abbas, Abbeses, Abbas, Abdesus, Sannes, Hamius, Acdeias, Gabdeses, Sinas, Daulas, Bicor, Maureanda, martyrs.

Other foure persecutions in Persia.

Sinhas bishop, martyr.

The flocke of Dominda martyr.

Ex Theodor. lib. 5. cap. 39.

The faithfull constancie of Dominda.

Dominda banished the countries of Persia.

Suenes martyr.

The constancie of Suenes.

The flocke of Benjamin, Deacon and martyr.

The number of the martyrs that fell in Persia were 10 thousand.

Constantinus the emperor writeth to the king of Persia in the behalfe of the afflicted christians.



thinking thereby to obtaine the more friendship at the kings hands, that at his request he would be god to the christians, to whom he writeth his epistle in their behalfe, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

The copie and effect of the epistle of Constantine to Sapores.

*Diuinam fidem seruans veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce doctus diuinæ fidei cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res agendas confirmat, fanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo, & hinc me cultum doctore cognitionis sanctæ Dei habere confiteor, &c.* Euse-bius *De vita Constantini, lib. 4.* The contents whereof briefly doe tend to this effect. Declaring vnto him how hee should stand much beholden to him, if at his request hee would shew some quiet and rest to the christians, in whose religion there was nothing which he could iustly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they vse to kill nothing, nor to shed no blood, but onely to offer vp vnbloodie sacrifices, to make their prayers vnto God, who delighteth not in bloodshedding, but only in the soule that loueth vertue, & followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing vnto true pietie. And therefore such men as doe leade him, and learne so to beleeue and to worship God; are more to bee commended. Moreouer, hee assureth him to find God more mercifull vnto him, if he would imbrace the godly pietie and truth of the christians. And for example thereof, bringeth in the stories of Galienus and Valerianus, who so long as they were fauourers of the christians did prosper and flourish. But as soone as they moued any perfecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other emperors before them, that all went backeward with them, as especially might appeare by Valerianus, who after hee had raged so cruelly against the christians, was eftsoones ouercome of the Persians, the reuenging hand of God falling vpon him, where hee led euer ameliorable life, in wretched captiuitie. Further also for the more euidence of the same, inferreth the examples of those emperors & tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gaue him the victorie in many battels, and triumph ouer great tyrants, whereby he hath so inlarged the dominion of the Romane monarchie from the west ocean vnto the vttermost parts well neere of all the east. To the doing and working whereof neither called to him the helpe of any charmer, or diuination of soothsayer, nor vsed the killing of any sacrifice: but onely the following of the crosse, and prayer made to almightie God, without any other bloodie sacrifice, was the armour wherewith hee ouercame, &c. And in the end of the epistle addeth these words. What ioy (saith he) what gladnesse would it be to my heart, to heare the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by imbracing this sort of men, the christians I meane? So that both you with them, & they with you in long prosperitie may inioy much felicitie together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you haue God, which is the author and creator of all this vniuersall world, to be mercifull and gracious to you. Thefe men therefore I commend vnto you vpon your kingly honor, and vpon your clemencie and pietie, wherewith you are indued, I commit them vnto you, desiring you to imbrace and receiue them according to your humanitie and benignitie, agreeing and conuenient to your estate: who in so doing shall now both procure to your selfe grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthie of thankes.

Ioseph. lib. 20. cap. 2.

Ex Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.

The faithfull constancie of Suenes.

The generall care of godly Constantinus for all christians in all places.

Great cruelty vsed.

The true conscience of Marcus Arethusius.

Great crueltie practised.

Counterfeiting the cause of cruelty.

This cruell tyrant wrote Constantinus to king Sapores, such care had this godly prince for them that beleeued in Christ, not onely in his owne monarchie, but also in all places of the world: neither is it to bee doubted but this intercession of the emperor did something mittigate the heate of the Persians persecution, although therof we reade not certaine thing in our histories.

Of other troubles and persecutions we reade, which happened afterward in the said countrie of Persia, vnder Ishigerdes the king, but these followed long after about the time of the emperor Theodosius. At which time suffred Andas their bishop, and Dominda a great noble mans sonne, and of great reputation among the Persians, whom when the king vnderstood to be a christian, and to denie to turne from his religion, condemned him to keepe his elephants naked. In processe of time, the king looking out and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the sunne, commanded him to haue a shirt put on, and to bee brought before him, whom then the king asked, if hee would denie Christ. Dominda hearing this, tare off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying: If ye thinke that I will sell my my faith to Christ for a shirt, haue here your gift againe, &c. And so was vpon that expelled the countrie: Theodor. lib. 5.

Another there was that same time named Suenes, which had vnder him an hundred seruants. The king taking displeasure with him for that hee would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worth of all his seruants, and him the king made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his masters wife, brought also Suenes vnder his subiection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of Suenes: but it was builded vpon a sure foundation.

Of Benjamin the deacon, thus writeth the said Theodoret in his first booke, that after two yeares of his imprisonment at the request of the Romane legat he was deliuered, who after-

A notable saying.

ward contrarie to the kings commandement preached and taught the gospel of Christ, & was most miserablie excarnificat, hauing twentie sharpe pricks of reeds thrust vnder his nailes; but when hee did laugh at that, then in his pittie yard had a sharpe reed thrust in with horrible paine. After that a certaine long slalke ragged & thornie, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him, with the horriblenesse of the paine where of the valiant & inuincible souldier of the Lord gaue ouer his life. Theod. ibid. And thus much concerning the martyrs & persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came (as it is said) long after the daies of Constantinus, about 5 yeare of our Lord, 425.

Whereas vnder Iulian the wicked apostata, certaine there were which constantly suffered martyrdome by the heathen idolaters, as Emilianus who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius which was slaine in his caue. Theodorus also for singing of a psalme at the removing of the body of Babilas (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, & so cruelly excruciat from morning almost to noone, that hardly hee escaped with life. Who being asked afterward of his friends, how hee could abide so sharpe torments, said that at the first beginning hee felt some paine, but afterward there stood by him a pong man, who as he was sweatting wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oftimes: whereby he was so delighted, that when he was led vnto the engin, it grieued him more then hee was before: Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

The martyrs vnder Iulian the apostata, Emilianus, Domitius, martyrs. Ruffi. lib. 5. c. 36. Theod. lib. 3. c. 11. Sozom. li. 5. c. 10.

A meruele to be noted.

Artemius also, the captaine of the Egyptian souldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed: although other causes were pretended against him: Theodor. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Artemius martyr.

The flocke of Theopompus martyr.

So vnto these moreouer Eusebius and Nestabus, two brethren, with Nestor also, who for their christianitie were dragged through the streets and murthered of the idolatrous people of Gaza: Sozo. lib. 6. cap. 11.

Eusebius, Nestabius brethren, Nestor, martyrs.

But especially the crueltie of the Arethusians, a people of Syria, exceeded against the christian virgins, whom they set not naked before the multitude to be scorned: after that being driuen, they entered them with shame and traffic from one to another to their hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be deuoured of the hungrie swine. This rage and furie of the wicked Arethusians, Sozomenus supposeth to come of this, because that Constantinus before had broken them from their countrie maner of letting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whomsoeuer lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, refraining the people there from their filthinesse and vile whoredome. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Cruelties, Arethusians, Nestor, martyrs.

Simeticharpax, Sophocles people of Gaza.

Simeticharpax the people made no bo plucke from their old euerlong, though it be neuer so wicked.

Of the lamentable stozie, or rather tragedie of Marcus Arethusius their bishop, thus writeth the said Sozomenus, and also Theodoretus in his third booke, in these words as follow.

The flocke of Marcus Arethusius.

This tragedie (saith he) of Marcus Arethusius, both require the eloquence and worthinesse of Ecbilius and Sophocles, which may as the matter deserueth, set forth and beautifie his great afflictions. This man, at the commandement of Constantinus, pulled downe a certaine temple dedicated to idols, and in stead thereof built vp a church where the christians might congregat. The Arethusians remembring the little god Iulian that Iulianus bare vnto him, accused him as a traitor and enemie to him. At the first, according as the scripture teacheth, he prepared himselfe to flie: but when hee perceiued that there were certaine of his kinsmen & friends apprehended in his stead, returning againe of his owne accord, he offered himselfe to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and woorne yeares, nor abashed at his honourable conuersation, being a man adorned both with doctrine and manners, first skript him naked, and pitifully beat him: then within a while after, they cast him into a foule filthie sinke, and from thence being brought, they caused boyes to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for the nonce, to prouoke his paine the more. Lastly, they put him into a basket, and being anointe with honie and milke, they hung him abrode in the heate of the sunne as meate for waspes and flies to feed vpon. And all this extremitie they shewed vnto him, for that they would inforce him to doe one of these things, that is, either to build vp againe the temple which hee had destroyed; or else to giue so much money as should pay for the building of the same: but euen as he purposed with himselfe to suffer and abide their grieuous torments, so refused hee to doe that they demanded of him. At the length they talking him to be but a poore man, & not able to pay such a summe of money, promised to forgiue him the one halfe, so that hee would be contented to pay the other halfe. But hee hanging in the basket wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boyes and children, and all to be bitten with waspes and flies, did not onely conceale his paine & griefe, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himselfe to bee exalted and set on high. At length they demanding of him but a small summe of money, he answered thus; It is a great wickednesse to conser one halfe-penie in cafe of emptie, as if a man should buckle before the whole. Thus they being not able to preuaile against him, let him downe, and leauing him went

their way, so that every man might learne at his mouth the example of true pietie and faithfulnesse.

Although the traction of these forsaid stories and persecutions of Persia, aboue premised, doe stray somewhat out of the order and course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine nor be pertinent to the monarchie of Rome: yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy martyrs and saints of Christ; for so much as these also gaue such a faithfull testimonie of the Lord Iesus with their blod, I thought therefore not to passe them ouer without some testimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And herean end of these persecutions of the primitive church.

It may peraduenture bee marueiled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions aboue specified, why God the almightie diuine of all things, would suffer his owne people and faithfull seruants, belonging in his owne ans onely begotten sonne Iesus, so cruelly to bee handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to bee tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many yeares together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appeare. To the which admiration I haue nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Hyeroni, Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c. We ought not to be mooued with this iniquitie of things, to see the wicked to preuaile against the godly: for so much as in the beginning of the world we see Abel the iust to be slaine of wicked Cain, and afterward Iacob being thrust out, Esau to reigne in his fathers house: in like case the Egyptians with bricke and tile afflicted the sonnes of Israel, yea and the Lord himselfe, was hee not crucified of the Iewes, Barrabas the theefe being let goe? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon vp how the godly in this world goe to wracke, the wicked flourishing and preuailing: Hiero. Briefly, howsoeuer the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sinnes here in this life, or how else soeuer, yet this is to vs, and may bee to all men a sufficient say, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God his people in this world, not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the prouident appointment and fore warning of God. For so in the old law by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of his christians. So by the words of Christs owne mouth in the gospell, hee did foreinarne his church of these troubles to come. Againe, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall vpon his seruants, before that hee had pronounished them sufficiently by speciall reuelation in the Apocalyps of John his seruant, in the which Apocalyps hee declared vnto his church before, not onely what troubles were comming at hand towards them, where and by whom they should come, but also in plaine number, if the words of the prophesie bee well vnderstood, assigneth the true time how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For as there is no doubt, but by the beast with seuen heads, bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blud of saints, is signified the citie of Rome: so in my iudgement the power of making forty two moneths (in the xiij. tenth of the Apocalyps) is to be expounded, taking euery moneth for a sabbath of yeares, that is, reckoning for seuen yeares a moneth: so that forty and two such sabbaths of yeares, being gathered together, make vp the yeares iust, betweene the time of Christs death, to the last yeare of the persecution of Diocletian, when Constantinus fighting vnder the banner of Christ, ouercame him, and made an end of all persecution within the monarchie of Rome. The number of which yeares by plaine computation, come to two hundred nin-tie and foure: to the which two hundred ninetie and foure yeares, if ye adde the other six yeares, vnder the persecution of Licinius in Asia, then it filleth vp full the three hundred yeares. And so long continued the persecution of Christs people vnder the heathen tyrants, and emperors of the monarchie of Rome, according to the number of the forty two moneths which the beast had power to make, specified in the thirteenth of Apocalyps. For the better explication whereof, because the matter being of no small importance greatly appertaineth to the publike vtilitie of the church, and left any shadow of doubt or darkenesse in it, to follow any priuate interpretation of mine owne, I thought good to communicate to the reader, which hath been imparted vnto me, in the opening of these mysticall numbers in the foresaid booke of Reuelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intollerable torments of the blessed saints, so cruelly racke, rent, tome, and plucked in peeces with all kind of tortures, paines and punishments that could bee deuised, more bitter then any death it selfe; I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind behold their sorrowfull afflictions, or write of their bloodie passions. Wherein much like it happened to me as did to Titus Liuius, who writing of the wars of Carthage, was so moued in the writing thereof: Aegri in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisse. Further I proceeded in the storie, and the hoter the persecutions grew, the more my griefe with them and for them increased, not onely pitying their wofull case, but also almost reasoning with God, thus thinking like a foole with my selfe, why God of his godnesse would suffer his children and seruants so vehemently to bee cruciated and afflicted. If mortall things were gouerned by heauenly prouidence (as must needs be granted) why did the wicked so rage and flourish and the godly goe so to wracke? If sinnes deserued punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death aboue all other so sharpe and bitter? At least why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to indure so long time against his poore church, hearing into them no certaine determined end of their tribulations, whereby they knowing the appointed determination of almighty God, with more consolation might indure out the same? As the Israelites in the captiuitie of Babylon had seuentie yeares limited vnto them: and vnder Pharao they were promised a deliuerance out. Also vnder the Syrian tyrants three score and two weekes were abridged vnto them. Onely in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set to their deliuerance. Whereupon much marueiling with my selfe, I searched the booke of Reuelation, to see whether any thing there might be found; where although I well perceiued the beast there described to signifie the empire of Rome, which had power to ouercome the saints, yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions vnder the beast, I found nothing to satisfie my doubt. For albeit I read there, of forty two months, of a time, times, and halfe a time, of one thousand two hundred and three score daies; yet all this by computation comming but to three yeares and a halfe, came nothing neere the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred peres. Thus being vexed and turmoiled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and peares, it so happened vpon a sunday in the morning lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a maiestie, thus inwardly saying within me: Thou fole, coulcest these moneths by sabbaths, as the weekes of Daniel are counted by sabbaths. The Lord I take to witnesse this it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty two months by sabbaths: first of moneths, that would not serue: then by sabbaths of peares, wherein I began to smile some probable vnderstanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to haue more sure euidence I repaired to certaine merchants of mine acquaintance: of whom one is departed a true faithful seruant of the Lord, the other two be yet aliue, and witnesse hereof. To whom the number of these foresaid forty two moneths being propounded, examined by sabbaths of peares, the whole summe was found to surmount vnto two hundred ninetie and foure yeares, containing the full and iust time of these foresaid persecutions, neither more nor lesse.

How this one clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plaine and manifest to the intelligent reader to bee vnderstood. For where mention is made of three peares and a halfe, of one time, two times and halfe a time, also of one thousand two hundred and three score daies, all these come to one reckoning and signifie forty & two moneths, by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitiue persecutions, as here in order may appeare.

## The mysticall numbers in the *Apocalyps opened.*

FIrst, where mention is made, Apocalyps, chapt. eleuen, that the two prophets shall prophesie 1260 daies; and also that the woman flying into the desert shall there be fed 1260 daies: who knoweth not that 1260 daies make three yeares and a halfe? that is, moneths ——— 42.

1 One thousand two hundred and sixtie. Reuel. 11. 12.

Secondly, where we reade, cap. 12. the bodies of the two foresaid prophets shall lie in the streets of the great citie vnburied the space of three daies and a halfe, and after the said three daies and a halfe they shall reuiue againe, & collect the houres of these three daies and a halfe (which be 42.) be reckoned euery day for a sabbath of yeares, or else euery day for a moneth, and they come to moneths ——— 42.

2 Three daies and a halfe. Reuel. 11.

Thirdly, wheresas in the same booke is expressed that the woman had two wings giuen her to flie vnto the desert for a time, times, and halfe a time: giue for one time one yeare, or one day; for two times, two yeares or two daies; for halfe a time, halfe a yeare, or halfe a day; & so it is manifest that these three yeares and a halfe, mount to moneths 42.

3 A time, times, and halfe a time. Reuel. 12.

Fourthly, account these forty two moneths aforesaid (which the beast had power to make, Apoc. 11.) by sabbath of yeares, that is, seuen yeares for a moneth, or euery moneth for seuen yeares; and it amounteth to the sum of yeares ——— 294.

4 Forty two moneths or three yeares and a halfe. Reuel. 11.

And so haue ye the iust peres, daies, times, & moneths of these foresaid persecutions vnder the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of Iohn Baptist vnder Herod the Romane king to the end of Sparentius, and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the west, the other in the east, who were both vanquished by godly Constantius. And so peace was giuen to the church, albeit not in such ample sort, but that diuers tumults & troubles afterward insued, but they lasted not long; and the chiefe brunt, to speake of these Romane persecutions

Hiero. in Abdiam cap. 1.

The wicked in this world doe most flourish and prosper.

Persecution foreseen by no chance.

Persecution of Gods people prefigured in the old law.

Gods people prefigured and forewarned of God.

The church forewarned of Christ by foresaid reuelation in the Apocalyps.

The beast had power to make 42 moneths.

Two and forty moneths in the apoc. 13. expounded.

The persecuting time of the primitiue church vnder the beast lasted 300 yeares.

The 42 yeares 300 yeares.



persecutions which the Holie ghost especiallie considered aboue all other in this Reuelation thus ended in the time of this Constantinus. Then was the great dragon the diuell, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand yeares after this, so that he could not preuaile in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the gospell by little and little increasing and spreading with great voice and liberte, so preuailed that at length it got the vpper hand and replenished the whole earth, rightlie deriuing therein the water of Ezechiel, which issuing out of the right side of the altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it reuiued the whole Ocean sea, and healed all the fishes therin. Ezech. 47.

Do other wise the course of the gospell proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still his streame; the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran; by bloud it seded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, though violence it spring; till at last out of thaldome and oppression it brast forth into perfect liberte, and flourished in all prosperitie, had it so been that the Christian wisedom and moderatie could haue vsed this rest and liberte, and not abused the same, forgetting their former estate to their owne pride, pompe, and worldlie ease, as it came afterward to passe, whereof more is to be seene and said (the Lord willing) in place and time conuenient.

And thus much touching the prophetical numbers in the Apocalyps. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternall wisdome and prouidence of almightie God, so disposing and gouerning his church, that no aduersitie or perturbation happeth at any time to it, which his prouident wisdome doth not foresee before and prezodeine; neither doth he prezodeine or determine any thing which he doth not most truelie perfourme, both for seeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end therof how long to continue and when to ceasle. In much like sort we read in the books of Genesis, how the flocke of Israel was foure hundred yeres in the land of Egypt: During the space of which foure hundred peeres, after the death of Ioseph (who, beareth a plaine figure of Christ) they were hardlie intreated and cruellie afflicted of the Egyptians, about the space of three hundred yeres, reckoning from after the death of Ioseph, to their deliuerance out of the bondage of Egypt, semblable as these christians, after Christs time suffered the like bondage vnder the Romane tyrants. The perfecuted Israelits bearing a figure of the persecuted church of Christ.

Thus much by the waie I thought to insinuat, lest any should muse, or take any offence in himselfe, to see or read of the church so long and so many peeres to be vnder so miserable and extreme afflictions: wherein neither chance nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but onlie the foreprouision and determination of the Lord so gouerned and disposed the same, who not onlie did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and peeres how long they should last, and when to haue an end, as by the foresaid forty two moths in the thirteenth and eleuenth chapters of S. Johns Apocalyps hath been declared. Which months conteining two hundred ninetie and foure peeres, if they be rightlie gathered, make the full time betweene the first peere of the persecution of Christ vnder the Iewes and Herod, till the last peere of persecution vnder Licinius, which was from the natiuitie of Christ in the peere of our Lord three hundred twentie and foure, from the first persecution of Christ in the peere of our Lord two hundred ninetie and foure, as is aboue said. After the which peere according to the prezodinat counsell of God, when his seueritie had been sufficientlie declared vpon his owne house, it pleased him to shew mercy againe, & to bind vp sathan the old serpent, according to the twentith chapter of the Reuelation, for the space of a thousand yeares, that is, from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wicliffe, and John Husse. During all which time, albeit certeine conflicts and tumults haue been among christian bishops themselues in the church, yet no vniuersall murthering persecution was stirring before the preaching of John Wicliffe & Husse, and such others, as in the further processe of this history (Christ willing and aiding) by all meane appeere heereafter. From the first persecution of the primitiue church to the last persecution two hundred ninetie & foure peeres. Antiochus persecution ceaseth for one thousand yeres in the church: Apoc. 20. From the time of Licinius, to Wicliffe one thousand yeres. Sathan bound by for a thousand yeeres. The time of Sathans binding opened.

Thus hauing at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heauie afflictions of christian martyrs, now by the grace of God, comming out of this red sea of bloudie persecution, leauing Pharao and his host behind: let vs sing glorious vnto the worthie name of our God, who through the bloud of the lambe after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied vp sathan short, hath sent his meeke Moses, gentle Constantine I meane, by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to worke deliuerance to his captiue people, to set his seruants at liberte, to turne their mourning into ioie, to magnifie the church of his sonne, to destroie the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberte (and would God effects of all the world, to grant life and liberte (and would God also not to much riches!) vnto them which before were the abiects of all the world, and all by the meanes of godlie Constantinus the meeke and most christian emperor, of whose diuine victories against so many tyrants and emperors, persecutors of Christs people; and last like against Licinius, in the peere of our Lord, three hundred twentie and foure, of whose other noble acts & prowesses, of whose blessed vertues and his happy birth and progen'e part we haue comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

This Constantine was the sonne of Constantius the emperor, a good and vertuous child of a good and vertuous father, borne in Britanie (as saith Eutropius) whose mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of king Coilus: although Ambrosius in his funerall oration of the death of Theodosius saith, the was an inholders daughter. He was a most bountifull and gratious prince, hauing a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes vse to reade, write, and studie himselfe. He had marueilous good successe & prosperous atchiuing of all things he take in hand, which then was (and truelie) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was to great a fauorer of the christian faith. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did euer after most deuoutlie and religiouslie reuerence, and commanded by especiall commaundment & proclamation, that euerie man should professe the same religion throughout all the Romane monarchie. The worshipping of idols, whereunto he was addict by the allurement of Fausta his wife, in so much that he did sacrifice to them, after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battell, he vtterlie abiured: but baptisme he deferred euen vnto his old age, because he had determined a iournie into Persia, & thought in Iordan to haue been baptised. Euseb lib. 4. de vita Constantini. Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. Euseb. lib. de vita Constan. The good gouernance of Constantine. The cause of all his prosperous successe. Constantine sometime by meanes of his wife was an idolater.

As touching his naturall disposition and wit, he was verie eloquent, a good philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say, that an emperor ought to refuse no labo; for the vtilitie of the common weale: yea, and that to aduenture the mangling of his bodie for the remedie thereof; but if other wise it may be holpen, to cherish the same. The common saying of Constantinus.

This Zoe Aurelius, Victor, Zosimus, Letus, and Ignatius write of him. And Aelius Lampridius saith, writing vpon the life of Heliogabalus; that Constantinus was wont to say, that an empire was giuen by the determinat purpose of God, that he to whom it was giuen, should so employe his diligence, as he might be thought worthie of the same at the hands of the giuer; which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third booke against Cresconius, Epist. 49. and 50. Augustin contra Cresco. epist. 49.50.

He first entered into the empire by the mercifulnesse of God, minding after long traues of bodilull persecution to restore vnto his church peace and tranquillitie in the peere of our Lord three hundred and eleuen, as Eusebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reigne continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirtie yeres, Letus saith thirtie and two yeres lacking two months. Great peace and tranquillitie insoted the church vnder the reigne of this good emperor, which take great paine and trauell for the preseruation thereof. First, yea and that before he had subdued Licinius, he set forth many edicts for the restitution of the gods of the church, for the reuoking of the christians out of exile, for taking away the distension of the deacons out of the church, for the setting of them free from publike charges and such like, euen as the copie of his constitutions here vnder declareth, which Eusebius in his tenth book and fift chapter repeateth in this wise. The raigne of Constantinus. The effect of some of his constitutions.

## The copie of an epistle of Constantinus, sent to *his subiects inhabiting in the east.* Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 5.

VIctor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to our louing subiects inhabiting throughout the east parts, sendeth greeting. The thing it selfe which in the sure and most firme law of nature is contained, doth giue vnto all men (euen as God hath ordained the same) sufficient perceiuerance and vnderstanding, both of such things as man ought to foresee, as also what things presently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therin to be doubted of such as haue their minds directed to the scope or marke of perfect vnderstanding: so that the perfect comprehending of sound reason, & the perceiuerance thereof be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect vertue. Wherfore let no wise man be troubled, although he sees diuers men of diuers dispositios: for wisdome which springeth of vertue, cannot abide or acquaint her selfe with fond idiots, vnlesse that (on the other side) the malice of peruerse lithernesse prolong her daies, and cause the same idiocie to furuiue. Wherefore assuredlie the crowne and price of vertue lieth open vnto all men, and the most mighty God ordereth the iudgement of the same. I vndoubtedly (as manifestlie as possible is) will indeuour my selfe to satisfie and confesse vnto you al the hope which is in me. I thinke verily that the emperors which before this time haue lately been, euen for their tyrannie had the empire taken from them: and my father onely exercising and vsing all meeknesse and lenitie in his affaires, calling vpon God the father with great deuotion and humilitie, hath been exalted to the same: and all the rest as men wanting their wits, and in comparison as sauage beasts, rather did giue themselues to like cruelty, then vnto any lenity and gentlenes towards their subiects: in which tyranny euery one for his time being nuzzelled, vtterly subuerted the true and vnfallible doctrine, and so great malice was there kindled in their breasts, that whie all things were in peaceable tranquillitie, they made and raised most cruell and bloudie intestine or ciuill warres. It is credibly informed vs, that in those daies Apollo gaue answers, but not by any mans mouth, but out of a certaine caue and darke place (saying) that he was much disquieted by those that were the iust men & liuers vpon the Tyrannie bee priuily empowred. Bloodie & tyrants make ciuill warres. Apollo gaue answer out of a caue in the ground, that he was disquieted by the christians.

the earth, so that he could or would not for them declare a truth of such things as others demanded. And heerby it came to passe that such false diuinations were giuen from the golden tables in Apollos temple. And in this thing did his prophetical priest complaine of, when he tooke vp againe the haire of his head, that other had contemptuouslie cast downe, and that the neglecting of his diuination was the cause of so manie euils amongst men. But let vs see what was the end hereof. We now boldlie and without all feare inuocar & worship the omnipotent God. When I was a child I heard, that he which then was chefe emperor of Rome, vnhappie, yea most vnhappie man, being seduced and brought into error by his souldiors, curiouslie inquired who were those iust men vpon the earth that Apollo ment? And one of his priests which was neere about him, made answer that they were the christians. This answer hereupon vnto him being as delectable as honie vnto the mouth, drew the sword giuen vnto him, to be a reuenger vpon euill doers & malefactors against the professors of the vnreprehensible sanctimonie and religion, and straightwaie he gaue forth a commission (to bloudie homicides, as I may well call them) and gaue commandement to all the iudges that they should endeuor themselues with all the cunning they had, to the deuising of more greeuous and sharper punishments against the poore christians. Then, then liue, a man might haue seene how greatlie the harmelesse professors of that religion were molested with cruelties, and dailie suffered no small iniuries and contumelies, and that also they suffered & susteined the same with such temperance, as though they had had no iniuries done vnto them at all. Which temperance and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious citizens were the more mad and raging against them. What feare, what torures, what kind of torments were there, but they without respect either of age or sexe were inforced to feele?

Then did the earth without doubt hir selfe bewaile hir children; and the round world which conteineth all things, being sprinkled and imbrued with their bloud, made dolefull lamentatiõ for them, and the daie it selfe prouoked for to mourne, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpose? Now the verie barbarous nations reioice for their liues which receiued and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled vnto vs, keeping them as it were in most louing and amiable captiuitie: & they saued not onlie their liues, but also were a defense for their religion. And now also the Romane nation remembreth and hath before their eies this blame and spot, which the christians that were of that time worthilie gaue vnto them, when they by them were banished (as vnfit members of their common wealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearsall of the mourning lamentation, which the heathen people themselues thoroughout all the world made for the pitifull murther and slaughter of them? After this it came to passe, that they which were authors of all these mischiefs died also, and were committed for their reward to the most filthie and horrible dungeon of hell. They being so intangled with intestine and ciuill warres, that they neither name nor kinsmen of their owne; which thing vndoubtedlie had not chanced vnlesse the wicked diuinations of Apollos oracles had deceiued and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I praie, õh most mightie God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be merciefull, and pardon all the east parts and inhabitants of the same, being oppressed with calamitie: & that by me thy seruant thou wilt of thy goodnesse helpe & releeue the same. And these things rashlie craue I not at thy hands, õh Lord, most mightie and holiest God of all. For I being persuaded by the onlie oracles, haue both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things: and further, by the bearing and shewing of thine ensigne, haue ouercome a mightie and strong host, and when any necessitie of the common weale so my charge committed) requireth, I pursue following those signes and tokens of thy vertues) I boldlie go forth and fight against mine enimies: and for this cause haue I sacrificed my soule vnto thee, purified and cleansed both with thy loue and feare. Yea trulie, thy name doe I sincerelie loue, and thy power doe I reuerence, which by many wõders & wonders hast shewed and confirmed thereby my beleefe & faith. Therefore will I doe my endeuor and bend my selfe thereto, that I may redifie thy most holie house, which those vn... and wicked emperors haue with so great ruine laid wast... y people doe I desire to bring and stablish, in firme peace and tranquillitie, & that for the publike vtilitie of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those which yet erre and are out of the waie, enioie the benefit of peace and quietnesse, with and amongst the number of the faithfull fort: for I trust the restitution of the like societie and participation may be a meanes to bring them also that erre into the perfect waie of veritie. Let no man therefore be greeuous one vnto another, but what euerie man thinketh best, that let him doe: for such as are wise ought throughlie to be persuaded, that the onlie meane to liue hollie, & as they should doe, whom the spirit of God moueth, to take their delight and recreation in reading his holie vtil: and if others wilfullie will go out of the waie, cleauing to the synagogues of false doctrine, they may at their owne perill. As for vs, we haue the most worthie house or congregation of Gods veritie, which he according to his owne goodnesse and nature hath giue vs. And this also we with

vnto them, that with like participation and common consent, they may feele with vs the same delectation of mind. For this our religion is neither new, nor newlie inuented, but is as old as we beleeue the creatiõ of the world to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with such worship as both seemed and pleased him: but all liuing men are liers, and are deceiued with diuers and sundrie illusions. Thou õh God for Christ thy sonnes sake, suffer not this wickednesse againe to root: thou hast set vp a cleere burning light, that thereby as manie as thou hast chosen may come vnto thee, these thy miracles approoue the same. It is thy power that keepeth vs in innocencie and fidelitie. The sunne and the moone run their appointed course: Neither yet in ranging wise wander the starres to what place of the world they list themselues. The daies, yeeres, months and times keepe their appointed turnes. The earth abideth sinne and vnremooueable at thy word, and the wind at the time (by thee directed) bloweth and bloweth. The streaming waterie floods ebbe in time according as they flow. The raging sea abideth within hir bounded limits: & for that the ocean sea stretcheth out hir selfe in equall length and breadth with the whole earth, this must needes be wrought with some maruellous workmanship of thine owne hand. Which thing vnlesse it were at thy will made and disposed, without all doubt so great difference & partition betweene, would ere this time haue brought vtter ruine and destruction, both to the life of man, as to all that belongeth to man beside. Which for that they haue such great and huge conflicts amongst themselues, as also the inuisible spirits haue, we giue thee thanks õh Lord most mightie God of all gods, that all mankind hath not beene destroied thereby. Surelie, euen as greatlie as thy benignitie and gentlenes is manifested by diuers & seuerie benefits bestowed vpon vs, so much also is the same set forth and declared in the discipline of thy eternall word, to those that be heauenlie wise, & applie themselues to the attainment of sincere and true vertue. But if any such there be that little regard, or haue but small respect vnto the consideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that doe the same: for that physicke whereby health is obteined, is manifestlie offered vnto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to subuert that, which experience & veritie shew (of necessitie) to be pure and good. Let vs therefore altogether vse the participation of this benefit bestowed vpon vs, that is to saie, the benefit of peace & tranquillitie, setting apart all controuersie. And let no man hurt or be preiudicial to his fellow for that thing wherin he thinketh himselfe to haue done well. If by that, which any man knoweth and hath experience of, he thinketh he may profit his neighbour, let him doe the same; if not, let him giue ouer and rest: it till an other time: for there is a great diuersitie betwixt the willing and voluntarie imbracing of religion, and that when a man is thereunto inforced and coacted. Of these things haue I made a more large discourse, then indeed the scope of mediocritie requireth; especiallie because I would not haue my faith (touching the veritie) to be hid, for I haue thought it to be some-what to complaine the old accustomed haunting of their temples, and that the power of such darknesse is cut off and taken awaie. Which thing surelie I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious error were so fixed in manie mens hearts, whereby they thirst after the vtter subuersion of the common weale and empire.

Such was the goodnesse of this emperor Constantinus, or rather such was the prouidence of almightie God toward his church in stirring him vp, that all his care and studie of mind was set vpon nothing els, but onlie how to benefit and inlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him inough to deliuer the church and people of God from outward beration of tyrants and persecutors, but also he beneficiall vnto his godlie care also in quieting the inward distentions and iarres bance within the church, among the Christian bishops themselues, according as we read of Moses the deliuerer of the Israelits, in agreeing the brethren together when he saw them at variance: Exod. 2. No lesse also did his vigilant studie extend in erecting, restoring, and inriching the churches of God in all cities, and in prouiding for the ministers of the same. And therfore writing to Christinus his chefe Captaine, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertaine to the churches of the christians, that he should procure vigilantlie for the same: that all such goods, houses, & gardens, belonging before to the right of churches, should againe be restored in all speedie wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.

Moreouer, he writing to the said Anilinus in an other letter, signifieth vnto him in this effect: that For so much as the contempt of God his reuerend religion, is and hath beene euer the greatest decaie to the name and people of Rome, as contrarie the maintchning & reuerencing the same hath euer brought prosperitie to all commonweales: therefore he in consideration thereof hath taken that order, and giueth to him in charge, that through out that prouince where he hath to doe, which was in Africa where Cecilianus was bishop, he should there see and prouide that all such ministers and clerks, whose vocation was to serue in the church, should be freed and exempted from all



publike duties and burthens, whereby they being so priuileged, and all impediments remoued which should hinder their diuine ministration, thereby the common vtilitie of the people might the better flourish, &c.

Furthermore the said Constantinus in an other letter writing to Dulcatius bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them how Cecilianus bishop of Carthage hath here accused vnto him by diuers of his colleagues and fellow bishops. Wherfore his will is, that the said Cecilianus with ten bishops his accusers, with ten other his defendants should repaire vp to him at Rome, where in the present assistance of the foresaid Militiades, Rheticius, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellow colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightlie examined, so that all schisme and diuision might be cut off from among them, wherein the feruent desire of Constantinus to peace and vnitie may well appeere.

Vpon the like cause and argument also, he writeth to Chrestus bishop of Syracusa, to desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he affectedly to him with his vnder ministers and three seruants, his free carriage to come vp to him vnto the councell of other bishops, for the agreeing of certaine matters belonging to the church.

He writeth also an other letter to the foresaid Cecilianus bishop of Carthage.

To the prouinces likewise of Palestina and those parts about, he directeth his edict in the behalfe of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captiuitie, and for the restoring again of them which had suffered any losse in the former persecution before, and for the restelling of such as heretofore had beene oppressed with any ignominie or molestation for their confession sake, declaring in the said edict how that this whole bodie, life and soule, and what soeuer was in him, he oweth to God and to the seruice of him, &c.

Moreouer an other letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the deuising of new christian churches, and restoring of them which had beene wasted before by forren enimies. And after he had collected the synod of Nice for the studie of peace and vnitie of the church, he writeth vpon the same to Alexander and Arrius. In which his letters he most lamentablie vttered the great greefe of his heart, to see and heare of their contention and diuision, whereby the peace and communion & harmonie of the church was broken, the synod prouoked and resisted, the holie people of the Lord deuided into parts and tumults, contrarie to the office of gods and circumspect men, whose dutie were rather to nourish concord & to seeke tranquillitie. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others, yet as the example of philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or peece of a question, some might differ from others, yet in the vnitie of their profession they did all ioine as fellowes together. In like case were it their dutie in such fruitfull questions (or rather peeces of questions) to keepe them in the conceptions of their minds in silence vnto themselues, & not to bring them forth into publike synods, to breake thereby from the communion of the reuerend councel: declaring moreouer in the said epistle, the first, figure and occasiõ of all this their contentious dissension to rise vpon vaine and trifling termes, vile causes and light questions, and peeces rather of questions, about such matters as neither are to be moued, nor to be answered vnto being moued; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expelled, then necessarie to be inquired, Magisque puerilibus ineptijs, quàm facerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ conuenientia; as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner meanes he both labour them, both intreat them, and persuade them, not onlie with reasons, but also with teares and sighing sobs, that they would resloze againe peace vnto the church, and quietnesse to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet vnto him) and that they would returne againe to the communio of the reuerend councell, who in so doing should open his wals and purpose to runne into the eall parts: which other vnle hearing of their discord and dissension, would be loth to see with his eies that which greeueth him now to heare with his eares: with much more in the same epistle conteined, but this is the effect of the whole: Euseb. de vita Const. lib. 2. Thus much I thought summarille to comprehend, whereby the diuine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meeke and religious Constantine might more notoriouslie appeere to all princes, & others to learne by his example what zeale and care they ought to beare toward the church of Christ, and how gentle to gouerne, and how to be beneficiall to the same.

Manie other edicts and epistles written to other places and parties, be expelled at large in the second booke of Eusebius, De vita Constantini, wherein the zealous care and pitifull beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appeere: whereof in a breefe recapitulation such specialities we haue collected as here followeth, and is to be seene in Sozo. lib. 1. cap. 8. 9.

First he commanded all them to be set free, whosoeuer for the confession of Christ had beene condemned to banishment, or to the mines of metall, or to any publike or priuate labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamie or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all

such blemish of ignominie. Souldiors which before were deprined either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their libertie either to serue againe in their place, or quietlie to liue at home. Whatsoeuer honor, place or dignitie had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them againe. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoeuer they were alienated, should returne to their heires or next of kin, or for lacke of them should be giuen to the church. He commanded moreouer that onelie Christians should beare office; the other be charged and restrained, that neither they should sacrifice nor exercise any more diuinations and ceremonies of the gentils, nor set vp any images, nor to keepe any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected moreouer and abolished all such vnlawfull maners and vnhonest vsages in cities as might be hurtfull any waies to the church, as the custome that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people vsed to run together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthinesse and sodomitrie to pollute their cities in celebrating the increase of that riuer. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgyne, to be filled: by reason whereof the riuer afterward (though the benefit of God) yeelded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertilitie of the ground then before.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, hauing no fruite of children, should be amerced of halfe their gods. Also, that such as being aboue the yeeres of twentie and fiue vnmaried, should not be numbred in the same priuileges with them that were maried, neither should be heires to them, to whom notwithstanding they were next in kin. These lawes because they seemed vnreasonable, to punish the defect of nature or gift of virginitie by mans law, he abrogated and tooke away. An other order was among the Romans, that they which made their wils being sicke, had certaine prescribed and coccined words appointed to them to vse, which vnlesse they followed, their wils stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to euerie man in making his testament to vse what words or what writing he list. Also whereas among the Romans he refreined and take away the cruell and bloudie spectales and fights, where men were wont with swords one to kill an other. Of the barbarous and filthie fashion of the Arethusians in Phœnicia, I haue mentioned before, where they vsed to oppole and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be maried, which custome also Constantine remoued awaie. Where no churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were beside, he commanded them to be reparcd; where any were to little, he caused them to be inlarged, giuing to the same great gifts and reuenues, not onlie of such tributes and tares comming to him from certaine sundrie cities, which he transferred vnto the churches, but also out of his owne treasures. When any bishops required any councell to be had, he satisfied their petitions; and that in their councels and synods they stabbished, being godlie and bowld, he was redie to confirme the same.

The armor of his souldiors which were newlie come from gentilitie, he garnished with the armes of the crosse, whereby they might learne the sooner to forget their old superstitious idolatrie. Moreouer like a worthie emperor he prescribed a certaine forme of praier in stead of a catechisme to euerie man to haue, and to learne how to praie and to inuocat God. The which forme of praier is recited in the fourth booke of Eusebius De vita Constantini, in words as followeth.

Te solum nouimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem inuocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inuicorum constituimus, tibi præsentium bonorum gratiam accepta ferimus, & per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos eius filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus, per Christum Dominum nostrum: Amen. In English:

We knowledge thee onlie to be our God, we confesse thee to be our king, we inuocat and call vpon thee our onlie helper, by thee we obteine our victories, by thee we banquilh and subdue our enimies, to thee we attribute whatsoeuer present commodities we enioie, & by thee we hope for good successe vnto these our priuat & our state and petitions, most humblie beseeching thee to conserue Constantine our emperor, and his noble children in long life to continue, and to giue them victorie ouer all their enimies, through Christ our Lord: Amen.

In his owne palace he set vp an house peculiar for praier and doctrine, wherin also to praie and sing with his people. All so in his iournes he kept not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The sundaie he commanded to be kept holie of all men, and free from all iudiciarie causes, from markets, marts, faires, and all other manuall labors, onlie husbandrie excepted; especiallie charging that no images or monuments of idolatrie should be set vp.

Span of the clergie and of the ministerie in all places he indued with speciall priuileges and immunities, so that if any were brought before the ciuill magistrat, and listed to appeale to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawfull for him so to doe, and that the sentence of the bishop should stand in as great force

as if the magistrat or the emperor himselfe had pronounced it.

¶ But here is to be obserued and noted by the waie, that the clerkes and ministers then newlie creeping out of persecution, were in those daies neither in number so great, nor in order of life, of the like disposition to these in our daies now liuing.

The munificence and liberalitie of Constantine in maintaining scholes.

No lesse care and prouision the said Constantinus also had for the maintenance of scholes perteining to the church, and to the nourishing of good arts and liberall sciences, especiallie of diuinitie, not onlie with stipends & subsidies furnishing them, but also with large priuileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his owne law is to be seene and read as followeth: Medicos, grammaticos, & alios professores literarum, & doctores legum, cum vxoribus & liberis, &c. In England: Physicians, grammarians, and all other professors of liberall arts, and doctors of the law, with their wiues and children, and all other their possessions which they haue in cities, we command to be freed from all ciuill charges and functions, neither to receiue forren strangers in prouinces, nor to be burthened with any publike administration, nor to be cited vp to ciuill iudgement, nor to be driuen out or oppressed with any iniurie. And if any man shall vex them, he shall incurre such punishment as the iudge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreouer and salaries we command trulie to be paid them, whereby they may more freelie instruct others in arts and sciences, &c.

The priuiledge granted by Constantine to vniuersities and scholes.

Durst and besides this, so far did his godlie zeale and princelie care and prouision extend to the church of Christ, that he commanded and prouided bookes and volumes of the scripture, diligentlie and plainlie to be written and copied out, to remaine in publike churches to the vse of posteritie. Whereupon writing to Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia in a special letter (recorded in the fourth booke of Eusebius, De vita Constant.) he willeth him with all diligence to procure fiftie volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out of the scripture in a faire legible hand, such things as he thought necessarie and profitable for the instruction of the church, and alloweth him for that businesse two publike ministers also willeth concerning the same to the Generall of his armie, to support and further him with such necessaries, as thereunto should appertein: &c.

The priuilege of Constantine touching the scripture in churches.

Ex Euseb. lib 4. de vita Const.

¶ In viewing, perusing, and writing this storie, and in considering the christian zeale of this emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plentie of bookes had been in his daies, or that this so heroicall heart toward Christs religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appeare in inferior princes reigning in these our printing daies, &c.

A wish of the author, admonishing princes.

The liberalitie of Constantine towards the poore & needie.

The liberall hand of this emperor bonne to doe all men good, was no lesse also open and readie toward the needie powerie of such, which either by losse of parents or other occasions were not able to helpe themselues: to whom he commanded and prouided due sustenation both of corne and raiment to be ministred out of his owne coffers, to the necessarie releefe of the poore men, women, children, orphans, and widowes. Eusebius de vita Constant. l. 4.

Constantine reuiueth the fourth part of his rents and reuenues.

Finallie, among all the other monuments of his singular clemencie and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the empire of Rome and prouinces belonging to the same, not onlie he diminished such taxes, reuenues and imposts, as publikelie were comming to him, but also clerelie remitted and released to the contributors the fourth part of the same.

Donation of Constantine.

This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon as vpon their cheefest anchorhold, the bishops of Rome doe ground their supreme dominion and right, cure all the politicall gouernment of the west parts, & the spirituall gouernment of all the other seas and parts of the world. Which donation to be falslie feigned and forged, & not to proceed from Constantine, manie arguments might here be inserted, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

Reasons and arguments proouing the donation of Constantine to be falsified.

2 First, for that no ancient historie, no; yet doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

3 Manerius reporteth it to be affirmed in the historie of Iodonis. But in the old copies of Isidorus no such thing is to be found.

4 Gratianus the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not vpon any ancient authoritie, but onlie vnder the title of Dalea.

5 Gelasius is said to giue some testimonie thereof, in Dist. 15. Sancta Romana. But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient books is not extant.

6 Otho Phrisingensis who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the fauorers of the papacie affirming this donation to be giuen of Constantine to Silvester the pope, inducth consequentlie the opinion of them that fauor the empire, affirming the contrarie.

7 How doth this agree, that Constantine did yeeld vp to Silvester all the politicall dominion ouer the west, when as the said Constantine at his death, diuiding the empire to his three sonnes, gaue the west part of the empire to one, the east part to the second, the middle part to the third?

8 How is it like that Theodosius after them, being a iust and a religious prince, would or could haue occupied the citie of Rome if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the pope, and so did manie other emperors after him?

9 The phrase of this decree being conferred with the phrase and stile of Constantine in his other edicts and letters aboue specified, doth nothing agree.

10 Seeing the papists themselues confesse that the decree of this donation was written in Greeke, how agreeth that with truth, when as both it was written not to the Grecians, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himselfe for lacke of the Greeke tongue, was faine to vse the Latin tongue in the councell of Nice?

11 The contents of this donation (whosoeuer was the forger thereof) doth bewraie it selfe: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptized at Rome of Silvester, the fourth daie after his baptisme this patrimonie was giuen, which was before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, in the yere of our Lord three hundred and seuentene, as Nicephorus recordeth, how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to haue iurisdiction giuen ouer the other foure principall sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Hierusalem: when as the citie of Constantinople was not yet begun before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finished before the eight & twentith yere of the reigne of Constantine in the yere of our Lord three hundred thirtie and nine: or if it be true, as Hierome counteth, it was finished the three & twentith yere of his reigne, which was the yere of our Lord three hundred thirtie and foure, long after this donation by their owne account.

12 Furthermore, where in the said constitution is said that Constantine was baptized at Rome of Silvester, and thereby was purged of leprosie; the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of historie, for so much as Eusebius, lib. 4. de vita Constantini, Hieronymus in chron. Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theod. lib. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib. 2. cap. 34. doe all together cōsent that he was baptized not at Rome, but at Nicomedia; and that moreouer, as by their testimonie both appeare, not of Silvester but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, not before his battell against Maximinus or Licinius, but in the thirtie and one yeare of his reigne, a little before his death.

13 Againe, where as Constantine in this donation appointed him to haue the principalitie ouer the other foure patriarchall sees, that maketh Constantine contrarie to himselfe, who in the councell of Nice aforesaid agreed with other bishops, that all the foure patriarchall sees should haue equall iurisdiction, euerie one ouer his owne territorie and precinct.

In summe, breefle to conclude: who so desireth more abundantlie to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the bookes of Marsilius Patauinus, intituled Defensor pacis, in the yeare of our Lord 1324. of Laurentius Valla, an. 1440. of Antoninus archbishop of Florence, who in his historie plainlie bewrieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old bookes of the decrees. Of Cusanus Cardinalis lib. 3. cap. 2. writing to the councell of Basil, an. 1460. of Aeneas Siluius in dialogo of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus, an. 1496. of Raphael Volaterranus, an. 1500. of Lutherus, an. 1537, &c. All which by manie and euident probations, disputs and proues this donation taken out of a booke, De gestis Siluestri, and translated (as they faine) by one Bartholomæus Piscernus, out of Greeke into Latine: not to proceed from Constantinus, but to be a thing vntruelie pretended, or rather a fable imagined, or els to be the deed of Pipinus or Charles, or some such other, if it were euer the deed of any.

And thus hast thou (beloued reader) briefle collected the narration of the noble acts and heauenlie vertues of this most famous emperor Constantine the great, a singular spectacle for all christian princes to behold and imitat, and worthie of perpetuall memorie in all congregations of christian saints: whose feruent zeale and pietie in generall, to all congregations and to all the saints of Christ was notable, but especiallie the affection and reuerence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before, them had he principallie in price and veneration, in so much that he imbraced and kissed their woundes and stripes, and their eies, being put out. And if any such bishops or any other ministers brought to him any complaints one against an other (as manie times they did) he would take their bils of complaint and burne them before their faces: so studious and zealous was his mind to haue them agree, whose discord was to him more greefe then it was to themselues. All the vertuous acts and memorable doings of this famous and renowned emperor, to comprehend or commit to historie, it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with these aboue premised, because nothing of him can be said inough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein (as by the waie of a note) I thought good to admonish the learned reader, such as loue to be conuersant in reading of ancient authors: that in the ecclesiasticall historie of Eusebius, where in the latter end of the bookes is added a certaine oration, Ad coetum sanctorum, vnder the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, here is to be vnderstood, that the said oration is wrongfullie intituled vpon the name of Eusebius, which in verie truth is the oration of Constantinus himselfe. For the probation wherof, besides the stile and matter therein contained, and tradition heretofore all (liuelie declaring the religious deuine of Constantine) I allege the verie testimonie of Euseb. himselfe in his fourth booke De vita Constantini, where he in expresse words not onlie declareth that Constantine wrote such an oration intituled Ad coetum sanctorū, but also pronounceth in the end of his booke, to annex the same: declaring moreouer what difficultie the interpretors had to translat the same from the Roman speech, to their Grecian tong: Euseb. de vita Constantini, lib. 4. pag. 211.

Constantine commendation of Constantine the emperor.

Constantine killed the wounds of them that sued for Christ.

Constantine burneth the bils of complaints, and breaketh strife among the bishops.

Note, that the oration Ad concursum sanctorum, is wrongfullie ascribed to Eusebius, which indeed is the oration of Constantine.

And here an end of these lamentable and doleful persecutions of the primitiue church, during the space of three hundred yeres from the passion of our sauior Christ, till the comming of this Constantinus, by whom, as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his almightie maiestie, by his determinat purpose to giue rest after long trouble to his church, according to that S. Cyprian declareth before to be reuealed of God vnto his church: that after barbarisme and thelenitie (empest should come peaceable calme, and stable quietnesse to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present. At which time it so pleased the almightie, that the murthering malice of Sathan should at length be restreined, and he himselfe to be tied vp for a thousand yeres through his great mercie in Christ, to whom therefore be thanks and praise now and for euer. Amen.

Sathan bound vp for a thousand yeres.

*The end of the first booke.*



# The second Booke conteining the next three hundred yeeres following, with such things *speciallie touched as haue hapned in England, from the time* of king Lucius to Gregorius, and so after to the *time of king Egbert.*

Besides these persecutions hitherto in the booke before precedent, thou maiest vnderstand (christian reader) how the furie of Sathan and rage of men, hath done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ: for what thing did lack that either death could do or torments could worke, or the gates of hell could deuise, all was to the vttermost attempted. And yet all the furie and malice of Sathan, all the wilsomnesse of the world and strength of men, boing, bending, practising what they could, nat withstanding the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the vpper hand: which thing I wish (the greattie (gentle reader) willelie to note and diligentlie to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not conuider them, nor profit by them vnlesse thou doe first read and perusse them: let me craue therfore thus much at thine handes, to turne and read ouer the said histories of those persecutions aboue described, especiallie aboue all the other histories of this present volume, for thy especiall edification, which I trust thou shalt find not vntwo'rthe the reading.

A petition to the reader diligentlie to read ouer the former booke of the ten persecutions.

Now because the tying vp of Sathan giueth to the church some rest, and to me some leisure to addresse my stile to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present booke, leaning a while the tractation of these generall affaires perteining to the vniuersall church, to prosecute such domesticall histories, as more neere concerne this our countrie of England and Scotland done here at home, beginning first with king Lucius, with whom the faith first began here in this realme, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And so to much as here may rise, yea doth rise a great controuersie in these our popish daies, concerning the first origine & planting of the faith in this our realme, it shall not be greatlie out of our purpose somewhat to skate & taie of this question: Whether the church of England first receiued the faith from Rome or not: The which although I grant so to be, yet being so granted, it little auaileth the purpois of them which would so haue it. For be it that England first receiued the christian faith & religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius their bishop 180. yeres after Christ, and also in the time of Augustine whom Gregorie sent hither 600. yeres after Christ, yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore forth with re'igne from thence this our realme from the chief welhead and fountaine of all godlinesse. And yet as they are not able to proue the second, so neither haue I any cause to grant the first: that is, That our Christis faith was first deriued frō Rome, which I may proue by sir 01 seuen good collectural reasons. Wherof the first I take of the testimonie of Gildas our countriman, who in his historie affirmeth plainlie, that Britaine receiued the gospell in the time of Tiberius the emperor, vnder whom Christ suffered: Lib. de victoria Aurelij Ambrosij. And saith moreouer, that Joseph of Arimathea, after dispersion of the Iewes, was sent of Philip the Apostle from France to Britaine, about the yeere of our Lord, 63, and here remained in this land all his time: and so with his fellowes laid the first foundation of christian faith among the Britaine people, whereupon other preachers and teachers comming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.

Whether christian religion in this realme came first from Rome.

Question.

Answere.

Gildas. 1

The first planting of Christis religion in England.

The second reason is out of Tertullian, who liuing neere about, or rather somewhat before the time of this Eleutherius, in his booke Contra Iudæos, manifestlie testifieth the same, where the said Tertullian testifying how the gospell was dispersed & sbode by the sound of the apostles, and there reckoning vp the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Iewrie, Capadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phygia, Egypt, Pamphilia, with manie more, at length commeth to the coast of the Bootians, and all the borders of Spaine, with diuers nations of France: and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britaine, which the Romans could neuer attaine to, and reporteth the same now to be subiect to Christ, as also reckoneth vp the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germans, the Scythians, with manie other prouinces and iles to him vnknowen: in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ which now beginneth to be common. This saith Tertullian. Note here how among other diuers believing nations, he mentioneth all the wildest places of Britain to be of the same number; and these in his time were christened, who was in the same Eleutherius time, as is aboue said. Then was not pope Eleutherius the first which sent the christian faith into this realme, but the gospell in no here received before his time either by Joseph of Arimathea, as some chronicles record, or by some of the apostles or of their scholars, which had beene here preaching Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

2 Ex Tertul. ad Iudæos.

My third probation I drawe out of Origen, Hom. 4. in Ezechiel, whose words be these: Britannia in christiana confessione religionis. Wherby it appeareth, that the faith of Christ was planted here in England before the daies of Eleutherius.

3 Ex Origen. hom. 4. in Ezech.

For my fourth probation I take the testimonie of Beda, where he affirmeth, that in his time, & almost a thousand yeres after Christ here in Britaine. Easter was kept after the manner of the east church, in the full of the moone, what date in the weeke so euer it fell on, and not on the sunday, as we doe now. Wherby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land haue come out from the east part of the world where it was so vsed, rather then from Rome.

4 Ex Beda.

Fiftlie, I may allege the words of Nicephorus, Lib. 2. cap. 40. where he saith, that Simon Zelotes did spread the gospell of Christ to the west ocean, and brought the same vnto the iles of Britaine.

5 Ex Nicephl. lib. 2. cap. 40.

Sixtlie may be added here also the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who writing to Bernard affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrat their Easter, not after the Roman maner, but after the Greekes, &c. And as the said Britans were not hinder

6 Ex Petr. Cluniac. epist. ad Bernard.

under the Romane order in the time of this abbot of Glmiake: for neither were they nor would be vnder the Romane legat, in the time of Gregorie, nor would admit any primacie of the bishop of Rome to be aboue them.

Except Elmeham ad Lucium.

For the seuenth argument moreouer I may make my probation by the plaine words of Eleutherius, by whole epistle written to king Lucius we may vnderstand, that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land, before the king sent to Eleutherius for: the Romane lawes: for in the epistle words of the letter to manifestlie purport, as hereafter followeth to be seene. By all which coniectures it may stand probable to be thought, that the Britans were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather then by the Romans.

Peraduenture Eleutherius might helpe some thing either to connect the king, or else to increase the faith then newlie sprung among the people; but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proued. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confesse, neither will I greatlie sticke with them therein: yet what haue they got thereby when they haue cast all their gaine? In fewe words to conclude this matter, if to be that the christian faith and religion was first deriued from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to vs the same faith & religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence deriued hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more: for then neither was any vniuersall pope aboue all churches & councles, which came not in before Bonifacius time, which was 400. yeres after: neither any name or vse of the masse, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this booke following appeareth to be seene. Neither any sacrifice propitiatorie for the soules of purgatorie was then offered vpon hallowed altars, but onlie the communion frequented at christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered as well of the people as of the priests to God, before they should appeare neither emptie no: vnbind before the Lord, as we may vnderstand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand yeres after. Neither were then any images of saints departed set vp in churches, yea a great number of the saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet borne, nor the churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set vp, but came in long after, especiallie in the time of Irene and Constans the emperor. Likewise neither reliques nor peregrinatios were then in vse. Priests mariage was then as lawfull, and no lesse receiued, as now: neither was it condemned before the dates of Syricius, almost a thousand yeres after that. Their seruice was then in the vulgar tong, as witnesseth Hierome; the sacrament ministred in both kinds as well to laie men as to priests, the witnesse whereof is Cyprian. Yea, and that temporall men which would not then communicat at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christenmasse, were not then counted for catholikes, the popes olune distinction can testifie. In funerals, priests then flocked not together, tolling frentalsand dirges for sweeping of purgatorie, but onlie a funerall oration was vsed, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthie deeds, and Alleluia sounding on high, which did shake the gilded seelings of the temple, as witnesseth Nazianzen, Ambroise, and Hierome, &c.

What differēce betweene the ordinarie practise of Rome from the old church of Rome, and in vse at this time.

De consecrat. d. 2.

In the supper of the Lord and at baptisme no such ceremonies were vsed, as now of late haue been intruded; in so much that as in this storie is shewed hereafter, both Augustine and Paulinus baptised then in riuers not in hallowed fonts, as witnesseth Fabianus. The postures of Sacrum, of Pope, of Wangoz, with mattens and euensong of the dale; againe, neither the orders and religions of monks and friers were not yet premued of, to the space almost of a thousand yeres after, &c. So that, as I said, if the papists would needs haue Christ and religion of this realme from Rome, then let them set vs and leaue vs there where they had vs: that is, let them suffer vs to stand content with that faith and religion, which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we vnderstand nothing from the same) and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the vnsereuer take where the fault is, in vs or them, which neither themselues will perfill in the articles of the Romish religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit vs so to doe.

Fabianus, cap. 129. & 130.

And thus much by the waie to satisfie the foresaid obiection, whereby we may haue now a more readie passage into the order and course of the historie. Being therefore granted vnto them which they so earnestlie sticke vpon, that the christian faith and religion of this realme was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine: thus write the chronicles of that matter.

Eleutherius bishop of Rome.

About the time and yere of the Lord, 180. king Lucius sonne of Coilus, which buried Colchester, king of the Britains, who then were the inhabiters and possessors of this land (which now the Englishmen call England) hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the christians at that time in diuers places, as Beda writeth, writeth directed his letters to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, to receiue of him the christian faith: although about the computation of the yere and time, great difference there is in authors when this should be. Nauclerus saith it was an. 156. but that cannot be, forasmuch as Eleutherius was not yet bishop by the space of twentie yeres after that. Henricus de Erfordia saith it was an. 169. in the nineteenth yere of Aurus emperor: but that agreeth not with approued histories, which all consent that Aurus reigned not nineteene yeres; and if he had, yet that yere cannot be put to the yere of our Lord, 169. but to the yere, 181. Some others saie, that Eleutherius was made bishop in the first yere of Commodus, which was the yere of our Lord, 180. but that is nerth to go too far: but let the authors agree as they can. Let us returne to Eleutherius the good bishop, who hearing the request of this king, and glad to see the goodlie towardnesse of his well disposed mind, sendeth him certaine teachers and preachers called Fugatius, or by some Faganus, and Damianus, or Dimianus, which conuerted first the king and people of Britaine, and baptised them with the baptisme & sacrament of Christs faith. The temples of idolatrie and all other monuments of gentilitie they subuerted, conuerting the people from their diuers and manie gods, to serue one liuing God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decaied, with all other vices of idolatrie. There were then in Britaine 28. head priests which they called Flamines, & those archpriests among them, which were called Archflamines, hauing the ouersight of their manors, and as iudges ouer the rest. These 28. Flamines they turned to 28. bishops, & the 3 Archflamines to three archbishops, hauing their seats in three principall cities of the realme, that is, in London, in Yorke, and in Caimagguntia. Videlicet in vrbe legionum, by Wales. Thus the countries of the whole realme being diuided euerie one vnder his olune bishop, and all things setled in a good order: the foresaid king Lucius sent againe to the said Eleutherius for the Romane lawes, thereby likewise to be gouerned, as in religion now they were framed accordinglie: vnto whom Eleutherius againe writeth after the tenor of these words insuing.

Ex Henr. Huntingdo. lib. 1. of that incommodite cometh by lacke of succession.

Fagan⁹, Damianus.

Eight and twentie bishops within this realme.

Three archbishops.

## The epistle of Eleutherius bishop of Rome sent to king Lucius.

Ex vetusto codice regum Anglorum.

The epistle of Eleutherius to king Lucius.

ANno 169. *à passione Christi scripsit dominus Eleutherius papa Lucio regi Britannie, ad correctionem regis & procerum regni Britannie*, and so forth as followeth in English.

Ye require of vs the Romane lawes and the emperors to be sent ouer to you, which you may practise and put in vre within your realme. The Romane lawes and statutes we may not receiue reproouse, but the law of God we may not. Ye haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britannie, the law & faith of Christ, ye haue with you within the realme both the parts of the scriptures. Out of them by Gods grace with the counsell of your realme take ye a law, and by that law (through Gods sufferance) rule your kingdome of Britaine. For you be Gods vicar in your kingdome, according to the saying of the psalme; *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* that is: O God giue iudgement to the king, & thy righteousnesse to the kings sonne &c. He said not, the iudgement & righteousnesse of the emperor, but thy iudgement and iustice; that is to saie, of God. The kings sonnes be the christian people and folke of the realme, which be vnder your gouernment. & liue and continue in peace within your kingdome, as the gospell saith: Like as the hen gathereth hir chickens vnde hir wings, so doth theking his people. The people and folke of the realme of Britaine be yours, whom if they be diuided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holie church, to cherish and maintenie them, to rule and gouerne them, & to defend them as wales from such as would doe them wrong, from malicious men and enimies. A king hath his name of ruling, & not of hauing a realme. You shall be a king while ye rule well; but if you, doe otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the realme of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar ye be in the realme.

The king Gods vicar within his owne kingdome.

After this manner (as you haue heard) was the christis faith either first brought in, or els confirmed in this realme of Britaine by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any crosse or procession, but onlie at the simple preaching of Fagan & Damian, through whose ministerie this realme and land of Britaine was els those reduced to the faith and law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Esaie, & long before of other saints more, where he saith, cha. 42. He shall not faint nor giue ouer till he hath set iudgement in earth, and lands shall wait for his law, &c. The faith thus received of the Britains continued among them and flourished the space of 216. yeres, till the comming of the Saxons, who then were pagans, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ guiding thereunto. In the meane time something to speake of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first comming in of the Saxons: First it is to be vnderstood, that all this while as yet the emperors of Rome had not receiued the faith, what time the kings of Britaine and the subiects thereof were conuerted now, as is said, to Christ: for the which came much trouble and persecution was sought against them, not onlie

Esaie 42



only here in Britaine, but through all parts of christendome by the heathen infidels. In so much that in the persecution only of Diocletian and Maximinian, reigning both together the bone before sufficiently discouered.

Thus therefore although the foresaid Lucius the Britaine king, through the merciful prouidence of God, was then christened, and the gospell received generallie almost in all the lands, yet the state thereof as well of the religion as of the common wealth could not be quiet, for that the emperours and nobles of Rome were yet infidels, and enemies to the same; but especiallie for this cause, the cause so happening that Lucius the christian king died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britaines (as it happened in all other realmes, namelie in this our realme of England, whensoeuer succession lacketh) that not onlie they brought vpon them the idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also inwrapped themselues in such miserie and desolation, as pet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is (where a prince or a king is in a kingdome) there to lacke succession, as especiallie in this case may appeare. For after the death of Lucius, when the barons and nobles of the land could not accord within themselues vpon succession of the crowne, kept in the Romans and got the crowne into their olune hands, whereupon followed great miserie and ruine to the realme. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britaines raigned and ruled as iniurie and wiolzie would serue, one king murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and beprowned them both, as in processe hereafter followeth to be seene.

Henr. Huntingdo. lib. 1. of that incommodite cometh by lacke of succession.

In the meane season touching the storie of king Lucius, here is to be reprouued the fable of some writers fallelp fayning of him, that he should after his baptisme receiued, put off all his kingly honor, forsake the land and be made a preacher; who after long trauell in preaching and teaching, in France, in Germanie, in Augusta, and in Suecia, at length was made doctor and rector of the church of Curcise, where (as this fable saith) he suffered martyrdome. But this phantasie of thomseuer it first did spring, disagreeth from all our English stories, who with a full content do for the most part concord in this; that the said Lucius after he had founded manp churches, and giuen great rents and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillitie in his olune land, and was buried at Glocester the fourteenth yeare after his baptisme, as the booke of Flores historiarum doth count, which was the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 201, and reckoneth his conuersion to be in the yeare 87. In some I find his decease to be the fourth, and in some the tenth yeare after his baptisme, and some hold that he raigned all the space of seuentie and seuen yeares. And thus much concerning king Lucius.

Ex Florileg.

Note to proceed in order of the storie, briefelp to touch the state of the foresaid land of Britaine, betweene the time of king Lucius and the entering of the Saxons, who were the kings thereof, and in what order they succeded or rather inuaded one after another, this catalogue here vnder written will specifie.

Ex Beda, Polychron. Marianus.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kings of Britaine frō the time of Lucius, till the comming of the Saxons: | Lucius, | a Britaine. |
| | Seuerus, | a Roman. |
| | Bassianus. | a Roman by the father. |
| | Cerausius, | a Britaine. |
| | Alectus, | a Roman. |
| | Asclepiodotus, | a Britaine. |
| | Coilus. | a Britaine. |
| | Constantius, | a Roman. |
| | Constantinus, | a Britaine by the mother named Helena, who being the daughter of Coell, and married to Constantius, father of Constantinus, is said to make the walles first of London, also of Colchester, much about the yeare of our Lord, 305. and borne in Britaine. |
| | Octauius, | a Gewtilian. |
| | Maximinianus, | a Roman borne, but his mother a Britaine. |
| | Gratianus, | a Roman. |
| | Constantinus, | a Britaine by the mother. |
| | Constans, | a Roman by the father. |
| | Vortigernus, | a Gewtilian or Britaine. |
| | Vortimerus, | a Britaine. |
| | Vortigernus. | againe. |

An. Dom. 190. secund. Fab. Bed. An. 113. Feb. An. 413. Anno 448. Anno 464.

By this table may appeare a lamentable face of a commonwealth so miserable rent and diuided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in countrey as in religion: for when the Romans raigned, to they were gouerned by the infidels; when the Britaines ruled, so they were gouerned by christians. Thus what quietnesse was or could be in the church in so

Gewtellinus archbishop of London.

Ex chronico Matthæi Westmonasteriēsis. Constantinus, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, Uter Pendragon.

The Saxons sent for to Britaine.

King Constans slaine by Vortigerne. Hengist and Horsus captaines of the Saxons.

A wicked murder of the Saxons.

The Britains neuer touched with any persecution before the time of Dioclesian.

The first persecution in Britaine.

Constantine the great, borne and bred in Britaine.

The cause how this realme of Britaine was first weakened.

Britaine spoiled of soulditers. Gildas. which reckeneth seuen thousand virgins.

quiet and doubtfull dates, may easilp be considered.

Albeit notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen rulers of the Romans which here gouerned, pet (God be praised) we reade of no persecution during all these ten persecutions aboue mentioned, that touched the christian Britaines, before the last persecution only of Diocletian and Maximianus Herculeus, which here they exercised much cruelties. This persecution as it was the last among the Romane christians, so it was the first of mame and diuers that followed after in this church and realme of England, whereof we will hereafter entreat (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall leade vs. In the meane time, this rage of Diocletian as it was vniuersallp through all the churches in the world fierce and behement, so in this realme of Britaine also it was so sore, that as all our Englisp chronicles do testifie and record, all christianitie almost in the whole land was destroyed, churches were subuerted, all bookes of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithfull both men and women were slaine. Among whom the first and chiefest was Albanus, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how manie they were that suffered beside, stories make no rehearsall. And thus much thereof.

Now as concerning the gouernment of these aboue named kings of Britaine, although I haue little or nothing to note which greatlp appertaineth to the matter of this ecclesiasticall historie, pet this is not to be past ouer. First how in the order of these kings succeeth Constantius the great and worthie Prince out, not only a Britaine borne by his mother Helena being king Coilus daughter, but also by the helpe of the Britaines arisne (under the power of God) which the said Constantine toke with him out of Britaine to Rome, obtained with great victorie, peace and tranquillitie to the whole vniuersall church of Christ, hauing three legions with him out of this realme of chosen and able soulditers, wherein the strength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this storie followeth.

After him likewise Sparnian, following his steps, toke with him also (as stories record) all the power and strength which was left, and what soeuer he could make of able and fighting men to subdue France; besides the garrison which he had out with him before, sending so more to the number of an hundred thousand soulditers at once, to be sent to him out of Britaine into France. At which time also Conanus his partner being then in France, sent ouer for virgins from Britaine to the number of eleuen thousand, who with Vrsula, the prince Dionets daughter being shipped ouer, manp perished in the sea, some were taken of the infidels marching vpon the borders, with whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserable dispersed (some one way some another) so that none escaped.

Thus pore Britaine being left naked and destitute on euerie side, as a maimed bodie without might or strength, was left open to his enemies not able to succour it selfe without helpe of forren friends; to whom they were then constrained to flie, especiallp to the Romans, to whom the Britaines sent this word or message: *Actio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut ingulamur, aut submergimur.*

But the Romās then began to forsake them, whereby they were in neuer danger to be oppressed by Gwains and Pelga, had not Gwetelinus the archbishop of London made ouer to helpe Britaine, and obtaining there help, had brought Constantinus the kings brother to reliue his countrep against the infidels. This Constantinus was brother to Aldronius king of little Britaine, and father to Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, who after raigned kings in Britaine.

Thus by the meanes of the good archbishop and Constantinus, the state of the religion and realme of Britaine was in some meare quiet and safetie, during the time of the said Constantine and of the good archbishop. But as the realme of Britaine almost from the beginning was neuer without ciuill warre, at length came wicked Uortigerne, who cruelly causing Constans his pupce to be murdered, ambitiously inuaded the crowne, who then fearing the other two brethren of Constans, which were Aurelius and Uter, being then in little Britaine, did send ouer for the aid of the Saxons being then infidels; and not onlp that, but also married with an infidell, the daughter of Hengist called Rowen. Wherupon the said Uortigerne not long after by the said Hengist and the Saxons was with like treacherie dispossessed of his kingdome, and the people of Britaine driuen out of their countrie, after that the Saxons had slaine of their chiefe nobles and barons at one meeting, ioyning together fortie bishops with crueltie, to the number of two hundred seuentie and one: some stories say foure hundred and fortie. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Almesburie, or at a place called Stoneheng. Wp the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britaines there were buried.

This fabulous storie of the Welchmen, of bringing these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I passe ouer. Some stories record that they were slaine being bid to a banket. Others say that it was done at a talke or assemblie, where the Saxons came

came with prinie lnines contrarie to promise made, with the thirdy lninies they giuing a prinie watchword in their Saxon speech, Nemc your sores, slein the Britaines warned. And thus far concerning the historie of the Britaines. As this great plague could not come to the Britaines without Gods permission, so Gildas sheweth in his chronicle the cause thereof, inuiting thus: *Quod Britones propter auaritiam & rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem & iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse, &c.*

## A description of England as it was diuided in the Saxons *time into seuen kingdomes.*




## The entering and raigning of the Saxons in the *realme of England.*

Aurelius and Uter sonnes to Constantinus.

This was the comming in first of the Angles or Saxons into this realme, being yet vnchristened and infidels, which was about 5 yeare of our Lord, as William Malmesbury testifieth, foure hundred sixtie and nine, the captains of whom were Hengistus and Horsus. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first comming, for all their subtill looking and cruell attempt, had no quiet setling in Britaine, but were driuen out diuers times by the valiantnesse of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uter abone mentioned, who raigned after that among the Britaines: yet notwithstanding they were not so driuen out, but that they returned againe, and at length possessed all, driuing the Britaines (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengistus (as some chronicles record) raigned three and foxtie yeares, and died in Kent. Galfridus in his Britannico, saith, that he was taken in war by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningburgh, after he had raigned nine and thirtie yeares.

Ex Galfrido. Ex Asserio in suo Britannico.

After the death of Hengist, his sonne Otta raigned foure and twentie yeares, leauing his sonne Octa, to whose raigne with his sonne Ymanricus, historics do attribute three and fiftie yeares, who also were slaine by Uter Pendragon. Polychronicon, lib. 5. cap. 4.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 4.

Seuen kings raising in England.

The Saxons, after they were setled in the possession of England, distributed the realme among themselues first in seuen parts, euery part to haue his king, that is the first to be the king of Kent; the second to be the king of Sussex and Southerie, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Westfer; the fourth king of Eller; the fifth king was of the Eastangles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Northfolke, and Suffolke; the sixth king of Mercelande, or Mercia, and in his kingdome were contained the counties of Lincolne, Leicester, Huntington, Northampton, Oxford, Derbie, Warwicke, &c. the seuenth king had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Of these seuen kingdomes, although they continued not long, but at length ioyned all in one, comming all into the possession and subiection of the Westsaxons, yet for the space they continued (which was with continuall trouble and warres among themselues) this is the race and order of them, as in this table particularly followeth to be seene.

A table



## A table describing the seuen kingdomes of the *Saxons, raigning heere in England.*

IN the time of Uoztiger aboue mentioned, began the raigne of the Saxons in this land, the which coming out of three sorts of the Germaine people (to wit) the Saxons, the Iutes & Angles, replenished the land, of the called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengistus raigned in Kent, which countrie of Kent he had obtained by Rowen his daughter, of king Uoztiger, which was about the yeare of our Lord (as some do coast) 476, or (as I find) in the computation of our English tables 456, in some 463. After Hengist, came in Octha, with Esa, or Ille his kinsman: who afterward succeeded the said Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in another company of the Saxons, with Elle their captaine, which plated themselues in Southsax. And after them againe another garrison of the Saxons with Cerdice their captaine, which did occupie the west part of the land, called by them Westsaxon. And so likewise the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which as yet being vnchristened and infidels, diuided the whole land among themselues into seuen kingdomes, as in this table followeth.

(456) *Kent.*

| The kings of Kent, with the yeares how long they raigned. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hengistus slaine. | 31 | |
| Esa, or Ille. | 24 | |
| Octha, or Octha. | | |
| Emenricus, or Emericus. | 26 | |
| Ethelbertus, the first of the Saxon kings that receiued the faith by Augustine, An. reg. 35. | 56 | This Ethelbert first of all the Saxons receiued the faith, and subdued all the other six kings, except onely the king of Northumberland. |
| Edbaldus. | 24 | |
| Ercombertus. | 24 | Ercombert commanded Lent first to be fasted in his dominion. |
| Egbertus, or Edbrichth, slaine. | 9 | Egbert killed two sonnes of his vncle. |
| Lotharius slaine. | 12 | |
| Eadrichus. | 6 | Vnto the time of Edricke all the bishops of Canterburie were Italians. |
| Nidredus. | 7 | Some chronicles doe place these two, Nidredus and Withardus, after Edricke, and giue to them seuen yeares, some againe do omit them. |
| Withardus. | 37 | |
| Withredus. | 33 | |
| Egbert or Edbert. | 23 | Betweene the raigne of Alricke, and Cuthred, some stories do insert the raigne of Eadbert, which raigned two yeares. |
| Ethelbert. | 11 | |
| Alricus. | 34 | |
| Eadbertus, surnamed Pren. | 2 | |
| Cuthredus. | 18 | |
| Baldredus, expulsed. | 18 | |

The kings of Kent.

In the raigne of this Baldred the kingdome of Kent was translated to Egbertus, otherwise called Egbrit, king of Westsaxons, who subduing the foresaid Baldred, in the yeare 832. gaue the said kingdome to Athelstan his yonger sonne. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolfe the elder sonne of Egbrit, and so was united to the Westsaxons, who then began to be the monarch of the whole land. This kingdome began neere about the yeare of our Lord 456, and continued 342 yeares, and had fifteene kings.

478 *Southsax, now called Sussex.*

| The kings of Southsax, with the yeares of their raigne. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Elle, or Alle. | 31 | |
| Cissa. | | Of this Cissa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he raigned. |
| Nancanleus, or Nancanleodus. | | This Nathanleod semeth by some old stories to be a Britaine, and the chiefe marshall of king Uter, whom Poxth the Saxon slew. |
| Poxth. | | This Poxth a Saxon came in at the hauen, which now is called of him Poxthmouth. |
| Ethelwelfus. | | Because I find but little mention of these two, I rather like to be the same Ethelwold or Ethelwaldus, which after followeth. |
| Redwallus. | | |
| Condebertus. | | Of Condebertus and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, supposing therefore that the true names of these were Ercombertus and Egbertus, which were kings of Kent the same time, and peraduenture might then rule in Sussex. |
| Ethelredus, or Ethereus. | | |
| Adelwold, or Ethelwaldus, slaine. | | This Adelwold was the first king of Sussex christened, and as Fabian saith, the fourth king of the Southsaxons: as others say the seuenth, so vncertaine be the histories of this kingdome. |
| Adelbrich, or Berethunus, slaine. | 5 | |
| Abbunnus. | 15 | |

The kings of Sussex.

This kingdome endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest pulled into other kingdomes, in the daies (as some write) of Iue king of Westsax, and so endured not aboue an hundred and twelue yeares vnder seuen or at most eleuen kings, beginning first in the yeare of the Lord 478, and about the thirtith yeare of the first comming of the Saxons.

(522) *Westsax.*

| The principall kingdome of the Westsaxons, and of their raignes. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cerdicus, or Credricus. | 17 | This kingdome contained Summersetshire, Barkeshire, Dorsetshire, deuonshire, Cornewall, &c. |
| Kenricus. | 26 | |
| Chelingus. lib. cycl. | 30, 33. | |
| Celricus, or Ceolstricus. | 5 | |
| Ceolwulfus, or Ceolulfus. | 14 | |
| Kinigilsus and Cuncelinus. | 7 532 | This Kinigilsus was first king christened in that prouince, conuerted by Birinus, after made monke. |
| Kinewalkus. | 31 | |
| Scrburga. | 1 | |
| Escwinus, Escwinus, or Elwinus. | 2 | |
| Centwinus died at Rome. | 7 | |
| Cedwallus. | 3 | Cedwalla went to Rome, and there was christened and died. |
| Ina, or Iue. | 35 | Ina also went to Rome, and was made monke. |
| Edelardus, or Athelardus. | 14 | |
| Cuthredus, or Cuthbert. | 16 | |
| Sigebertus, or Sigherus, slaine. | 1 | Sigebert for his pride and cruelty was deposed of his people. And as he yet was killed before one of his faithfull counsell, giuing him wholesome counsell: for after was he slaine of the same counsellers swineheard, as he hid himselfe in a wood. |
| Kinulfus, or Kinewlfus, slaine. | 31 | |
| Brithricus. | 13 | |
| Egbertus, or Egbrichtus, otherwise Athelbertus, or Athelbrich, &c. | 37 | This Egbert first expelled by Brithricus, who after returned again: and raigning, was much derided and scorned with mocking rimes for a coward of Bernulfus king of Mercia. At length the said Egbert subdued him first, then all the rest, to his kingdome: causing the whole land to be called no more Britaine, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in that lordship heere after followeth. |

The Kings of Westsax.

This Egbert subdue'd all the other seuen kingdomes, and first began the monarchie of all the Saxons, which after by Alured was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This kingdome of the Westsaxons began the yeare of grace 522, and as it subdued all the others, so it did it the longest continue, till about the comming of William Conqueror, who is about the time of 554 yeares.

547 *North'uberland.*

| The kings of Northumberland, with the yeares of their raigne. | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ida. | 12 | This Ida of his wife had six children, Adda, Elricus, Ulricus, Theodebus, of concubines other six. |
| After Ida the kingdome of Northumberland was diuided into two prouinces, Deira and Bernicia. | | |
| Alle or Elle, Dicorum. | 30 | This Alle was the sonne of Ille, and raigned in Deira, 30. |
| Adda, Bernicorum. | 7 | |

Some chronicles set vnder Adda, to raigne in Bernicia, these kings, Glappa or Glaspa, Theonulfus, or Hulfa, or Theowalnus, Frithulfus, Theodricus.

The kings of Northumberland.

Alricus, or Alfricus Deirorum. 5
Ethelfridus Bernicorum.
Edwinus Northumberland, slaine. 17
Osricus Deirorum, slaine.
Eanfridus Bernicia slaine.
Oswaldus, of Northumberland, slaine.
Oswius, Northumberland. 28
Osuinus raigned together with Oswius in Deira, slaine. 7
Egfridus, Northumberland, slaine. 15
Alfridus, Northumberland, slaine. 20
Osredus, Northumberland, slaine. 11
Benredus, North. 2
Osricus, North. 20
Celulfus, Northum. made a monke. 9
Gebertus, or Gadbertus, Northumberland, monke. 21
Osluffus, Northumberland, slaine. 1
Mollo, or Ethelwold, Northumb. 11
In some chronicles sir yeares.
Alredus, Northum. expulsed. 10
Ethelbertus or Adelredus, Northumberland, expulsed. 5
Elwoldus, Northumberland, slaine. 11
Osredus.
Ethelbertus, or Adelwaldus, North. slaine. 16

This Alfricus was the sonne of Ida, and raigned sine yeares.

This Ethelfridus was hee that slew the monkes of Bangor, to the number of 2200, which came to pray for the good successe of the Britaines, and by his wife Acca, the daughter of Elle he had seuen sons, Eanfridus, Oswaldus, Oswius, Oslacus, Osmundus, Osa, Offa: Flor. Histor.

This Edwinus was the first of the Northumberland kings, which was conuerted and christned by Paulinus bishop of London.

These two are put out of the race of kings, because they reuolted from the christian faith, and were both slaine miserably by Cedwalla a Britaine, which then raigned in Northumberland, and in Mercia.

This Oswaldus, called S. Oswald, fought with Cedwalla, and Penda with a small armie, and by strength of prayer banquished them in the field. He sent to Adamus into Scotland to preach in his countrie, and as he preached in Scotish, the king repounded in English. He was a great giuer of almes to the poor. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.

This Oswius fighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfled a nun, giuing with her twelue lordships, to build twelue monasteries, fiue in Bernicia, fiue in Deira.

The same Oswius, in the beginning of his raigne take one Osuinus the sonne of Edwine to be his partner ouer the countrie of Deira. Afterward causing him to be killed, woke to him another called Ecelwald, the sonne of Oswald. Of this Osuinus more followeth hereafter to be declared.

This Egfrid maried Ethelrida, who being twelue yeares married to him, could after by no meanes be allured to lie with him, but obtaining of him leaue, was made nun, and then abbesse of Elie. She made but one meale a day, and neuer wore linen. At last the same Egfrid fighting against the Scots, was slaine in the field by a traine of the Scots, hauing themselues to flie.

Of this Alfride Beda in his historie telleth that he was exactly and perfectly seene in the holy scriptures, and recouered much that his predecessors had lost before: Bed. lib. 4. cap. 24. Some say he raigned not eighteene yeares.

Osred began his raigne, being but eight yeres old, and dragned the space of ten yeares.

Some affirme that Osricus raigned but eleuen yeares.

This Celulfe, after he had raigned eight yeares, was made a monke. To him Beda wrote his storie.

Mollo by the subtill traine of Alfredus was made away, in which Alfredus also himselfe, after he had raigned ten yeares, was enuised by his owne people.

In some chronicles this Alredus raigned but eight yeares.

¶ After this Ciswere, the kingdome of Northumberland ceased the space of two yeares, till Egbertus king of the Westsaxons subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons to his dominion. After the which Egbertus of the Westsaxons succeeded in Northumberland his sonne.

Ethelwoldus. Ethelbaldus. } Kings of Westsaxons, raigning in Northumberland.
Ethelbertus. Ethelredus. }

In the time of this Ethelredus, there were two vnder-kings in Northumberland, Ella and Osbright, whom the Danes ouercame, and raigned in their place, whose names were these:

Erbertus. Curthred. } Danes.
Richil. Guthred. }
Egebert.

¶ After the raigne of these foresaid Danes, the kingdome of Northumberland came into the hands of the Westsaxons, in the time of Athelstane and his brother Edmund. It began first in the yeare 547, and so endured 409 yeares. It contained Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, the bishoprike of Durham, Copeland and others.

## (561) Mercia. The kings of Mercia or Merceland, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of Mercia.

Crida or Creodda. 15
Wibba. 20
Ceolus. 10
Penda, slaine. 30
Peda, or Weda, slaine by his wife.
Wilferus. 29
Adelredus, or Ethelred, made a monke 30 or 31.
Kenredus made also monke at Rome. 5
Ceolredus, or Kelredus.
Ethelbaldus, slaine. 41
Bernredus. 1
Offa. 39
Egfredus. 1
Kenulphus slaine. 20 or 16
Kenelme murthered.
Ceolwolfus expelled. 1 or 2.
Bernulphus slaine. 3
Ludecanus slaine. 2
Some chronicles here insert Wilefred.
Wilafius, or Withlacus beheaded. 12

Penda slew in battell Edwine and Oswald kings of Northumberland. Also Sigebert, Egrike, and Anna, kings of the Eastangles. Also he drewe out Brenwalkins, king of the Westsaxons.

Under Peda and Wilferus, Christs faith was received in those parts, they being converted by Finianus bishop. The same Peda raigned in a part of Mercia, with his brother Wilferus, which were both the sonnes of Penda.

This Wilferus by his wife Ermeburg had three daughters, Milburg, Mildith, and Mildgith, holie virgins.

This Adelredus or Ethelredus, was monke of Bardney, whose sisters were Kineburd, and Kinswith, holy virgins.

In the time of this Ceolred was Guthlake, otherwise called S. Guthlake, the popish hermit of Crowland.

Under Ethelbaldus died Beda. Ethelbald gaue that all churches should be free from all exactions and publike charges.

This Bernred for his pride and stoutnesse toward his people, was by them deposed, and the same yeare by the iust iudgement of God burned: Histor. Cocent.

Offa traiterously consenting to the death of good Ethelbert king of the Eastangles, peaceable comming to marrie his daughter, for repentance caused the Peterpence first to be giuen to Rome, and there did his penance.

This Kenelme being of seuen yeares of age, was wickedly slaine, after he had raigned sir monethes.

This Ludecane, after the second yeare of his raigne, was slaine of Egbert king of the Westsaxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

¶ This Withlacus in the beginning of his raigne was banquished by Egfred king of Westsax, to whom he became tributarie with his successors here following.

Berthulfe. 12
Buthredus. 20
Celulfus. 1 } Some writers say that these kings were
Elfredus. 1 } subdued by the Danes.

¶ After this Elfride, the kingdome of the Mercians was translated vnto the Westsaxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edwardus Senior, and so was ioyned to the Westsaxons, beginning in the yeare 561. It endured for the space of 250 yeares, till about the latter end of Alfredus, by whom it was ioyned to the kingdome of Westsaxons. This kingdome stretched out to Huntingtenshire, Hertfordshire, Glocestershire, Worcester, Warwicke, Lichfield, Cestrecire, Chester, Darbishire, Staffordshire, Shropshiare, Oxford, Buckingham, Dorcester, Lincolne, Leicester, &c.



## (561) Eastsaxons. ¶ The kings of the Eastsaxons, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of the Eastsaxons.

Erchwinus. 35
Sledda. 17
Sebertus, or Sigebertus. 14
Serredus, and Sewardus, brethren slaine.
Sigebertus Parvus 23
Segebertus Bonus, or Sibertus, slaine.
Swithelinus. 14
Sigherius, son of Sigebertus Parvus.
Sebbi sonne of Sewardus, which was made a monke.
Sigehardus, & Sueffridus, brethren. 8
Offa. 5
Selredus, or Colredus, slaine. 38
Swithredus.

This Sebertus nephue to Ethelbert K. of Kent, among these kings was first christened by Pelitus, which made the church of Paules.

Serred, and Seward, and Sigebert, expelled Pelitus the bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramentall bread, they being not baptised.

This Sigebertus Parvus with his brother Sebertus were slaine of Kinegilsus and Swithelinus his brother, by the iust iudgement of God, for they reuolted againe from their faith, and expelled Pelitus bishop of London.

This Segebertus Bonus or Sibertus, much reioyting to Oswie king of Northumberland, by his persuasion was brought to christian baptisme, baptised of Finianus bishop, to whom also was sent Cedde with other ministers to preach and tohaptise in his countrie. At last he was slaine of his men about him, vsing too much to spare his enemies, and to forgiue their iniuries that repented. Flor.

This Sigherius and Sebbi first fell to idolatrie, then though the meanes of Wilferus king of Mercia, were reduced, and at last Sebbi became a monke.

Offa after he had raigned a while became a monke at Rome.

This Swithredus was subdued vnto Egbert king of Westsaxons, albeit London remained vnder the Mercians to the time that they also were subdued to the Westsaxons. This kingdome began in the yeare 561, and so continued till the time of Egbertus. Some notes say it continued to the time of Edward sonne of Alwedus, about the comming of the Danes, and contained vnder it the lordship of Middlesex and London. The metropolitane sea of this province of Essex was London, where the famous church of S. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Essex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Christs faith: whereof the first bishop was Pelitus, the second bishop was Ceddus, the third came in by simonie, whose name was Wine: Malmesb. de vitis pont. After him was Erkenwaldus, of whom writeth Beda, that he being diseased in his legs that he could neither go nor ride, yet would be caried about in a litter to preach in his diocesse, &c. Although William Malmesburie writing of the bishops of London, in his booke De[illegible]ae, faith, that Mauricius first the kings chancellour, then bishop here, did first begin this so large and famous building of the church of S. Paul in London: which worke after him Richard his successour did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his bishoprike vpon the same, and yet was scarcely seene. Yet herein may be answered peraduenture, that the church builded before by king Ethelbert and king Sigebert, might be ouerthrowne by the Danes, and afterward was reedified by these bishops aboue mentioned.

## (561) Eastangles. The kings of the Eastangles, with the yeares of their raigne.

The kings of the Eastangles.

Uffa, or Ulfa. 20
Titulus, or Titila. 13
Redwaldus. 12
Erpwaldus, or Coppwaldus, slaine. 38
Sigebertus or Sibert first a monke, slaine. 3
Egricus or Egricus, slaine. 3
Anna, slaine. 3
Adelhere, or Adelbrus, slaine. 2
Adelwoldus, or Ethelbaldus. 9
Adulphus. 25
Elwoldus. 12
Beorna. 26
Ethelredus slaine. 52
Ethelbyrtus slaine. 5

Of this Uffa the people of Northfolke were then called Uffins.

Redwaldus first was conuerted in Kent, afterward through the wicked persuasions of his wife & other, rejected idolatrie with christianitie.

Notwithstanding his sonne Erpwaldus through the meanes of Edwin king of Northumberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Christ, and therein faithfully did continue.

This Sigebert made himselfe a monke, and afterward brought out to fight against Penda, with a white sticke in his hand, was slaine in the field.

The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and saint Etheldreda.

This Ethelredus for his holinesse and godly vertues is counted for a saint: he innocently comming to Offa king of Mercia, to marrie with Althrid his daughter, by the sinister suspition of Offa, and wicked counsell of Kineswina his wife, was cruelly put to death in the house of Offa. For the which cause Offa afterwards repenting went to Rome, where he made himselfe a monke.

After this sinfull murther of Ethelbert, the kingdome of Eastangles during the time of certaine yeares, was in great trouble and desolation, vnder diuers kings and tyrants, sometime the king of Westsax, sometimes of Kent, or of Mercia, hauing dominion ouer them, till the comming of S. Edmund, which was the last king there ruling vnder the Westsaxons.

S. Edmund, martyred. 16

After the death of S. Edmund, being slaine of the infidell Danes, the kingdome remained with the Danes fiftie yeares, till at length Edward king of the Westsaxons expulsed the Danes, and ioyned it to his kingdome. It began about the yeare of our Lord 561, and continued here about 377 yeares. Fabian numbreth but twelue kings, but in others I find more.

The metropolitan sea of this province of Eastangles, which was first at a towne called Dunmoke, or Dunwich, which in time past hath been a famous and populous towne, with a maior and foure bailiffes, and also diuers parish churches and hospitals, whereunto great priuiledges by diuers kings haue been granted, which towne is now fallen into ruine and decay, and more then halfe consumed by the eating in of the sea, as also greatly impouerished by losse of the haven, which heretofore hath flourished with diuers tall ships belonging to the same (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themselues to repare it without the helpe of other good people) where the first bishop was Felix, a Burgundian, who sate there foureteene yeares. After this, vnto the time of Egbert king of Westsax, this province was euer ruled by two bishops, whereof the one had his sea at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich; the other at Vcmaham where twelue sate one after another. From thence it was translated to Thetford, where sate three bishops. At last by bishop Herbert it was remoued to Norwich, where he erected a monasterie of monkes.

This Dunwich lieth vpon the sea side in Suffolke.

¶ And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon kings, raigning together with the Britaines in this realme. Now followeth the description of the Britaine kings, raigning with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britaines thus were bereaued of their land, by the cruell subtilties of the Saxons, yet were they not so driuen out or expelled, but that a certaine kingdome remained among them in some part of the land, namely about Cornewall, and the parts of Cambria, which is diuided in two parts, Southwales called Demetia, & Northwales called Venedocia. The said Britaines moreouer through the valiant acts of their kings, sometimes raigned also in other countries, displacing the Saxons, and recouering againe their owne: sometimes more, sometimes lesse, till the time of Carecius, when as the Britaines being deposed by Gormundus (whose helpe they themselues sent for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king) vtterly lost their land and kingdome: being thence driuen vtterly into Wales and Cornewall, the yeare of our Lord 570. What the order of these kings was, that were their acts, their names, and times when they raigned: in this briefe table vnder written is expressed. Wherein first is to premonished, that Constantinus secundus had three children, to wit, Constans which was made a monke in Winchester, and after made a king; the second was Aurelius Ambrosius, the third was Uter Pendragon. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our table, beginning with Mortiger.

¶ A table declaring the kings of Britaine, which raigned together with the Saxons, after their comming into this land.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kings of Britaine which here raigned in the time of the Saxons. | Mortiger. | Constantinus 3. |
| | Mortimer. | Aurelius. |
| | Mortiger againe. | Conanus. |
| | Aurelius Ambrosius. | Mortiperius. |
| | Uter Pendragon. | Malgo. |
| | Arthur. | Carecius. |

Here is to be vnderstood that these Britaine kings aboue mentioned, did not lo raigne here in this land, from the time of Mortiger, that they had the full gouernment ouer all the whole realme, but only ouer parcels or parts, such as by force of armes they could either hold or winne from the Saxons:

Example what it is to let in strange nations.

Marke well whose tributs what destruction it hath wrought.

The second returne of Hengist into Britaine.

The different living wayes of the Saxons to perceive the Britaines.

Saxons: which comming in daily and growing vpon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britaines at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recouer that which they lost: leaving example to all ages and countries, what it is, first to let in forren nations into their dominion, but especially what it is for princes to ioyne in marage with infidels: as this Vortiger did with Hengists daughter, which was the mother of all this mischiefe: graunting to the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this inconsidered before of the Britaine lords and nobilitie: who worthily being therewith offended, nullie deposed their king, and enthroned Voltimer his sonne in his roome. By the which Voltimer being a puissant prince, the Saxons were then repulsed and driuen again into Germanie, where they stayed a while till the death of Voltimer, whom Rowen daughter of Hengist caused trayterously to be poysoned. Then Vortiger being againe restored to his kingdome, through the entreatie of Rowen his wife, sent into Germanie againe for Hengist, who assembling his returne, came in with a naure of three hundred ships well appointed. The nobles of Britaine hauing this prepared themselues of the contrarie side in all exceable wise to put them off. But Hengist through Rowen his daughter so laboured the king, creuling himselfe, and saying that he brought not the multitude to worke any violence either against him or against his countrie, but only thinking that Voltimer had yet bin aliue, whom he minded to impugne for the kings sake, and to take his part. And thus for a time he hauing this prepared themselues of the contrarie side in all exceable wise to put them off. But Hengist through Rowen his daughter so laboured the king, creuling himselfe, and saying that he brought not the multitude to worke any violence either against him or against his countrie, but only thinking that Voltimer had yet bin aliue, whom he minded to impugne for the kings sake, and to take his part. And thus for a time he hauing this prepared the death of Voltimer his enemie, he therefore committeth both himselfe and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would to remaine within his land: the rest should returne. And if it so pleased the king to appoint day and place, where they might meet and talke together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the king with his counsell should appoint. With these faire words the king and his nobles (well contented) did assigne to them both day and place, which was in the towne of Ambrie, where he meant to talke with them, adding this condition withall, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. Hengist shewing himselfe well agreed therete, gaue prime intelligence to his sort, that each man should carrie with him secretly in his hose a long knife, with their last dyuod also giuen to them when they should draw their knives: wherewith euery Saxon should (and so did) kill the Britaine, with whom he talked, as is aboue declared. The Britaine lords being slaine, the Saxons take Vortiger the king and bound him: for whose ransome they required to be deliuered to them the citie of Lowdon, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, with other the most strong-est holds within the land: which being to them granted, they begin to make spoile and hauocke of the Britaine nation, destroying the citizens, plucking downe churches, killing vp the priests, burning the bookes of the holy Scripture, leauing nothing vndone that tyrannie could worke, which was about the yeare of our Lord 462. The king seeing this miserable slaughter of the people fled into Wales.

Forme yeare ferestalle the worthy word. All the nobilitie of the Britaines destroyed in one day.

The king ranformed.

The Saxons enter possession of the land.

The chiefe an Britaines preparation of the citie Ambrie.

Anno 462 Aurelius Ambrosius returneth into Britaine.

This title Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon hyeth them to king Constans aboue mentioned, whom Vortiger trecherously caused to be killed, were in little Britaine. To whom the Britaines sent word, desiring their aid in helping their countrie. Aurelius vnderstanding the wofull state of the realme, speedeth him ouer to satisfie their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessitie. Who at his first comming ecliones being ecclaued so: their king, seeketh out wicked Vortiger, the cause of all this trouble and murther of king Constans his brother. And finding him in Wales in a strong tower, wherein he had immured himselfe, setteth him and his castle on fire. That done, he moued his power age nst the Saxons, with whom, and with Ele captaine of the Southsaxons (who then was newly come ouer) he had diuers conflicts.

Vortiger burned in his tower.

Hengist slaine.

Hengist taken in the field.

Our English old chronicles make record that Hoslus the brother of Hengist was slaine before in the time of Vortimer. The same also do record, that this Hengist was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius: who then consulting with his nobles and barons what was to be done with him, the bishop of Worcester called Eladius, standing by, gaue this counsell, saying: that if all men would deliuer him, yet he with his owne hands would cut him in pieces, alledging the example of Samuel against Agag king of the Amalechits, taken by king Saul in the field, whom the said Samuel caused to be cut in pieces. Sith so (saith he) do you to this Agag here: that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise. And so was Hengist taken out of the citie by Eldo counsell or maior of Worcester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be giuen to these our old Britaine stories: whereof I haue nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof, which was about the yere of our Lord 490. Hen. Hunting. Galf. cumalijs.

The counsell of Eldadus, bishop of Worcester.

Hengist beheaded. Anno 490 Ex Henr. Hunt. Anglorum, Galfrido, & chronicis quibusdam Cantiæ.

A certaine ancient written historie I haue in Latine, compiled in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and by him caused to be written as the title declareth: which because it beareth no name of the author, I call it by the name of him of

The vncertaintie of our old Britaine stories.

whom I borrowed this booke, with many other likewise without name, Historia Cariana. This historie recordeth that Hengist died in Kent the two and thirtith yeare of his raigne: which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cuntuburgh, and slaine in the north. This Aurelius Ambrosius before mentioned, is thought of Polydorus Virgilius citing the authority of Beda, to be one of the blocke of the Romans: which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certaine by the full accompt of all our old written stories, that both the said Aurelius and his brother Uter Pendragon, being the sonnes of Constantinus, brother to Ambrosius king of little Britaine, were nursed and brought vp in England, in their tender age, and instructed by Eutelinus archbishop of London, and after the murther of Constans their elder brother, were conueyed from hence to little Britaine: whereby it is manifest that they were borne in this land, and though their father were a Roman, as Polydorus pretendeth, yet like it is that they were Britaines borne, and had a Britaine to their mother.

Ex Historia Cariana.

Aurelius Ambrosius king.

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the storie saith) was poisoned by the craftie meanes of Pascentius, sonne of Vortiger (hauing one, vnder the colo of a monke to play the physitian and so to poison him) next succeded his brother Uter surnamed Pendragon, about the yeare of our Lord 497, who fighting against Octa and Eosa, woke them and brought them to London there to be kept: but they breaking out of prison returned into Germanie for more aid. In this meane time, daily recourse was of Saxons, with great companies comming out of Saxonie: by whom the Britaines had diuers and daily conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. But long after Octa and Eosa, reuuing their power in Germanie, in all most speedie haste did returne againe, and ioyne with the other Saxons against the Britaines. Here began the state of miserable Britaine more and more to decay, while the boistrous Saxons prevailed in number and strength against the christian Britaines: expelling the people, burning downe churches and monasteries, murthering the prelats, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting christianitie almost through the whole realme. To these miseries it fell moreouer that Uter their king was sicke and could not come out notwithstanding being grieued with the lamentable destruction of his people, caused him to be brought into the campe, where God gaue him victorie: Octa and Eosa there being slaine. After this victorie in short space Uter died of poison (as is said) put into a fountaine of water, whereof the king was wont to drinke, about the yeare of our Lord, 516. Flor. hist.

In English thus.

Uter Pendragon Britaine king.

Remember the words of Gildas 633 hist. Cantia.

The christian Britaines persecuted by the heathen Saxons.

Anno 497

Anno 516

About which time and yeare came in Stuph and Wigar vs two nephewes of Certhice king of Westsaxons, with their companies to violently vpon the Britaines, that they of the west part of the realme were not able to resist them. Then the mercifull prouidence of almightie God, raised vp to them king Arthur, the sonne of Uter: who was then crowned after him and victoriously raigned. To this Arthur the old Britaine historics do ascribe twelue great victories against the heathen Saxons: whose notorious and famous conquests, mentioned in the Britaine stories, I leaue them as I find them: referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I do not thinke contrarie, but God by the forsaid Arthur, gaue to the Britaines some hap and quietnesse during his life, and certaine of his successors: so touching certaine of great victories, and conquests, not only ouer this land, but all ouer all Europe, I iudge them more fabulous, then that any credit should be giuen vnto them, more necessie to be ioyned with the Iliads of Homer, then to haue place in any ecclesiasticall historie. After Arthur next king of the Britaines was Constantinus the third. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius, after whom followed Pascentius, noted in stories to be a Sodomite. And after him the last king of the Britaines was Careticus, all guiet to ciuill war, execrable to God and man. Who being chased out by the Britaines themselues, the land fell to the possession of the Saxons, about the yeare of our Lord 568, by whom all the clergie and the christian ministers of the Britaines were then vtterly driuen out: in so much that Theonus archbishop of London, and Thadeolsius archbishop of Yorke, seeing their churches all wasted, and parishes disperced with their carriages and monuments, left their seas in Britaine, and fled into Cambria, whilst the same call Wales. Touching which matter and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruine of the Britaines kingdome, the first fountaine and origin thereof partly before is declared, where was theued in the time of Constantinus Magnus and Pammian, how these noble princes with other mo, atchieuing their victorious aduentures against other countries, whilst them great multitudes and armies out of Britaine: through the occasion whereof the land was greatly impaired and depriued of his most chiefe and principall nobles, being carried away to serue in forren warres. Which was no small cause, why the realme of Britaine (being so wasted) was the lesse able to helpe it selfe against their enemies. Although this was not the chiefe occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his iust iudgement, suffered this plague and ouerthrow to fall vpon that people, as here out of an old author, and partly out of Gildas, as I haue found it, so I thought to annex it in this place

Ex historia gestum Cathaf.



The causes of the destruction of the Britains declared.

In English thus.

Ethelbert king of the Eastangles.

Peter-pence how they first came vp to be paid to Rome.

Kenelmus king of the Mercians. S. Edmund king of the Eastangles.

The message of Inguar to king Edmund.

The martyrdom of king Edmund in Northfolke.

A question, Whether kings which make themselues monks do well in so doing or not?

Answer, neither vocation binding to rayse, there not to flie but to resist the occasions of euil as is a good mans part.

owne words, first in Latine, then afterward Englishing the same for the more credit of that which shall be alleaged, in text as followeth.

Nobiliores etenim regni præclictos duces sequiti fuerunt, & ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cœpissent, exulerunt se vitra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam diuitiarum superbi ceperunt tali & tantæ fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, vt Gildas historicus testatur, non solum hoc vitium, sed omnia quæ humanæ naturæ accidere solent, & præcipuè quod totius boni cuertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacij, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitiæ pro benignitate, exceptatio sathanæ pro angelo lucis: vngebantur reges, non propter dominium, sed qui cæteris crudeliores essent. Si quis verò eorum mitior, & veritati aliquacenus propior videretur, in hunc quasi Britanniæ subuersorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant & displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solum hoc seculares viri, sed & ipsi grex domini, cuiusque pastores sine discretione faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est si degeneres tales patriam illam anittere, quam præclicto modo maculabant.

In English thus: The nobles of this realme following the princes and captains aboue named, by reason thereof the subiugar and rascall sort remained behind of bone. Who when they had gotten the townes and places of the nobles, they aduanced themselues aboue that their dignitie required. And though their abundance of riches, they surpassed with pride, began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was neuer heard of euen among the gentils. And as Gildas the historiographer witnesseth, not into vice only, but also into all manner of spite-ousnesse, whereto mans nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the one thow of all good estats, the hatred of the truth, loue of lies, imbracing of euill in stead of goodnesse, regarding of mischiefe in stead of vertue, receiuing of the diuell in stead of an angell of light. They annointed kings, not such as could well rule a common wealth, but those which exceded all other in cruelitie. And if any might be preceded to be somewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to fauor the truth then the residue, him did euery one hate and backbite as the ouerthrower and destroyer of Britaine. All things whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men only did this, but also the congregation of the Lord and their bishops and teachers without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marueiled, that such people so degenerating and going out of kind should lose that countrie, which they had after this maner defiled.

And thus much hitherto concerning the historie of the Britains, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring us hereafter to the treatise of Cedwalla & Calwalladrus. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the Saxons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table aboue we haue summarilie comprehended.

In this order and race of the Saxon kings aboue specified, which had thus chuckt out the Britains, and now deuided their land in seuen kingdoms; as there were many naughtie and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on warr and bloudshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed of all true godly princes) so some there were againe (although but few) very sincere and good. But none almost from the first to the last, which was not either slaine in warr, or murthered in peace, or else constrained to make himselfe a monke. Such was the rage then and the tyrannie of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of mans nature, or to the iust iudgement of Gods hand, so disposing the matter, that as they had violently & lewdlie bereft the Britains of their right: so they most miserablie were not only vexed of the Danes, and conquered at last by the Normans: but also more cruelly deuoured themselues, one warring still against another, till they were neither able to helpe themselues, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for god among these Saxon kings, the first and principall is Ethelbertus, or Ethelbright the first king of Kent aboue specified, who by the meanes of Austin, and partly through his wife, named Berda, first receiued and preferred the christian faith in all this land of the English Saxons, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunitie shall require. The next place I giue to Oswaldus of Northumberland, who not onely did his indeuor in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people: but also being king, disdained not himselfe to stand by and interpret to his nobles and subiects the preaching of Aidanus, preaching Christ to them in his Scottish language. In the same commendation also, like as in the same line, commeth his vncle Edwin, king of Northumberland, a good prince, and the first receiuer of Christs faith in that land, by the meanes of his wife, and Paulinus bishop. As to these also Sigebert, first christened king of the Eastangles, and Sebert, first christened king of Essex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and setter vp of schooles: the other, which is Sebert or Sebright, was nephue to Ethelbert of Kent, vnder whom he ruled in Esser. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the said Sebert the church of Pauls was builded at London, and christian faith much inlarged, &c. Of the same name there was also another Ethelbert king of the Eastangles, a good prince; who by the aduice of his counsell perswaded to marriage (though against his voluntie) peaceable to king Offa for despousage of Athilrid his daughter, where the god king meaning innocentlie, through the craftie and diuelish counsell of king Offa his wife, was secretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa (though repentance thereof, made the first Peter pence to be guen to S. Peters church in Rome.

In the catalogue of these good kings is also to be numbred Kenelmus king of the Mercians, and Edmundus king of the Eastangles: of the which two, the first was falslie and abominablie circumuented and beheaded, by the meanes of his cruell sister and his tutor, as he was in his hunting at Coxtaile. The other which is called king Edmund & martyr, was slaine at Uerie, or (as some write) at the castle of Hatelson by the Danes: vpon what occasion, historics do verie. The author of Flores historiarum saith, it was by reason of one Lothbroke a Dane: who being of the kings bloud, & being with his hauke on the sea side in a little boie, was driuen by the force of weather into the coast of Northfolke, where he being presented to king Edmund was retained in the court with great honor: till at length one day beside the kings falconer, emuying & despiting him for his great dexteritie in that exercise, priuily did murther him in a wod. This being at last spied, as murther light-lie will come out) Bericke was set in Lothbroks bote alone, without all tackling, to be committed vnto the sea: and as it chanced so, was driuen into Denmarke, who there being seene in Lothbroks bote, was straicte examined of the parts & yeo then to recite himselfe, saithe said he was slaine by the commandement of the king. Vpon the occasion whereof Inguar and Hubba sonnes to the said Lothbroke gathering an armie of Danes, inuaded first Northumberland: after that burning into Northfolke on euery side, sent this message to king Edmund after this tenor: Signifying that king Inguar the victorious prince (dreaded both by sea and land) as he hath subiect & vanquished lands vnder him, so arriuing now to the coasts of Northfolke, where he intendeth to winter, chargeth & commandeth him to diuide with him his old treasures, and his fathers riches, and so to rule vnder him: which if he would not do, but would contemne his power so strongly furnished with such an armie, he should be iudged as vntowardlie both of kingdome & life, &c. The king hearing this message, not a little astonished thereat, calling his counsell about him, consulted with them, especially with one of his bishops, being then his secretarie, what was best to be done: who fearing the kings life, exhorteth him by words and diuers examples to agree to the message. At this a while the king holding his peace, at length thereto made answer against in these words, saying: Oh (saith he) tell your lord, and let him know that Edmundus the christened king, for the loue of this temporall life, will not subiect himselfe to a pagane duke, vnlesse before he become a christian, &c. The messenger taking his answer was not so some out of the gates, as Inguar meeting him, and bidding him to be short in declaring his answer, caused all the kings garrison to bee set round about. Some say that the king flying to the fetlock, there pitht a field with the Danes, but the Danes preuailing, the good king from clerks of that time: yet I cannot rashly assent to their commendation, albeit the rase thereof is into matter of our historie. First in altering their estate from kings to monks, if they did it to find more ease, and lesse trouble thereby; I see not how that excuse standeth with the office of a god man, to change his publike vocation for respect of priuat commodite. If feare of losse parde and danger did driue them thereunto: what praise and commendation they deserue in so doing, let the monkish historics iudge what they list. Me seemeth so much praise as they deserue in prouiding their owne safetie, so much they deserue again to be discommended in forsaking the common wealth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holinesse sake, thinking in that kind of life to serue and please God better; or to merit more thereby, then their saluation then in the estate of a king, there in they were farre deceiued: not knowing that the saluation which commeth of God, is to be measured and esteemed, not by mans merites, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of anie vocation more of one then another, but onely by the free grace of the gospell, which freely inuiteth all them that faithfullie beleeue in Christ Iesu. But here will bee laid against me, that Ambrose, in the solitarie life of monkerie be fewer occasions of euils then in kings courts, wherefore that life seemeth more to holinesse, and more is to be preferred then the other. To this I answer, To auoid the occasions of euil is god where strength sacketh to resist; but otherwise, where duetie and charge bindeth to tarrie, there not to flie but to resist the occasions of euil, where rather they are to be resisted, rather boldneth a weakenesse of the mind then defeureth any paine. As it is truly said of Tullie: But of Asia, saith he, to line a good life, is no godamercie; but in Asia where

Foure perſecutions in Britaine before the comming of Auſtin into England.

where ſo great occaſions of euils abound, there to line a good man, that is praiſe worthie. With the like reaſon I may inſer, if a man be called to be a king, there not to change the vocation for auoiding of occaſions, but rather to reſiſt occaſions, and to keepe his vocation, declareth a good and perfect man. But of theſe by-matters hitherto ſufficient.

Theſe things now thus premiſed, concerning the order and raigne of kings, as is aboue prefixed: conſequently it remaineth to enter the treatation of ſuch things, as in the time and raigne of the foreſaid kings happened in the churchyard: putting the reader againe in mind of the former perſecutions within the realme, partly before touched in the time of the Britaine kings, which ſpecially were three or foure before the comming of Auſtin into England.

The firſt perſecution vnder Dioclesian.

1 The firſt was vnder Dioclesian, and that not onelie in England, but generallie throughout all the Romane monarchie, as is aboue ſpecified. In this perſecution Albanus, Iulius, Aaron, with a great number more of other good chriſtian Britains were martyred for Chriſts name.

The ſecond perſecution vnder the Pictes and Scots.

2 The ſecond perſecution or deſtruction of chriſtian faith, was by the inuading of Pictes and Scots, wherof the firſt was captaine of the Pictes, the other of the Britons. Theſe two tyrants, after the cruell ſlaughter of Dioclesians another 11000 noble virgins, made their rode into Britaine, hearing the ſame to be deſtitute of the ſtrength of men. At what time they made miſerable murther of Chriſts ſaints, ſpoiling and waſting churches, without mercie either of women or children, ſparing none.

The third perſecution vnder Hengiſt, and the Saxons.

3 The third perſecution came by Hengiſt, and the Saxons: who likewiſe deſtroyed and waſted the chriſtian congregations within the land, like raging wolues flying vpon the ſheepe, and ſpilling the bloud of chriſtians, till Aurelius Ambroſius came, and reſtored againe the churches deſtroyed.

The fourth deſtruction of chriſtian faith in Britaine by Cuthwulph in the yeere 565.

4 The fourth deſtruction of the chriſtian faith and religion was by Cuthwulphus a pagane king of the Africans, who ioyning in league with the Saxons, warraght much miſchiefe to the chriſtians of the land. In ſo much that Theonus biſhop of London, and Thadiocetus biſhop of Yorke, with the reſt of the people ſo many as were left, hauing no place wherein to remaine with ſafetie, did flie ſome to Cornewall, and ſome to the mountaines of Wales about the yeere of our Lord 550. and this perſecution remained to the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, in the yeere 589.

In the raigne of this Ethelbert, which was then the fifth king of Kent, y faith of Chriſt was firſt receiued of the Saxons or Engliſhmen, by the meanes of Gregorie biſhop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old hiſtories collected and recorded.

Firſt then to ioyne the order of our hiſtorie together: the chriſtian faith firſt receiued of king Lucius, induced in Britaine till this time, neere vpon the ſeaſon of 400. yeeres and od: when by Gwrianus Africanus (as is ſaid) fighting with the Saxons againſt the Britains, it was neere extinct in al the land, during the ſpace about forty foure yeres. So that the firſt bringing of Chriſts goſpell in this land, was in the yeere of our Lord 180. The comming of the Saxons was in the yeere 449. or 450. The comming of Auſtin was in the yeere 596. From the firſt entring in of the Saxons to their complet conqueſt, and the driuing out of the Britains (which was about the latter time of Cadwalader) were 240. yeres. In ſumme, from Chriſt to Lucius were 180. yeres. The continuance of the goſpell from Lucius to the entring of the Saxons, was 202. yeres. The beare of the ſame to the entring of Auſtin, was 140. yeres, which being added together make from Lucius to Auſtin 445. yeres, from Chriſt to Auſtin they make 598. yeres. In this yeere then 598. Auſtin being ſent from Gregorie came into England: the occaſion whereupon Gregorie ſent him hither was this.

Bede, Polydor. Virgil. Antonin. &c. Matth. Weſtm. Fabian. Harp. Houeden. Ran. Higden. Polidor. Virgil. part. 3. Liber. Landauc. de Termonin.

Dorchaniam ciuitatem Dorobernie.

In the daies of Pelagius biſhop of Rome, Gregorie chancing to ſe certaine children in the market place of Rome (brought thither to be ſold out of England) being faire & beautifull of viſage, demanded out of what countrie they were. And vnderſtanding they were heatheniſh out of England, lamented the caſe of the land being ſo beautifull and angeliſcall, to be ſubiect vnder the prince of darkeneſſe. And aſking moreouer out of what prouince they were? It was anſwered, out of Deira, a part of Northſaxons: whereof as it is to be thought, that which we now call Deirham taketh his name. Then he alluding to the name of Deira; Theſe people (ſaith he) are to be deliuered De ira, which is, From Gods wrath. Moreouer vnderſtanding the kings name of that prouince to be Alle (aboue mentioned) alluding likewiſe to his name: There (ſaith he) ought Alleluia to be ſung to the liuing God. Whereupon being moued and deſirous to go & helpe the conuerſion of that countrie, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romans for that time to accompliſh his deſire. But afterward being biſhop himſelfe next after Pelagius, hee ſent thither the foreſaid Auſtin with other preachers more about to the number of fortie. But by the way; how it hapned I cannot ſay: As Auſtin with his companie were paſſing in their iournie ſuch a ſudden feare entred into their harts (as Antoninus ſaith) they returned all. Others write that Auſtin was ſent backe to Gregorie againe, to releaſe them of that voiage ſo dangerous and incertaine, amongſt ſuch a barbarous people: whoſe language they neither knew, nor whoſe rudeneſſe they were able to reſiſt. Then Gregorie with pithie perſuaſions confirming and comforting him, ſent him againe with letters both to the biſhop of Arelate, willing him to helpe & aid the ſaid Auſtin, and his companie in all whatſoeuer his need required. Alſo other letters he directed by the foreſaid Auſtin, vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to goe forward boldly in the Lords worke: as by the tenor of the ſaid epiſtle here following may appeare.

Epiſcopum Arelatenſem.

*Gregorius ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, ſeruis Domini noſtri. Quia melius fuerat bonanon incipere, quam ab ijs quæ cepta ſunt cogitatione retrorſum redire, &c.* In Engliſh: Gregorie the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants, to the ſeruants of the Lord. For ſomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, then after they be begun to thinke to reuolt back frō the ſame againe: therefore now you may not nor cannot (deere children) but with al ſeruent ſtudy & labor muſt needs go forward in that good buſines which through the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the labor of your iourny, nor the ſlanderous tongues of men appall you; but that with all inſtance and ſeruencie ye proceed, and accompliſh the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand: knowing that your great trauell ſhall be recompenſed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we ſend here Auſtin to you againe, whom alſo we haue ordained to be your gouernour, ſo doe you humbly obay him in all things, knowing that it ſhall be profitable ſo for your ſoules, whatſoeuer his admonition ye ſhall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to ſee in the eternall countrie the fruite of your labour, that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labor in the ſame fellow ſhip with you together. The Lord God keepe you ſafe, moſt deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the Kalends of Auguſt, in the raigne of our Lord Mauricius moſt vertuous emperour, the fourteenth of his empire.

Ex Henr. Huntingtonen. lib. 3. The epiſtle of Gregorie to them which went to preach in England.

Thus they emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregorie, ſped forth their iournie till they came at length to the Ile of Thenet, lying vpon the eaſt ſide of Kent. Here to the which landing place was then the manoir or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich (eaſtward from Canterbury) which Iland is now ſwalowed vp & the Ile then called Thanet. Auſtin and his companie comment to England.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

borough: whereof ſome part of the ruinous walls is yet to be ſeene. The king then raigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as aboue appeareth, the fifth king of that prouince: who at that time had maried to wife a French woman being chriſtened, named Berta, whom he had receiued of her parents vpon this condition, that he ſhould permit her with her biſhop committed vnto her, called Leberdus, to inioy the freedome of her faith and religion: by the meanes whereof he was more flexible, and ſooner induced to imbrace the preaching and doctrine of Chriſt. Then Auſtin being arriued ſent forth certain meſſengers and interpretors to the king, ſignifying that ſuch a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and ſaluation eternally to raigne in heauen, with the onlie true and liuing God for euer: if he ſhould be willing to hearken to the ſame, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it vnto him.

What goodnes commeth to haue a good and godly wife.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by meanes of his wife, within a few daies after commeth to the place where Auſtin was to ſpeake with him: but that he ſhould be without the houſe, after the manner of his lads. Auſtin againſt his comming, as ſome affirme, erected vp a banner of the croſſe (ſuch was then the groſſeneſſe of that time) and preached to him the word of God. The king anſwering againe ſaith in effect as followeth: The words be very faire that you preach and promiſe, neuertheleſſe, becauſe it is to me vncouth and new, I cannot ſoone ſtart away from my countrie lawe wherewith I haue been long inured, & aſſent to you. Albeit yet notwithſtanding for that ye are come (as ye ſay) ſo far fo my ſake, ye ſhall not be moleſted by me, but ſhall be right well intreated, hauing all things to you miniſtred neceſſarie for your ſupportation. Beſides this, neither doe we debar you, but to haue free leaue to preach to our people and ſubiects, to conuert whom ye may to the faith of your religion.

The king ſtaieth vpon old cuſtome.

The kinges anſwere to Auſtin.

Then they had receiued this comfort of the king, they went with proceſſion to the citie of Dorobernia, or Canturburie, ſinging Alleluia with the Letanie, which then by Gregory had been vſed at Rome in the time of the great plague raigning then at Rome, mentioned in old ſtories. The words of the Letanie were theſe: Deprecamur te Domine in omni miſericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate iſta, & de domo ſancta tua, quoniam peccauimus, Alleluia. *That is:* We beſeech the O Lord in all thy mercies, that thy fiercenes and anger may ceaſe from this citie, and from thy holy houſe, for we haue ſinned, Alleluia. Thus they entring in the citie of Dorobernia, the head citie of al that dominion at that time, where the king had giuen them a manſion for their abode: there they continued preaching and baptiſing ſuch as they had conuerted in the eaſt ſide of the city in the old church of S. Martine, where the queene was

The Letanie of Auſtin.



was wont to reſort vnto the time that the king was conuerted himſelfe to Chriſt. At length, when the king had well conſidered the honeſt converſation of their life, and moued with the miracles wrought through Gods hand by them, he heard them more gladly, and laſtly by their wholeſome exhortations and cramp ſe of godly life, he was by them conuerted and chriſtened, in the yeere aboue ſpecified 586. and the firſt and thirty yeere of his raigne. After the king was thus conuerted, innumerable other daily came in & were adioyned to the church of Chriſt, whom the king did ſpecially imbrace, but compelled none; for ſo he had learned, that the faith and ſeruice of Chriſt ought to be voluntarie and not coacted. Then he gaue to Auſtin a place for his biſhops ſee at Chriſts church in Dorobernia, and builded the abbie of S. Peter and Paul in the eaſt ſide of the ſaid citie, where after Auſtin and all the kings of Kent were buried, and that place is now called S. Auſtine.

Auſtin made archbiſhop.

In this while Auſtin ſailed into France vnto the biſhop Arelatenſis, called Etherius, by him to be conſecrated archbiſhop by the commandement of Gregorie, and ſo was. Alſo the ſaid Auſtin ſent to Rome Laurentius one of his companie, to declare to Gregory how they had ſped, and what they had done in England, ſending withall to haue the counſell and aduice of Gregorie concerning nine or ten queſtions, whereof ſome are partly touched before.

The tenor of his queſtions or interrogations, with the anſwers of Gregorie to the ſame, here follow in Engliſh briefly tranſlated.

## The queſtions of Auſtin an archbiſhop of *Canturburie ſent to Gregorie, with the anſwer* againe of Gregorie to the ſame.

*The firſt interrogation.*

Ex decreto Gregory primi. lib. concil. tom. 2.

The firſt interrogation.

The anſwer.

MY firſt queſtion (reuerend father) is concerning biſhops, how they ought to behaue themſelues toward their clerks, or of ſuch oblations as the faithfull offer vpon the altar: what portions or diuidens ought to be made thereof?

The anſwere.

How a biſhop ought to behaue himſelfe in the congregation, the holy ſcripture teſtifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well: eſpecially in the epiſtles of S. Paul to Timothie: wherein he laboureth to inſorme the ſaid Timothy how to behaue his converſation in the houſe of the Lord. The manner is of the ſe myſteries to intreate and diſpoſe all things, as good biſhops, of all their ſtipend, or that which is giuen, to make foure partitions. One to the biſhop for hoſpitalitie and receiuing commers in: another to the clergie; the third to the poore; the fourth to the repairing of churches. But becauſe your brotherhood inſtructed with rules of monaſticall diſcipline, can not line ſeparated from your clerks about you, therefore in the Engliſh church (which now through the prouidence of God is brought to the faith of Chriſt) you muſt obſerue this inſtitution concerning your converſation, which was in the firſt fathers in the beginning of the primitiue church, among whom there was not one, which counted any thing to be his owne proper of all that hee did poſſeſſe: but all was common among them.

Diſtribution of the churches goods.

*The ſecond interrogation.*

The ſecond interrogation.

I deſire to know and to be inſtructed, whether clerks that cannot containe, may marrie: and if they doe marrie, whether then they ought to returne to the ſecular ſtate againe or no?

The anſwere.

The anſwer.

If there be any clerkes out of holy orders, which cannot containe, let them haue their wiues, and take their ſtipends or wages without. For twee reade it is written of the foreſaid fathers, that they diuided to euery perſon according as their worke was. Therefore as concerning the ſtipend of ſuch, it muſt be prouided and thought vpon. And they muſt be alſo holden vnder eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, to line a godly converſation, to employ themſelues in ſinging pſalmes, and to reſtraine their tongue, hart & bodie (by the grace of God) from all things diſcreuable and vnlawfull. As for the vulgar and common ſort which line after the common condition of men, to deſcribe that partitions to make, what hoſpitalitie to keepe, or what works of mercie to exhibit, to ſuch I haue nothing to ſay, but to giue (as our maſter teacheth) in all our deeds of mercie of that which abounderh. Of that (ſaith he) which abounderh or is ouerplus, giue almes, and behold all things be cleane vnto you.

The gloſſe vpon the 12. to Titum, Vigil. ſaith that theſe now holden not, and altogether the Epiſt. Hector. commung ex. Ioh. &c. Wherby note how the popes decrees be repugnant to themſelues. Luke 11.

*The third interrogation.*

The third interrogation.

Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and cuſtomes of churches to be ſo diuers: as in the church of Rome there is one cuſtome and manner of maſſe, and the French church hath another?

The anſwer.

Anſwer.

The cuſtome of the church of Rome, ſeeing that it is your minde, wherein you remember that you haue been brought vp from your youth, but rather it pleaſeth me better, that whether it be in the church of Rome, or in any French church: where ye find any thing that ſeemeth better to the ſeruice & pleaſing of God, that ye chooſe the ſame, and ſo inſtrand bring into the Engliſh church (which is yet new in the faith) the beſt & pitcheſt things cho-

ſen out of many churches: for things are not to be beloued for the place ſake, but the place is to be beloued for the things that be good: wherefore ſuch things as be good, godly, and religious, thoſe chuſe out of all churches, and indoctrine to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Engliſhmen.

*The fourth interrogation.*

The fourth interrogation.

I pray you, what puniſhment iudge you for him, that ſhall ſteale or pilfer any thing out of the church?

The anſwer.

The anſwer.

This your brotherhood may ſoone diſcerne, by the perſon of a theefe, how it ought to be corrected. For ſome there be, which hauing ſufficient to liue vpon, yet doe ſteale. Others there be which ſteale of meere neceſſity. Wherfore conſidering the qualitie and difference of the crime, neceſſarie it is that ſome bee corrected by loſſe of goods, ſome by ſtripes, ſome others more ſharpli, and ſome more eaſie: yea, and when they are corrected in ſo to be executed, yet that muſt be done with charitie, & with no furie: for in puniſhing offendors, this is the cauſe and end wherefore they are puniſhed, becauſe they ſhould be ſaued & not periſh in hell fire. And ſo ought diſcipline to proceed in correcting the faithfull, as do good fathers in puniſhing their children, whom both they chaſten for their euill, and yet being chaſtened they looke to haue them their heires, and thinke to leaue them all they haue, notwithſtanding they correct them ſometimes in anger. Therefore this charitie muſt be kept in mind and in the correction there is a meaſure to be had, ſo that the mind neuer do any thing without the rule of reaſon. Be adde moreouer, with what recompence of meaſure thoſe things ought to bee required againe, which bee ſtollen out of churches. That God forbid that the church ſhould euer require againe with increaſe, that which is loſt in outward things, and to ſeeke her gaine by indamaging others.

Note a worthie ſaying of Cyprian.

*The fifth interrogation.*

The fifth interrogation.

Item, whether two brethren may marry two ſiſters, being far off from any part of kindred?

The anſwer.

The anſwer.

This is in no part of ſcripture ſo forbidden, but it may well and lawfullie be done.

*The ſixth interrogation.*

The firſt interrogation.

Item, to what degree of kindred may the matrimonie of the faithfull extend with their kindred, or whether is it lawfull to marrie with the ſtepmother and her kinſfolks?

The anſwer.

The anſwer.

A certeine terren law amongſt the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or ſiſter, or the ſonne and daughter of two brethren may marrie together. But by experience wee learne, that the iſſue of ſuch marriage doth neuer thriue, nor come forward. Alſo the holy law of God forbiddeth to reueale the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore neceſſarie it is, that in the third or fourth degree the faithfull may lawfullie marrie; for in the ſecond (as being vnlawfull) they muſt needs reſtraine. To be coupled with the ſtepmother is vtterly abominable, for it is written in the law; Thou ſhalt not reueale the turpitude of thy father. For ſomuch then as it is ſo written in the law, And they ſhall be two in one fleſh: the ſonne then that preſumeth to reueale the turpitude of his ſtepmother, which is one fleſh with his father, what doth he then but reueale the turpitude of his owne father? Likewiſe it was forbidden and vnlawfull to marry with the kinſwoman, which by his firſt marriage was made one fleſh with thy brother: for the which cauſe John the Baptiſt alſo loſt his head, and was crowned a martyr. Who though he did not for the confeſſion of Chriſt, yet for ſomuch as Chriſt ſaith; I am the truth: therefore in that John Baptiſt was ſtatute for the truth, it may bee ſaid his bloud was ſhed for Chriſt.

In Iohar degrees of kindred a man may marrie.

By this rule the marriage of king Henrie the eight with Katherine Dowager was vnlawfull.

*The ſeuenth interrogation.*

The ſeuenth interrogation.

Item, whether ſuch as ſo be coupled together in filthy and vnlawfull matrimonie ought to be ſeparated, and denied the partaking of the holy communion?

The anſwer.

The anſwer.

Becauſe there bee many of the nation of Engliſhmen which being yet in their infidelitie, were ſo ioyned and coupled in ſuch execrable marriage: the ſame comming now to faith, are to be admoniſhed hereafter to abſtaine from the like, and that they know the ſame to be a grieuous ſin; that they dread the dreadfull iudgement of God, leſt for their carnall delectation they incur the torments of eternall puniſhment. And yet notwithſtanding they are not to be ſeluded therefore from the participation of Chriſts bodie and bloud, leſt we ſhould ſeeme to reuenge thoſe things in them, which they before their baptiſme through ignorance did commit. For in this time the holy church doth correct ſome faults more ſeuerelie, ſome faults ſhe ſuffereth againe through manſuetude and meeknes. ſome wittinglie and willinglie thee doth winke at and diſſemble: that ſame times the euill which ſhe doth deteſt through bearing and diſſembling the may ſtop and hinder. All they therefore which are come to the faith, muſt be admoniſhed that they commit no ſuch offence. Which thing if they doe, they are to be depriued of the communion of the Lords bodie and bloud. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this caſe is tollerable: ſo in them againe it is ſtrongly to be inſued, which knowing they do naught, yet feare not to commit.

A diſcreet ſaying of Gregorie to be noted.

The

*The eight interrogation.*

The eight interrogation. Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what maner I should deale or doe with the bishops of France. *Deleance*

The answer. The answere.

As touching the bishops in France, I giue you no authoritie or power ouer them. For the bishop of Arelas or Arelate hath by the old time of our predecessors receiued the pall, whom now we ought not to depriue of his authoritie. Therefore when your brotherhood shall go vnto the province of France, whatsoeuer ye shall haue there to do with the bishop of Deleance, so doe, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our forefathers. But as concerning the bishops of Britaine, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignoraunt may be taught, the infirme by perswasion may be confirmed, the wilfull by authoritie may be corrected.

*Lect. 25. cap. 2. in Gallatanus.*

*The ninth interrogation.*

The ninth interrogation. Whether a woman, being great with child, ought to be baptised, or after she hath childe, after how long time she ought to enter into the church? Or els, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be preuented with death, after how many daies it ought to receiue baptisme? Or after how long time after her childbirth is it lawfull for her husband to resort to her? Or els if she be in her monthlie course, after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the church, and receiue the sacrament of the holie communion? Or whether her husband after the lying with his wife, before he be washed with water, whether is it lawfull for him to enter the church, and to draw vnto the mysterie of the holy communion? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The answere. The answere.

The childing or bearing women, why may she not be baptised, seeing that the fruitfulnesse of the flesh is no fault before the eies of almightie God? For our first parents in paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortalitie by the iust iudgement of God, which they had taken before. Then because almightie God would not mankind vtterly to perish because of his fall (although he lost now his immortalitie for his trespasse) yet of his benigne pitie left notwithstanding to him the fruit and generation of life. Therefore the fruit and generation of mans nature, which is conceiued by the gift of almightie God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holie baptisme?

The churching of women. As concerning the churching of women, after they haue trauelled, where ye demand after how many daies they ought to goe to the church, this you haue learned in the old lawe, *Pentateuch.* for a man child thirtie dayes, after a woman child fortie and three daies be appointed her to keepe in: albeit this you must take to be vnderstood in a mysterie. For if she should the houre after her trauell enter into the church to giue thanks, she committed therein no sinne: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the trauell and paine of the flesh is sinne. In the coniunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the trauell and bringing forth of the child is paine and groning: as vnto the mother of all it is said: In sorow thou shalt trauell. Therein is sinne forbid to the woman after her labor to enter into the church, then what doe we else but count the same punishment giuen vnto her for sinne? Therefore for the woman after her labor to be baptised, either that which the hath trauelled foorth (if present necessitie of death doth so require) yea in the selfe same houre, either she that hath brought forth, either that which is borne in the same houre when it is borne, to be baptised we doe not forbid.

He speaketh here after the custome of the time.

Mothers that nurse not their owne children reprehended.

Moreouer, for the man to companie with his wife: that he must not, before the child that is borne be wained. But now there is a leaud and naughtie custome risen in the condition of married folkes, that mothers doe contemne to nurse their owne children which they haue borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinencie: for whilst they will not contain themselues, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, &c.

As concerning the women in their menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the church? To this I answer: She ought not to be forbid. For the imperfaitie of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it iust that she should be depriued of her accesse to the church, for that which she suffereth against her will. And if the woman did well, praising in touching the Lords cote in the time of her bloody issue: why then may not that be granted vnto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmitie? Therefore to receiue the mysterie of the holie communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmitie, she is to be praised, but if she receiue, she is not to be iudged. This is a point of a good mind in some maner to acknowledge her sins there, where is no sinne: because many times that is done without fault, which commeth of fault. As when we be hungrie, wee eate without fault, notwithstanding it commeth by the fault of our first father to vs that we are hungrie, &c.

Where ye aske, if a man after the companie with his wife may resort to the church, or to the holy communion, before he be purged with water? The law giuen to the old people, commanded that a man (after the companie with his wife) both should bee purified with water, and also should tarrie the sunne set before hee came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be vnderstood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is ioyned to vnlawfull concupiscence in his heart and cogitation. At what time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be remooued, let the person thinke himselfe vnworthie the entrance to the congregation, through the viciousnesse of his filthie will. But of this matter sundrie nations haue euerie one their sundrie customes: some one way and some another. The ancient maner of the Romans from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselues with water, then so: a little they abstaine reuerently, and so resort to the church, &c.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he inferreth. What if any person not for voluptuousnes of the flesh, but for procreation of children, doe companie with his wife, that man concerning either the comming to the church, or the receiuing the mysteries of the Lords bodie and bloud, is to be left to his owne iudgement: for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, which when he lieth in the fire will not burne, &c.

There is another question also to the same purpose, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning [illegible]tions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English eares sufficient.

To returne now to the storie against: Gregorie after hee had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austin, sendeth moreouer to the church of England more coadiutors, and helpers, as Pelitus, Iustus, Paulinus, & Rustianus, with books & such other implements as he thought necessarie for the English church. Hee sendeth moreouer to the foresaid Austin a pall with letters, wherein he setteth an order betweene the two metropolitane sees, the one to be at London, the other to bee at Yorke. Notwithstanding he graunteth to the said Austin during his life to be the onely chiefe archbishop of all the land: and after his time, then to returne to the two foresaid sees of London and Yorke, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his owne words, as insueth.

## The copie of the epistle of Gregorie, sent to *Austin into England.*

*Reuerendissimo & sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius seruus seruorum Dei. Cumcertum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia eterni regis præmia reseruari, nobis tamen est necesse ut bona quæ operamur in diuinitate operis studio ex remuneratione valeat multiplicius insudare, &c.*

*As followeth here in English.*

TO the reuerend and vertuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregorius the seruant of the seruants of God. Although it be most certaine, that vnspeakeable rewards of the heauenlie king be laid vp for all such as labour in the words of almightie God: yet it shall be requisit for vs to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more incouraged, to go forward in the studie of their spirituall worke. And forsomuch now, as the new church of Englishme is brought to the grace of almightie God, through his mightie helpe, and your trauell, therefore we haue granted to you the vse of the pall, onely to be vsed at the solemnitie of your masse: so that it shall be lawfull for you to ordaine twelue bishops, such as shall be subiect to your prouince or dition. So that hereafter alwaies the bishop of the citie of London shall be ordained and consecrated by his owne proper synod: and so to receiue the pal of honor from the holy and apostolike see, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serue. And as touching the city of York, we will send also a bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordaine. So that if that citie with other places bordering thereby, shall receiue the word of God, he shall haue power likewise to ordaine twelue bishops, & haue the honour of a metropolitane: to whom also if God spareme life, I intend by the fauour of God to send a pall: this prouided, that notwithstanding he shall be subiect to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same metropolitane, so to be ouer the bishops who he ordreth, that he be in no wise subiect to the metropolitane of London after you. And hereafter betwixt these two prouinces, Londons and Yorke, let there be had such distinction of honor, that he shal haue the prioritie, which shall in time first be ordained. With common counsell, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeale of Christ. Let them forethinke and deliberat together prudentlie, and what they deliberat wisely, let them accomplish concordly, not iarring nor swarning one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be indued with authoritie, not onely ouer those bishops, that you constitute, and ouer the other constituted by the bishop of Yorke; but also you to haue all other priests of whole Britaine, subiect vnto our Lord Iesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holinesse of life, they may learne both to beleeue rightlie and to liue purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rude of true faith & vertuous manners, they may attaine, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdome of heauen. God preserue you in health reuerend brother.

The tenth before the kalends of July, in the raigne of our soueraigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperour.

Gregorie calleth the emperour his lord.

A letter of Gregorie to Pelitus.

Besides this, the said Gregorie sendeth also another letter to Pelitus concerning his iudgement, that is to be done with the idolatrous temples and phanes of the Englishmen newlie conuerted, which phanes he thinketh not best to plucke downe, but to conuert the vse thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their sacrifices and killing of oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered: disputing by the occasions there of, of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God vnto the Iraelites, the end and vse thereof being altered, &c.

A letter of Gregorie to Austin.

He sendeth also another letter to the foresaid Austin, vpbraiding him not to be proud or puft vp for the miracles wrought of God by him, in conuerting the people of England, but rather to feare and tremble, lest so much as he were puft vp by the continuall work of miracles, so much he should fall vnwarily through the vaine glorie of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to represse the swelling glorie of heart, with the remembrance of his sinnes rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament, then to reioyce for the other.

Not all the elect of God (saith hee) worke miracles, and yet haue they their names written in the booke of life. And therefore he should not count so much of those miracles done, but reioyce rather with trembling, and to haue his name written in the booke of life, where all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that reioycing. And whatsoeuer miracles it hath pleased God by him to haue been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conuertion, whose saluation God sought thereby, &c.

A letter of Gregorie to king Ethelbert.

Item, he directed another epistle to king Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the booke of Henrie of Huntingdon, lib. 3. in the which epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the godnesse of the king, by whom it pleased God so to worke such godnesse of the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christs faith, and to bee feruent and zealous in the same; in conuerting the multitude, in destroying the temples and works of idolatrie, in ruling and gouerning the people in all holinesse & godly conuersation, after the godly example of the emperor Constantinus the great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that raigneth and liueth for euer: premonishing him besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen (though not in his daies) yet before the terrible day of Gods iudgement. Wherefore he willeth him alwaies to be solicitous for his soule, and suspectfull of the houre of his death, & watchfull of the goodnesse of God, that he may be alwaies prepared to the same, when that iudgement shall come. In the end he desireth him to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send vnto him from Rome, &c.

{Anno 600} *Polychronic. lib 5. cap. 9. Fab. part. 5. cap. 110.*

Austin thus receiuing his pall from Gregorie, as is aboue said, and now of a monke being made an archbishop, after hee had baptised a great part of Kent: he after made two archbishops in prouinces by the commandement of Gregorie, as writeth Polychron. one at London, another at Yorke.

Archbishops of London and of Yorke made by Austin.

Pelitus bishop of London.

Pelitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the Eastsaxons in the prouince of Esser, where after he was made bishop of London, vnder Sigebert king of Esser; which Sigebert together with his vncle Ethelbert first builded the church and minster of S. Paul in London, and appointed it a See for the bishops there. Austin therefore with this Pelitus and Iustus through the helpe of Ethelbert assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britaine in a place, which taking the name of the said Austin, was called Austins Oke. In this assemblie he charged the said bishops, that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should among themselues reforme certaine rites and vsages in their church, specially for keeping of their Easter tide, baptizing after the maner of Rome, and such other like. To these the Scots and Britains would not agree, refusing to leaue the custome, which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which bled the same. Where the stories both of Beda, Cestrensis in Polychron. Huntingtonensis, Iornalensis, Fabianus, & others more, write of a certaine miracle wrought vpon a blind Englishman, whom when the Britains could not helpe, Austin kneeling downe and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these authors say) of his opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leaue to the authors of whom I had it.

The Britains and Scots vtterly refuse the rites of Rome.

Then Austin gathered another synod, to the which came seuen bishops of Britaine, with the wisest men of that famous abbie of Bangor. Vnto the first they spake, counselling to vse wise and holie men, amongst them, what to doe; and whether they should be obedient to Austin or not. And he said: If he be the seruant of God agree vnto him. But how shall we know that, said they? To whom he answered againe: If he be meeke and humble of heart, by that know that he is the seruant of God. To this they said againe: And how shall we know him to be humble & meeke of heart? To this (quoth he) Seeing you are the greater number, if he at your comming into your synod rise vp, and curteouslie receiue you, perceiue him to be an humble and a meeke man. But if he shall contemne and despise you (being as ye are) the greater part, despise you him again. Thus the Britaine bishops entring into the councell, Austin after the Romish maner keeping his chaire would not remoue. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdaine & great displeasure departed thence. To whom then Austin spake, and said, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receiue warre with their enemies: and if they disdained to preach vnto them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the reuenge of death. Which not long after so came to passe by the meanes of Ethelfride king of Northumberland: who being yet a pagan, and stirred with a fierce furie against the Britains, came with a great armie against the citie of Chester, where Brocmaile the counsell of that citie, a friend and helper of the Britains side, was ready with his force to receiue him. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales an ordeining great monasterie, wherein was such a number of monks, as Galfridus with other authors do testifie, that if the whole companie were diuided into seuen parts, in euery of the seuen parts were contained not to few as 300. monks; which all did liue with the sweat of their browes, and labour of their owne hands, hauing one for their ruler named Dino. But of this monasterie came the monkes to Chester, to pray for the good successe of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. Their daies they continued in fasting & prayer. When Ethelfride the foresaid king, seeing them so intentiue to their prayers, demanded the cause of their comming thither in such a company; & when he perceiued it was to pray for their counsell; Then (saith he) although they beare no weapon, yet they fight against vs, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute vs. Wherefore he commanded that Brocmaile, being ouercome to flee away, the king commanded his men to turne their weapons against the fellie harmed monks, of whom hee slue the same time, or rather martyred eleuen hundred, onely fiftie persons of that number did flee and escape away with Brocmaile: the rest were all slaine. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and say how the forespeaking of Austin was here rather fulfilled vpon the Britons; which because they would not ioyne peace with their friends, he said should be the cause of their enemies. Of both these parties, the reader may iudge what he pleaseth: I cannot for but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First Austin in this matter can in no wise bee excused: who being a monke before, and therefore a scholar and professor of humilitie, shewed so little humilitie in his assemblie, to whom bishops and an archbishop, comming at his commandement to the councell, that he thought scorne once to rise at their comming in. Much lesse would his pharisaicall solemnitie haue girded himselfe, and washed his brethrens feete after their trauell, as Christ our great master did to his disciples: seeing his lordship was so high, or rather so heauie, or rather so proud, that hee could not find in his heart to giue them a little mouing of his bodie, to declare a lowlinesse and humilitie in heart. Against the Britains were as much, or more to blame, who so much neglected their spirituall dutie, in reuenging their temporall iniurie, that they denied to ioyne vnto their helping labor, to turne the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and saluation, in which respect all priuat cases ought to giue place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to be, yet no great maruell is it, if the rode of Gods punishment did light vpon them, according to the words of Austin as is before declared. But especially the cruell king in this fact was most of all to blame, to curiouslie to flee vpon them, which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harme him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himselfe afterward. For he was he also slaine in the field by christian Oswine, who succeeded him, as he had slaine the Britains before, which was done in the yeere of our Lord 610. But to turne to Austin againe, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelties was done, after he had baptised and christened ten thousand Saxons or Angles in the west riuer, that is called Swale, beside Yorke on a Christmas day, perceiuing his end to draw neere, he ordained a succession named Laurentius to rule after him the archbishops see of Dorobernia. Where note by the way (christian reader) that whereas Austin baptised them in riuers: it followeth, there was then no vse of fonts. Againe, if it be true that Fabian saith, he baptised ten thousand in one day; the rite then of baptising at Rome was not so ceremoniall, neither had so many trinkets at that time, as it hath had since; or else it could not be that he could baptise so many in one day.

Abbie of Bangor. *Ex libro Iornalensi. Fabiano. & alijs.*

Laurentius archbishop after Austin.

Baptising in riuers, not in fonts.

Vpbraiding among the old Romans was not vsed with so many ceremonies since

{Anno 604} S. Dauid in Wales, otherwise called Dewie.



Meane season, about this time departed Gregorie bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitiue time, he was the basest; of all them that came after him he was the best. About which time also died in Wales Dauid archbishop first of Karleon, who then translated the see from thence to Menenia, and therefore is called Dauid of Wales. Not long after this also departed the foresaid Austin in England, after he had sit there fiftéene or fiftrene yeeres; by the which count wee may

note it, not to be true that Henrie Huntington and others doe witnesse, that Austin was dead before that battell of Ethelfride against the monks of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the yere of our Lord 609; and the comming of Austin first into the realme to be An. 596; then Austin induring fiftéene yeres could not be dead at this battell. Moreouer Galfridus Monumetensis declareth concerning the same battell, that Ethelbert the king of Kent, being (as is said) conuerted by Austin to Christs faith; after he saw the Britaines to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Austin, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation: therfore stirred vp by the foresaid Ethelfride to warre against the Britains: But that for such rather suspicions then true, that he being a christian king, either could or much preuaile with a pagan idolater, or els would attempt so farre to communit such a cruell deede, But of vncertaine things I haue nothing certainly to say, lest I iudge.

Computation of time examined.

Galfridus Monumetensis.

Anno 610. Polyd. lib. 6. cap. 10. A storie of John patriarch of Alexandria.

About this present time about prefixed, which is An. 610, I reade in the storie of Ramulphus Cestrensis, the writer of Polychronicon, of Iohn the patriarch of Alexandria, who for his rare example of hospitalitie and bountifulnesse to the poore, I thought no lesse worthie to haue place amongst good men, then I for the same note to be followed of few. This John (being before beside a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer, vpon a time (it is said) there appeared to him a comely virgin, hauing on her head a garland of oliue leaues, which name her selfe Mercie, saying to him, and promising that she would take her to wife, he should prosper well. The next night were true or not, or else inuented for a moralitie, I would willingly not say, there appeared vnto him a faire young damsell so to be married to more then to this his flourishing husband, to whom he was affianced. This John, that he should not line so long a virgin now as the both, because no man will marrie her. But to returne to this patriarch, who after that day (as the storie recordeth) was so mercifull and so beneficiall, especially to the poore and needie, that he counted them as his masters, and himselfe as a seruant and steward vnto them. This patriarch was wont commonlie thrise a weeke to sit at his doore all the day long, to take vp matters, and to set vnite where was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day hee had done no good: to whom his deacon standing by, answered again, that he had more cause to reioyce, seeing he had brought the citie in that order and in such peace, that there was neede of no reconcilement amongst them. Another time as the said John the patriarch was at seruice, and reading the gospell in the church, the people (as their vsed manner is) went out of the church to talke and iangle: he perceiuing that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marueiled to see him doe so. Why children (said he) where the flocke is, there ought the shepheard to be: wherefore either come you in, for I will also come in to you; or else if you tarrie out, I will likewise tarry out together with you, &c.

Mercie may loue a maiden, for no man will marrie her. The John beareth himself as a suter vnto a mayer with the Lord, whether the Lord should giue more, or he should bidde more of that which was giuen.

The acts of Gregorie the first.

As touching the acts and deeds of Gregorie aboue mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of Iohn, patriarch of Constantinople, which would be the vniuersall priest, and onlie christ in bishop of all others, declaring him to be no lesse then the forerunner of antichrist, that would take that name vpon him; how also with what reasons he answered against the letters of the emperor Mauricius in that behalfe, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entrie and beginning of this booke. This Gregorie among many other things induced into the church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow) Christ willing more at large) first began and brought in this title among the Romane bishops, to be called *Seruus seruorum Dei*: putting them in remembrance thereby both of their humblenesse, and also of their dutie in the church of Christ. Moreouer as concerning his act for the sole life of pastors first begun, and then broken againe; also concerning the order of Gregories masse booke to be receiued in all churches: hereof who so listeth to read more, shall find the same in other places hereafter, namelie when wee come to the time of pope Adrian the first.

Whereupon the Romane bishops vse in their titles, *Seruus seruorum Dei.*

Sabinianus bishop of Rome.

Bonifacius the third bishop of Rome.

How Rome began first to take an head aboue other churches.

After the death of Gregorie aboue mentioned, first came Sabinianus, who as he was a malicious detractor of Gregorie and of his workes, so he continued not long, scarse the space of two yeeres. After whom succéeded next Bonifacius the third, which albeit he raigned but one yeere, yet in that one yeere he did more hurt then Gregorie with so great labors, and in so many yeeres could do good before. For that subtill Grecian kept not his, but brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked emperor for him and his successors after him, that the see of Rome aboue all other churches should haue the preheminence, and that the bishop of Rome should be the vniuersall head through all churches of Christ in christendom; alleaging for him this frinolous reason, that S. Peter had left to his successors in Rome the keies of binding and loosing, &c. And thus began first Rome to take an head aboue all other churches, by the meanes of Boniface the third, who as he lacked no boldnesse nor ambition to seeke it, so neither lacked hee an emperor ready and meet to giue such a gift. This emperors name was Phocas, a man of such wickednesse and ambition, most like to his owne bishop Boniface, that to aspire to the empire, he murdered his owne master the emperour Mauricius & his children. Thus Phocas comming vp to be emperor, after his detestable villanie done, thinking to stablish his empire with friendship and fauour of his people, and especiallie with the bishop of Rome, quickelie condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be the first, he would, the vniuersall and head bishop ouer all christian churches. But as bloud commonlie requireth bloud again, so it came to passe on the said Phocas. For as he had cruellie slaine the lord and emperor Mauricius before, so he in like maner (or peraduenture the emperor succeeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas (which gaue the first supremacie to Rome, left his throne. But Rome would not so loose his supremacie once giuen, as the giuer lost his life: for euer since from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policie possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom by the words of Gregorie, we may well call the runner before antichrist. For as Gregorie brought in their title, *Seruus seruorum Dei*: so this Boniface brought in their head, *Vniuersus ac mundanus*, *Statuimus ac præcipimus*. That is: We will and command, We inioyne and charge you, &c.

Phocas traitor, & a murderer of his emperor.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

*Vniuersus ac mundanus*: *Statuimus ac præcipimus*, brought in by Boniface the third.

Pention was made a little before of Ethelbert king of Kent, and also of Ethelfride king of Northfolcon or Northumbria. This Ethelbert hauing vnder his iubiection all the other Saxon kings vnto Humber, after he had first receiued himselfe, and caused to be receiued of others, the christian faith by the preaching of Austin, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other codly deeds, with the helpe of Sigebert king of Eſſex his nephue then raigning vnder him, began the foundation of Paules church within the citie of London, & ordained it for the bishops see of London. For the archbishops se which before time had ben at London, was by Austin and this Ethelbert at the prayer of the citizes of Doworcris translated from to the said citie: Malmesburiensis lib. de pontific. Wherefore such authors as say that Paules was builded by Sigebert, say not amisse: which Sigebert was the king of Eſſex, in which prouince standeth the citie of London. This Ethelbert also founded the church of S. Amazeo in the citie of Dorubyes in Kent, now called Rochester, of one Rof, distant from Doworcestria fource and twentie miles. Of this same Iustus was he thus also ordained before by Austin. Moreouer the foresaid Ethelbert stirred vp a dweller of citizen of London to make a chapell or church of S. Peter in the west end of London, then called Thonie, now the towne of Westminster, which church or chapell was after by Edward the Confessor inlarged or new builded: latlie of Perrie the third it was newly againe redified and made as it is now a large monasterie, &c. After these thinges in the vnthie acts, this Ethelbert when he had raigned the course of fiftie and fiue yeeres, changed this mortall life about the yere of our Lord 616. whom some stories say to bee slaine in a fight betweene him and Ethelfride king of Northsaxons.

Ethelbert and Sigebert builders of Paules church. The archbishops see translated from London to Doroberum. *Malmesburiensis, lib. de pontific. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.*

This Edward was the eldest of that name before the conquest.

The monastery of Westminster.

Anno 616.

Bloud reuenged with bloud.

In the meane time the foresaid Ethelfride king of Northumberland, after the cruell murder of the monkes of Bangor, escaped not long from his hands: for after he had raigned seuen and twentie yeeres he was slaine in the field of Edwine, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

Another danger of Edwine. Anno 627. *Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. 3.*

*Fabianus part. 5.* A part of a true tale betwixt.

This Edwine being the sonne not of Ethelfride (as Galfridus Monumetensis saith) but rather of Alla (as Giraldus Cambrensis seemeth to witnesse more truely) was first a pagan or idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened and the first christened king in Northumberland. The occasion of which his conuersion, as is in furnise sorties contained, was this.

Edwine first christened king in Northumberland. *Giraldus Cambrensis.*

Edwin being yet a pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, called Edelburge a christian woman, otherwise called Tace. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfride the king conceiuing enuie against him, perlecuted him to the end, that he was forced to flie to Redwallus king of Eastangles, as is in the table of the kings is expressed. The which Redwaldus what for feare, what with bribes being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length pitiuile had intended to haue betraied Edwine. But as Gods will was, Edwine hauing warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moued to flee, and to saue himselfe, being promised alſo of his friends to be safely conueyed away, if he would therto agree. To whom Edwine said, Whether shall I flie which haue so long seene the bottom of mine enemies, though all prouinces of the realme? And if I must needs be slaine. I had rather he should do it, then another vnworthie person. Thus he remaining by himselfe alone and solitarie, sitting in a great studie, there appeared vnto him suddenly a certaine stranger to him vnknowne, and said: I know well the cause of thy thought and heauinesse. What wouldest thou giue him that should deliuer thee out of this feare, and should reconcile king Redwald to thee again? I would giue him (said Edwine) all that I euer could make. And he said againe: And what if I make thee a mightier king then euer was any of thy progenitors? He answered againe as before. Moreouer (saith he) And what if hee thew thee a better kind and way of life, then euer was thewed to any of thine auncestors before thee; wilt thou obey him and doe

Edwine forgetteth his promise to Christ. Dissimulation is forgetfull. Vile custome in matters of religion not to be followed, but only truth. Edwin custome secretly Edwine to be christened. A miracle of God in the conuersion of king Edwine.



doe after his counsell? Yea (said Edwine) promising most firmely with all his heart so to doe. Then he laying his hand vpon his head: Whē (said he) this token shall be giuen vnto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say vnto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwine was sitting alone by himselfe pensiue and sad, his foresaid friend which moued him before to flie, commeth to him bidding him be of good cheere; For the heart (said he) of king Redwaldus which had before intended the destruction is now altered through the counsell of the queene, and is fully bent to keepe his promise with you, whatsoeuer shall fall thereupon. To make the storie short, Redwaldus the king (although Fabian following Henrie Huntington, saith it was Edwine) with all conuenient speed assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly comming vpon Ethelfride, gaue battell vnto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride king of Northumberland, also with Reiner Redwaldus sonne, was slaine in the field. By reason whereof Edwine (his enemies being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwine remained in his old paganisme, albeit his queene (as is aboue declared) king Ethelberts daughter a christian woman, with Paulinus the bishop, ceased not to thrue and perswade him vnto the christian faith. But he taking counsell with his nobles and counsellers vpon the matter, was loath to be vpon. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose to bring all good things to passe, sent another trouble vpon him, by meanes thereof to call him: for by affliction God vseth commonly to call them whom he will saue, or by whom he will worke saluation vnto others. So his diuine wisedome thinketh good to make them first to know themselues before they come to knowledge, or to teach him to others. So it came to passe with Iacob, who was stricken downe before he was lifted vp, with Constantinus, Edwinus, & many more. How long was Joseph in prison before he bare rule? How hardly escaped this our queene now being (queene Elizabeth) by whom notwithstanding it hath pleased God to reuiue this his gospell now preached amongst vs? In what conflictes and agonies inwardly in his spirit was S. Luther before he came to preach the iustification of Christ openly? And so he all these most commonly, which come to any liuely feeling or sensible worshing of Christ the Lord.

Vita Edwini, lib. 1. Malmesburiensis, lib. de pontific. lib. 1. Huntingdon. lib. 3.

But to returne to Edwine againe. The occasion of his trouble was this. Quicelinus with Kinegilsus his brother, kings of Westsaxons (as aboue is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings) conspiring the death of Edwine the noble king of Northumberland, vpon some malice sent vpon an Easter day a swoordman named Emner, priuilie to slay the said Edwine. This swoordman or cutthrote came to a citie beside the water of Darwent in Derbishire, there to wait his time, and lastlie found the king smally accompanied, and intended to haue run the king thorow with a sword inuenomed. But one Lilla the kings trustie seruant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his master, first betweene the king and the sword, put to defend his master, first betweene the king and the sword, and with his whole bodie and bodie and died, and the king was wounded with the same stroke. And after he wounded also the third which was a knight, and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to worke that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded, died, and the king lay after long sicke ere he were healed.

Paulinus. A deacon then might baptize. Orpwaldus otherwise named Coppwaldus king of Eastangles conuerted to the faith of Christ.

After this, about Whitsuntide the king being scantlie whole of his wounds, assembled his host, entending to make against the king of the Westsaxons, promising to Christ to be christened if he would giue him the victorie ouer his enemies: and in token thereof called his daughter borne of Edelburge the same Easter day when he was wounded, named Eanfled, to be baptised, with twelue others of his familie, of Paulinus. Thus Edwine proceeded to the battell against Quicelinus and Kinegilsus with Ricmalcus and other enemies, who in the same battell being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwine through the power of Christ returneth home victor. But for all this victorie and other things giuen to him of God, as he was in wealth of the world, forgat his promise made, and had little mind thereof, saue only that he by the preaching of Paulinus forsooke his mammetrie: and for his peuish and blind might not entirely beare his old land, which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly to be christened without authoritie and good aduice of his counsell.

Edwine first christened king in Northumberland. *Galfridus. Malmesburiensis. Polychron. Historia Iornadensis. Fabian. Strength of prayer ouercommeth armies.* Penda beareth in the field. The commendation of king Oswald.

About the same season pope Boniface the fift sent also to the said Edwine letters exhortatorie, with sundrie presents from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the queene: but neither would that preuaile. Then Paulinus seeing the king so bent and conuerted, poured out his prayers to God for his conuersion, into the same time had reuealed to him by the holy Ghoſt, the oracle aboue mentioned, which was thewed to the king when hee was with Redwaldus king of the Eastangles. Whereupon Paulinus comming after to the king on a certaine day, and laying his hand vpon the kings head, asked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remembring well the token, was readie to fall downe at his feet. But Paulinus not suffering that, did lift him vp againe, saying vnto him: Behold O king, you haue vanquished your enemies, you haue obtained your kingdome, now performe the third thing which you promised, that is, to receiue the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon the king conferring with his counsell and his nobles, was baptised of the said Paulinus at Yorke, with many of his other subiects with him. In so much that Coifie the chiefe of the prelats of his old mammetrie, armed himselfe with his idolatrous bishops, and beſred god daies, which before he had lothed into they might not do, nor ride but only a mare: and so destroyed all the altars of the mammetrie, and their temple of idols which was at Godmundham, not far from Yorke. And this was in the eleuenth peare of his raigne.

The part of a godly bishop expressed in Paulinus. Edwine baptised. He was baptised in S. Peters church at Yorke, which he first caused to be made of wood, which after by S. Oswald was builded of stone.

From that time forth during the life of Edwine, which was the terme of fiue yeares more, Paulinus christened continually in the riuers of Swente and Swala, in both prouinces of Deira, and in Wernicia, where the fairdreers for his fonts, and preached in the shire of Lincelsie, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincolne.

Anno 628. Note Paulinus christened in riuers.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdome of Edwine after his conuersion, that a woman laden with gold might haue gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and no man moleſt her. Moreouer by the high way ſides, though all his kingdome was ouerlaid with fuell or lying to be chaunged a dish or a doll of braſſe, to take vp water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bolles of braſſe there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwine. Such was then the tender care and studie of christian princes for the refreshing of their subiects. But what was then the braſen wood which now is growen to iron and lead, called Aetas ferrea, the yron time.

Certaine instance of a good prince may do in a realme. Great peace and reuerence among the people in the daies of Edwine.

This Edwine, who first brought in the faith in the north parts continuing after his baptisme fiue yeares, at length was slaine in battell by Cedwalla king of the Britaines, and by wicked Penda king of the Mercians, with his son alſo Offricus, in the field called Hatfield.

Anno 634. Archbishop of Canterburie ordained archbishop of the sea of Yorke, so he againe after the decease of Iustus ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterburie.

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of Yorke, and as he was of Rochester the first bishop of Canterburie ordained archbishop of the sea of Yorke, so he againe after the decease of Iustus ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterburie.

*Ex Fabr. hist.*

Paulinus after the death of godly Edwine, seeing himself cleane driuen out of his bishoprike, and wicked Penda with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoile the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age nor sex, nor religion, was compelled to flie with Edelburge the queene and Eanfled her daughter by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of Rochester the space of nineteene yeares. And so the church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirtie yeares after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his deacon, a godman, who continued there baptising and preaching in the north parts, till that peace being recouered, and the number of the faithfull encreasing, the church came again to his day. Hunting. lib. 3.

James a godly deacon.

By meanes of this Edwine, Eorpwaldus king of the Eastangles, sonne to Redwaldus aboue mentioned, was reduced to Christs faith.

Orpwaldus otherwise named Coppwaldus king of Eastangles conuerted to the faith of Christ.

After the decease of Edwine and his sonne Offrike, both slaine in battell, raigned Osricus and Eanfridus, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Osricus was the sonne of Elfrica his vncle brother to Ethelfride. Eanfridus was the eldest sonne of Ethelfride, for Ethelfride had three sonnes, to wit, Eanfridus, Oswaldus, and Osricus. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Osricus and Eanfride, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings, returned to their idolatrie; and so in the yeares following were slaine one after the other by the foresaid Cedwalla and wicked Penda, as is in the table aboue expressed.

After whom succéded in Northumberland, the second sonne of Ethelfride named Oswaldus, hauing rule on both the prouinces, as well Deira, as Bernicia. Whereof when the foresaid Cedwalla (or Cadwallo) the Britaine king had vnderstanding, who before had made bandoke of the Saxons, and thought to haue rooted them vtterly out of England, he sent king Penda with a mightie host of the Britaines, thinking to slay also Oswald as he had before slaine his brother Eanfride, and king Edwine before them. But Oswald, when he was warned of the great strength of this Cedwall and Penda, made his prayers to God, and beſought him meekely of helpe to withstand his enemie, for the saluation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the sauing of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Denesburie, some say Heuenfield, where was fought a strong battell. But finally the armie and power of Penda and Cedwall, which were farre exceeding the number of Oswalds host, was chased and most part slaine by Oswaldus, after he raigned ouer the Britaines two and twentie yeares, leauing after him a sonne, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaladrus the last king of the Britaines.

S. Oswald king of Northumberland. Anno 636. *Galfridus. Malmesbur. Polychron. Historia Iornadensis. Fabian.*

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors for his feruent zeale in Christs religion, and mercifull pitie towards the poore, with other great vertues more. As touching the miracles of S. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I haue not here to affirme. This I find in stories certaine, that he being well and

King Oswald biddeth not to expound and preach the gospell to his people.

The goodnesse and charitie of Oswald toward the poor.

Historia Iornalensis. Polydor. lib. 5. cap. 12.

Kinigilsus king of the Westsaxons, converted to Christs faith.

Ex Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 13. Fabian part. 5. Lands given to Winchester.

Malmesburiensis. lib. de pontif. Angl. Centuriatr. lib. 6. Hist. Iornalensis.

Hunting. lib. 3. Berinus walketh on the sea, with his men.

Oswaldus godfather and son in law to Kinegilsus, and all in one day.

King Oswald slayne in the field.

Anno 642

Penda king of Mercians slaine.

Oswie king of Northumber. land.

bertuously disposed to the setting forth of Christs faith and doctrine, sent unto Scotland for a certaine bishop there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The king at that time he was in Scotland banished, had learned the Scottish tongue perfectly: therefore as this Aidanus preached in his Scottish tongue to the Saxons, the king himselfe interpreting that which he had said, diligented not to preach and expound the same to his nobles and subiects in the English tongue.

Moreover, towards the poore and needie his pitie and tenderse was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then Easter day, he sitting with the said Aidanus at meat, and served after the manner of kings in siluer: there commeth to him one of the seruiters, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poore people sitting in the streete, which desired some almes of the king. He hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his owne table to be caried unto them, but also taking a siluer platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces and sent it amongst them, and so relieued his poore subiects not only with the meat of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidanus the bishop seeing this, marueiling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: This hand (saith he) I pray God may continue and neuer putrifie. What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I find not nor meddle further then simple, true, and due probability will beare me out. In those daies and partly by the meanes of the said Oswald, Kinigilsus king of the Westsaxons was converted to Christs faith, especially through the godly labour of Berinus which was sent by pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester. To whom Quicelinus brother of Kinigilsus after he had also receiued baptisme of the said Berinus gaue to him the said citie to make there his see. And as Guido witnesseth, the said Quicelinus gaue after to the bishop of Winchester seuen miles compasse of land to build there the bishops see, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalkus his sonne.

Of this Berinus, Malmesburie, Polychronicon, with diuers other writers do report a thing strange and miraculous, which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marueil that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same the matter is this. This Berinus being sent, as is said, by Honorius to preach in England, promiseth him to trauell to the vttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the gospell where the name of Christ was neuer heard. Thus he setting forward in his iourney, passeth through France, and so to the sea side, where he found a pallage readie, and the winde serued faire, that he was called vp in an hasle, that he had no leasure to remember himselfe to take all things with him which he had to carrie. At length as he was on the sea saying, and almost in the middest course of his passage, remembred himselfe of a certaine relike left behind him for haste, which Honorius had giuen him at his comming out. Malmesburiensis calleth it Corporalia. Historia Iornalensis calleth it Pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecrarat, which we call a corporas or such a like thing, and what is included within it I cannot tell. Here Berinus great sorrow could not tell what to do: if he should haue spoken to the heathen mariners, to turne their course backe againe, they would haue mocked him, and it had been in vaine. Therefore as the stories write, he boldly stepped into the sea, and walking on foot backe againe, taketh him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his companie againe, hauing not one hach of his garment wet. Of his miracle, (so whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader iudge thereof as he thinketh, because it is not written in the scripture we are not bound to beleiue it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holinesse in the man or in the corporas, but a speciall gift for the conuersion of the heathen, for whose saluation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done by his seruants) being brought to the sea againe with a great admiration of the mariners, being there with conuerted and baptised, was driuen at last by the weather to the coast of the Westsaxons, where Kinigilsus and his brother Quicelinus aboue mentioned did reigne. Which two kings the same time by the preaching of Berinus were conuerted and made christian men, with the people of the countrie, being before rude and barbarous. It hapned the same time when the foresaid kings should be christened, that Oswaldus (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland, was then present, and the same day married Kinigilsus his daughter, and also was godfather to the king.

Thus Oswald after he had raigned nine yeares in such holinesse and perfectnesse of life, as is aboue specified, was slaine at length in the field called Marfield by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians: which Penda at length after all his tyrannie was ouercome and slaine by Oswie brother to Oswald, next king after Oswald of Northumberland, notwithstanding he had three the people which Oswie had. This Penda being a pagan, had three sonnes, Wolfere, Weda, and Egfridus. Of this second sonne Weda, Oswie had before time married his daughter by consent of Penda his father: the which Weda by helpe of Oswie was made king of Southmercia, the which kingship is severed from Northmercia by the riuer of Trent.

The same Weda moreouer, at what time he married the daughter of Oswie, promised to him that he would become a christian man: which thing he performed after the death of Penda his father, but afterwards within three yeres of his raigne, he was by treason of his wife slaine. And after him the kingdom fell to Wolferus the other brother, who being wedded to Ermenilda daughter of Ercombert king of Kent, was shortly after christened: so that he is accounted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Berkwalcus king of Kent, and got the Ile of Wight, which after he gaue to Egbert king of the Saxaungles, vpon condition he would be christened. And thus the Saxaungles which before had expulsed Spe. tus their bishop, as is declared, recouered againe the christian faith vnder Sigbert their king, who by the meanes of the foresaid Wolferus was reduced and baptised by Finianus the bishop.

But to returne againe to Oswie, from whom we haue a little digressed, of whom we heined before how he succeeded after Oswald in the prouince of Bernicia, to whom also was ioyned Oswine his cosin ouer the prouince of Deira, and there, with his fellow Oswie raigned the space of seuen yeares. This Oswine was gentle and liberall to his people, and no lesse deuout toward God: who vpon a time had giuen to Aidanus the bishop aboue mentioned, a princely horse with the trapper and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much trauell on foot, but sometimes ease himselfe withall. Thus Aidanus the Scottish bishop as he was riding vpon his kingly horse, by the way meeteth him a certaine poore man asking and crauing his charity. Aidanus hauing nothing else to giue him, lighted downe, and giueth to him his horse trapped and garnished as he was. The king vnderstanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entring to dinner with the said Aidanus: What meint you father bishop (said he) to giue away my horse? I gaue you vnto the begger: Had not I other horses in my stable that might haue serued him well enough, but you must giue away that which of purpose was fetch out for you amongst the chiefest? To whom the bishop made answere againe saying or rather rebuking the king: What be these words (O king said he) that you speake? Why set you more price by an horse, which is but the sole of an horse, then you do by him which is the sonne of Dauid, yea which is the sonne of God? he said but this, when the king forthwith vnsetting his steed from about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting) falleth downe at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgiue him that, and he would neuer after speake word to him for any treasure he should afterward giue away of his. The bishop seeing the king so meekely affected, he then taking him vp, and chearing him againe with words, began thortly after to weepe and to be verie heauie. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidanus answered in his Scottish language, saying to him: I know (saith he) for that this king cannot liue long. This people is not worthie to haue such a prince as he is to raigne amongst them. And so as Aidanus said, it came to passe. For not long after Oswie the king of Bernicia disdaining at him, when Diuine exhortation could not be had, Oswine either being not able or not willing to ioyne with him in battell, caused him traiterously to be slaine. And so Oswie with his son Egfride raigned in Northumberland alone.

In the time and also in the house of this Oswie king of Northumberland, was a certaine man named Benedict, who was the bringer vp of Bede from his youth, and take him to his institution when he was but seuen yeares old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict or Bennet is reckoning of a noble house and rich him, and to add honour vnto Oswie: a famous seruice, heede, and all his kindred to serue Christ, and went to Rome (where he had been in his life time fiue times) and brought from thence bookes into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serue to deuotion. This Benedict surnamed Bishop, was the first that brought in the art and vse of glasing into this land: for before that, all the windowes were not lincloose either in churches or houses.

In the raigne of the foresaid Oswie and Egfride his son, was Botulphus abbat, which builded in the east part of Lincolne an abbey. Also Aidanus, Finianus, and Colmannus, with three Scottish bishops of Northumberland holy men, held with the Britaines against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter day. Moreouer Cuthertus, Ieruumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus liued the same time, who as I iudge to be bishops of holy conuersation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles wherefore they were made saints in the popes kalender, seeing they are not written in the gospell, nor in my creed, but in certaine old chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding as touching their conuersation, this I reade, and also do credit, that the clergie both of Britaine and England at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gaue them to preaching and teaching the word of our Sauiour, and followed the life that they preached by giuing of good ensample. And ouer that, as our histories record, they were so void of couetousnesse, that they receiued no possessions or territories as was forced vpon them.

About this season or not much before, vnder the raigne of Oswie and Oswine, kings of Northumberland, another synod

The conuerting of the Saxons to the faith of Christ.

Edelfrus first christened king of Mercia.

The Saxaungles reduced to the christian faith.

Oswie and Oswine, fellow kings in Northumberland.

Note the wonderfull liberalitie in the king, and humilitie in the bishop.

Ex Bede. lib. 3. cap. 13.

H. Hunting. de historia Angl. lib. 3. Example of true almes.

A disputation betweene the Romish bishops and the Scottish bishops for the day of Easter and other ceremonies.

The king beginneth.

Colman speaketh.

A perfect example of humilitie in a prince.

Oswine traytorously slaine by Oswie.

Wilfride replieth.

Anno 651

Vniuersalitie alleged.

Colman against speaketh.

Wilfride replieth.

Benedict or Bennet, the bringer vp of Bede.

The life of glasing first brought into this realme.

Botulphus, Aidanus, Finianus, Colmannus, Cuthertus, Ieruumannus, Cedda, Wilfridus.

Why Paul circumcised Timothie.

O quam mutati sunt! Beda lib. 4. ca. 5. Hunting. Polychron. Iornalen. fa. Fabian.



nod or councell was holden against the Britaines and the Scottish bishops, for the right obseruing of Easter at Sternehalt. At what time Agilbertus bishop of Westsaxonia came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfride abbat of Ripon, where this question for Easter day began to be moued: For Colman then bishop of Northumberland followed not the custome of Rome nor of the Saxons, but followed the Britaines and the Scottish bishops his predecessours in the same see before. Thus on the one side was Colman the archbishop of Yorke, and Hilda the abbesse of Sternehalt, which alleaged for them the doings and examples of their predecessours, both godly and reuerend bishops, as Aidanus, Finianus, archbishops of that see of Yorke before them, and diuers more, who had bled alwaies to celebrate the Easter from the fourteenth day of the first moneth, till the eight and twentith of the same. And specially for that S. John the euangelist at Ephesus kept and obserued that day, &c. On the other side was Agilbert bishop of the Westsaxons, Iames the deacon of Paulinus aboue mentioned, Wilfride abbat of Ripon, and king Alfride Oswies sonne, with his queene, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the storie of Beda at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides as ensueth, &c.

The question of Easter and of shauing, and other ecclesiasticall matters being moued, it was determined that in the abbey which is called Sternehalt, of the which Hilda a deuout woman was abbesse, a conuocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kings the father and the sonne, bishop Colman with his clergie of Scotland, Agilbert with Agathon and Wilfride priests. Iames and Roman were on their sides, Hilda the abbesse with her companie was on the Scottish part, and the reuerend bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties in that parlament. King Oswie began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessarie for such as serued one God, to liue in one vniforme order, and that such as looked for one kingdome in heauen should not differ in celebration of the mysteries sacramentes, but should rather seeke for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, hee commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custome was in this behalfe that he vsed, and from whence it had the originall. Then Colman obeying his princes commandement, said: The Easter which I obserue, I receiued of my ancestors that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers being men of God did celebrat in like manner: and lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparant to be the verie same which the holy euangelist S. John (a disciple especially beloued of the Lord) did accustomablie vse in all churches and congregations where he had authoritie. When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalfe, and to shew the order that he then vsed, from whence it came, and by what authoritie he obserued the same. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfride a priest, might speake for him, in as much as they both with the rest of his clergie were of one opinion herein, and that the said Wilfride could vtter his minde better and more plainly in the English tongue then he himselfe could. Then Wilfride at the kings commandement began on this sort and said: The Easter which we keepe, we haue seene at Rome, where as the holy apostles Peter and Paul did liue and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is vsed in Italie and in France, the which countries we haue trauelled for learning, and haue noted it to be celebrated of them all. And Asia also and in Affrike, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same manner of Easter is obserued that we vse, saue only by these here present with their accomplices, the Pictes and the Britaines: with the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condemn and striue foolishly in this order against the vniuersall world. To whom Colman replieth, saying: I marueil you will call this order foolish, that so great an apostle as was worthie to lie in the Lords lap, did vse, vpon all the world doth well know to haue liued most holily. And Wilfride answered, God forbid that I should reproue S. John of folly who kept the rites of Moses law according to the letter (the church being yet Iewish in many points) and the apostles not as yet able to abolish all the obseruations of the law before ordained. As for example, that they should not receiue images inuented of the diuell, the which all men that beleeue on Christ ought of necessitie to forsake and detest, lest they should be an offence to those Iewes that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did S. Paul circumcise Timothie, for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did shaue his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Cenchris: which things were done to none other purpose but to eschew the offence of the Iewes. Peradnenture also said Iames to Paul, Thou seest brother how many thousand Iewes do beleeue, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospell is to manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawfull for the faithfull to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnall things to God. Therefore John according to the custome of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at euening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated in the Sabbath, or in any other festall day. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembring that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the sabbath, giuing thereby an hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the vse and precepts of the law (that was) the fourteenth day of the first month: euen so John looking for the moone at night, (if it did arise, and the next day after were sunday, which then was called the sabbath, therwith he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the euening, like as we vse to do euen at this day. But if sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the fifteenth day, or seuentenh, or on any other day vnto the one and twentith, he taried alwaies for it, and did begin the holy solemnitie of Easter on the euening next before the sabbath. And so it came to passe, that Easter was alwaies kept on the sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day vnto the one and twentith: neither doth this tradition of the apostle breake the law, but fulfill the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at euening, vnto the one and twentith day of the same month at euening, the which maner all S. Johns successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the catholike church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all christians to be obserued, it was not newly decréed, but confirmed by the councell of Nice, as appeareth by the ecclesiasticall historie. Whereupon it is manifest that pope Victor by his letters commanded all the churches of Asia, with the churches adioining, that in this matter appertaining to faith, they should not be ouercome with contrarie opinion. Moreouer Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, and all the priests of Asia with him affirmed that they had receiued this tradition from their auncestors, saying that they ought to obserue the true day, neither adding nor diminishing any thing therein. In the which also was Polycarpus bishop and martyr, whom they had seene conuersant in their church, whose doctrine they had alwaies heard, and knew him to be a catholike father. Also Thraseas bishop of Eumenia, and his predecessor, who both (as they say) liued and died in the same opinion. Moreouer Sagaris bishop and martyr, with Papirius the blessed bishop, and Melito with all his eunuches, whose conuersation was alwaies holy, and rose from death the third day. All these obserued the day of the fourteenth moone, according to the gospell, neuer swerving from the truth, but ordering their feasts according to the rule of faith. Moreouer Polycrates himself, who was the seuenth bishop from them, and all his kinsfolke obserued the day which I haue said. Which seeing they were so many bishops and learned men, and had obserued the same day which I kept, according to the tradition of the apostles, and all the world, I thought I did not offend in obseruing the same. Whereas some of them were men of such godlinesse and vertue, as was declared by their wonderfull miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holinesse) do endeuour to follow their life, order and discipline. Then said Wilfride: It is certaine that Anatholius was both a godly and a learned man, and worthie of great commendation: but what haue you to do with him seeing you obserue not his order? For he following the true rule in keeping his Easter, obserueth the circle of nineteene yeares: the which either you know not, or if you do, you contemne the common order obserued in the vniuersall church of Christ. And moreouer, if the said Anatholius both for count the fourteenth day in the obseruation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night after the maner of the Egyptians, and likewise noteth the twentith day to be in the feast of Easter, the one and twentith in the euening: the which distinction that you know not, by this may appeare, for that you keepe the Easter on the thirteenth day before the full moone. Mytherfore I can not sée how you touching your father Columba and his successours, whose order you say you follow, moued thereto by their miracles, on this wise that the Lord will answere to many that shall say in the day of iudgement, that in his name they haue prophesied and cast out diuels, and haue done many miracles, &c: to whose he will not know, then ill. Whereupon I denie not but they were the seruants of God, and holy men, which loued the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicitie: and I thinke that the order which they vsed in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could shew them the right obseruation of the same for them. For I thinke, if the truth had been declared vnto them, they would as well haue receiued it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellowes if you refuse the order of the apostolicall see, or rather of the vniuersall church, which is confirmed by the holy scripture; without all doubt you do sinne. And though your forefathers were holie men, what is their seruentie being but a corner of an Iland, to be preferred before the vniuersall church of Iesus Christ dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also being of Christ Iesus) were mightie in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles?

Example of Peter alleaged, but no proofe thereof.

Peter and John did not agree in the celebrating of Easter.

In the councell of Nice no such matter appereareth.

Colman against answereth.

The multitude of men is not to be credited vnto for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that follow not for lack of teaching is nothing yet them which being taught will not follow.

* Pro Mr. Sep. fragio ecclesiæ non numerande sunt sed pendendæ. Aug.

To whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen.

Wilfride hauing thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman: Is it true that the Lord spake these things to S. Peter? And Colman answered, Yea. Then said the king: Can you declare any thing that the Lord gaue to Colman? Colman answered, No. Then quoth the king, Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controuersie, and that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gaue him the keyes of the kingdome of heauen? And they both answered, Yea. Then concluded the king on this wise: For so much as S. Peter is the doore keper of heauen, I will not gainesay him: but in that I am able, I will obey his orders in euery point, lest when I come to the gates of heauen, he shut them against me.

The king conclusterly.

Vpon this simple and rude reason of the king, the multitude of clearkes consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to giue ouer: only Colman the Scot being then archbishop of Yorke, in displeasure left the realme, and departed into Scotland, carying with him the bones of Aidanus. Bed. lib. 3. cap. 25. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

After the decease of Oswie, Egfride his sonne was king after him in Northumber land fifteene yeares. Vp this Egfride Cuthbert was promoted to the bishoprike of Lindisfarne: and Wilfride which before had been archbishop of Yorke, was displaced through the meanes of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, and Cedda possessed that see. Wilfride when he was put out, went to Rome and complained of him to Agathon the bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus hab there such practises and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Therefore he returned into the Southsaxons, and builded an abbey in Silesey, and preached vnto the Southsaxons fiftéene yeares. The king of the Southsaxons at ỳ time was Ethelwold, to whom he declared a little before that Wolferus king of the Mercians gaue the Ile of Wight vpon condition that he would be christened, and so was baptised by Werinus: the said Wolferus being his godfather, and some in law, both in one day. Wherefore Wolferus not being licensed by Ethelwold the king, preached vnto his nobles and people of Southsax, and conuerted them to Christ. In the time of whose baptising, the raine which before they lacked three yeares together, was giuen them plentifully, whereby their great famine slaked, and the countrie was made fruitfull, which before was dried vp with barrennes: in so much that (as in some stories is said) the people perished with famine, hauing ga forthe together vpon the rockes by the sea side, and tie king hands together would throw themselues downe to the sea. Moreouer, where they lacked before the art of fishing, the fore said Wilfride taught them how with nets to fish.

Egfride ou Edfride of Northumberland.

Malmesburien. Hunting. Fab. cap 12 6. Wilfride archbishop of Yorke.

Southsaxons conuerted to christian faith.

H. Hunting. lib. 3.

¶ And thus by processe haue we discoursed from time to time how and by what meanes the idolatrous people were induced into the true faith of Christ: of whom the Southsaxons with the Ile of Wight was the last.

The Ile of Wight last conuerted to Christ.

After Egfride who was slaine in the fraies of Scotland, next succeeded Alfride his brother, and bastard sonne to Oswie, and raigned eighteene or nineteene yeares in Northumberland. This Alfride restored againe the foresaid Wilfride to the see of Yorke, whom his brother had before expelled, and put in Cedda. Notwithstanding, the same king within fiue yeares after, expulsed the said Wilfride againe, and so went he to Rome. But at length by Osrike his successor was placed againe, the archbishop of Yorke, and Cedda was ordained by Theodorus bishop of Mercia. The which prouince of Mercia, the said Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie by the authoritie of the synod holden at Hatfield, did after diuide into fiue bishoprikes: that is, one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cedorna in Lindsey, the fift to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincolne.

Alfride king of Northumberland.

Wilfride restored againe to the see of Yorke.

Mercia diuided into fiue bishoprikes.

Neere about this time in the yeare of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahumet began to take strength and place. Although Polychronicon differing a little in yeares, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now, refer it to this yeare, which well agreeth with the number of that beast signified in the Apocalypse, xiv. that is, 666. Of this Mahumet came the kingdome of Agarens (whom he after named Saracens) to whom he gaue sundrie lawes, patched of many sects and religions together: he taught them to pray euer to the south: and as we keepe the Sunday, so they keepe the Friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to haue as many wiues as they were able to maintaine, to haue as many concubines as they list, to abstaine from the vse of wine, except on certaine solemne daies in the yeare, to haue and worship only one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the prophets, as being borne of the virgin Marie by the power of God, without mans seed, and at last was taken vp to heauen, but was not slaine, but another in his likenesse for him, with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdome of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turkes, and in processe of time wholy subdued to them.

The beast wherof is spoken. Anno 666.

Ex Polychron. Ex Giraldo Cambrens. Ex Stephano Caniacensi.

But now to returne againe to the time of our English Saxons. In this meane season Theodorus was sent from Italie into England by Vitelianus the pope, to be archbishop of Canturburie, and with him diuers other monkes of Italie to set vp here in England Latine seruice, masses, ceremonies, letanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodorus being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canturburie, began to play the rex, placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfride archbishops of Yorke, he thrust them both out, vnder the pretence that they were not lawfullie consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorised by their kings, and were placed against their wils. Wherefore Wilfride, as is before touched, went vp to Rome, but could haue no redresse of his cause. Yet to shew what modestie this Wilfride vsed against his enemie being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed by William Malmesburie, I thought here to expresse the same both for the commendation of the partie, and also for the good example of others, in case any shall be, whom god graunt pies will moue to well doing. This Wilfride therefore hauing such iniurie and violence offered vnto him by the hands of Theodore, although he had iust cause to do his vttermost: yet in prosecuting his complaint, how he temperd himselfe, what bridle of modestie he vsed, rather to defend his innocencie, then to trumpet his

If shauing of the crowne doth teach men patience as Peter writes, how commonly it is that we see none more waspish and restie then these shaue generalls of the church of Rome?

Simon Magus shauen, as he saith.

The difference betweene the shauing of Peter and Simon Magus.

Iudas kissed his master, but this Magus ought not to resemble wicked Iudas.

* There is but one mediatour betweene God and man, Christ Iesus.

The Scottish monkes and the English monkes differed in their shauing.

If Peter shall be in the state of God his lieutenant, Christ then formerly in little stead.

A note to admonish the reader.

And as the Lord bare a crowne of thorne on his head in his passion, whereby he tooke and carried away from vs the thornes and pricks of our sinnes, so must euery one of vs by shauing our heads, patiently beare and willingly suffer the mockes and scornes of the world for his sake, that we may receiue the crowne of eternall life, which God hath promised to all that loue him, and shall by shauing their corporall crownes beare the aduersitie, and contemne the prosperitie of this world. But the shauing which Simon Magus vsed, what faithfull man hath not detest together with his magicall art? The which at the first appearance hath a shew of a shauen crowne, but if you marke his necke, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say it is rather meet to be vsed of the Sarasonits then of the christians. And such (of foolish men) he thought worthie of the glorie of the eternall crowne, vsed as indeed for their ill liuing they are worthie not only to be depriued of the same, but also of eternall saluation. I speake not this against them that vse this kind of shauing, and liue catholickly in faith and good workes, but surely I beleeue there be diuers of them be verie holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan the abbat and worthie priest of the Columbians: who when he came embassadour from his countrie vnto king Alfride, desired greatly of him our maisterie: where he beheld a wonderfull wisdome, humilitie and religion both in his maners and words. Amongst other talke I asked him, why he that did beleeue to come to the crowne of life that should neuer haue end, did vse contrarie to his beliefe a definit image of a crowne on his heade. And if you aske (quoth I) the fellowship of S. Peter, why do you vse the fashion of his crowne vpon you? Verily (quoth he) for the loue of his maister with whom you desire to liue eternally. Adamnan answered, saying; You know right well brother, though I vse Simons maner of shauing, after the custome of my countrie, yet do I detest and with all my heart abhorre his infidelitie. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the footsteps of the holy apostle as farre forth as my power will stand. Then said I, I beleeue it is so; but then is it apparant you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did from the bottome of your heart, if you vse the same vpon your face that you know he did: for I suppose your wisdome vnderstandeth that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face or shauing, from his whom in your heart you abhorre. And contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to haue a * mediator betweene God and you, so it is meet you imitate the maner of his apparell and shauing. Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our churches: in so much that he returning into Scotland reformed many of his churches there after our celebration, albeit he could not doe so amongst the monkes with whom he had special authoritie. He endeuoured also to haue reformed their maner of shauing if he had beene able. And now (O king) I exhort your maiestie to labour together with your people, ouer whom the King of kings and Lord of lords hath made you gouernour, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholike and apostolicall churches. So shall it come to passe, that in the end of this your temporall kingdome, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open you the gates of the heauenly kingdome, together with the other elect of God. The grace of the eternall King preserue you most dearely beloued sonne in Christ long time to raigne ouer vs, to the great tranquillitie of vs all.

When this letter was read before king Ceolwlph with other of his learned men, and diligently considered of by his proper language, he seemed to reioyce very much at the exhortation thereof, in so much as rising vp from among his noble men, he kneeled on the ground, and gaue God thankes that he had deserued to receiue so worthie a present out of England, and so caused it forthwith by publike proclamation to be written out, learned and obserued throughout all the prouinces of the Picts, before the time that he had beene ioyned in the holie vnction of yeares. For all the ministers of the altar and all monkes were shauen on the crowne, and all the people reioyced for the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostle S. Peter which they had receiued.

Of this maner of shauing, more worthie to be laughed at then to be stoned, let vs now againe returne where as we left at king Iue, of whom W. Malmesburie and Fabian in his chronicle do record, that when the foresaid Iue had ruled the Westsaxons by the terme of 17 yeares, by the importunat perswasion and subtill policie of his wife Ethelburga, was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a monk. Which Ethelburga after she had a long time laboured him to leaue the world, and could not bring about her purpose; vpon a season when the king and she had rested them in a fayre palace richly behanged, and there vpon the mayden thence departed: the by her commandement caused the palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and hogs and vile beasts therein to be laid, as well in the chambers as other houses of office; and in their olsne chamber where they did lie, there was a sow laid with her yong pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus be-fourned, being a certaine space out of the toune, she brought the king to visit the said palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, the said to him: I pray you my lord behold now this house, where are now the rich tapets and clothes of gold and silke, and other rich apparell, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies and pleasant seruitors, and costly dishes, that you and I lately were serued with? See not all these passed and gone? By lord (saith she) in like maner shall we banish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed. And our bodies, which now be delicatly kept, shall fall and turne into the filth of the earth. Wherefore haue in mind my words that before time to you I haue often shewed and told, and bulle you to purchase that palace that euer shall indure in toy without translutation.

By meanes of these words and other, the queene turned so the kings mind, that shortly after he resigned his gouernance of his kingdome vnto Ethelardus his nephew; and for the loue of Christ tooke on him the habit of a poore man, and setting apart all the pompe and pride of this wicked world, associated himselfe in the fellowship of poore men, and trauelled to Rome with great deuotion, where he had been king of Westsaxons (as before is said) thirtie seuen yeares. After whose departing, the said Ethelburga his wife went into Warking, seuen miles from London, there in the nunrie of Barking, before of Erkenwald founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had been abbesse of the place a certaine time. The said Saint Bunie in his Apice also testifieth, that this Iue was the first king that granted a penie of euery fire house through his dominion to be paid vnto the court of Rome, which afterward was called Romescot, or Peterpence, and long after was paid in many places of England.

This Iue, like as for his time he was worthie and valiant in his acts; so was he the first of the Saxon kings (that I reade of) which set forth any lawes to his countrie: the rehearsall of which lawes, to the number of fourescore and odde, here not vnpossible here to be inserted together, with other lawes of the Westsaxon kings after him, before the time of William the Conqueror; in case it were not for the length and prolixitie of this present volume. And thus much concerning the raigne of king Iue, king of the Westsaxons by the way. Now to repaire againe to the course of Northumberland kings something intermitted.

Next vnto the foresaid Osricus, followed Celnlfus, whom he had adopted, brother to Kenred aboue specified. This Celnlfus, as he was himselfe learned, so were in his time diuers learned men then flourishing in England, among whom was Beda, who vnto the same king Celnlfus offered his booke intituled Anglorum historia, not only to be certified by his authoritie, but also to be amended, as Malmesburiensis writeth, by his knowledge and learning.

And for so much as I haue here entred into the mention of Beda, a man of worthie and venerable memorie, because of the certifying of the truth of that man; and for that I see at writers (as touching his life) do not agree, some saying that he was no Englishman by nome: I thought it not impertinent for him, as I find by his owne words testified of himselfe in the latter end of his ecclesiasticall historie of England, offered to the said Celnlfus aboue mentioned; the words of whom be these:

Thus much (by the helpe of God) I Beda the seruant of Christ, and priest of the monastery of Peter and Paul at Wire, haue compiled as diligently concerning the Britaine historie. And so the same Beda proceeding further in his narration, declareth that he being borne in the territorie of the said monasterie, being of the age of seuen yeares, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom aboue relation is made) and of Ceolfride abbats of the foresaid monasterie. In the which place 01 monasterie he continuing, from that time forth, all his lifetime, gaue himselfe and all his whole studie to the meditating of holy Scripture. And whatsoeuer time or leasure he had from his daily seruice in the church, that he spent either in learning, or teaching, or writing something. About nineteene yeares of his age, he was made deacon, the thirtith yeare of his age he was made priest. From the which time to the age of nine and fiftie yeares, he occupied himselfe in interpreting the coniectures of them for his owne vse, and the necessitie of others; and in writing of treatises: which came in all to the number of seuen and thirtie volumes, which he digested into three score and eightene bookes.

Some say that he went to Rome, either there to defend his bookes to be consonant to catholike doctrine: either else if they should be found faultie, to amend and correct the same, as he should therto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirme that euer he was at Rome; but that he was inuited and called thither to come, both it is manifest in



in storyes, and also this epistle of pope Sergius both sufficiently proue, declaring moreouer in what price and estimation Beda was accepted, as well in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The epistle of Sergius sent to Celfride thus proceedeth, in tenor and forme as followeth in Latine.

*The epistle of pope Sergius sent to Celfride, abbat of Wire abbie, requiring Beda to be sent vp to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthie learning.*

An epistle to pope Sergius.

SErgius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, Celfrido religioso abbati, Sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque incomparabilem prouidentiam possimus effari, & dignas grauiarum actiones pro immensis eius circa nos beneficijs persoluere, qui in tenebris & in vmbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perduxit? Et infra benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portatorem tua deuota misit religio, libenti & hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ solicitudinis petitionibus arctissima deuotione satisfacientes, horatenus Deo dilectam religiositatis tuæ bonitatem, ve quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum artes literaturæ, sicut decet Deo deuotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris vniuersalis ecclesiæ obedientem deuotionem huic nostræ exhortationi non desistas accommodare: sed absque vlla immeratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem monasterij tui presbyterum, ad limina apostolorum principum domus meorum Petri & Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciente Domino, sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prosperè ad te redire (peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate.) Erit enim vt confidimus etiam cunctis tibi credita profuturum, quicquid ecclesiæ generali claruerit per eius præstantiam impartitum, &c.

The famous learning of Beda.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresaid Beda, that the church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his helpe, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain causes and controuersies appertaining to learning. Moreouer, the whole Latine church at that time gaue him the mastrie in iudgement and knowledge of the holy scriptures. In all his explanations his cheefest scope and purpose did euer driue to instruct and informe his reader, simplie and without all curiousnesse of stile, in the sincere loue of God and of his neighbour. As touching the holinesse and integritie of his life, it is not to be doubted. For how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious idlenesse, or had any leasure to the same, who in reading and digesting so many volumes, consumed all his whole cogitations in writing vpon the scriptures? for so hee testifieth of himselfe in the third booke vpon Samuel, saying in these words: If my treatises and expositions, saith he, bring with them no other vtilitie to the readers thereof, yet to my selfe they conduce not a little thus, that while all my studie and cogitation was set vpon them, in the meane while of the slippery inticements and vaine cogitations of this world I had little mind. Thus in this trauell of studie he continued till the age of sixtie two yeres: at length drawing to his latter end, being sicke seuen weekes together, besides other occuppings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit; he translated also the gospell of S. Iohn into English. At length with great comfort of spirit departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to them that stood about him, vpon Ascension day, the same yere when Nothelmus was instituted archbishop of Canturburie. And thus much concerning the storie of Beda.

Beda commended for integritie of life.

Celnlfus king of Northumberland.

Beda.

Anno 735 Saint Iohns gospell translated into English by Beda.

Celnlfus of a king made a monke.

Egbert king of Northumberland.

This Wendelm master to Beda, was the first that brought in the vse of glasse windowes into England. Also the said Benedict brought from Rome with him Iohn the archchanter, who first taught in England the singing in the quire after the manner of Rome. The number of the workes and bookes written by Beda.

Anno 747 Ex Malmesb. lib. de gestis pontif. Anglo. Cuthert archbishop of Canturburie.

1 First, that bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.

2 That they should liue in a peaceable mino together, notwithstanding they were in place disseuered asunder.

3 That euery bishop once a yere should goe about all the parishes of his diocesse.

4 That the said bishops euerie one in his diocesse should monish their abbats and monks to liue regularlie: and that prelats should not oppresse their interiors, but loue them.

5 That they should teach the monasteries (which the secular men had inuaded, and could not then be taken from them, to liue regularly.

6 That none should be admitted to orders, before his life should be examined.

7 That in monasteries the reading of holy scripture should be more frequented.

8 That priests should bee no disposers of secular busines.

9 That they should take no monie for baptizing infants.

10 That they should both learne and teach the Lords prayer and creed in the English tongue.

11 That all should ioyne together in their ministerie after one vniforme rite and maner.

12 That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.

13 That all holy and festiuall daies should be celebrated at one time together.

14 That the sabbath day be reuerently obserued and kept.

15 That the bishoures canonicall euery day be obserued.

16 That the rogation daies both the greater and lesser should not be omitted.

17 That the feast of S. Gregory and S. Austin our patron should not be omitted.

18 That the fast of the foure times should be kept and obserued.

19 That monks & nuns should go regularly apparelled.

20 That bishops should see these decrees not to be neglected.

21 That the churchmen should not giue themselues vnto drunkennesse.

22 That the communion should not be neglected of the churchmen.

23 Item, that the same also should be obserued of the laymen, as time required.

24 That lay men first should be well tried, before they entered into monkerie.

25 That almes be not neglected.

26 That bishops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.

27 They disputed of the profit of almes.

28 They disputed of the profit of singing psalmes.

29 That the congregation should be constituted, after the abilitie of their goods.

30 That monks should not dwell among laymen.

31 That publik prayer should be made for kings & princes.

These decrees and ordinances being thus among the bishops concluded, Cuthert the archbishop sendeth the copie thereof to Boniface, which Boniface, otherwise named Winfride an Englishman borne, was then archbishop of Mentz, and after made a martyr, as the popish stories terme him.

This Boniface being, as is said, archbishop of Mentz in the time of this foresaid synod, wrote a letter to Ethelbald king of Mercelan: which Ethelbald was also present in the same synod, of whom Beda maketh mention in his historie, calling him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kings in his time. First this Ethelbald after the departing of Ceolwlfe into his monkerie, inuaded and spoiled the countrie of Northumberland. Moreouer, he exercised mortall and horrible war a long space with Cuthred, otherwise of some named Cuthert, king of Westsaxons after thermine, he with other Saxon kings so impugned the Britains, that from that time they neuer durst prouoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cuthred, refusing the intollerable exactions of proud Ethelbald, both incounter with him in battell: where notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adioyned, of the Mercians, of the Eastsaxons, of the Eastangles, and of the Cantuarits: yet the said Cuthred though Gods power, and the meanes of certaine valiant warriors called Ethelhuns, a consull, ouer them he vnder the vaile of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald notwithstanding repairing his power against the next yere after, renewed battell with the foresaid Cuthred; in the which battell Ethelbald (after hee had raigned one and fortie yeres in Mercia) was slaine by one Beonred, who after raigned in that diffon but a small time. For Offa nephue to the said Ethelbald expelled the said Beonred, and the Kingdom of Mercia, where he raigned nine & thirtie yeres, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Iesu speding therein our purpole) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the meane season not to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface archbishop of Mentz, sent vnto this Ethelbald; I thought the same not vnworthie here to be inserted, at least the effect thereof, not so much for the authors sake, as for that some good matter peraduenture may be picked thereout for other princes to behold and consider.

Boniface an Englishman archbishop of Mentz.

Ethelbald king of Merceland.

Ethelhuns strong and valiant warriors.

Ethelbald ouercome.

## The copie and tenor of the letter of Boniface archbishop of Mentz, and martyr of God (an Englishman) sent to Ethelbald king of Mercia, freely and yet charitable admonishing him of his adulterous life, and oppression of churches.

REgi & filio charissimo, & in Christi amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbaldo, Bonifacius archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ perpetuum in Christo

sto charitatis salutem. Confitemur coram Deo, qui nouit an verè atque ex animo dicam: quando presperitatem vestram, & fidem, & bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid aduersum vel in cuentu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audiuimus enim quòd cleemosynis intentus, furta & rapinas prohibes, & pacem diligis, & defensor viduarum & pauperum es, & inde gratias Deo agimus. Quòd verò legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu & adulteris & cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile & damnabile. Nam & finam gloriæ vestræ coram Deo & hominibus confundit, & inter idololatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili charissime pœnitere, & memorare oportet, quàm turpe sit, vt tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei, dominaris, ad iniuriam eius sis libidinis seruus. Audiuimus præterea quòd optimates penè omnis gentis Merciorum, tuo exemplo legitimis vxoribus defrauant, & adulteras & sanctimoniales contaminent. Quod quàm sit peregrinum ab honestate, docent vos alienæ gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia, vbi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub coniuge fuerit adultera, manu propria strangularam cremant, & supra tossam sepultæ corruptorem suspendunt, aut cingulo tenus (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castæ matronæ, & cultellis pungunt; & de villa in villam nudatam per totam nouæ flagellatricis, donec consumatur. Insuper & Vinuli, quod est sordidissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, vt mulier viro mortuo, se in rogo cremantis pariter arsura præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castitatis habent, quid tibi conuenit fili charissime, qui christianus & rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo: de te mortis animabus redditur ratio. Exaudi & illud, quid in gestis Longobardorum (sicut in Francia, & Italia, & ab ipsis paganis nobis imperatur) spretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficit, nascitúrq; sit ex ea commixtione gens ignaua & Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut Burgundionibus & Prouincialibus, & Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quòd multa priuilegia ecclesiarum & monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo prouoces. Sed recogita quæso quàm terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, eiusdem culpæ consciós, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædecessorem tuum stupratorem sanctimonialium, & ecclesiasticorum priuilegiorum fractorem, splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit: & sine confessione & viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti, & legem Dei detestanti animam extorsit. Osredum quoque regem Deirorum & Bernicorum, exemplum culparum reum, ita efferatum regem egit, vt regnum & iuuenilem ætatem contempibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum monasteriorum multorum euersor, & ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in vsus propios consumator, longa torsione, & verenda morte consumptus est. Et nox infra: Quapropter fili charissime, paternis & obnixis precibus deprecamur, vt non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore cælestium rem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim bono regi salubrius, quàm si talia continuò cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: Qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, offendentes consilium iustum, consectamur & obseruamus per viuentem Deum & per filium eius Iesum Christum, & per spiritum sanctum, vt recorderis quàm fugitiua sit vita præsens, & quàm breuis & momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis: & quàm ignominiosum sit vt breuis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, & prauetices errores iuuentutis corrigere, vt hic coram hominibus laudem habeas & in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valete cælestitudinem tuam, & in bonis moribus proficere optamus.

*Nihil facilius quàm non facium Prius.*

*The corrupt life of blind monkes.*

In this epistle here is to be séene and noted, first the corruption and great disorder of life which alwaie from time to time hath béen found in these religious houses of nuns, whose professed vow of coated chastitie hath yet neuer béen good to the church, nor profitable to the commonwealth, and least of all to themselues. Of such poetrie and wanton tenderlings S. Paule in his time complaineth, 1. Tim. 5. which vowed take vpon them the wilfull profession of single life, which they were not able to performe, but falling into damnable luxurie, deserued worthilie to bée reprehended. How much better had it béen for these lascíuious nunns not to haue refused the safe yoke of christian matrimonie, then to intangle themselues in this their superstitious vow of perpetuall maidenhead, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keepe?

Secondlie, no lesse are they also to be reprehended, which maintained these superstitious orders of vnprofitable nuns and of other religions. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfride, who although in this epistle doth iustlie reprehend the vicious enormities both of seculer and of religious persons, yet he himselfe is not without the blame & reproofe greater reprehension, for that he gaue the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lascíuious nuns and other religious, and refraining the same from lawfull mariage. For so we find of him in stories that he was a great setter vp and vpholder of such blind superstition, and of all poperie. Who being admitted by pope Gregorie the second, archbishop of Sayance, and indued with full authoritie legantine ouer the Germans, brought diuers countries there vnder the popes obedience, held many great councels, obtained bishops, builded monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relikes to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to carrie about nuns with them a preaching. Amongst all other he founded the great monasterie of Fulda in Germanie of English monks, into the which no woman might enter but onely Lebana Tecla, two English nuns. Item, by the authoritie of the said archbishop Boniface, which he received from pope Zacharie, Childericus king of France was deposed from the right of his crowne, and Pipinus betraier of his maister was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registred in the popes decrées, Dist. 40. cap. Si papa. Which in a certaine epistle of his is this: That in case the pope were of most filthie liuing, and for gettfull of negligent of pitifulnesse, and of the whole christianitie, in such sort, that hee led innumerable soules with him to hell: yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to iudge all men, and ought of no man to be iudged againe.

*The popish acts and doings of Boniface archbishop of Ebanguce.*

*The monasteries of Fulda in Germanie, builded by Boniface.*

*Childericus the French king deposed, and Pipinus intruded. Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.*

In the time of this archbishop, pope Gregorie the second, also Gregorie the third, and pope Zacharie, and hither to all to pope Constantine the first, wrought great matteries against the Greeke emperors Philippicus and Leo, and others, for the maintaining of images to be set vp in churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his empire and alle his eies. Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicate of Gregorie the third. Item Gregorie the third (so far as Iean conjecture) was he that was the first author of the errour of the images in Greek, falsely bearing the name of Gregorie the first, which boke translated Zacharie his successor translated out of Greeke into Latine. Item, the said Gregorie the third first brought into the masse canon the clause for relikes, beginning Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu, &c. Item, brought into the said canon the memoriall, the offering and sacrifice for the dead: like as Zacharie brought in the two last wordes and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantinus also was the first that gaue his feet to be kissed of the emperors. But to turne againe into the course of our English storie.

*Images in churches suffered by emperors, maintained by popes. Philippicus by holding against images lost his empire and his eies.*

*Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.*

*Mistake in the booke called the dialogues of Gregorie. Memoriall of relikes, offring and sacrifice for the dead, brought into the masse canon.*

*The popes feet first kissed of the emperors. Whether king of Westsaxons.*

In the time of this Egbert king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sigbert raigned in Westsaxonie, a man of so cruell tyrannie to his subiects (turning the lawes and customs of his predecessors after his owne will and pleasure) that when he was somewhat sharpely admonished vp one of his nobles, an earle called Combranus, to change his manners, and to behaue him more prudentlie toward his people; he therefore malitiouslie caused him to be put to cruell death. Whereupon the said king Sigebert continuing in his cruell conditions, by his subiects conspiring against him, was put from his kingdie dignitie, and brought into such desolation, that wandering alone in a wood without comfort, was there slaine by the shepherd of the said earle, whom before he had so wrongfully murthered, as partly is aboue touched. Wherby is to be séene the cruell tyrannie of princes neuer to prosper well, without the fast reuenge both of God and man.

*Sigebert slaine.*

*Cruell tyrannie with like cruelti reuenged.*

*Murther reuenged with murther.*

This Sigebert being slaine, in his place succéeded Kenalphus, in the yeere of our Lord 748. who with the agreement of the Estsaxons, was one of the chiefe doers against Sigebert his maister. This Kenulphus kept trouble his louisse against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length after that he had raigned, as Fabian saith, one and thirtie yéeres, he resigned to a paramour which hee kept at Merton, was there beset and likewise slaine by the traine & meanes of a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Cliro or Cinerun, reuenging the cruell king Sigeberts death.

$\left.\begin{matrix} \text{Anno} \\ 748 \end{matrix}\right\}$

Moreouer, in the reigne of the foresaid Egbert king of Northumberland, and in the eight yeere of Kenulphus king of Westsaxons; Offa after he had slaine the tyrant Beorredus, which before had slaine Ethelbald king of Mercia, and vncle to this foresaid Offa, raigned king of that prouince.

*Offa king of Mercia.*

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds, which because they concerne rather politicall affaires, and doe not greatlie appertaine to the matter of this present treatise, I omit here to recite. As his wars and victories against Egbert king of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred king of Eastangles. Item, against Egbert king of Kent, otherwise called Wiren, whom (as Fabian saith) he tooke prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Spalmesburie witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as Stall telling, hereafter shall appeare. After these things, Offa had such displeasure vnto the citizens of Canturbury, that he ransomed the archbishops see, and lands of Lambrith archbishop of Canturburie (by the agreement of pope Adrian) vnto Lichfeld. He also chased the Britains or Welshmen into Wales, & made a famous ditch betwixt Wales and the vtter bounds of Mercia or middle England, which was called Offaditch, and builded there a church which long time after was called Offaditch. This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightricus that was king of Westsaxons. And for that in his time was variance betwéene him and the Frenchmen, in so much that the passage of merchants was forbidden. Therefore he sent Alcuinus a learned man vnto Charles the great then king of France, to commune the meanes of peace: which Charles had after that the said Alcuinus in great fauour and estimation, and afterwards made him abbat of Turonia in France.

*An intricate note in the liues of Fabianus.*

*The pilmacle of Canturburie remooued to Lichfeld. Lambrith archbishop of Canturburie.*

*This Alcuinus is commended for his learning next to Aristotle and Beda about all Saxons.*

About the latter time of the raigne of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethelbert being then king of Eastangles (a learned and a right godly prince) came to the court of Offa, prouoked by the counsell of his nobles to sue for the mariage of his daughter, well accompanied like a prince with his men about him. Whereupon the quéene conceiuing a false suspicion, and fearing that which was neuer minded: that Ethelbert with his companie vnder the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to worke some violence against her husband, and the kingdome of Mercia, so he persuaded with king Offa and certaine of her counsell that night; that the next day following, Offa caused him to be traine into his palace alone from his companie by one called Guimbertus, who tok him and bound him, and there strucke off his head, which forthwith hee then presented to the king and quéene. And thus the innocent king Ethelred was wrongfully murthered, about the yeere of our Lord 793. but not without a iust reuenge at Gods hand. For (as the storie recordeth) the foresaid quéene, vvoman like vnkind, long liued not aboue two months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was faine to bite and rent her tongue in péeces with her owne teeth. Offa vnderstanding at length the innocencie of this king, and the hainous cruelti of his fact, gaue the tenth part of his goods to holy church; and to the church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreouer, he builded the abbeie of S. Albons and many moe monasteries besides. And so afterward he went vp to Rome for his penance, where hee gaue to the church of saint Peter a penie through euery house in his dominion, which was called commonly Romehot, or Peterpence, paid to the church of saint Peter: and there at length was translated from a king to a monke, about the yeere of our Lord 794. with Berredus king of Northumberland aboue mentioned, although some doo say he was buried at Hereford.

*Ethelbert king of Eastangles wrongfully murthered by Offa.*

*The vaine feare in an vnrighteous conscience of a woman.*

*Offa and Berredus kings of Mercia made monks at Rome.*

*Ex historia Iornalensi & Matthæi Westmonast. Cruell murther reuenged.*

*The author of the Romish masse booke vvrongfully taketh him.*

*Offa builded the abbeie of S. Albons.*

*Egfretus king of Mercia. Alcuinus Osberto parricida. The fathers fault punished in the child.*

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had raigned nine and thirtie yeeres, succéeded his sonne Egfretus, who raigned but foure months, of whom thus writeth the foresaid Alcuinus: Non arbitror quòd nobilissimus iuuenis Egfretus, propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni eius multum sanguinem effudit, &c. that is, This noble young man (as I suppose) died not for his fathers sinne, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirme him in his kingdome.

*Egfretus slaine.*

*Ex Durando, Naucliro, Iacob. de Voragine, & vitis Greg.*

Next to which Egfretus, succéeded Kenulphus in the said kingdome of Mercia, which Kenulphus keeping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the Cantuarits, made warre vpon them, where he tooke Egbert their king, otherwise called Wiren, and caused him to be bound and led captiue. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemencie in the towne of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a church, vpon the day when hee should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteene bishops, and of Cuthert whom he had placed in the same kingdome of Canturburie before, and ten dukes, and many other great estates, king Kenulphus brought the said Egbert king of Kent out of prison, and led him to the church, where he inlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place againe. At the sight whereof, not one Cuthert the foresaid king reioyced, but also all the estates and people being there present, made such an exclamation of ioy and gladnesse, that the church (and not onely the church, but also the streets) rang withall. At which time such bountifulnesse of gifts and largesse was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something giuen, according as to euery degrée was thought méet. Although Fabian referreth this fréedome to king Offa, yet causes there be why I assent rather vnto Palmesburie and to Polychronicon, which attributeth the same to Kenulphus the second king of Mercia, after Offa.

*Egbert king of Kent taken prisoner.*

*A princely example of clemencie in a noble king.*

*The church of Winchcombe builded by K. Kenulphus.*

*Egbert king of Kent released out of prison.*

*Kenulphus king of Estsaxons.*

$\left.\begin{matrix} \text{Anno} \\ 748 \end{matrix}\right\}$

*A place of Fabian doubted.*

A little before in speaking of certaine bishops of Rome, mention was made of pope Constantine the first, pope Gregorie the second, pope Gregorie the third, and of pope Zacharie, which deposed Childerike, and set vp Pipinus the French king, &c. Next after this Zacharie in order, followed pope Stephan the second, to whom the foresaid Pipinus, to gratifie against the see of Rome for this their benefit shewed to him, graue and contributed to the said see of Rome, the exarchat or princedome of Rauenna, the kingdome of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adioyning vnto the borders of Mentice. And this donation of Pipin, no doubt if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsly hath béene thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else how could it be that the exarchat of Rauenna could belong all this while to the emperors of Constantinople, if Constantine before had giuen it and all Italie from the empire to the see of Rome?

*Pope Stephan the second.*

*The donation of Constantine falsly taken to bee the donation of Constantine.*

*Ex Polyer. li. 5. cap. 15.*

To this Pipinus, as witnesseth Polychronicon, was sent first into France, the inuention of the organs out of Grecia,



by Constantine emperour of Constantinople, in the yeere of our Lord 757.

*Pope Paul the first.*

Next to this Stephan the second, succéeded Paul the first, who following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunications against Constantius the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking downe images set vp in temples. Notwithstanding this Constantine neglecting the popes vaine curses, persecuted in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatrie til the end of his life. Then came to be pope Constantinus the second, a lay man, and brother to Desiderius the king of Lombardie, for the which cause hee was shortlie deposed, and thrust into a monasterie, hauing his eies put out.

*Images against maintained by the pope against the emperour. A lay man pope, who was deposed, and had his eies put out.*

In whose stead succéeded Stephan the third, who ordained after, that no lay man should be pope: condemning moreouer the councell of Constantinople the seuenth for heretical, because in that councell the worshipping of images was reproued and condemned. Contrarie to the which councell, this pope not onely maintained the filthie idolatrie of images in christian temples, but also aduanced their veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this time Carolus Magnus called Charles the great a little before mentioned began to raigne, by whom this pope caused Desiderius the Lombard king to be deposed.

*Pope Stephan the third. The councell of Constantinople the seuenth condemned of the pope, for condemning images.*

*Glorius in exemples to be found in the masse at saint Peters, alias by the cardinals.*

Then in the time of pope, after this Stephan the third, succeeded Adrianus the first, who likewise following the steps of his forefathers the popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more then all the other had done before, writing a boke for the adoration and the vtilitie proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for lay mens kalendars, holding moreouer a synod at Rome against Felix, and all others that spake against the setting vp of such books and images. And as Paul the first before him made much of the body of Petronilla S. Peters daughter: so this Adrian clothed the bodie of S. Peter all in siluer, and couered the altar of saint Paul with a pall of gold. This pope Adrian was hee whom we declared in the former part of this treatise, to ratifie and confirme by reuelation the order of S. Gregories masse, aboue the order of S. Ambrose masse, for vnto this time, which was about the yeere of our Lord 780. the liturgie of S. Ambrose was moe vsed in the Italian churches. The rosie therof because it is registred in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Iacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this especiall purpose, for the reader to vnderstand the time when this vsuall masse of the papists began first to be vniuersall and vniforme, and generally in that thee to be receiued. Thus it followeth in the storie of the foresaid authors set forth, Iacobus de Voragine, in the life of pope Gregorie the first, telleth a tale concerning this matter.

*Pope Adrian the first. The bodie of S. Peter clothed in siluer. The author of the Romish masse booke wrongfully taketh him.*

*Ex Durando, Naucliro, Iacob. de Voragine, & vitis Greg.*

In times past (saith he) when the seruice which Ambrose made, was more frequented and vsed in churches then was the seruice which Gregorie had appointed, the bishop of Rome then called Adrian gathered a councell together in the which it was ordained, that Gregories seruice should be celebrated and kept vniuersally. Which determination of the councell, Charles the emperour did diligentlie put in execution, while he ran about by diuers prouinces, and inioyned all the clergie, partly with threatnings and partly with punishments to receiue that order. And as touching the bokes of Ambrose seruice, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and them into prison, that would not conforme themselues to the order of the matter. Blessed Eugenius the bishop comming vnto the councell, found that it was dissolued three daies before his comming. Notwithstanding through his wisdome, he so perswaded the lord pope, that hee called againe all the prelats that had been present at the councell, and were now departed by the space of three daies. Therefore when the councell was gathered againe together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the maner bookes of Ambrose and Gregorie should be laid vpon the altar of blessed S. Peter the apostle, and the church doores diligentlie shut, and most vrainie sealed vp with the signets of many and diuers bishops. Againe, that they should all the whole night giue themselues to prayer, that the Lord might reueale, open, and shew vnto them by some euident signe or token, which of these two seruices he would haue vsed in the temples. This being done in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doores, and found both the missals or masse bookes open vpon the altar: or rather (as some say) they found Gregories masse booke vtterly plucked asunder one piece from another, and scattered ouer all the church. As touching Ambrose booke, they onely found it open vpon the altar in the very same place where they before laid it. Whereupon pope Adrian the wise expounder of dreames saith, that as the leaues were torne and blowne abroad all the church ouer, so should Gregories booke bee vsed throughout the world. Whereupon they thought themselues sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the seruice which Gregorie had made ought to be set abroad and vsed throughout the world, and that Ambrose his seruice should onely be obserued and kept in his owne church of Mediolanum, where he sometime was bishop.

*Es ista ipsis commentum placeri, Terent.*

*Note well the practise of prelats in planting their popish masse.*

Thus hath thou heard (brother reader) the full and whole narration of this mysticall miracle, with the popes expositian vpon

vpon the same, which semeth to be as true as that which Daniel speaketh of, how the idoll Bell did eat vp all the meat that was set before him all the night, Daniel. 14. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practises of these nightcrowes, to blind the world with forged inuentions in stead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and infallible, yet as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the pope perchaunce might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus: that God was angrie with Gregories booke, and therfore rent it in peeces, and scatte-
red it abroad, and the other as good, lay sound, vntouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregories seruice had ouerle the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of Europe, the seruice of Ambrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of pope Adrian for the setting vp of the masse. By the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the reader, at least to vnderstand how that commonly in christian nations abroad, as yet no vniforme order of any missall or massebooke was receiued, as hath been hitherto discourssed.

Gregories missle taketh place in Europe.

Now from the popes to returne againe to the emperours, from whence we digressed: like as Pipinus the father of Charles (as hath bin before sufficiently told) had giuen to the se papall all the princedome of Rauenna, with other donations and reuenues and lands in Italie: so this Carolus following his fathers benition, did confirme the same, adding moreouer thereunto, the citie and dominion of Venice, Istria, the duke-
dome Forojulience, the dukedome Spoletanum, & Beneuen-
tanum, and other possessions more, to the patrimonie of S. Peter, making him the prince of Rome & of Italie. The pope a-
gaine to recompence his so gentle kindnesse, made him to bee intituled Most christian king, and made him Patricium Roma-
num, moreouer ordained him only to be taken for emperour of Rome. For these and other causes more, Carolus bare no little affection to the said Adrian above all other popes: as may well appeare by this letter of Carolus Magnus sent to king Offa, what time the said Offa (as is aboue prefixed) sent to him Alcuinus for intreatie of peace: whereto the foresaid Carolus answereth againe to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these.

Carolus Magnus translateth all to the see of Rome.

New christianities intituled to France.

## The tenor of a letter sent by Carolus Magnus to king *Offa, answering to his request concerning the increasie of peace betweene them.*

A letter of Charles the great sent to king Offa.

CArolus rex Francorum & Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando, & fratri charissimo Offæ regi Merciorum, salutē. Primò gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, de catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis verò, qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum, beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sue omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non seruientes, sed lucra sectantes inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluane telonia. Negociatores quoque vestros vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in regno nostro legitimè. Et si in aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclament se ad nos, vel nostros iudices, & plenam iustitiam iubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de Delmaticis nostris vel pallijs ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus, in eleemosynam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes vt pro eo interredi iubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed vt fidem & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed & de thesauro humanarum rerum, quum Dominus Iesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per metropolitanas ciuitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni vnum baltheum, & vnum gladium, & duo pallia serica, &c.

Offa sendeth gifts to Charles.

The cause why this Carolus writeth so fauorably of Adrian partly is touched before, partly also was, for that Carolo-
man his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha with her two children came to Adrian, to haue them confirmed in their fathers kingdome, whereunto the pope to shew a pleasure to Carolus would not agree: but gaue the mother with her two children, & Desiderius the Lombard king with his triple kingdome, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Carolus, who led them with him captiue into France, and there kept them in seruitude during their life.

The pope translateth the see of peace with powers and seppans.

Thus Carolus Magnus being proclaimed emperour of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian and pope Leo the third, which succeded next after him, was the empire translated from the Grecians about the yeere of our Lord 801. vnto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two yeeres, till the comming of Contacus and his nephue Otho, which were Germans: and so hath continued after them among the Almans vnto this present time. This Charles builded so many monasteries as there be letters in the rowe of the A B C. he was beneficiall chiefly to churchmen, also mercifull to the poore, in his acts valiant and triumphant, studi in all

The empire translated from Greece to France.

languages: he held a councell at Francford, where was condemned the councell of Nice and Irene, for setting vp and worshipping images, &c.

Images written against as contrary to the true faith.

Concerning which councell of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall thinke the detesting of images to be any new thing now begun) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written historie of Roger Houeden, called Continuationes Bedæ: his words in Latine be these. Anno 792. Carolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo lib. heu proh dolor, multa inconuenientia, & veræ fidei cōtraria reperiuntur, maximè quòd pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quàm 300. vel eo amplius episcoporum vnanimi assertione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex autoritate diuinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illāmque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principū nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit. Hæc ille. That is, In the peere of our Lord 792. Charles the French king sent a booke containing the acts of a certaine synod, into Britaine, directed vnto him from Constantinople. In the which booke (lamentable to be told) manye things inconuenient and cleane contrarie vnto the true faith are there to be found: especially for that by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East church, not so few as 300. it was there agreed, that images should be worshipped: which thing the church of God hath always abhorred. Against which booke Alcuinus sonte an epistle substantially grounded out of the authorities of holie scripture, which epistle with the booke the said Albinus, in the name and person of our bishops and princes, did present to the French king.

This Albinus was Alcuinus aboue mentioned.

The bishops and princes of England against images.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to returne againe to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Egbert: which Egbert (as is before declared) succeeded after Ceolulphus, after he was banished the land. During the said Egbert also following the deuotion of his vncle Ceolulphus, and Beneedus before him, was likewise shorne monke after he had raigned twentie yeeres in Northumberland, leauing his son Ethelphus after him to succed. About which time, and in the same yeere, when Ceolulphus deceased in his monasterie, which was the yeere of our Lord 764. diuers cities were burnt with fadden fire, as the citie of Wicate, the citie of London the citie of Yorke, Doncaster, with diuers other townes besides: Roger Houeden, lib. Contin. post Bedā. Who the first yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord 757. being innocently slaine, next to him followed Pollo, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise being slaine of Alcredus, after he had raigned eleuen yeeres, departed. After, Alcredus when he had raigned ten yeeres, was expulsed out of his kingdome by his people. Then was Ethelbert otherwise named Adelred, the sonne of the foresaid Pollo, received king of Northumberland: which Ethelbert or Adelred in like sort after he had raigned fiue yeeres, was expulsed. After whom succeded Alfwold, who likewise when he had raigned eleuen yeeres, was vniustly slaine. So likewise after him his nephue and the sonne of Alcredus named Osredus, raigned one yeere, and was slaine. Then the foresaid Ethelbert the sonne of Pollo, after twelue yeeres banishment, raigned againe in Northumberland the space of foure yeeres, & was slaine, the cause whereof (as I find in an old written booke) was, that forsaking his old wife, he maried a new. Concerning whom Alcuinus writeth in this maner. Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus. Nuper Ethelbertus Eadbaldi filius Eadbertus, familiter & Edelredo regi, & ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu pro dolor, donis datis, & epistolis in manus missorum, superuenit tristis legatio per missos qui de Scotia per nos reuersi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, & nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, vt ait, perfidam & peruersam, & homicidam dominorum suorum, peiorem cunctis paganis æstimans, vt nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, & mali machinari, iam fecisset, &c.

King Egbert made a monke. ⟨ Anno 757 ⟩ Ethelphus, Adelphe, otherwise called Adelwold, Alcredus or Alured us. Ethelbert, otherwise named Adelred, or Eardulph. Alfwold, Osredus, Adelred again king of Northumberland.

## The kingdome of Northumberland ceaseth.

Northumberland kingdome ceaseth.

Thus as you haue heard, after the raigne of king Egbert before mentioned, such trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland, both staying, expulsing and deposing their kings one after another, that after the murthering of this Edelred aboue specified, none durst take the gouernment vpon him, seeing the great danger thereupon insuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdome did lie void and wast the space of three and thirtie yeeres together, after the terme of which yeeres this kingdome of Northumberland, with the kingdomes also of the other Saxons besides, came alto-



altogether into the hands of Egbert king of Westsaxons, and his progenie: which monarchie began in the yeere of our Lord 827. and in the eight and twentie yeere of the raigne of the said Egbert: whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Of this troublesome and ragious time of Northumberland people, speaketh also the said learned man Alcuinus, otherwise called Albinus, in the same countrie borne, writing out of France into England, and complaining of the same in diuers his letters, as first to Offa, where he thus writeth: Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, & in patriam reuerti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis mex in peregrinatione remanere, nescions quid fecissem inter eos, vbi nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a paganis vastata, altaria per iurijs fœdata, monasteria adulterijs violata, terra sanguine dominorum & principum fœdata, &c. Moreouer the said Alcuinus writing to the foresaid Edelred a little aboue mentioned, after the same tenor reporteth: Ecce ecclesia sancti Cuthberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis) locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior, paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et vbi primùm post decessum S. Cuthberti ab Eboraco, christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseriæ & calamitatis coepit initium, &c. Item, writing to Offa a noble peere of the Mercians, complaining on the same matter, saith: Regnum nostrum Northumbrorum penè perijt, propter intestinas dissensiones, & fallaces coniurationes, &c.

Alcuinus or thewise called Albinus.

The troubles of the kingdome of Northumberland described by Alcuinus.

Item, in another place the said Alcuinus writing to Adelard archbishop of Canturburie, complaineth moreouer: Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit patribus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis & quadraginta annis gentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum, quòd iidem Britones, propter auaritiam & rapinam principum, propter intquitatem & iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam & malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caueamus hæc eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patrium consortia & prosperitates bonas, quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est, &c.

Moreouer writing vnto the foresaid Edelred king of Northumberland, maketh record of a strange sight which he himselfe did see the same time in the citie of Yorke, to raine blood: whereof his words which he wrote concerning the same vnto the said king Edelred bee these. Quid significat pluuia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco ciuitate, quæ caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis apostolorum, vidimus de borealibus partibus dornus, sereno aere, de fumnitate minanter cadere? Nonne potest putari, a borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram? That is: What signifieth the raine of blood which in time of Lent, in the citie of Yorke the chiefe citie of that dominion, and in the church of saint Peter the chefe of the apostles, we our selues did see to fall from the church top (the element being cleere) out of the north parts of the temple, &c. This wonderous sight testified by Malmesburiensis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second peere of the raigne of Wightricus, as with the time both well agree) which was the peere of our Lord seuen hundred and eightie, and is thought to be portento to betoken the comming of the Danes into this land, which entred shortly after about seuen yeeres, in the ninth peere of the raigne of Wightricus king of the Westsaxons. Wlfhyth Wightricus in defence thereof sent forth his steward of his houshold with a small companie, which shortlie was slaine: but by the strength of the said Wightricus and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to void the land for that time, which was in the yeere 790. To this Wightricus king Offa, as is aforesaid, gaue his daughter Edelburga to wife, by whom he at length was impoisoned, besides certaine other of his nobles, vpon whom the said queene before him had practised the same wickednesse. Who then after that fled ouer to Charles the great into France, where she being offered for her beautie to marrie either to him or his sonne, because she chose rather his sonne married neither the one nor yet the other; but was shuft in a monasterie, where shee then playing the harlot with a monke, was expulsed from thence, and ended her life in penurie and miserie.

Ex historia Malmesburiensis.

How it rained blood in Yorke.

Wightricus king of Westsaxons.

Edelburga daughter to Offa poisoneth her husband.

Wickednesse reuenged.

Irene. ⟨ Anno 784 ⟩

In the meane time, while this Edelburga was thus working her feates in England, Irene empesse of the Grækes was as busie also for her part at Constantinople, who first through the persuasion of Pope Adrian, tooke vp the bodie of Constantine emperour of Constantinople, her owne husbands father. And when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disanulled images. Afterwards raigning with her sonne Constantine the first, sonne to Leo the fourth (whom also wee declared before to be excommunicated for taking away images) being of insufficient wit him, caused him to be taken and laid in prison, who afterward through power of friends, being restored to his empire againe, at last he caused the same her owne sonne to bee cast in prison, and his eies to bee put out so cruelly, that within short space hee died. After this the said Irene empeselle, with the counsell of Tharasius bishop of Constantinople, held a councell at Nicea, where it was decreed, that images should againe bee reso-

Images restored against by Irene at Constantinople.

The second councell at Nicea.

red vnto the church; which councell after was repealed by another councell holden at Francford by Charles the great. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus (who reigned after) and was expulsed the empire: who after the example of Edelburga above mentioned (condignlie punished for her wickednesse) ended likewise her life in much penurie and miserie.

The wickednes of Irene condignly rewarded.

About the time when the foresaid Wightricus was impoisoned by Edelburga his wife, died also king Offa, which was about the yeare of our Lord 795. or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egfert, then Kenelphus, after whom succeded Kenelmus his sonne, who in his younger age was wickedly murthered by his sister Quinreda, and Aethelbertus, about the yeare of our Lord 819, and in the church of Winchcombe was counted for an holy martyr. After him succeded his vncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the first yeare of his reigne expulsed, and reigned in his place. Who likewise the third yeare of his raigne was ouercome and expulsed by Egbert king of the Westsaxons, and afterward slaine by the Saxangles. And the kingdome of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the Westsaxons.

Kenelmus king of Mercia innocently slaine.

Ceolulphus, Bernulphus, kings of Mercia.

The kingdome of Mercia ceaseth.

Hitherto I haue brought (as thou seest good reader) the confused and turbulent raignes of these seuen Saxon kings, who after the expulsion of the Britains ruled and raigned asunder in sundrie quarters of this land together, vnto this present time of Egbert king of the Westsaxons. By whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and vnite all these scattered kingdomes into one monarchicall forme of dominion. Wherefore as in the foresaid Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons: so my purpose is (the Lord willing) with the same Egbert to enter a new beginning of my third booke, after a briefe recapitulation first made of such things as in this second booke before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings who haue entred the life and profession of monkishe: also queenes and quenes daughters, which the same time professed solitarie life in monasteries, which they or their ancestors had created.

## The conclusion of the storie precedent, concerning the seuen kingdomes of the Saxon kings *aboue mentioned.*

And thus hast thou (gentle reader) concerning the seuen kingdomes of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and order of their doings briefelie described and discoursed vnto thee, in such order, as the matter being so intricate, in such confusion and diuersitie of things incident together, would permit: following especiallie in this storie hitherto the line of the Northumberland kings, as the other stories most follow the line of Westsaxon kings. The which seuen kingdomes of these said Saxons, after they had vntrulie expulsed and chased out the Britains from their land, like as they neuer were in quietnesse among themselues, raigning thus together till the time of this Egbert; so also after the raigne of Egbert, the same be realme being reduced into one regiment, no lesse were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continuallie from time to time, till the last Conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (euer lightly) to reuenge with blood blodie violence, and the vniust dealings of men with iust and like retribution. But of this let the christian reader consider, as Gods grace shall worke in him. In the meane time foe, as much as by vs did lie, fulfilling the part of an historiān, haue thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seuen foresaid kingdomes: first the names and lineall descent of the kings seuerallie by themselues, as by the table prefixed may appeare: then what were the doings and acts of the same, how first being pagans, they were conuerted to the christian faith: what things in their time happened in the church, how many of them of kings were made monks: how deuout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwise in life then afterwards they declared themselues to bee. Through which deuotion of the said kings, first came in the Peterpence or Romeshots in this realme, as by the first in his dominion, then by Offa in his lordship, and afterwards by Adelwolph wrought in and ratified through the whole realme: where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid kings and quenes of the said Saxons, the most part of the greatest abbies and nunneries in this realme were first begun and builded, as partly the names of some here following to be seene.

Diuers deuillishe kings of mere iustlie rewarded.

Paules church.

First the church or minster of Saint Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sigebert king of Essex about the yeere of our Lord 604.

The first crosse and altar within this realme was first set vp in the north parts in Heuenfield, vpon the occasion of Oswald king of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in the same place set vp the signe of the crosse, kneeling and praying there for victorie: Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12. An. 635.

The first altar and crosse set vp in England.

The

The church of Winchester.

The church of Lincolne. The church of Westminster.

The schooles at Cambridge. Abbie of Kirkinburgh.

Malmesburie.

Abbie of Glocester.

Whitbie. Colud Oslwa was first conuerted to the faith by hauing a goodly and learned woman out of her monasterie came first to Rome. Dosor. Cantia. Oxford. Taunton. Winchester. Chicanos. Abington. Tauing at Lincolne. Elie abbie. Chertsie.

Westminster.

Malmesburie.

Abbie of Glocester.

Maikrose.

Hexamton.

Hereforde.

The monastery of S. Martin of Dower.

Dorobernia.

Whitbie. Colud Oslwa was first conuerted to the faith by hauing a goodly and learned woman out of her monasterie came first to Rome. Dosor. Cantia. Oxford. Taunton. Winchester. Chicanos. Abington. Tauing at Lincolne. Elie abbie. Chertsie.

Westminster.

Peterborough.

Bardenie.

Glastenburie.

Ramesie.

Wilnburne.

Sealesie.

Winconibe.

S. Albons.

Dullam. Kirkin. Chilmesheie. Shaftesburie.

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monasteries.

The article of free iustification not knowne.

The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegilsus king of Mercians, hauing nine miles about it: after finished by his sonne Kenwalcus, where Wine, of Englishmen was first bishop, An. 636, Guliel. Malms. lib. de gestis pont. Ang.

The church of Lincolne first founded by Paulinus bishop, An. 629.

The church of Westminster began first by acertaine citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an ile of thornes: Bed. An. 614.

The common schooles first erected at Cambridge by Sigebert king of Eastangles, An. 636.

The abbie of Kirkinburgh builded by Furceus the hermit, An. 637.

The monasterie of Malmesburie by one Meldulphus a Scot, about the yere of our Lord 640. afterward inlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

The monasterie in Glocester first builded by Osricus king of Mercia, as Cestrensis saith; but as William Malmesburie writeth, by Ulferus and Ethelred, brethren to Kineburga abbesse of the same house, An. 679.

The monasterie of Paikrose by the flood of Twide by Aidanus a Scotish bishop.

The nunrie of Hexenton by Heni, who was the first nun in Northumberland: Beda lib. 4. cap. 1.

The monasterie of Hetesche by Oswie king of Northumberland, who also with his daughter Elfred gaue possessions for twelue monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, Anno 656.

The monasterie of S. Martin in Douer, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

The abbie of Lessingie by Ceadda (whom wee call saint Ced) through the grant of Oswald, sonne to S. Oswald, king of Northumberland, An. 651.

The monasterie of Whitbie called otherwise Stenhalt by Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin king of Northumberland, An. 657.

Item another monasterie called Hacanos, not farre from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same yeere.

The abbie of Abington builded by Sissa king of Southser, An. 666.

Item, an abbie in the east side of Lincolne called Joanno, by S. Botulph: Polychro. lib. 5. cap. 16. An. 654.

The nunrie in Elie founded by Etheldred or Ethelrida daughter of Anna king of Eastangles, and the wife of Elfride king of Northumberland, An. 674.

The monasterie of Chertsie in Southerie, founded by Erkenwald bishop of London, An. 674. throwne downe by the Danes, after reedified by king Edgar.

Item, the nunrie of Berking edified by the said Erkenwalous bishop of London about the same time.

The abbie of Peterborough called otherwise Nodeham-sted founded by K. Ethelwald king of the Mercians, An. 675.

Bardenie abbie by Ethelredus king of the Mercians, An. 700.

Glastenburie by Ina king of the Westsaxons, and after repared and inriched by king Edgar, An. 701.

Ramsie in the time of king Edgar, by one Aillwinus a noble man, An. 973. King Edgar builded in his time fortie monasteries, who raigned An. 901.

The nunrie of Wilnburne builded by Cuthburga sister to Ingulfus, king Ina his brother, An. 717.

The monastery of Sealesie by the ile of Wight, by Wilfridus bishop of Poike, An. 678.

The monasterie of Wincombe by Kenulphus king of the Mercians, An. 737.

Saint Albons builded by Offa king of the Mercians, An. 755.

The abbie of Cutham by Edwinus bishop, An. 691.

Ripon in the north by Wilfridus bishop, An. 709.

The abbie of Schlingheie by king Alfredus, An. 891.

The nunrie of Shaftesburie by the same Alfredus, the same yeere.

Thus ye see what monasteries and in what time began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly conuerted to the christian faith, within the space of two hundred yeeres; the, as they seemed then to haue a certaine zeale and deuotion to Godward, according to the leading and teaching that then was: so it seemeth againe to me, two things to bee wished in these foresaid kings: first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cels of monks and nuns, to liue solie and single by themselues out of the holy Rate of matrimonie, had foreseene what danger, and what abuse enormities might and also did thereof insue, both publikely to the church of Christ, and priuately to their owne soules: secondly, that vnto this their zeale and deuotion had ben ioyned like knowledge & doctrine in Christs gospell, especially in the article of our free iustification by the faith of Jesu Christ; because of the lacke whereof, as well the builders & founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seeme both to haue run the wrong way, and to haue ben deceiued. For albeit in them there was a deuotion and zeale of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend: yet the end and cause of their deeds & buildings cannot be excused, being contrarie to the rule of Christs gospel, for so much as they did these things lacking thereby merits with God, and so remedie of their soules, and remission of their sinnes, as may appeare testified in their owne records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this chart (if it please thee gentle reader) of king Ethelbald his donation giuen to churches & religious persons, which Ethelbald was the builder (as is said) of Peterborough. The woords of his record and instrument be these.

## The donations and priuiledges granted and giuen by king Ethelbald to religious men of the church.

*Ex chronic. Guliel. Malmesb. lib. 2.*

PLerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, vt ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilióque roborata fuerint; fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, & machinamenta simulationis, sine vlla consideratione rationis, periculosè dissipentur, nisi autoritate literarum (testamento chirographorum) æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ, & remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse putaui, vt eam per ista opera liberam efficerem in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque vllo antecedente merito, sceptra reginimis largitus est: ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Huius rei gratiâ hanc donationem, me viuente, concedo, vt omnia monasteria & ecclesiæ regni mei, à publicis vectigalibus, & operibus, & oneribus absoluantur: nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli vnquam prosunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus syluarum & agrorum, & in captura piscium, ne minusculà præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo seruiant, &c.

By the contents hereof may well be vnderstood (as where be faith) Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, & absolutione delictorum, &c.) how great the ignorance and blindnesse of these men was, who lacking no zeale, onely lacked knowledge to rule it withall: lacking their saluation not by Christ onely, but by their owne deseruings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamie or reprehension of them; but rather to put vs in mind and memorie, how much we at this present are bound to God for the true sinceritie of his truth, hidden so long before to our forefathers, & opened now vnto vs by the good will of our God, in his sonne Christ Jesu. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to haue such workes and to lacke our faith, and vs to haue the right faith, & to lacke their workes. And this blind ignorance of that age thus aboue prenoted, was the cause not only why these kings builded so many monasteries vpon zealous superstition: but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gaue themselues ouer to monasticall profession, or rather vtter superstition. Concerning the names and number of such kings that were professed monks, is sufficiently in the storie before declared: the names of whom we shewed to be seuen or eight, within the space of these two hundred yeeres. Such was then the superstitious deuotion of kings and princes in that age; and no lesse also to be noted in queenes and kings daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As Hilda daughter to the nephue of Edwin king of Northumberland, abbesse of Elie. Ethengoda with her sister Ermenilda daughters of Ercombertus king of Kent, which Ercheregoda was professed in saint Brigets order in France. Item Edelberga wife and queene to king Edwin of Northumberland daughter of king Anna, which was also in the same house of saint Brigit made a nun. Item, Etheldreda whom we terme saint Audrie, wife to king Ecfride of Northumberland, who being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to giue her consent to either of them, during the space of twelue yeeres, but would néeds line a virgin, and was professed nun at Helings. Tiedburga was the daughter of Ulferus king of Mercians, and mother of Elie. Kineswitha sister of king Ulferus and Kinsfusida her sister, were both nuns professed. Sexburga daughter of king Anna king of Percians, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was abbesse at Elie. Ediva daughter of Oswie king of Northumberland was abbesse of Wilstineir: Sidroda, Sidburga, & Silgunda, all three daughters of Sexburga king of Westsaxerians, entred the profession and vow of mumish virginitie. Kineburga wife of Alfride king of Northumberland, and sister to Ulferus king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed abbesse of the monasterie in Glocester. Etheda daughter of Oswie king, and wife of Beda, some of king Penda, likewise inclosed her selfe in the same profession and vow of vnmith chastity. Ethelvise Alfritha wife to king Edgar, and Editha daughter to the said Edgar, both Wolfrith her mother, &c. All which holy nuns with diuers mo, the Romish catholikes haue canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their kalendar, and onely

Kineburga.

Etheda.

Alfritha. Wolfrichs. Editha.



onely because of the vow of chastitie solemnely professed. Concerning which chastitie, whether they kept it or no, little I haue to say against them, and lesse to sweare for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastitie which they professed, were giuen them of God, small praise or worthie was it in them to keep it. If it were not giuen them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently haue painted out to the world the demeanor of these holie votaries. But this will I say, that although they kept it neuer so perfectlie, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but onely the bloud of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

Likewise remaineth, that as we haue declared the deuotion of these noble women, which professing monastike life, haue cast off all worldlie dignitie and delights: so wee should also intreat of such noble men, who among the Saxon kings in like zeale of deuotion, haue giuen ouer themselues from the world (as they thought) vnto the contemplatiue life of monkish profession. The names of whom as in the catalogue of the Saxon kings before is described, be these, to the number of nine.

### A table of such Saxon kings as were *after made moonks.*

Kings made moonkes.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Kinigilsus, king of Westsaxons, |
| 2 | Iue, king of Westsaxons. |
| 3 | Ceolulfus, king of Northumberland. |
| 4 | Edbertus, king of Northumberland. |
| 5 | Ethelredus, king of Mercia. |
| 6 | Beorredus, king of Mercia. |
| 7 | Offa, king of Eastsaxons. |
| 8 | Sebbi, king of Eastsaxons. |
| 9 | Sigebertus, king of Eastangles. |

Of which kings and their doings, what is to be iudged, looke gentle reader before.

By these histories it is apparant, what mutations, what perturbations, what alteration of state hath been in this realme of Britaine, first from Britains kings, to Romans, then to Britains againe, afterward to the Saxons. First to seuen all together raigning, then to one, &c. And this alteration not onelie hapned in the ciuill gouernance, but also followed in the state ecclesiasticall. For as in the Britans time the metropolitan see was in London, so in the Saxons time after the coming of Austin, it was remoued to Canturburie: the catalogue and order of which metropolitans, from the time of Austin to Egbertus, is thus, as in the historie of Malmesburiensis is described.

### The names and order of the archbishops of *Canturburie, from Augustine, to the* time of king Egbert.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Augustinus. | 16 |
| 2 | Laurentius. | 5 |
| 3 | Mellitus. | 5 |
| 4 | Iustus. | 3 |
| 5 | Honorius. | 25 |
| 6 | Deusdedit. | 19 |
| 7 | Theodorus. | 22 |

Hitherto from Augustine, all the archbishops of Canturburie were Italians and forreners.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Berctualdus Englisb. | 37 | In his time the monasterie of S. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witredus and his brother kings of Kent. |
| 9 | Tacuinus. | 3 | |
| 10 | Nothelmus. | 5 | |
| 11 | Cuthertus. | 17 | This Cuthert after his death forbad all funerall exequies or lamentation for him to be made. William Malm. De vitis. lib. 1. |
| 12 | Breguinus. | 3 | |
| 13 | Lambrightus, or Lambertus. | 27 | In this time K. Offa translated the metropolitane see from Canturburie to Lichfeld by the grant of pope Adrian, being ouercome with apostolicall argument, as saith Flor. hist. that is, with monie. |
| 14 | Ethelardus. | 13 | |
| 15 | Vlfredus. | 28 | This Ethelardus by his epistles to pope Leo, obtained the metropolitane see againe to Canturburie. |
| 16 | Feolegeldus. | 3 m | |
| 17 | Celnothus. | 41 | |

During the course of these seuenteene archbishops of Canturburie in Rome passed in the meane time foure and thirtie popes, of whom partly heretofore we haue declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seuen kingdomes of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the raigne of Hengist vnto Egbert, the first king and monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britans.

NOw remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in the next booke following, to prosecute the order of such kings as principally raigning alone, had this realme in their possession, from the time of Egbert king of Westsaxons, to the comming of William Conqueror the Norman, comprehending therein the rest of the next 300. yeeres, with the acts & state of religion, as in that space was in the church: wherin may appeare the declining time of the church, and of true religion, preparing the way to antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this meane time, Satan (as is said) was bound vp from his raging & furious violence, counting from the time of Constantinus, to the next loosing out of Satan, which was foretold by the Reuelation of S. John aboue mentioned, to be a thousand yeeres; whereof by the order of the historie (Christ granting) more shall be laid hereafter.

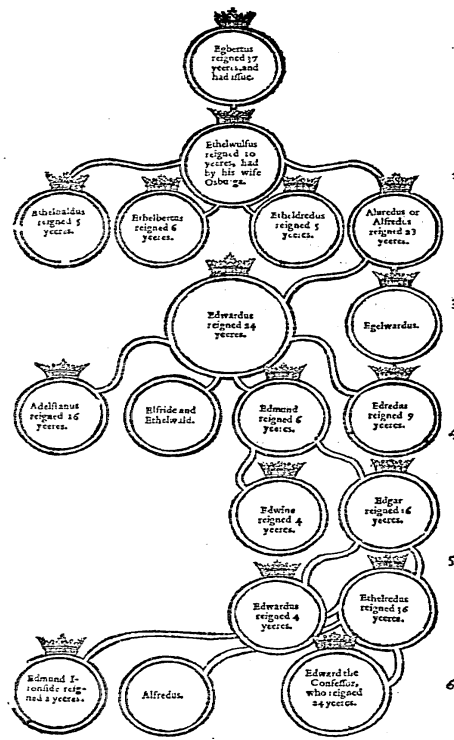
*The end of the second booke.*

# The third Booke containing the next

three hundred yeeres, from the raigne of king Egbertus vnto the time of William Conqueror.

NOw remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the descent and diuersitie of the seuen kings, all together reigning and ruling in this land: so to prosecute all like order the lineall succession of them, which after Egbertus king of the Westsaxons, gouerned and ruled solie, vntill the conquest of William the Norman; first expressing their names, and afterwards importing such acts, as in their time happened in the church worthie to bee noted. Albeit, as touching the acts and doings of these kings, because they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latine writers into the English tongue by diuers and sundrie authors, and namelie in the historie or chronicle of Fabian; I shall not spend much trauell thereupon, but rather refer the reader vnto him or to some other, where the troublesome tumults betweene the Englishmen and the Danes at that time may be seene, who so list to read them. Onelie the table of their names and raigne, and acts done vnder their raigne, I haue compendiouslie abridged, vsing such breuitie as the matter would suffer.

## A table of the Saxon kings, which ruled alone from king Egbert vnto VVilliam Conqueror.




Here is to be noted, that before the reigne of Edward the Confessor, the Danes obtained the crowne vnder their captaine Canutus who reigned yeres 19
Haraldus Harefoot sonne of Canutus 4
Hardeknutus sonne of Canutus 2
Edward the Confessor an Englishman, son of Ethelred 24
Haraldus sonne of earle Godwin an vsurper 1
William Conqueror, a Norman.

### King Egbertus.

Egbert king of the Eest Saxons afterward monarch and king of the whole realme.

IN the reigne of Brightricus a little before mentioned about the yere of Grace 795, there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbright, who being feared of the same Brightricus became he was of a kingly blood, and nere vnto the crowne, was by the force and conspiracie of the forenamed Brightricus, chased and pursued out of the land of Britaine into France, where he indured till the death of the said Brightricus. After the hearing whereof, Egbert sped him effsones out of France, vnto his countrie of Westsax, where he in such wise behaued himselfe, that he obtained the regiment and gouernance of the aboue said kingdome.

In this time came in the Danes, first into the south parts and were driuen out again.

Anno 807

Bernulphus king of Mercia aboue mentioned, with other kings had this Egbert in such derision, that they made of him diuers scoffing tells, and scorning rimes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more eſtablished in his kingdome, and had pryued the minds of his subiects, and especially God working withall, he afterward assembled his knights, and gaue to the said Bernulphus a battell in a place called Gindon in the prouince of Hampton; and notwithstanding in that fight were great odds of number, as sir or eight against one, yet Egbert through the might of the Lord vnto whom giueth victorie as pleaseth him, had the better, and wan the field; which done, he seazed that to his ship into his hand: and that also done, he made war vpon the Kentish Saxons, and at length in like wise obtained the victorie. And as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland, and caused the kings of those three kingdomes to liue vnder him as tributaries, or loyned them to his kingdome: Ex Flor. hist. This Egbert also wan from the Britains or Welchmen, the towne of Chester, which they had kept possession of till that day. After these and other victories, he peaceably inioying the land, called a counsell of his lords at Winchester, where by their aduices he was crowned king and chiefe lord ouer this land, which before that day was called Britain: but then he sent out into all coasts of the land his commandements and commissions, charging straightly that from that day forward the Saxons should bee called Angles, and the land Anglia.

Of this victorie went a prouerb: Klaus cruore rubuit, ruina reſtitit, ſaxone ſalutis.

Anno 826

This land first called Anglia.

About the thirtith yeare of the reigne of Egbert, the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, and especially in the isle of Lindesarne, where they spoiled the churches, and murdered the ministers, with their women & children, after a cruell manner, entred now the second time with a great hall into this land, and spoiled the isle of Sheppie in Kent, nere to Rent: where Egbert hearing therof, assembled his people, & met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battell, the said Egbert with a small power, ouerthrew a great multitude of them, and so draue them backe. The next yeare following, the said Danes presuming vpon their victorie before, made their returne again into the land westward, where ioyning with the Britains, by the helpe and power of them they assailed the lands of Egbert, and did much harme in many places of his dominion, and elsewhere, so that after this they were continually abiding in one place of the realme of England or other, till the time of Hardeknutus last king of the Danes blood, so that many of them were married to English women, and many that now bee, or in times past were called Englishmen, are descended of them. And albeit that they were many and sundrie times driuen out of the land, and chased from one country to another, yet that notwithstanding, they euer gathered new strengths and powers, that they abode still within the land.

Danes now the second time entred in this land.

Fabian. cap. 138. Reg. Hoved. lib. 1. cap. 1

And thus (as by the stories appeareth) this troublesome land of Britain, now called England, hath been hitherto by sundrie outward nations plagued. First by the Romans, then by the Scots and Picts; thirdly, by the Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes, of whose outragious cruelty and hostilitie our English histories do most exclaime and complaine: fiftly by the Normans, which I pray God bee the last.

England fiue times plagued by other nations.

Ex Reg. Hoved. lib. 1.

Then it followeth in the storie, that the time of this persecution of the foresaid pagans and Danes continuing, king Egbert when he had ruled the Westsaxons, and ouer the more part of England, by the terme of seuen and thirty yeares, died, and was buried at Winchester, leauing to his son Ethelwolfe his kingdome, which first was bishop of Winchester (as Houeden recordeth) & after vpon necessitie made king, leauing withall and pronouncing this saying to his sonne: *Felicem fore ſe regnum, quod multa rexerat induſtrie, illa conſpicua genti illi non interruperet ignauia.*

### King Ethelwulfus.

Anno 837

A place in Kebant to be amended.

ETHelwulfus the son of Egbert, in his former age had entred into the order of subdeacon, as some others say was made bishop of Winchester, but afterwards being the only son of Egbert, was made king through the dispensation (as Fabian saith) of pope Paschalis: but that cannot bee: for Paschalis then was not bishop: so that by the computation of time, it should rather seeme to be Gregorie the fourth. This Ethelwulfe (as being himselfe once nuzled in that order) was always good and benoint to holy church and religious orders, in so much that he gaue to them the tith of all his goods and lands in Westsaxons, with liberte and fredome from all seruage and ciuill charges. Whereof his chart instrument beareth testimonie after this tenor proceeding much like to the donation of Ethelbaldus king of Mercians aboue mentioned.

Gulielm. lib. de geſtis pont. Angl. fol. 78. b. ſaith the pope was Leo the fourth.

### The priuiledges and donations giuen by king *Ethelwulfus to the clergie.*

Anno 844

Priuiledges & temporalties granted to the church by king Ethelwolfe.

REgnante Domino nostro in perpetuum. Dum in nostris temporibus per bellorum incendia, & direptiones opum nostrarum, nec non & vastantium crudelissimas depræ dationes hostium barbarorum, paganarumq; gentium, multiplices tribulationes ad affligendum vsque ad internecionem, tempora cernimus iucubere periculosa. Quamobrem, ego Ethelwulfus rex occiden-



occidentalium Saxonum, cum consilio episcoporum & principum meorum, consilium salubre, & vnitonne remedium affirmaui: vt aliquam portionem terrarum hæreditariam, Deo & sanctæ Mariæ, & omnibus sanctis iure perpetuo possidendam concedam, scilicet partem terræ meæ, vt sit tuta & immunis ab omnibus secularibus seruicijs, necnon regalibus tributis maioribus & minoribus siue taxationibus, quod nos dicimus Wirterden: sitque libera omnium rerum, pro remissione animarum & peccatorum nostrorum, ad Deo soli deseruiendum, sine ceteris & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo pediione, & pontis constructione, & arcis munitione: vt eo diligentius pro nobis ad Deum preces sine cessatione fundant, quo eorum seruitutem in aliqua parte leuigamus, &c.

Ex Flor. hiſtor.

Pro remiſſo.

Note the blind ignorance and erroneous teaching in those daies.

HEereby may it appeare, how when the churches of England began first to be indued with temporalties and lands; also with priuileges and exemptions inlarged: moreouer (and that which speciallie is to be considered and lamented) what pernicious doctrine was this, wherewith they were led, thus to set remission of their sinnes, and remedie of their soules, in this donation and such other deeds of their donation, contrarie to the information of Gods word, and no small derogation to the crosse of Christ?

These things thus done within the realme, then the said Ethelwolfe the king, taking his iourney to Rome with Alfred his youngest sonne, committed him to the bringing vp of pope Leo the fourth, where he also reedified the English schole at Rome: which being founded by king Offa, or rather by Ine king of Mercians (as in the Flowers of histories is affirmed) was lately in the time of king Egbert his father consumed with fire. Further and besides, this king gaue & granted there vnto Rome, of euery fire house a penie to be paid through his whole land, as king Ine in his dominion had done before. Also he graue and granted yeerely to be paid to Rome 300 marks, that is, to the maintenance of the light of S. Peter 100 marks, to the light of S. Paul 100 marks, to the vse of the pope also an other hundred. This done, he returning home through France, married there Judith the daughter of Carolus Calnus, the French king: whom he reloued afterward (contrarie to the lawes of the Westsaxons) to the title and throne of a queene. For before it was decreed among the Westsaxons (by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Brightricus her olome husband) that after that, no kings wife there should haue the name or place of a queene.

Peter pence graunted to Rome: whose beginning is to be found in this light.

And forsomuch as I haue here entred into the mention of Judith daughter of Carolus Calnus; the occasion thereof pertaineth me in memorie, here to insert by the way a matter done, although not in this realme, yet not impertinent to this ecclesiasticall historie. And first to deduct the narration hereof from the first originall; the father of this Carolus Calnus, whose name was Ludouicus, first of that name, called Pius king of France, had two wiues: whereof by the first he had three sonnes, Lotharie, Pipin, and Lewis. Which three sonnes vnnaturallie & vnkindlie conspiring against their father and his second wife, with her sonne their yongest brother, executed him so, that through a certaine councell of lords spirituall and temporall, they deposed the same their naturall and right godly father, dispossessing and discharging him of all rule and dominion. Moreouer, caused him to renounce his temporall habit, inclosing him in the monasterie of S. Marke, for a monke or rather a prisoner. All which done, they diuided his empire and kingdome among themselues.

Ludouicus Pius emperor, king of France.

Thus was Ludouicus Pius, of impious sorines left desolat. But the power of God, which worketh when as all earthlie power ceaseth, of his diuine mercie so aided and recouered him out of all his tribulation, to his imperiall dignitie again, that it was to all his enimies confusion, and to all good men a miracle. What this by the way. By his second wife, whose name was Judith, he had this Charles the Bald here mentioned. Which Judith was thought and so accused to the pope, to be within such degree of alliance, that by the popes law she might not continue his wife without the popes dispensation. It so fell out in the meane time, that this Ludouicus the emperour, had promoted a young man named Frederike to be bishop of Vtricht; and to him had giuen sad and good exhortation, that he remembring and following the constancie of his predecessours would maintaine right and truth without all exception of any person, and punish misdoers with excommunication, as well the rich as the poore, with such like words of godlie counsell. Frederike hearing the king thus to say, sitting at dinner with him, as the manner was, being nothe inuelled, in these words answered the emperour againe: I thanke your maiestie (saith he) which with your so wholsome exhortation put me in mind of my profession. But I beseech you of your benigne fauour and patience, that I may freelie disclose that which hath long incumbred and pierced my conscience. To whom leaue being giuen, thus he began: I pray you (o lord emperor) to theto me here in your mind (pointing to the filly before him) whether is it more accoding, to attaine this filly here present, beginning first at the head or at the taile? What a tale is this (quoth the emperour) of the taile and of the head? At the head (quoth he.) Then Frederike, taking thereof his occasion, procedeth: Euen so let it be lord emperour (saith he) as you haue said. Let christian faith

Frederike bishop of Utricht.

Bishop Frederikes opinitie admonished by the emperour at the table.

and charitie first begin with your selfe, as with the head, admonishing you to cease from your lust and erro, that your subiects by your example be not bolsered to follow your misdoing. Wherefore first forsake you your vnlawfull wedlocke, which you haue made with Judith your nere kinswoman. These words of the new bishop, although they moued Ludouicus the emperour not a little; yet he, with a gentle modestie, and modest silence was contented, suffering the bishop to go home in peace. But the words being vttered in such an audience, could not so be concealed, but spred and burst out in much talke in the whole court, and especiallie among the bishops, consulting earnestlie with themselues about the matter. Whereby whole counsell and labour so at length it fell, that the emperour was constrained to leaue the company of his wife, till he had purchased a licence of the bishop of Rome to retaine her againe, who then forgaue the said bishop all that was past. But the woman hired two knights that slue him in his bedments, when he had ended his masse. Ranulphus and Guli. lib. de Pontificib. giue vnto this storie in his great commendation to die a martyr. Whereof I haue not to iudge, nor here to pronounce, but that rather I thinke him to be commended in his dying, then the woman for her killing.

Note, there were two Iudiths, one, the mother of Carolus Calnus, the other his daughter, who first Ethelwolfe did marrie.

Frederike bishop of Utricht iudged of some a martyr.

Example of the woman more readie in reuenge then the man.

And for so much as mention hath beene made of Ludouicus Pius, here is to be noted, that in France then was vsed of priests and churchmen, pretious and shining vestures, and golden and rich skaring girdles, with rings & other ornaments of gold. Wherefore the said Lewis purchased of the bishop of Rome, a correction for all such as vsed such diuine apparell, causing them to weare hoolme and sad colours, according to their sadnesse. Fab.

Of this Lewis the papists doe faine, that because he concurred certaine of their church goods and patrimonie to the wages of his souldiers, his bodie (say they) was caried out of his tombe by diuels, and was no more seene.

And this a little hauing digressed out of our course, now let vs returne out of France into England againe. King Ethelwolfus, who comming now from Rome by the countrie of France, was now returned againe into his owne dominion, where he continued not long after.

Swithinus bishop of Cantorbyrie.

This Ethelwolfus had especiallie about him two bishops, whose counsell he was most ruled by, Swithinus bishop of Winchester, and Adelstanus bishop of Shirebourne. Of the which two, the one was more skilfull in temporall and ciuill affairs touching the kings wars, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other (which was Swithinus) was of a contrarie sort, wholie disposed and inclined to spirituall meditation, and to minister spirituall counsell to the king: who had beene schoolemaster to the king before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this kings nature, among his other vertues, not only in following the precepts and aduertisements of his old schoolemaster: but also in that he like a kind and thankefull pupill did so reuerence his bringer vp, and old schoolemaster (as he called him) that he ceased not, till he made him bishop of Winchester, by the consecration of Welnoth then archbishop of Canturburie. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the church of Winchester, of this Swithinus, them I leaue to be read together with the Iliads of Homer, or tales of Robinhod.

Example of a king louing his schoolemaister.

Boonishly miracles fained of Swithinus.

This Gregorie the fourth here in this present chapter aboue mentioned, was the third pope which succeeded after Paschalis the first, being but foure yeeres betwixt them; which Paschalis succeeded after Stephan the fourth, who followed after Leo the third next pope vnto Adrian aboue in our historie mentioned, whereas he intreated of Charles the great. From the time of that Adrian the first, vnto pope Adrian the third, the emperours had some stroke in the election (at least in the confirmation) of the Romane pope. Notwithstanding, diuers of those foresaid popes in the meane time began to worke their practises to bring that purpose about. But yet all their deuices could take no full effect, before the said Adrian the third, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. So that the emperours all this while bare some rule in chosing the popes, and in assembling generall councels. Wherefore by the commandement of Ludouicus the emperour, in the time of this Gregorie the fourth a generall synod was commanded at Aquisgrane, where it was decreed by the said Gregorie and his assistants: First, that euery church should haue sufficient of his owne proper lands & reuenues, to find the priests therof, that none should nede to lacke or goe about a begging. Item, that none of the clergie of what order or degree soeuer he be, should vse any vesture of any pretious or scarlet colour. Neither shall weare rings on their fingers, vnlesse it be when prelats be at masse, or giue their consecrations. Item, that prelats should not keep to great posts or families, nor keepe great horses, bis dice, or harlots. And the monks should not exceed measure in gluttonie or riot. Item, that none of the clergie, being either anointed or shauen, should vse either gold or siluer in their shoes, slippers, or girdles, like to lacigabalus. By this it may be conieatured, what pompe and pride in those daies was crept into the clergie. Moreouer, by the said pope Gregorie the fourth, at the commandement of Ludouicus emperour, the feast of All saints was first brought into the church.

A generall synod at Aquisgrane.

Euerie church to haue sufficient of his owne proper.

Pretious garments of scarlet or other riche colour forbidden.

Greate families not lawfull for men of the clergie.

Rings, no gold in their fingers.

The Fee of All saints first ordained.

Pope Sergius the second. When the popes names began first to be altered.

After this pope came Sergius the second, which first brought in the altering of the popes names, because he was named before Os porci, that is, Swines snout: which also ordained the agnus thrice to be sung at the masse, and the host to be diuided into three parts.

After him was pope Leo the fourth, to whom this king Ethelwolfe (as in this present chapter is aboue specified) did commit the tuition of his sonne Alured. By this pope Leo it came in, and was first enacted in a councell of his, that no bishop should be condemned vnder three score and twelue witnesses, according as ye see in the witnesses at the condemnation of Stephan Gardiner, of derke praesised.

Pope Leo the fourth.

Item, contrarie to the lawe of Gregorie the fourth his predecessor, this pope ordained the crosse (all see with gold & pretious stones) to be caried before him, like a pope.

And here next vnto followeth and commeth in the whore of Babylon (rightly in her true colours by the permission of God and manifestlie without all tergiuersation) to appeare to the whole world: and that not onely after the spirituall sense, but after the very letter, and the right forme of an whore in deed. For after this Leo aboue mentioned, the cardinals proceeding to their ordinarie election (after a solemne masse of the holie ghost, to the perpetuall shame of them & of that see) in stead of a man pope, elected an whore in deed to minister sacraments, to say masses, to giue orders, to constitute deacons, priests, and bishops, to promote prelats, to make abbats, to consecrat churches and altars, to haue the reigne and rule of emperors and kings: and so she did in deed, called by name Ione the eight. This womans proper name was Gilberta (a Dutch woman of Magunce) who went with an Englishmonke out of the abbey of Fulda in mans apparell vnto Athens, and after through her dexteritie of wit and learning was promoted to the popedome, where she sat two yeres and sir monethes. At last openly in the face of a generall procession, fell in labor and trauell of child, and so died. By reason whereof, the cardinals yet to this day do auoide to come nere by that street where this shame was taken. By Benedictus the third, who succeded next in the whorish see, was first ordained (as most writers do record) the dirge to be said for the dead. Albeit before him, Gregorie the third had done in that matter worthylie for his part alreadie.

A woman pope called Ione the eight. The church of Rome after 7 yeres vse of the holie ghost crept creep.

Pope Benedictus the third. Dirge for the dead.

After him sate pope Nicholas the first, who inlarged the popes decrees with many constitutions, equalling the authoritie of them with the writings of the apostles. He ordained that no secular prince, nor the emperor himselfe, should be present at their councels, vnlesse in matters concerning the faith: to the end that such as they iudged to be heretikes, they should execute and murther. Also, that no laic men should sit in iudgement vpon the clergie men, or reason vpon the popes power. Item, that no christian magistrat should haue any power vpon any prelat, alleging that a prelat is called god. Item, that all church seruice should be in Latine: yet notwithstanding, dispensing with the Sclauonians and Polonians to retaine still their vulgar language. Sequences in the masse were by him first allowed. By this pope, priests began to be restrained and debarred from marrying: whereof Hulderike bishop of Ausbrough (a learned and an holie man) sending a letter vnto the pope granely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his indiscreet proceedings touching that matter. The copie of which letter, as I thought it vnworthie to be suppressed, so I iudged it here worthy & meet for the better instruction of the reader to be inserted. The words thereof here follow out of Latine into Englishtranslated.

Pope Nicholas the first.

This marriage of priests hath been to be forbidden.

## A learned epistle of Hulderike bishop of *Ausbrough, sent to pope Nicholas the first, prooving* by probations substantiall, that priests ought not to be restrained from marriage.

Anno 867

A letter written to pope Nicholae concerning priests not to refraine from marriage.

*Nicholao domino & patri, pernigili sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ praesuli, Huldericus solo nomine episcopus, amorē ut filius, timorē ut seruus. Cùm tuus (ô pater & domine) decreta super clericorum continentiam, &c.* The same in English.

Hulderike bishop onely by name, vnto the reuerend father Nicholas the vigilant prouisor of the holie church of Rome, with due commendation sendeth loue as a sonne, and feare as a seruant. Vnderstanding (reuerend father) your decrees which you sent to me concerning the single life of the clergie, to be far discrepant from all discretion, I was troubled partly with feare, and partly with heauinesse. With feare, for that (as it is said) the sentence of the pastor, whether it be iust or vniust, is to be feared. For I was afraid for the weake hearers of the scripture (which scarslie obey the iust sentence of their pastour) much more despising this vniust decrement, through the onerous and importable transgression of their pastor, should shew themselues disobedient. With heauinesse I was troubled, and with compassion, for that I doubted how the members of the bodie should do, their head being so greatly out of frame. For what can be more grieuous or more to be lamented, touching the state of the church, then for you, being the bishop of the principall see, to whom apperteineth the regiment of the whole church, to swerue neuer so little out of the right way? Certes in this you haue not a little erred, in that you haue gone about to constraine your clergie to singlenesse of life, through your imperious tyrannie: whom rather you ought to stir vp to the continencie of marriage. For is not this to be counted a violence and tyrannie to the iudgement of all wise men, when a man is compelled by your decrees to doe that which is against the institution of the gospell and the proceeding of the Holie ghost? Seeing then there be so many holie examples both of the old and new testament, teaching vs (as you know) due information: I desire your patience not to thinke it grieuous for me to bring a few heere out of many.

Priests marriage in the old law permitted, in the new law not forbidden.

First in the old law, the Lord permitteth marriage vnto the priests, which afterward in the new law we do not reade to be restrained, but in the gospell thus he saith: There be some eunuchs which haue geelded themselues for the kingdome of heauen, but all men do not take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. Wherefore the apostle saith, concerning virgins, I haue no commandement of the Lord, but onlie I giue counsell. Which counsell also all men do not take, as in the commandement of the Lord before; but many there be, false dissemblers and flatterers, going about to please men and not God, whom we see vnder a false pretence of continencie, to fall into horrible wickednes: some to lie with their fathers wiues, some to be Sodomits, & not to abhor to play the beasts with brute beasts. And therefore left through the infection of this wicked pestilence, the state of the church should too much go to ruine: therfore he said, Because of fornication, let euery man haue his owne wife. Touching which saying, our false hypocrits falslie do lie and faine: as though only it pertained to the laitie, and not to them. And yet they themselues seeming to be set in the most holie order, are not afraid to abuse other mens wiues, and as we see (with weeping eies) all they doe outrage in the foresaid wickednesse.

The incommenience of single life.

These men haue not rightlie vnderstood the scripture, whose breests while they sucke so hard in stead of milke they sucke out bloud. For the saying of the apostle: Let euery man haue his owne wife, doth except none in very deed, but him only which hath the gift of continencie, prefixing with himselfe to keepe and to continue his virgin in the Lord. Wherefore (ô reuerend father) it shall be your part to cause and ouer see, that whosoeuer, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vow of continencie, and afterward would forsake, either should be compelled to keepe his vow, or else by lawfull authoritie should be deposed from his order.

The saying of the apostle. Let euery one haue his owne wife.

And to bring this to passe, you shall not only haue me, but also all other of my order, to be helpers vnto you. But that you may vnderstand, that such which know not what a vow doth meane, are not to be violentlie compelled thereunto, heare what the apostle saith to Timothie: A bishop (saith he) must be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife. Which sentence left you should turne and applie onely to the church; marke what he inferreth after: He that knoweth not (saith he) to rule his owne household and familie, how should he rule the church of God? And likewise the deacons (saith he) let them be the husbands of one wife, which haue knowledge to gouerne their owne house and children. And this wife, how she is woont to be bleft of the priest, you vnderstand sufficientlie I suppose, by the decrees of holie Sylueste the pope.

Note well the saying of Augustine.

To these and such other holie sentences of the scripture agreeth also he that is the writer of the rule of the clergie, writing after this maner: A clerke must be chast and continent, or els let him be coupled in the bands of matrimonie, hauing one wife. Whereby it is to be gathered, that the bishop and deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible, if they be diuided in more women then one: otherwise, if they doe forsake one vnder the pretence of religion, both they together, as well the bishop as the deacon be heere condemned by the canonicall sentence, which saith: Let no bishop or priest forsake his owne wife, vnder the colour and pretence of religion. If he do forsake her, let him be excommunicat. And if he so continue, let him be degraded. S. Augustine also (a man of discreet holinesse) saith in these words: There is no offense so great or grieuous, but it is to auoid a greater euill.

What it is to marrie in the Lord.

Furthermore, we reade in the second booke of the tripartite historie: that when the councell of Nice, going about to establish the same decree, would enact that bishops, priests, and deacons, after their conferation, either should abstaine vtterlie from their owne wiues, or els should be deposed; then Paphnutius (one of those holie martyrs, whom the emperor Maximus had put out the right eie, and hocke their left legs) rising vp amongst the, withstood their purposed decrement: confessing marriage to be honorable, and calling the bed of matrimonie to be chastitie, and so persuaded the councell from making that law, declaring thereby what occasion might come to themselues and their wiues of fornication. And thus much did Paphnutius (being vnmaried himselfe) declare vnto them. And the whole councell commending his sentence, gaue place thereto, and left the matter freelie without compulsion, to the will of euery man, to doe therein as he thought.

This decree is contrarie to the bishops and prelats in queene Maries time.

What a virgin is by the definition of the apostle.

Notwithstanding there be some, which take S. Gregorie for their defence in this matter, whose temeritie I laugh at, and ignorance I lament: for they know not, being ignorantlie deceiued,



ceiued, how dangerouslie the decree of this heresie was (being made of S. Gregorie) who afterwards well reuoked the same, with condigne fruite of repentance.

For vpon a certeine daie as he sent vnto his fishpond to haue fish, & did see more than six thousand infants heads brought to him, which were taken out of the same pond or more, did greatlie repent in himselfe the decree made before, touching the single life of priests, which he confessed to be the cause of that so lamentable a murther. And so purging the same with condigne fruite of repentance, altered againe the things which he had decreed before, commending that counsell of the Apostle, which saith: It is better to marrie than to burne; adding moreouer of himselfe thereunto, and saying: It is better to marrie than to giue occasion of death.

Those then six thousand heads of infants found in the pope's more than in the wicked decree of the single life of priests. Let priests note well the saying of Gregorie.

Peraduenture if these men had read with me this, which so hapned, I thinke they would not be so rash in their doing and iudging; fearing at least the Lords commandement: Doe not iudge, that you be not iudged. And S. Paul saith, Who art thou that iudgest an other mans seruant? Either he standeth or falleth to his owne master: but he shall stand; for the Lord is mightie and able to make him stand. Therefore let your holines cease to compell and inforce those, whom onelie you ought to admonish, left through your owne priuat commandement (which God forbid) you be found cõtrarie, as well to the old testament, as to the new. For as S. Augustine saith to Donatus, This is onelie that we do feare in your iustice, left (not for the confideration of christian lenitie, but for the greeuousnesse and greatnesse of transgressions committed) you be thought to vse violence in executing punishment of that which onelie we doe desire you (by Christ) not to do. For transgressions are so to be punished, that the life of the transgressors may repent. Also an other saying of Augustine we would you to remember, which is this: *Nil nocendi sit cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate, & nihil fiat immaniter, nihil inhumaniter*; that is, Let nothing be done through the greedines of hurting, but all things through the charitie of profiting: neither let any thing be done cruellie, nothing vngentile. Item, of the same Augustine it is written: In the feare and name of Christ I exhort you, which of you soeuer haue not the goods of this world, be not greedie to haue them. Such as haue them, presume not too much vpon them. For I say, to haue them is no damnation; but if you presume vpon them, that is damnation, if for the hauing of them you shall seeme great in your owne sight, or if you do forget the common condition of man through the excellencie of any thing you haue. Vse therefore therein due discretion, tempered with moderation, the which cup of discretion is drawne out of the fountein of the apostolike preaching, which saith: Art thou loose from thy wife? Do not seeke for thy wife. Art thou bound to thy wife? Seeke not to be loosed from hir. Where also it followeth: Such as haue wiues, let them be as though they had them not, and they that vse the world, let them be as not vsing it.

*August. ad Donatum.*

The absurd dissenting and contradicting of papists.

Item, concerning the Widow, he saith: Let hir marrie to whom she will, onlie in the Lord. To marrie in the Lord, is nothing else but to attempt nothing in contracting of Matrimonie, which the Lord doth forbid. Ieremie also saith: Trust not in the words of lies, saying: The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The which saying of Ieremie, Hierome expounding, saith thus: This may agree also, and be applied to such virgins, which brag and vaunt of their virginitie with an impudent face, pretending chastitie, when they haue an euil thing in their cõscience, and know not how the apostle defineth the virgine, that she should be holie in bodie, and also in spirit. For what auaileth the chastitie of the bodie, if the mind inwardlie be defloured? Or if it haue not the other vertues, which the propheticall sermon doth describe. The which vertues, forsomuch as we see partly to be in you, and because we are not ignorant, that this discretion (although neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life to be kept honestlie of you) do not despaire, but you will also soone amend the little lacke which is behind. And therefore with as much grauitie as we can, we cease not to call vpon you, to correct and amend this your negligence. For although according to our common calling, a bishop is greater than a priest, yet Austin being lesse then Hierome (notwithstanding the good correction proceeding from the lesser to the greater) was not to be refused or disdained, especiallie when he which is corrected, is found to striue against the truth to please mẽ. For as S. Augustine saith, writing to Bonifface: The disputations of all men, be they neuer so rathe like or approoued persons, ought not to be had in stead of the canonicall scriptures. So that we may displeasure or refuse (sauing the honor & reuerence which is due vnto them) any thing that is in their writings, if any thing there be found cõtrarie to truth. And what can be found more contrarie to the truth then this? When as the truth is selfe, speaking of continencie, not of one onelie, but of all together (the number onlie excepted of them which haue professed continencie) saith: He that can take, let him take: the which saying, these men (mooued, I cannot tell by what occasion) do turne and say: He that cannot take, let him be accursed. And what can be more foolish amõgst men, then whẽ any Bishop or Archdeacon run themselues headlong into all kind of lust, to adulterie & incest, & also sodomitrie? yet shame not to saie, that the chast marriage of priests doth stinke before

*August. ad Bonifacium.*

them: and as void of all compassion of true righteousnesse, doe not desire or admonish their clerks, as their fellow seruants to abstein, but to command them and inforce them as seruants, violentlie to abstein. Vnto the which imperious commandement of theirs or counsell (whether you will call it) they ad also this fooolish & filthie suggestion, saying: that, It is more meet, priuilie to haue to do with many women, then apertlie in the sight and consciences of many men to be bound to one wife. The which truly they would not say, if they were either of him, or in him, which saith: Wo to you Pharisies, which do all things before men. And by the Psalmist: Because they please men, they are confounded, for the Lord hath despised them. Thus be the men, who rather ought to persuade vs that we should shame to sin priuilie in the sight of him, to whom all things be open, then seeme in the sight of men to be cleane. These men therefore, although through their sinfull wickednes deserue no counsell of godlines to be giuen them: yet we not forgetting our humanitie, cease not to giue them counsell by the authoritie of Gods word, which seeketh all mens saluation, desiring them by the bowels of charitie, and saying with the words of scripture: Cast out (thou hypocrite) first the beame out of thine own eie, & then thou shalt see to cast the mote out of the eie of thy brother.

Moreouer, this also we desire them to attend what the Lord saith of the adulterous woman: Which of you that is without sin, let him cast the first stone against her. As though he would say: If Moses bid you, I also bid you. But yet I require you that be the competent ministers and executors of the law, take heed what ye ad thereunto, take heed also (I pray you) what you are your selues: for if (as the scripture saith) thou shalt well consider thy selfe, thou wilt neuer defame or detract another.

Moreouer, it is signified vnto vs also, that some there be of the, which (when they ought like vnto good shepherds to giue their liues for the Lords flock) yet are they puffed vp with such pride, that without all reason they presume to rend and teare the Lords flock with whippings and beatings, whose vnreasonable doings S. Gregorie bewailing, thus saith: *Quid fiat de ouibus quando pastores lupi fiunt?* that is: What shall become of the sheepe when the pastors themselues be woolues? But who is ouercome but he which exerciseth crueltie? Or who shall iudge the persecutor, but he which gaue patientlie his backe to stripes? And this is the fruite which commeth to the church by such persecutors, also which commeth to the clergie by such despightfull handling of their bishops or rather infidels. For why may you not call them infidels, of whom S. Paul thus speaketh, and writeth to Timothie? that, In the later daies there shall certeine depart from the faith, giue heed to spirits of error and doctrine of diuels, of them that speake false through hypocrise, and hauing their consciences marked with an hote iron, forbidding to marrie, and commanding to abstein from meates, &c. And this is (if it be well marked) the whole hand-full of the darnell and cockell growing amongst the corne: this is the couent of all madnesse, that whiles they of the clergie be compelled to relinquish the companie of their owne lawfull wiues; they become afterward fornicators and adulterers with other women, and wicked ministers of other sinfull filthinesse. These be they which bring into the church of God this heresie (as blind guides leading the blind) that it might be fulfilled which the Psalme speaketh of, as foreseeing the errors of such men, & accursing them after this maner: Let their eies be blinded that they see not, and bow downe alwaies their backe. For so much then (ô apostolical sir) as no man which knoweth you, is ignorant, that if you through the light of your discretion had vnderstood and seene what poisoned pestilence might haue come into the church through the sentence of this your decree, they would neuer haue consented to the suggestions of certaine wicked persons. Wherefore we counsell you by the fidelitie of our due subiection, that with all diligence you would put away so great slander from the church of God: and through your discreet discipline, you will remoue this Pharisaicall doctrine from the flocke of God: so that this onely Sunamite of the Lords (vsing no more adulterous husbands) doe not separate the holie people, and the kinglie priesthood from hir spouse which is Christ, through an vnrecouerable diuorcement: seeing that no man without chastitie (not onlie in the virgins state, but also in the state of matrimonie) shall see our Lord, who with the Father and the Holie Ghost liueth and reigneth for euer, Amen.

Gregorius.

*Inuenitur hæc epistola in vetustis membranarum libris (ut fama fert) apud Vrbinates Illyrico in colonia, Veneriis oppidum epistolæ Aeneæ Sylvii, in sua peregrinatione, & Germaniæ descriptione.*

¶ By this epistle of bishop Hulderike (aboue prefixed) the matter is plaine (gentle reader) to conceiue what was then the sentence of learned men concerning the marriage of ministers: but that here by the waie, the reader is to be admonished, that this epistle which by error of the writer is referred to pope Nicholas the first, in my mind is rather to be attributed to the name and time of Nicholas the second, or Nicholas the third.

Pope Adrian the second, Iohn the ninth, Martin the second, Adrian the third, Stephan the fift.

After this pope Nicholas succeeded Adrianus the second, Iohannes the ninth, Martinus the second. After these came Adrian the third, Stephan the fift. By this Adrian it was first decreed that no Emperour after that time should intermeddle or haue any thing to do in the election of the Pope. And thus began the Emperours first decaie, and the papacie to swell and rise aloft.

And thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to returne where we left, touching the storie of king Ethelwulfe. About the latter end of his reigne, the Danes which before had inuaded the realme, in the time of king Egbert, as is aboue declared, now made their reentre againe, with three and thirtie ships arriuing about Hamshire: through the barbarous tyrannie of whom, much bloudshed and murther hapned here among Englishmen. Denseshire, about Dertmouth in Kent, in Essexangle, in Lindsie, at Rochesser, about London, and in Westsex, where Ethelwolfe the king was o uerthrow, besides diuers other kings and dukes, whom the Danes daily approching, in great multitudes, in diuers places had put to flight. At length king Ethelwolfe, with his sonne Ethelbaldus warring against them in Southsexe, at Okley, droue them to the Ile of Whight, where they hunting a spare, after a while past in against with horrible rage and cruelnie, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serue, professing in this historie to write not of matters externe and politike, but onelie pertaining to the church. The cause of this great affliction sent of God vnto this realme thus I found expressed and collected in a certeine old written storie, which hath no name: the words of which writer, for the same cause as he thought to recite them, writing (as he saith) Ad cautelam futurorum, I thought also for the same there not to be omitted, albeit in all parts of his commendation I do not fullie with him accord. The words of the writer be these.

Ex Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi de Gestis Reg. Ang. lib. 2. c. 4.

*In Anglorum quidem ecclesia primitiua, religio clarissime resplenduit: ita vt reges & regina, & principes ac duces, comites, & barones, &c.* In English thus.

In the primitiue church, saith he, of the Englishmen, religion did most cleerelie shine, in so much that kings, queenes, princes and dukes, consuls, barons, and rulers of churches, incensed with the desire of the kingdome of heauen, labouring and striuing among themselues to enter into monkerie, into voluntarie exile and solitarie life, forsooke all and followed the Lord. Where, in processe of time, all vertue so much decaied among them, that in fraud and trecherie none seemed like vnto them: neither was to them any thing in price or honor, but ciuill war and shedding of innocent bloud. Wherefore almighie God sent vpon them pagan and cruell nations, like swarmes of bees, which neither spared women, nor children, as Danes, Norwegians, Gothes, Suetians, Vandals, and Frisians. Who, from the beginning of the reigne of king Ethelwolfe, till the comming of the Normans, by the space neere of two hundred and thirtie yeers, destroied their fruitfull land of the one side of the sea to the other, from man also to beast. For why? They inuading England eft times, of euerie side, were not about to subdue and possesse it, but onely to spoile and destroy it. And if it hed chanced them at any time to be ouercome of Englishmen, it auailed nothing, when as other swarmes still with greater power in other places were ready, vpon a bidden and vnawares, to approch vpon them, &c. *Historia Curiosa.*

The cause of Gods wrath, why the people of England was ouerthrowen by the Danes.

Thus far haue you the words of mine author, declaring the cause which prouoked Gods anger: wherevnto may be adioined the testimonie, not onelie of them but of their forefathers also before them, who falselie breaking the faith and promisse made with the Britains, did cruellie murther their nobles, wickedlie oppressed their commons, inhumanlie persecuted the innocent christians, iniuriouslie possessed their land and habitation: chasing the inhabitants out of house and countrie, bedded the violent murther of the monks of Bangor, and diuers soule slaughters among the poor Britains, who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore Gods iust recompense falling vpon them from that time, neuer suffered them to be quiet from forren enimies, till the comming of William the Norman, &c.

Moreouer, concerning the outward occasions giuen of the Englishmens parts, meaning the Danes first to inuade the realme, I find in certeine stories two most especiallie aggraued. The one vniustlie giuen, and iniustlie taken. The other not giuen iustlie, and vniustlie taken. Of the which two, the first was giuen in Northumberland by meanes of Offaright reigning vnder king of Westsaxons, in the north parts. This Offaright vpon a time comming to the court, and finding there the bodie of one of his nephues called Burr. Who hauing at home a wife of great beautie, she being absent abrode the king after his manner, allured with the excellencie of her beautie, tooke her to a secret chamber, where he forceable contrarie to her will did rauish her: wherevpon she being greatlie displeased, and vered in her mind made them an vow to her selfe neuer returning. At this his silence in nature received. Mater ansuleting with his friends, first went to the king, resigning into his hands all such seruice and possessions which he did hold of him: that done, take shipping and sailed into Denmarke, where he had great friends, and had his beginning no before. There making his mone to Godwin the lord, desired his aid in reuenging of the great villanie of Offaright against him and his wife. Godwinus hearing this, was glad to haue some iust quarrell to enter that land, leuied an armie with all speed; and preparing all things necessarie for the same, sendeth forth Inguar and Hubba two brethren, his chiefe captains, with an innumerable multitude of Danes into England; who first arriuing at Holdernesse, there burnt vp the countrie, and killed without mercie, both men, women and children, whom they could lay hands vpon. Then marching toward Yorke, entred their battell with the foresaid Offaright, where he with the most part of his armie was slaine. And so the Danes entred the possession of the citie of Yorke. Some others say, and is by the most part of those writers recorded, that the chiefe cause of the comming of Inguar and Hubba with the Danes, was to reuenge king Edmund reigning vnder the Westsaxons ouer the Estsaxingles in Northfolke and Suffolke: for the murthering of a certeine Dane being father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falslie imputed to king Edmund. The storie is thus told.

Inguar and Hubba captains of the Danes.

Another cause of the comming of the Danes.

K. Edmund king of Estsaxingles.

A certeine noble man of the Danes of the kings stocke called Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba, entring vpon a time with his hauke into a certeine schaffe of cockebote alone; by chance through tempest was driuen with his hauke to the coast of Northfolke named Redham, where he being found and beriended, was presented to the king. The king vnderstanding his parentage, and seeing his cast, entertained him in his court accordingle, and exercise day more and more perceiuing his actiuities and great dexteritie in hunting and hauking, bare speciall fauour vnto him. In so much that the kings falconer, or master of his game, bearing priuie enuie against him, secretlie as they were hunting together in a wood, did murther him, and thrust him in a bush. The Lothbroke, being missed, within two or three daies began to be missed in the kings house: of whom no tidings could be heard, but onelie by a dog or spaniell of his, which continuing in the wood with the corps of his master, at sundrie times came y fawned vpon the king: so long that at the length they following the trace of y hound, were brought to the place where Lothbroke lay. Wherevpon inquisition being made, at length by certeine circumstances of words and other endeuors, it was knowne how and by whom he was murthered, that was by the kings huntsman named Ecrike. Who thereupon being conuicted, was set into the same hole of Lothbroke, alone and without any tackling to draw by from either to be saued by the tether, or to be bestowed in the brege. And as it chanced Lothbroke from Denmarke to be driuen to Northfolke, so it hapned that from Northfolke he was carried into Denmarke, where the sote of Lothbroke being well knowne, hands were laid vpon him, and inquisition made of the parcle. In fine to his torments, to saue himself he vttered an vtterith of king Edmund, saying, that he is ng had put him to death in the countie of Northfolke. Whereupon grudge first was conceiued, then an armie appointed, and great multitudes sent into England to reuenge that fact, where first they arriuing in Northumberland, deuested (as is said) those parts first. From thence sailing into Northfolke they exercise the like tyrannie there, vpon the inhabitants thereof, especiallie vpon the innocent prince, and blessed martyr of God, king Edmund. Concerning the farther declaration whereof hereafter shall follow (Christ our Lord so permitting) more to be spoken, as place and obseruation of time and peeres shall require.

The message of the Danes to king Edmund.

Lothbroke father to Inguar and Hubba.

What mischiefe enuie worketh.

The answer of K. Edmund.

Murther will out.

The persecution and death of S. Edmund king of the Estsaxingles.

K. Edmund martyr.

In the meane season, king Ethelwolfe in this chapter here presentlie touched, when he had chased the foresaid Danes (as is aboue rehearsed) from place to place, causing them to take the sea, he in the meane while departeth himselfe both from land and like: leauing behind him foure sonnes, which reigned euerie one in his order, after the decease of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbaldus, Ethelrightius, Etheredus, and Alured.

King Ethelwolfe his decease. Lib.

Heading taken of the Danes.

Inguar and Hubba slaine.

## King Ethelbald.

KIng Ethelbald the eldest sonne of Ethelwolfe, succeeding his father in the prouince of Westsax, and Ethelbright in the prouince of Kent, reigned both together the terme of fiue peeres. one with the other. Of the which two, Ethelbald the first left this infamie behind him in stories, for marrying and lying with his stepmother, wife to his owne father, named Iudith. After these two succeeded Etheldred, the third sonne, who in his time was to incumbred with the Danes, bursting in on o uer the Estsaxingles about Yorke (which they then spoiled and burnt vp) that he in one yeere had in nine battels against them, with the helpe of Alured his brother. In the beginning of this kings reigne, the Danes landed in east England, o Northfolke and Suffolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forsake that countrie, and so take againe shipping, and sailed northward, and landed in Northumberland: where they were met of the kings then there reigning, called Osbright and Ella, which gaue to them a strong fight. But notwithstanding the Danes, with the helpe of such as inhabited the countrie, wan the citie of Yorke, and held a certeine season, as is aboue fore touched.

Duke Etheldred slaine.

Osbright king of Northumberland.

Ex Gulielmo Malmesbiriensi. Ex historia Roudensi. Ex Fabiano & alijs.

In the reigne of this Etheldred, the Northumberlanders rebelling against the king, thought to recouer again the former state of their kingdome out of the Westsaxons hand. By reason of which discord (as hapneth in all lands where dissention is) the strength of the English nation was thereby not a little weakened, and the Danes the more thereby prouailed.

Civil discord both in a commen wealth.

About the latter time of the reigne of this Etheldred, which was about the peare of our Lord 870, certeine of the foresaid Danes being thus possessed of the north countrie: after their cruell persecution and murther done there (as parte is touched before) take shipping from thence, intending to saile toward the Estsaxingles, who by the way vpon the sea met with a fleet of Danes: whereof the captains or leaders were named Inguar and Hubba. Who ioining all together in one counsell, made all one course,, and lastlie landed in east England, o Northfolke, and in processe of time came to Thetford. Thereof hearing Edmund, then vnder-king of that province, assembled an host that gaue to them battell. But Edmund and his company was forced to forsake the field, and the king with a few persons fled vnto the castell of Framingham, whom the Danes pursued. But he in short wise after prepared himselfe to the persecution of the Danes: answering in this maner to the messenger, that told him in the name of Inguar prince of the Danes; which most victoriouslie (saith he) was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land many nations vnto him: and so now arriued in those parts, requireth him likewise to submit himselfe, yeelding to him his kingdome, treasures, and such other goods of his ancestors, and so to reigne vnder him: which thing if he would not do, he should (said he) be iudged by vnstable both of life and reigne. Edmund hearing this proud message of the pagan, conflicted with certeine of his friends: and am nigst others, with one of his bishops, being then his secretarie, who seeing the present danger of the king, gaue him counsell to yeeld to the conditions. Vpon this the king pausing a little with himselfe, at length rendred this answer: bidding the messenger go to tell his lord in these words, that Edmund a christian king, for the loue of temporall life, will not submit himselfe to a pagan duke, vnles he before would be a christian. Ine nstinent vpon the same, the wicked and craftie Dane approching in mail hastie speed vpon the king, incountred with him in battell (as some say) at Thetford: where the king being put to the worse, and pitying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himselfe rather to submit his glorie perforce to danger, then his people should be slaine, did flie (as Fabian saith) to the castell of Framingham, o (as mine author writeth) to Halesdon, now called S. Edmundsburie, where this blessed man, being on euerie side compassed of his cruell enimies, yeelded himselfe to their persecution. And for that he would not renie ve Christ and his lawes, they therefore most cruellie bounde him vnto a tree, and caused him to be shot to death: and lastlie caused his head to be smitten from his bodie, and cast into the thicke bushes. Which head and bodie at the same time was by his friends taken vp, and solemnlie buried at the said Halesdon, otherwise now named S. Edmundsburie. Whose brother named Edwoldus (notwithstanding of right the kingdome fell next vnto him) for the great feare and displeasure of the world, became an heremit at the abbeie of Crowm, in the countrie of Dorset.

Edmund martyred by the Danes, they preuaile in battell against the English kings. 127

Temperation and prudent policie in time of battell.

The Danes put to flight at Ashdon.

Another battell fought with the Danes at Merton.

What diuers and rebellious sorts in a realme.

The death of Ethelred.

The abbeie of Bredtford founded.

After this, the Danes yet reassembled their people, and gathered a new host, to that within fifteene daies they met at Wallingstoke, and there gaue battell vnto the king, and had the better. Then the king againe gathered his men, which at that field were dispatched and with fresh soldiours further accompanied, met the Danes within two moneths after at the towne of Merton, where he gaue them a sharp battell: so that much people were slaine as well of the christians, as of the Danes, but in the end the Danes had the honour of the field, and king Ethelred there was wounded, and therefore faine to saue himselfe.

After these two fields thus wonne by the Danes, they obteined great circuit of ground, and destroied man and child that would not yeeld to them. And churches and temples they turned to the vse of stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the king beset with enemies on euerie sore, seeing the land so miserablie oppressed of the Danes, his knights and soudiors consumed, his owne land of Westsaxons in such desolation, he being also wounded himselfe, but specialle for that he sending his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and Estsaxingles, could haue of them but sm all or little comfort (because they though wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the Danes then of their king) was for perplexed therewithall, as the other kings were both before him and after him, at that time. So that, as Palmesburie witneseth Magis optarent honestum exitium, quam tam acerbum inperium: that is, They rather wished honestie to die, then with such trouble and sorrow to reigne. And thus this king not long after deceassed, when he had reigned (as Fabian saith) eight yeares. o as Palmesburie writeth, but fiue yeares. During which time of his reigne, notwithstanding his so great troubles and veratians in martiall affaires (as is in some stories mentioned) he founded the house o college of canons at Breeder, and was buried at the abbeie of Wilborne o Wilborne. After whose decease, for lacke of issue of his bodie, the rule of the land fell vnto his brother Alured.

## ¶ King Alured, otherwise called Alfred.

AMong the Saxon kings hitherto in this storie afore mentioned, I find few o none to be preferred (o almost to be compared) vnto this Alured o Alfred, for the great and singular qualities in this king, worthie of high renowme and commendation: whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold trauels, which he continuallie from time to time sustained against his enimies in warre, during almost all the time of his reigne for the publike preseruation of his people: o whether we consider in him his godlie and excellent vertues, ioined with a publike and tender care, and a zealous studie for the common peace and tranquillitie of the weale publike: appearing as well in his prudent lawes by him both carefullie set forth, e with the like care executed; as also by his own priuat exercises touching the vertuous institution of his life: o whether we respect that in him, which with equall praise matched with both the other before: that is, his notable knowledge of godletters, with a feruent loue and princelie desire to set forth the same through all his realme, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his heroicall properties, ioined together in one prince as it is a thing most rare, and seldome seene in princes now adaies: so I thought the same the more to be noted and remplified in this good king. Thereby either to moue all rulers and princes in the e our dai s, to his imitation, o els to shew them what hath been in times past in their ancestors which ought to be e pet is not found in them. Wherfore of these three parts to discourse either part in order first we will cater to intreat of his acts and paines all trauels sustained in defence of the realme publike, against the ragings and furies of the Danes, as they be described in the Latine histories of Roger Houeden, and Huntington: whom Fabian also followeth in this pt somewhat to fool o. King Alfred therefore, the first of all the English kings, taking his creation and vnction at Rome of pope Leo (as by timeburie and Polychronicon do record) in the beginning of his reigne, perceiuing his lands and people miserablie vexed and defaced, by the reason of the great hoars of Danes, he led had against the Danes: pet as well as he could, gathered a strength of men vnto him, and in the second moneth that he was in the king he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he gaue to them battell. But being far ouermatched, though the multitude of the enimies part, was put there to the worse: although not without a great slaughter of the pagan armie. Which a time then of the Danes, after that hoars of Danes had

dom, where they abode all that winter. Where Halden their king, taking truce with Burthred king of Mercians, the next yeare following boided those parts, and drew to Lindsey, in robbing and spoiling the townes and villages as they went, and holding the common people under their seruage. From thence after to Repingdon, where they winning with the three other kings of the Danes (called Sidrolfum, Osketell, and Harmund) drew thereby in mightie force and strength. Who then dividing their armie in two parts, the one halfe remained with Halden in the countrie of Northumberland: the residue were with the other three kings, wintering & soiourning all the next yeare at Granebridge, which was the fourth yeare of king Alfred. In the which yeare king Alfred his men had a conflict on the sea with fiue of the Danes ships, of which one they take, the other fled away. In this yeare went Rollo the Dane into Normandie, where he was duke thirtie yeares, and afterward was baptised in the faith of Christ, and named Robert. The foresaid armie of the three Dane kings aboue mentioned from Granebridge returned againe to Westfarorie, and entred the castell of Marcham: where Alfred with a sufficient power of men was readie to assault them. But the Danes seeing his strength, durst not attempt with him, but sought delaies, whilest more aid might come. In the meane season they were constrained to intreat for truce: leauing also sufficient pledges in the kings hand, promising moreouer vpon their oth, to auoid the countrie of the Westsaxons. The king vpon the fauorite let them go. But they falselie breaking their league, priuilie in the night brake out, taking their iourney toward Exceter. In which iourney, they lost fiue score of their small ships, by a tempest at Sandwich (as Henrie Huntington in his storie recordeth.) Then king Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not ouertake them before they came to Exceter, where he take of them pledges and faire promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the pagans did dailie more and more increase, in so much (as one of my authors saith) that if in one day thirtie thousand of them were slaine, thostlie after they increased double as manie againe. After this truce taken with king Alfred, the Danes then boided to the land of Mercia, whereof part of that kingdome they kept themselues, part they committed to one Ceolulphus: vpon condition that he should be vassall to them, and at their commandement, with his people at all times.

Rollo a Dane made duke of Normandie.

Anno 879

The next yeare insuing, which was the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes, who now hauing all the rule of the north part of England, from the riuer of Thames, with Mercia, London, and Oxford; disdained that Alfred should beare anie dominion on the other side of Thames southward. Whereupon the foresaid three kings with all the forces and strength they could make, marched toward Chippenham in Wiltshire, with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them. In so much that the people which inhabited there, some fled ouer the sea, some remained with the king, diuers submitted themselues to the Danes. Thus Alfred being ouerset with multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, hauing neither land to hold, nor hope to recouer that which he had lost, withdrew himselfe with a few of his nobles about him into a certeine woodcountrie in Sommersetshire, called Sthelinge: where he had right scant to liue with, but such as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing. This Sthelinge or Stheling, or Sthelingsey, standeth in a great marsh or more, so that there is no accesse vnto it without ship or bote: and hath in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plaine, about two acres of ground, in which He is venison, and other wild beasts, with fern & rushes great plentie. In this wood, king Alfred at his first comming, espied a certeine desert cotage of a poore swineherd, keeping swine in the wood, named Dunwolphus: of whom the king then vnknowne was intertained and cherished, with such poore fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which, king Alfred afterward set the poore swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

King Alfred withdraweth himself into Sthelinge.

Sthelinge, which is in deede, as it were, an Ile of nobles.

A Swineherd made bishop of Winchester.

In the meane season, while king Alfred accompanied with a feaw, was thus in the desert wood, waiting the euent of these miseries, certeine stories record of a poore begger, which there came and asked his almes of the king. And the night following he appeared to the king in his sleepe: saying, his name was Cuthert, promising (as sent from God vnto him for his good charitie) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming fables passe, although they be testified by diuers authors, as both Wilhelmus li. de reg. Polychronicon, Rog. Houeden, Iornalensis, and others more. Notwithstanding the king in processe of time was strengthened & comforted more, though the prouidence of God: respecting the miserable ruine of the Englishmen. First the brother of king Halden the Dane beeing remembred, comming in with three and thirtie ships, landed about Deuonshire: where by chance being resisted by a busshment of king Alfreds men (who for their safegard there laie in garrison) were slaine to the number of 1300 men, and their ensigne called the rauen was taken. Houedenus in his booke of Continuations writeth, that in the same conflict both Ingmar and Hubba were slaine among the other Danes. After this, king Alfred being better cheared, shewed himselfe more at large; so that dailie resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, and Hamshire, till that he was stronglie accompanied.

Hunt. Huntingd. lib. 5. de Hist. Angl.

Ingmar and Hubba slaine.

A bold aduenture of king Alfred, venturing himselfe into the tents of the Danes.

Then the king put himselfe in a bold and dangerous venture, as writeth Wilhelmus lib. de reg. Polychron, and Fabian, which followed them both. For he apparelling him in the habit of a minstrell (as he was verie skilfull in all Saxon poems) with his instrument of musike entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Odendune: and in shewing there his interlude and songs, espied all their sloth and wickednesse, and heard much of their counsell: and after returning to his companie, declared vnto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortlie vpon the same, the king suddenlie in the night fell vpon the foresaid Danes, and distressed and slue of them a great multitude, chased them frō that coast. In so much that through his strong and valiant assaults vpon his enemies, out of his tower of Edeling neuer fortified, he so incombered them, that he clearlie voided the countrie of them, betweene that and Selwood. His valiants exhaces, hearing of these his valiant victories & manfull deeds, drew to him dailie out of all coasts. Who through the helpe of God, and their assistance, held the Danes so short, that he wonne from them Winchester and diuers other good townes. Wherelie, at length he forced them to seeke for peace: the which was concluded vpon certeine conuenants. Whereof one and the principall was, that the forenamed Gutrum their king should be christened. The other was, that such as would not be christened, should depart and void the countrie.

Ex Fabiano.

Gutrum the prince of the Danes was christened.

Upon these couenants, first the said Gutrum the Danish prince (comming to Winchester, was there christened) with twentie of his greatest dukes & nobles. To the which Gutrum king Alfred being his godfather at his baptisme, named him Athelstan. Who after a certeine season that he had stalled the said Danes, he according to his promise before made, gaue vnto their king the countrie of Saffanglia, containing Northfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridgeshire. Moreouer (as saith Polychronicon) he granted to the Danes that were christened, the countrie of Northumberland. So the residue that would not be christened, departed the land, and sailed into France: where, what veration and harme they wrought, the chronicles of France doe partlie comprehend.

King Athelstan named Athulphus.

Northfolke and Southfolke granted to king Gutrum.

King Athelstan thus hauing the possession of these countries, had all Saffanglies vnder his obedience. And albeit that he held the said prouince as in fee of the king, and promised to diuell there as his liege man: yet that notwithstanding, he continued more like a tyrant, by the terme of eleuen yeares, and died in the twelfth yeare. During the which space, king Alfred hauing some more rest and peace, repaired certaine townes and strong holds alone by the Danes impaired. Also he builded diuers houses of religion, as the house of nuns at Shaftesburie. An other religious house at Etheling he founded. Item an other in Winchester, named the new monasterie. Item he induced richlie the church of S. Cuthert in Durham. He sent also to India to paie and perfourme his vowes to S. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his distresse against the Danes.

The nunnerie of Shaftesburie builded.

The monasterie of Etheling.

The new minster at Winchester besieged of the Danes.

About the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester, and besieged that citie: and there laie so long, that they builded a tower of timber against the gates of the citie. But by strength of the citizens, that tower was destroied, and the citie defended, till king Alfred came and rescued them. Whereby the Danes were so distressed, and so sore trapped, that for feare they left their horses behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the king when he was thereof ware, sent after them and take fiftene of their ships, and slue manie of the said Danes. This done, the king returned to London, and repaired the same honorablie (as saith Houedenus) and made it habitable, which before was lore decaied & forbid by the Danes.

The vertuous and godlie life of king Alfred described.

The inclination of nature corrected in king Alfred.

The godlie petition of king Alfred.

The third yeare after this, which was the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of king Alfred, the foresaid Athelstan the Danish king of Northfolke (which by Alfred was christened before) deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the Danes against landed in foure places of this land: (which was, in Saffanglia, in the North, and in the West, in two places. Before the landing of these Danes, it chanced king Alfred, hearing of the death of king Athelstan and of other complaints of the Danes, was then in Saffanglād, when these tidings came to him.

Anno 892

The Danes driuen from Northfolke.

When king Alfred was herof aduertised, forsomuch as some of the Danes were landed in that coast, thinking with themselues the further they went in their parties, the lesse resistance to haue, and the more spoil, as they were wont to haue before: Alfred therefore sending messengers in all hast to Ethelred duke of Mercia, to assemble to him an host, to withstand the Danes which landed in the West, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in Saffanglia, whom he pursued so sharplie, that he brake them out from their parties. They then landed in Kent, whither the king with his people sped him, & in like maner draue the Danes frō thence, without anie great fight, so farre as in our authors we can see. After this



The Danes repaire again to Northwales.

this, againe the Danes take shipping, and sailed into Northwales, and there robbed and spoiled the Britains, and from thence returned by the sea into Saffanglia, with an hundred ships, and there reised them, for so much as the king then was gone Westward.

The Danes flie out of Exeter.

The fourth host of the Danes the same yeare came to Exceter, which at length they wonne, but then the countrie adioining, pressed so sore vpon them, and besieged them so long, keeping themselues within the citie, that at length they gaue ouer the towne, and went about by Northwales to Northumberland, which was about the three and twentith yeare of king Alfred: Which Alfred in the meane while with his host sped him thitherward. Then the Danes, leauing their strong holds and castels, garnished with men and victell, take againe shipping, and set their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the port of Lewes: and from thence toward London, and builded a tower or castell there vnto the riuer of Lute, twentie miles from London. But the Londoners hearing thereof, manned out a certaine number of men of armes, who with the assistance of them of that countrie, put the Danes from that tower, and after beat it downe to the ground. Some after the king came downe thither, and to preuent the dangers that might ishue, commanded the riuer of Lute to be diuided in three streames: so that where a ship might saile in times before, there a little bote might scantlie row. From thence the Danes, leauing their ships and wiues, were forced to flie that countrie, & take their way againe toward Wales, & came to Quadrize neere to the riuer of Seuerne. Where, vpon the borders thereof, they builded them a castell, there resting themselues for a time, vpon the king ecckones with his armie pursued. In the meane time, the Londoners at Lute tawe the Danes ships, some of them they brought to London, the rest they fired. During all these three yeares, from the first comming of the Danes to Lute, England was afflicted with three manner of sorowes: with the Danes, with the pestilence of men, and more sore of beasts. The which troubles notwithstanding, yet the king manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God allwaies, what trouble soeuer fell to him, & into his realme, and susteined it with great patience and humilitie. These three yeares ouerpast, the next yeare following, which was the eight and twentith of the reigne of Alfred, the Danes diuided their host, of whom part went to Northumberland, some to Northfolke, part sailed ouer to France, some others came to Wessex, where they had diuers conflicts with the Englishmen, both by land, and especially vpon the sea: of whom some were slaine, many by shipwracke perished, diuers other were taken and hanged, and thirtie of their ships were taken.

The Danes flie out of Lewes.

The riuer of Lute diuided into three streames.

Three plagues in England.

Anno 897

The Danes ships taken.

Not long after this, king Alfred, when he had reigned nine and twentie yeares and six monethes, changed this mortall life. And thus much (and more peraduenture than will seeme to this our ecclesiasticall storie apperteining) touching the painfull labours and trauels of this good king: which he no lesse valiantlie atchieued, then patientlie susteined, for the necessarie defence of his realme and subiects.

Anno 899

Exhistoria Iornandes.

Now, if there be any prince, who liketh to see and follow the vertuous and godlie disposition of this king, both touching the institution of his owne life, and also concerning his carefull gouernement of the commonweale, thus the histories of him do record. That at what time he being young, perceiued himselfe somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, and thereby letted from many vertuous purposes, did not as many young princes and kings somnes in the world be now wont to doo, that is, to resolue themselues into all kind of carnall licence, and dissolute sensualitie, running and following without bridle whither soeuer their licence giuen doth leade them, as therefore not without cause the common prouerbe reporteth of them, that kings somnes learne nothing well els, but onlie to ride. Speaming thereby, that princes & kings somnes hauing about them flatterers, which bolster them in their faults, onely their horses giue to them no more then to any other: but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this young king, seeing in himselfe the inclination of his sleshlie nature, minding not to giue himselfe so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to auoid the tentation thereof, belought God that he would send to him some continuall sickneslie, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more prostitable to the publike businesse of the commonwealth, and more apt to serue God in his calling. Cestren. lib. 5. cap. 1. Fab. cap. 17.

Then at Gods ordinance, he had the cuill called Ficus, till he came to the age of twentie yeares, whereof at length he was cured: as is laid in some stories by the virgin called Modwen, an Irish woman. After this sickneslie being taken away, to him fell an other, which continued with him from the twentith yeare of his age, to fortie and fiue (according to his olone petition and request made vnto God) whereby he was the more reclamed and attempered from other more great incommeniences, and lesse disposed to that which he did most abhore.

Moreouer, to behold the bountifull goodnesse ioined with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing his

Modwen.

King Alfred how he diuided his goods in two parts.

Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 1. Guliel. lib. de regibus.

The liberall heart of king Alfred.

How well and godlie this king spent his time.

The godlie lawes of king Alfred.

A notable example of thriftie and sober husbandrie in this realme.

Exhistoria Iornandes

King Alfred commended for learning.

When learning first began to be set vp in England.

Schooles a place of learning.

Ex Annal. Ethelw. & Ranulph. Higden. by Iohn of Beuerlie by Cambridge.

The Vniuersities of Paris & Oxford began by Remus Alcuinus. Chiarmus. Cleanthes. Scotus.

Egbertus king of Saffanglen.

at the towne of Greglade, which afterward was called Kirkelade, the other for Latine, which place was then called Latinlade, afterward Lethelade neere to Oxford.

But howsoeuer it chanced that the knowledge and studie of good letters being once planted in this realme, afterward went to decay: yet king Alfred deserueth no little praise, for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they haue euer since continued, albeit not continuallie through euerie age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to haue a prince learned himselfe, who seeing and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge, is thereby not onely the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subiects, from a rude barbaritie, to a more ciuill congruence of life, and to a better vnderstanding of things: as we see in this famous prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing vp, although it was somewhat late before he entred any letter: yet sith was the apt towardnesse and docilitie of his nature, that being a child, he had the Saxon poems (such as were vsed then in his owne tongue) by heart & memorie. Who afterwards with yeares and time greiw vp in such perfection of learning and knowledge, in so much that (as mine author saith) Nullus Anglorum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior. The which thing in him the more was to be maruelled, for that he was twelue yeares of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, carefull and tender ouer him, hauing by chance a booke in her hand, which he would faine haue, promised to giue him the same, so that he would learne it. Whereupon he for greedinesse of the booke, first one learned the letters, hauing to his schoolemaster Pleimundus, after bishop of Canturburie. And so daily greiw he more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author saith: Plurimam partem Romanæ bibliothecæ Anglorum auribus dedit, optimam prædam peregrinarum mercium ciuium vsibus conuertens, that is: A great part of the Latine librairie he translated into English, conuerting to the vses of his citizens a notable preie of forrein ware and merchandize, &c. Of which bookes by him and through him translated, was Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, the historie of Beda, Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ. Also a booke of his owne making & in his owne tongue, which in the English speech he called A handbooke, in Greeke called it Enchiridion, in Latin A manuell. Besides the historie of Beda translated into the Saxons tongue, he also himselfe compiled a storie in the same speech, called The storie of Alfred, &c. which both bookes in the Saxons tongue I haue seene, though the language I doe not vnderstand. And as he was learned himselfe excellentlie well, so likewise did he inflame all his countrimen to the loue of liberall letters, as the words of the storie reporteth: Illos præmijs, hos minis hortando, neminem illiteratum ad quamlibet curiæ dignitatem aspirare permittens: that is: He exhorted and stirred his people to the studie of learning, some with gifts, some by threats, suffering no man to aspire to any dignitie in the court, except he were learned. Moreouer an other storie thus saith, speaking of his nobles: Optimates quoque suos ad literaturam addiscendam in tantum prouocauit, vt sibi filios suos, vel saltem si filios non haberent, seruos suos literis commendarent, that is: Also his nobles so much he did allure to the imbracing of good letters, that they set all their sonnes to schole: or if they had no sonnes, yet their seruants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common prouerb may be found not so common as true; Such as is the prince, such be the subiects. He began moreouer to translate the psalter in English, and had almost finished the same, had not death preuented him. Guliel. de regib. Angl. In the prologue of the booke intituled Pastorale Gregorij, thus he writeth: declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good bookes from Latine into English, shewing the cause therof why he so did, as followeth: Quòd ecclesiæ in quibus innumeræ priscæ bibliothecæ continebantur, cum libris à Danis incensæ sint: quódque in tota insula studium literarum ita abolitum esset, vt quisque minùs timeret capitis periculum, quàm studiorum exercitia adire. Quapropter se in hoc Anglis suis consulere, &c. that is; The cause was, for that innumerable ancient libraries, which were kept in churches, were consumed with fire by the Danes: and that men had rather suffer perill of their life, than to follow the exercises of studies: and therefore he thought thereby to prouide before for the people of the English nation, &c.

It is told of him both in Polychronicon, Palmesburie, Iornalensis, and other stories more, whereof I haue no names, that he seeing his countrie (namelie Westsaxon) to be so destitute of schooles and learning, partlie to profit himselfe, partlie to furnish his countrie and subiects with better knowledge, first sent for Grimbaldus a learned monke out of France, to come into England. Also he sent for an other learned man out from the parts of Wales, whose name was Asserius, whom he made bishop of Shirebourne. Item out of Mercia, he sent for Werefrithus, bishop of Worcester, to whom he put the dialogues of Gregorie to be translated. But chiefelie he vsed the counsell of Neotus, who then was counted for an holie man, and abbot of a certaine monasterie in Cornewall. By the aduisement of which Neotus, he sent for these learned men aboue

Exhortatio Guliel. de regibus Ang.

Plurimorum librorum in Anglos scriptor, & postea episcopus Cantuariæ.

Bookes translated out of Latine by king Alfred.

None permitted to haue any dignitie in the court except he were learned. Theodorus. lib. 5. cap. 1.

The psalter translated into English by king Alfred.

The cause why the king turned Latine bookes into English.

Learned men sent for and placed about the king.

The dialogues of Gregorie translated. Asserius an abbot.

and vniuersitie of Oxford first begun by king Alfred.

The new colledge in Oxford.

Johannes Scotus.

This Ethelwitha builded first the house of Nunnes at Winchester.

The children of king Alfred.

All his daughters learned.

The decease of king Alfred. Anno 901.

The answer of Johannes Scotus to the French king.

Johannes Scotus translated Dionysij Areopagitæ.

The booke of Johannes Scotus called de diuisione naturæ.

Johannes Scotus adiudged more to the Greeke church then the Latine.

Johannes Scotus accused of the pope for an heretike.

Relatum est apostolatui nostro, quòd opus Dionysij Areopagitæ, quod de diuinis nominibus, & de coelestibus ordinibus, Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Ioannes (genere Scotus) nuper transtulit in Latinum. Quod, iuxta morem ecclesiæ, nobis mitti, & nostro iudicio debuit approbari: præsertim quum idem Ioannes (licèt multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur) olim non fuisse sapere, in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur, &c. That is: Relation hath béene made vnto our apostleship that a certaine man called Johannes a Scotish man, hath translated the booke of Dionysius the Areopagit, of the names of God, and of the heauenlie orders, from Greeke into Latin. Which booke, according to the custome of the church, ought first to haue béen approued by our iudgement: namelie, seeing the said John (albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath béene noted by common rumor to haue béene a man not of vpright or sound doctrine, in certaine points, &c. For this cause, the said Scotus being constrained to remoue from France, came into Engeland, allured (as some testifie) by the letters of Alured or Alfred, of whom he was with great fauour entertained, and conuersant a great space about the king, till at length (whether before or after the death of the king it is vncertaine) he went to Malmesburie, where he taught certaine schollers a few yeeres, by the which schollers at last most impiously he was murthered and slaine with their penknifes, and so died, as stories say, a martyr, buried at the said monasterie of Malmesburie with this epitaph.

Clauditur

Johannes Scotus slaine by his owne schollers.

John Scotus a martyr.

*Ex chronico Sigiberti.*

*Claudantur in tumulo iam docti sophistæ Scotenses,*
*Qui ditatus erat iam viuens dogmate miro.*
*Martyrio tandem Christi condescendere regnum*
*Qui meruit, regnans seculi per secula cuncta.*

Being Alfred hauing these helps of learned men about him & no lesse learned also himselfe, past ouer his time not onely to great vtilitie and profit of his subiects, but also to a rare & profitable example of other christian kings and princes for them to follow. This foresaid Alfred had by his wife called Ethelwitha two sonnes: Edward and Ethelward: and three daughters, Elfleda, Ethelgoza, and Ethelguida: Quas omnes liberalibus fecit artibus erudiri; that is, Whom he set all to their bookes and studie of liberall arts, as my storie testifieth. First, Edward his eldest sonne succeeded him in the kingdome: the second sonne Ethelward died before his father: Ethelgoza his middle daughter was made a nun, the other two were maried, the one in Mercelande, the other to the ere of Flanders. Thus king Alfred the valiant, vertuous and learned prince, after he had thus christianlie gouerned the realme the terme of nine and twentie yeeres and fiue monethes, departed this life, 5. kal. Nou. and lieth buried at Winchester, Anno Dom. 901. Of whom this I find moreouer great lie noted and commended in histozie, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example therof touching this Alfred, that wheresoeuer he was, or whither soeuer he went, he bare alwaies about him in his bosome or pocket a little booke containing the psalmes of Dauid, and certaine other psalms of his owne collecting. Wherevpon he was continuallie reading or praying whatsoeuer he was otherwise vacant, hauing leisure thereunto. Finallie, that where the vertues of this famous king, this little table heere vnder written, which is left in ancient writing in the remembrance of his worthie and memorable life, doth sufficientlie in few lines containe.

*In regem Alfredum, & virtutum illius*
claram memoriam.

*FAmosus, bellicosus, victoriosus: viduarum, pupillorum, & orphanorum, pauperimque prouisor studiosus, poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus: sue genti charissimus, affabilis omnibus, liberalissimus, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, iustitia præditus, in infirmitate, qua continuè laborabat patientissimus: in exequendis iudicijs indagator diligentissimus, & deuotissimus, Anglosaxonum rex Alfredus, piissimi Ethelwlfi filius 29. annis sexquemensibus regni sui peractis mortem obijt. Indict. 4. quinto kal. Nouemb. feria quarta, & Wintonie in nouo monasterio sepultus, immortalitatis stolam, & resurrectionis gloriam cum iustis exhebiat, &c.*

Moreouer in the historie of Henricus Huntingtonensis these verses I find written in the commendation of the same Alfred, made (as I suppose and by his words appereth) by the said author, whereof I thought not to defraud the reader: the words whereof heere follow.

Epitaphium regis Alfredi.

*Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,*
*Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitásque labores,*
*Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori*
*Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.*
*Si modo vitor eras, ad crastina bella parabas,*
*Si modo victus eras, ad crastina belli parabas.*
*Cui vexles fudore ingi, cui scia cruore*
*Tinctа tingi, quantum sit onus regnare probarunt.*
*Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,*
*Cui tot in aduersis nil respirare liceret.*
*Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,*
*Aut gladio potuit, vitæ finisse dolores.*
*Iam post transactos vitæ regnique labores,*
*Christius ei sit vera quies, fecpirimque perenne.*

In the storie of this Alfred, a little aboue, mention was made of Pleimundus scholemaster to the said Alfred, and also bishop of Canturburie, succeeding Etheredus there bishop before him. Which Pleimundus gouerned that see, the number of thirtie and foure yeeres. After Pleimundus succeeded Athelmus, and late twelue yeeres. After him came Alfelmus thirteene yeeres. Then followed Odo a Dane borne in the said see of Canturburie, and gouerned the same twentie yeeres, being in great fauour with king Athelstan, king Edmund, and Edwine, as in processe hereafter (Christ willing) as place and order doth require, shall more at large be expressed.

Etheredus, Pleimundus, Athelmus, Alfelmus, Odo Archbishop of Canturburie.

As touching the course & proceedings of the romish bishops there, where I last entred mention of them, I ended with pope Stephan the fift. After his time was much broile in the election of the bishops of Rome, one contending against another: in so much that within the space of nine yeeres, were nine bishops. Of the which, first was Formosus, who succeded next vnto the forenamed Stephan the fift, being made pope against the mind of certaine in Rome, that would rather Sergius then deacon of the church of Rome to haue bene pope. Notwithstanding, Wars and manie preuailed on Formosus part. This Formosus, of whom partlie also is mentioned in other places of this ecclesiasticall historie, being before bishop of Portinliake, had in times past (I know not on what causes) offended pope John

Nine popes in nine yeeres at Rome.

Formosus first pope.

*Ex chronico Sigiberti.*

The decease of king Alfred. Anno 901.

Schismes among the popes

Boniface the first pope.

Stephan the first pope.

*Ex chron. Martini panitentiarij.*

*Sigebert.*

*Ex Polyb. & alijs.*

Pope Theodorus the second.

Stephan

Pope Iohn the tenth.

Stephan, reigned but twentie daies. Then sat pope Iohn the tenth, who did fight & reuenge against the Romans; and to confirme the cause of Formosus more surelie, did hold a synod at Rauenna of 74 bishops, with the French king Endo and his archbishops being present at the same. At the which councell were ratified all the decrees and doings of Formosus, and the contrarie acts of the synod of Stephan the first were burned. This pope lined not pope fullie two yeres, after whom succeded 13 Benedictes the fourth, which kept the chaire three yeres. After whom Leo the first was next pope, who within fortie daies of his papacie was with strong hand taken & cast in prison by one Christopher his owne houshold chaplen, whom he had long nourished before in his house. Which thing (saith Platina) could not be done without great conspiracie and much slaughter of men. Which Christopher being pope about the space of seuen monethes, was likewise himselfe headed from his papall throne by Sergius, like as he had done to his maister before. And thus within the space of nine yeres had beene nine popes one after an other. Then Sergius after he had thrust downe pope Christopher, and throne him monke into a monasterie, occupied the roome seuen yeres. This Sergius a rude man and unlearned, very proud and cruell, had before beet put backe from the popedome by Formosus aboue mentioned. By reason whereof to reuenge Formosus againe being now in his papacie, caused the bodie of Formosus where it was buried, to be taken vp, & afterward set in the papall se (as in his pontificalibus) first degraded him, then commanded his head to be smitten off, with the other three fingers that were left (as Sigebertus writeth) which done, he made his bodie to be throwen into Tiber, depoſing likewise all such as by the said Formosus before had beene consecrated & inuested. This bodie of Formosus thus throwen into Tiber, was afterward (as our writers say) found and taken vp by certaine fishers, and so brought into S. Peters temple. At the presence whereof (as they say) certaine images there standing vp, bowed downe themselues and reuerenced the same, with lie and all. But such detestable miracles of stocks and images, in monkish and friersie temples, be to vs no newes, especiallie here in England, where we haue been so inured with the like & so many, that such write peraduenture cannot be to vs inuisible, though this crowneshorne generation thinke themselues to dance in a net. But the truth is, while they thinke to deceiue the simple, these write beguile most of all deceiue themselues, as they will find except they repent. By this pope Sergius first came vp the vse to beare about candles on Candelmas day, for the purifying of the blessed virgine; as though the sacred conception of Jesus the sonne of God were to be purified as a thing vnpure, and that with candle light.

Pope Sergius.

Pope Formosus after his death beheaded by pope Sergius.

A fals fained miracle vpon the bodie of Formosus. Papisticall miracles not to be credited.

Hearing of candles on Candelmas day how it came vp.

After Sergius entred pope Anastasius, in whose time the bodie of Formosus forenamed is thought to be found of fishermen in the riuer of Tiber, and so brought (as is said) into the temple to be saluted of the images; which thing may quicklie be tainted as a lie. For how is it to be thought that the bodie of Formosus so long dead before, & now lying seuen yeres in the riuer, could remaine whole all that while, that fishers might take it vp, & diserne it to be the same after Anastasius had fiue yeres, followed pope Landa, the father (as some stories thinke) of pope Iohn, which Iohn is said to be the paramour of Theodora a famous harlot of Rome, & set vp of the same harlot either against Landa, or after Landa his father to succed in his roome. There is a stozie writer called Luithprandus, who writing De imperatoribus lib. 2. cap. 3. maketh there mention of this Theodora & pope Iohn the eleuenth, and saith moreouer that this Theodora had a daughter named Marozia, which Marozia had by pope Sergius aboue mentioned a sonne which afterward was pope Iohn the twelfth. The same Marozia afterwards chanced to marrie with Guido marques of Tuscia, through the means of which Guido & his friends at Rome, she brought to passe that this pope Iohn the eleuenth was smothered with a pillow laid to his mouth, after he had reigned fiue teene yeres, & so the foresaid Iohn the twelfth her sonne to succed next after him. But because the clergie & people of Rome did not agree to his election, therefore was pope Leo the first in his place set vp. Thus pope Iohn the sonne of Sergius & Marozia being deiected, reigned pope Leo seuen monthes. After him pope Stephan two yeres, who being poisoned, then was pope Iohn the twelfth aboue rehersed, the sonne of Sergius & Marozia set vp againe in y papacie, where he reigned neere the space of fiue yeres. Of y wickednes of this strumpet Marozia, how she maried two brethren, one after the death of the other, & how she gouerned all Rome, & the whole church at that time, I let it passe. Although the Latin verses wherewith the said Luithprandus doth inuey against his women as marrie two brethren, incest neither with the first to be reckned, perhaps might be further applied then to that Marozia of Rome: but for shortnes I let them also passe. After Iohn the twelfth followed pope Stephan three yers, pope Leo three yers and foure moneths, pope Stephan the eight three yeres & foure months, pope Martin three yeres and six months; after him pope Agapetus eight yeres and six months. About whose time or a litle before began first y order of monks called Ordo Cluniacensis, &c. But now to leaue off these monstrous matters of Rome, and to returne againe to our countrie of England, where we last left before.

Pope Landa the first.

Pope Iohn the eleuenth.

Pope Leo the first.

Pope Stephan the ninth.

Pope Iohn the twelfth restored.

Luithprandus, Ticinensis.

Pope Stephan the seuenth.

Pope Leo the first Iunth.

Pope Stephan the eight.

Pope Martin the third.

Pope Agapetus the second.

Ordo Cluniacensis, begunneth.

## King Edward the elder.

King Edward the elder.

AFter the reigne of the famous king Alfred, his sonne Edward succeded, surnamed the elder: where first is to be noted, that before the conquest of the Normans, there were in England three Edwards: first, this Edward the elder, second, Edward the martyr; third, Edward the confessor, whereof hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall follow in order as place shall giue to be declared. This Edward began his reigne the yere of our Lord 901, and gouerned the land right valiantlie and noblie foure & twentie yeers. In knowledge of good letters and learning he was not to be compared to his father, otherwise in princelie renowme, in ciuill gouernment, and such like martiall prowesse, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him: though whole valiant acts first the princedome of Wales and kingdome of Scotland, with Constantine king thereof were to him subdued. He adioined moreouer to his dominion the countrie of Sallangia, that is, of Northfolke, Suffolke, and Esser. All Sperceland also he recouered and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes. In all his wars he neuer ligtlie went without victorie. The subiects of his prouinces & dominions were so inured and hardned in continuall practise and feats of war, that when they heard of any enimies comming (neuer tarying for any bidding from the king or from his dukes) straightwaies they incountred with them, both in number & in knowledge of the order of war excelling alwaies their aduersaries. Guliel. de regi. Ita hostes militibus contempti, regi risui erant; to meane. So was the comming & attainting of their enimies to the people and common souldiers but a trifle, to the king but a ridicle. Among other aduersaries which were hurte rather then wise in assailing this king, was one called Clito Ethelwolbus a yong man, king Edwards vncles sonne, who first occupying the towne of Wimborne (taking thence a nun with him, whom then he had maried) fled by night to Northumberland, to abioine himself vnto the Danes, who was made chief king & captain ouer them. Then chased frō thence, he fled ouer into France, but shortly returning againe into England, he landed in Estsengland, where the said Clito with a companie of Danes of that countrie gathered to him, destroied & pilled much of the countrie about Crekinford and Cruland. And so passing ouer Thames after he had spoiled the land there to Wadenestocke, returned againe to Northfolke and Suffolk: where he meeting with an ambushment of Kentishmen, which dragged and tared after the maine host of Edward, contrarie to his commandement, inclosed them in, and slue the most part of them. Some after the two hosts meeting together, betweene the two ditches of S. Edmunds land, after a long fight Clito with many of the Danes were slaine, & the remnant were constrained to seeke for peace, which vpon certaine conditions, and vnder a tribute was to them granted.

A comparison betweene Alfred and his sonne Edward.

Clito Ethelwald rebelleth against king Edward.

Anno 904.

In proceasse, about the twelfth yeere of his reigne, the Danes repenting them of their couenants, and minding to breake the same, assembled an host and met with the king in Staffordshire at a place called Totenhall, and soone after at Wodnesfield, at which two places the king slue two kings, two earles, and many thousands of Danes that occupied the countrie of Northumberland.

Anno 913.

Thus the inpoztunate rage of the Danes being asswaged, king Edward, hauing now some leisure giuen from wars to other studies, gaue his mind to the building & repairing of cities, townes, and castles, that by the Danes were raced, hatred and broken. As first of Chester, which citie he double inlarged to that it was before, compassing the castle within y walls of the same which before stod without. That done, the king builded a strong castle at Hereford in the edge of Wales. Also for the strengthening of the countrie, he made a castle at the mouth of the water of Auen, & an other castle at Buckingham, and the third sat thereby vpon the riuer of Ouse. Moreouer he repaired the cities & townes of Worcester & Tellgmore, and destroied the castle that the Danes had made at Bemesford. Likewise vpon the riuer of Trent against the old towne of Notingham, he builded a new towne on the southside, & made a bridge ouer the riuer betweene the said two townes. Also by the riuer of Merce he builded a citie & towne in the north end of Mercia, & named it Thelwall, and after repaired the citie of Manchester, that soze was defaced with wars of the Danes.

Chester repared and inlarged.

The castell of Hereford builded vpon the riuer of Auen and Wuse.

The townes of Worcester and Tellgmor builded.

The new towne of Notingham builded.

Thelwall.

Manchester repared.

In this renewing & building of townes & castles for the more fortifying of his realme, his sister Elfleda daughter of king Alfred, & maried to the duke of Mercia (as is afore mentioned) was no small helper. Of this Elfleda it is firmlie of writers affirmed, that the being (as is said) maried to Ethelred duke of Mercia, after the yere of our Lord 886 the paines of women in trauelling with her child, so much she abhorred euer after the imbracing of her husband, that it seemed to her (the said) not seemly for a noble woman to vse such fleshly liking, therof so great sorow & trauell should insue. And yet notwithstanding, the same Elfleda for all her delicat tendernes in eschewing the naturall passion which necessitie giueth to women; to hardie she was in warlike dangers which nature giueth not to women, that fighting against the Danes, so venturous she was of stomach, that soure of her next knights which were gardians of her bodie, were slaine fast by her. This Elfleda auoyde her other noble acts,



acts whereby she deserued praise, was a great helper and furtherer vp of her brother Edward, who builded and newlie repared many castles and townes, as Tamworth besides Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewesburie, Watrisburie, Oxenburie, besides Chester in the forrest now destroyed. Also in the north end of Mercia, vpon the riuer of Merce, a castell called Rimcorne, also a bridge ouer Seuerne named Wimmisburie bridge.

The lawes of king Alfred and king Edward.

As touching the lawes and statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and wast of time: yet notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I thinke good to note, that in those dayes of their ancient kings reigning in England, the authozitie then both of conferring bishoprikes and spirituall promotions, and also of prescribing lawes as well to the churchmen as to the laitie, and of ordering and intermedling in matters mere spirituall, was then in the hands of kings ruling in the land, and not only in the hand of the pope, as appereth by these lawes of Alfred.

Si quis fornicetur cum vxore aliena, &c.
Si quis in quadragesima sanctum velum in publico vel in lecto, &c.
Vt christiani Deum diligant & paganismo renuncient, &c.
Si quis christianitatem mutet, &c.
Si quis ordinatus sacris fuerutur, &c.
Si presbyter ad rectum venuum sanctum chrisma, &c.
Si duo fratres vel cognati cum vna aliqua fornicentur, &c.

Note how kings of England in times past had authozitie in spirituall causes.

By these and other such like constitutions of king Alfred, it may appeare, how the gouernance and direction of the church in those dayes depended not vpon mantleur le pope of Rome, but vpon the kings which here in their time (vnder the Lord) did gouerne the land. To this also the example of king Edwards time giueth testimonie: which Edward with Plegmundus (aboue mentioned) archbishop of Canturburie, and with other bishops in a synod assembled, assigned and elected seuen bishops in seuen metropolitan churches of the realme. Whereby it came, the first Frithestan, the second Adelstan, the third Werstan, the fourth Adelelme, the fift Eadulfus, the first Wernegus, the seuenth Kenulphus; in which election the kings authozitie seemed then alone to be sufficient, &c.

Anno 925

This Edward (as in the beginning was said) reigned 24. yeeres, who had three wiues, Egwin, Elfled and Ethelwild. Of Egwin he had his eldest sonne Adelstan, who next succeeded in the kingdome, and a daughter married after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elfled he received two sonnes and sir daughters, to wit Ethelwald and Edwin. Ethelwald was excellentlie well seene in all knowledge of learning, much resembling both in countenance and conditions his grandother Alfred, and died soone after his father. Of his sir daughters, two of them, Elfled and Ethelhilda, were made nuns, the other foure were maried, Edgina to Charles the French king in his fathers time, Elfleda by king Ethelstan was maried to Hugo the sonne of duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina were both sent to Henricus prince of Almains. Of which two sisters the second the said Henricus maried to his sonne Otho, who was the first emperour of the Almains. The other sister, which was Edgitha, the foresaid Henricus maried vnto a certaine duke about the bozder of the Alps in Italy. Of his third wife Ethelwid he received two sonnes, Edmund and Edred, which both reigned after Adelstan, and two daughters, Egburga whom he made a nun, and Edguina who was maried vnto Ludouicus prince of Aquitania in France. These sonnes and daughters king Edward thus brought vp: his daughters he set to spinning and to the needle: Guliel. de reg: his sonnes he set to the studie of learning, Vt quasi philosophi ad gubernandam rempublicam non iam rudes procederent: that is, To the end that they being as first made philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to gouerne the commontwealth.

The children of king Edward the elder. Their Ethelwalds excellent learning.

Guliel. de regib. The bringing vp of king Edwards children.

## King Ethelstan, or Adelstan.

King Ethelstan or Adelstan.

ETheistan or Adelstan, after the death of Edward his father, began his reigne in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a prince of worthie memozie, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferiour vnto his father Edward. In like wise the renowme of ciuill gouernment, ioind with much prosperous successe, in reducing this realme vnder the subiection of one monarchie. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen, as well in Northwales, as also in Cornwall. The first enemie against this Ethelstan, was one Elfredus, who with a faction of seditious persons, complaining against the said Ethelstan at Winchester, inchrimenthy after the death of his father, went about to put out his eies. Notwithstanding, the king escaping that danger, thorough the help of God was at that time deliuered. Elfred vpon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the pope to purge himselfe by his oth. Who being brought to the church of S. Peter, & there sweating (or rather forsweating) himselfe to be cleare, which indeed was guiltie thereof, suddenlie vpon his oth fell downe, & so brought to the English house in Rome, within three daies after departed. The pope sending word into king Ethelstan, whether he would haue the said Elfred buried among christians or not: at length through the perswasions of his friends and kinsfolks, it was concluded that he should be buried in christian burriall. This storie although I find in no other writers mentioned, but onely in the chronicles of Guliel. lib. de regib. yet for so much as it beareth the witnesse and woorde of the king himselfe, as testified in an old deed of gift, giuen to the monasterie of Malmesburie, I thought the same the more to be of credit. The woorde of the king proceed in this tenor as followeth.

Duke Elfreds sudden vnthankfulnes.

Guliel. lib. de regib. in vita Ethelstani.

### The copie of an old writing of king Ethelstan, testifying of the miraculous death of duke Elfred, suddenlie stricken by the hand of God for periurie.

The copie of an old charter of king Etpelstan.

SCiant sapientes regionis nostræ, non has præfatas terras me iniuste rapuisse, rapinámque Deo dedisse. Sed sic eas accepi, quemadmodum iudicauerunt omnes optimates regni Anglorum. Insuper & apostolicus papa Romanæ ecclesiæ Ioannes (Elfredo defuncto) qui nostræ fœlicitati & vitæ æmulus extitit nequitiæ inimicorum nostrorum consentiens: quando me voluerunt (patre defuncto) cæcare in vrbe Wintonia, si non me Deus sua pietate eripuisset. Sed denudatis eorum machinamentis, remisit se ad Romanam ecclesiam, vt ibi se coram apostolico Ioanne iureiurando defenderet. Et hoc fecit coram altare sancti Petri. Sed facto iuramento, cecidit coram altare, & manibus famulorum suorum portatus est ad scholam Anglorum, & ibi tertia nocte vitam finiuit. Et tunc apostolicus ad nos remisit, & quid de eo ageretur à nobis consuluit, an cum ceteris christianis corpus illius poneretur. His peractis, & nobis renunciatis, primates regionis nostræ cum propinquorum illius turma effligitabant omni humilitate, vt corpus illius per nostram licentiam cum corporibus poneretur christianorum. Nósque flagitationi illorum consentientes Romam remisimus: & papa consentiente, positus est ad ceteros christianos, quamuis indignus. Et fe indicata est mihi tota possessio eius in magnis & in modicis. Sed & hæc apicibus literarum prænotauimus, ne quando aboleatur, vnde mihi præfata possessio, quam Deo & sancto Petro dedi, donatur. Nec iustius noui, quam Deo & sancto Petro hanc possessionem dare, qui æmulum meum in conspectu omnium cadere fecerunt, & mihi prosperitatem regni largiti sunt, &c.

Anno 927

In the second yeare of the reigne of king Ethelstan, for amitie and a peace to be had betweene the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he maried to Sithericus their king, his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after without any issue this Sithericus died. After whose death king Ethelstan seized that prouince into his owne hands, putting out the sonne of the foresaid Sithericus called Alanus, who with his brother Godfridus fled the one into Ireland, the other into Constantine king of the Scots. And when he had thus accoded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subiect vnto him Constantine king of Scots. Whereof Constantine misliked greatlie to submit to the king, that he refused him to his former dignitie, saying, that it was more honour to make a king then to be a king.

Northumberland subdued to king Ethelstan.

The Scots subdued to the K. of England.

It is more honour to make a king then to be a king.

Not long after, the said Constantine king of Scots did breake couenant with king Ethelstan, wherefore he assembled his knights, and made towards Scotland, where he subdued his enemies, and bringing them againe into due subiection, returned into England with victorie. Here by the way, in some storie-writers (who forgetting the office of historicians, seeme to play the poets) is written & recoded for a maruell, that the said Ethelstan returning out of Scotland into England, came to Pozke, and so into the church of saint John of Beuerlie, to redeeme his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God and to saint John of Beuerlie, that he might leaue there some remembrance, whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the Englishmen, smot with a sword (they say) vpon a great hard stone standing nere about the castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large ell deepe (with a lie no lesse deepe also then was the stroke in the stone.) What of this poeticall or fabulous storie, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Jornalensis, and others more constantlie accord in the same, yet in Guliel. and Henricus no mention is made at all. But peraduenture he that was the inuentor first of this tale of the stone, was disposed to lie for the whetstone: wherefore to my mind he is worthie to haue it.

A fabulous miracle falsefied reported of king Ethelstan.

Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that followeth, about the same yeare and time vnder the reigne of K. Ethelstan, being the eight yeare of his reigne, of one Williamus bishop of Winchester, who succeded Frithstanus in the same see, and gouerned that bishoprike foure yeres. This Williamus being a deuout bishop in prayer & contemplation, vsed much among his solitarie walks, to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the soules there, & all christian soules departed. Upon a time the said Williamus after his vsuall maner proceeding in his deuotions, when he had done, came to Requiescant in pace.

Williamus Bishop.

Anno 933

A ridiculous miracle longed vpon Williams bishop of Winchester.

Wherevnto suddenlie a great multitude of soules answering together with one voice said, Amen. Of this miracle albeit I haue not much to say (hasting to other matters) yet this question would I aske of some indifferent papist, which were not wilfull, but of ignorance deceiued; If this multitude which here answered Amen, were the soules of them buried in the churchyard or not? If yea, then how were they in purgatorie, what time they were heard in that place answering Amen? Except we should thinke purgatorie to be in the churchyard at Winchester, where the soules were heard then so manie answering and praying Amen. And yet this storie is testified by the accord of writers of that time, Guliel. Polychron. Houedenus, Iornalensis, and others more. Such like miracles and prophesies also we read of Elphegus which succeeded him; but because we shall to other things, let these fables passe.

A miracle of soules answering, Amen.

We heard a little before, how king Ethelstan after the death of Sithericus king of Northumberland, seized that land or prouince into his owne hand, and put out his sonne Alanus: who after flying into Scotland, married the daughter of Constantine king of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a compaine of Danes, Scots, and others, and entred the mouth of Humber with a strong nauie of six hundred and fiftéene ships.

A great battell fought at Brunford.

Whereof king Ethelstan with his brother Edmund having knowledge, prepared his armie, and at length ioining in fight with him and his people, at a place called Brunanburch or Brunford: where he fighting with them from morning till euening, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not béene séene lightlie in England) had the victorie. In the which battell were slaine fiue kinall and vnder kings, with Constantine king of Scots, and twelue dukes, with the more part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here also our writers put in another miracle in this battell, how king Ethelstans sword miraculouslie fell into his sheath through the prayer of Odo, then Archbishop of Canturburie.

Another like miracle of king Ethelstans sword. The archbish of Canturburie.

Concerning this battell, I find in a certaine written chronicle these verses, which because they should not be lost, I thought not vnworthie here of rehersall.

Transierat quinos, & tres, & quatuor annos,
Iure regens ciues, subigens virtute tyrannos:
Cum redit illa lues Europæ noxia labes.
Iam cubat in terris fera barbaries aquilonis,
Et iacet in campis pelago pirata relicto,
Illicitas toruásque minas Analanus anhelans,
Bacchanti furiæ, Scotorum rege volente,
Commodat assensum borealis terra ferenum,
Et iam grande tument, iam terrent aere verbis.
Cedunt indignæ, cedit plaga tota superbis.
Nam quia rex noster fidens alacrisque iuuenta,
Emeritus pridem detriuerat ocia lenta,
Illi continuis fœdabant omnia prædis,
Vrgentes miseros iniectis ignibus agros,
Marcuerant totis viridantia gramina campis,
Aeg. a seges votum deluerat agricolarum.
Tanta fuit peditum, tam barbara vis equitantum,
Innumerabilium concussus quadrupedantum.
Excitat tandem fame quærimonia regem,
Ne se cauterio tali pateretur inuri,
Quod sua barbaricæ cessissent arma securi,
Nec mora, victrices ducentia signa cohortes.
Explicat inuentum vexilla ferocia centum,
Iuncta virûm virtus, decies bis millia quina,
Ad stadium belli comitantur præuia signa.
Hicque ciet strepitus armatorum legiones,
Terruit insignis venientum fama latrones,
Vt postea proprias prædæ repetant regiones:
Ast vulgus reliquum miserandaque strage peremptum,
Infecit bibulas terris nidoribus auras,
Fugit Analasus de tot modo millibus vnus, &c.

Analanus.

This Egwina before being a pore mans daughter, had a vision by night, that of her bodie sprang such a bright light of the mone, that the brightnesse thereof gaue light to the realme of England, by reason whereof, the was taken into the foresaid house, and daintilie brought vp in stead of their owne daughter, for hope of some commoditie to ensue therby, as afterward it came to passe. For king Edward (as is declared) comming into the house, and ramished with the beautie of the maiden, begat of her the same night this Ethelstan. Wherefore the said Ethelstan being thus baselie borne of Egwina, the first wife to Edward (as is said) before he was married to her, & fearing his next brother Edwin, which was rightlie borne (especiallie being stirred thereunto through the smiffer suggestion of his butler) did cast such displeasure to the foresaid Edwin his brother, being yet but yong, that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten bote in the bvode sea (onelie with one esquier with him) without anp tackling or other prouision to the same. Where the yong and tender prince being dismaid with the rage of winds & of the floods, and now wearie of his life, cast himselfe ouer bord into the sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the esquier shifting for himselfe as he could, and recouering the bodie of his master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried. Which done, the king afterwards comming to the remembrance of himselfe, was stricken with great repentance the space of seuen yéeres together, and at length was reuenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser (as is said) was the kings cupbearer, who (as God the righteous iudge of all things would haue it) vpon a certaine solemne feast, bearing the cup vnto the king, chanced in the middle of the floore to stumble with one foot, helping and recouering himselfe with the other, saying in these words, Thus one brother (as you see) helpeth another. These words being thus spoken in the hearing of the king, so moued his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his brother to be had out to execution. Whole tuft recompense I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord betweene brother and brother.

Ethelstan (besides his seuen yéeres lamentation for this act) builded the two monasteries of Pidelton and of Sidelines for his brothers sake, or (as the stories say) for his soule. Whereby it may appeare what was the cause most speciall in those daies of building monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sinnes both of them departed, and them alive: which cause hold it standeth with the grace and veritie of Christs gospell, and of his passion, let the christian reader trie and examin with himselfe. This cruell fact of the king towards Edwin, caused him afterward to be more tender and carefull towards his other brethren and sisters left in his hands vnmarried. Which sisters, as is partlie in the chapter before declared, he richlie bestowed in great mariages, as one to the king of Northumberland Sithericus, another he gaue vnto Lewis king of Aquitania, the third to Hean cus duke of Almaine for his sonne Otho, who was the first emperour of the Germans. Wherevnto it is to be vnderstood, that the empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred yeres and a halfe) vnto Germanie, where it hath euer since continued.

K. Ethelstan secretly the death of his owne brother.

Extractum ex legib. regis Ethelstani.

a alias dicitur.

A note to learne not to sow discord betwixt brother and brother.

The cause of building abbies examined.

b alias minoribus. c alias scribtes differens. d alias sirui testamentales. e vel cui insunt. f alias scribtes menforum. g in sua scriptura. A law how that matters ought to condescend and bear sometime with their seruants.

The fourth of his sisters being a virgin of singular beautie, Pope the French king required to be giuen vnto him, seruing to king Ethelstan perfous and sumptuous presents, such as were not before séene in England. Among the which presents and gifts, besides the rare odours of sundrie sauours and fine spices: and besides the pretious and costlie gems, namelie of smaragds of most redolent greene, besides also manie and great coursers and palfreys richlie trapped, especiallie of one iewell (as writers make mention) which was a certaine vessell finelie and subtillie made of the pretious stone onychius, so radiantlie wrought, that in it appeared the liuelie coulor growing, and mens images walking, &c. Ouer & besides was sent also the sword of Constantine the great, with the name of the possessor written in golden letters; where in the hast of the same all beaten in gold, was one of the iron nailes wherewith our Sauiour on the crosse was nailed. Of the verie whereof I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect; but that this in the ecclesiasticall storie of Eusebius is euident, that two of the foresaid nails of Christ were sheat on the bridle of Constantine, the third he cast into the sea in a raging tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed with foure nailes, perhaps this naile might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I feare not how this feate can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth naile can stand with the truth. Among the rest moreouer was the speare (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Sauiour was opened: which also the said Constantine was wont to carrie in the field against his enemies, with a portion likewise of the holie crosse inclosed in crystall: also a part of the croune of thorne in like manor inclosed, &c. Of the which reliques, part was giuen to Wincchester, part to the church of Malmesburie, where king Ethelstan was buried. As this king was induced and inlarged by the gift of God (the better by and disposer of all kings) with great liberalities of wholsome remembrance, hauing

Pretious iewels sent to king Ethelstan fra the French king.

The law of king Ethelstan concerning tithes.

Concerning one of the nails wherewith our Sauiour Christ was crucified.

Tithes.

The king would inrpe no mans goods wrongfully.



hauing vnder his subiection both the Scots and Britains, and the whole monarchie of the land: so he deuised diuers good and wholsome lawes for the gouernment of the same, as well concerning the state of the orders ecclesiasticall, as also of the secular or laie people. Whereby it is to be vnderstood, that the disturped power of the bishop of Rome did not then extend it selfe so largelie, nor so pzoudlie to drogat from the authozitie of kings & princes, but that euery one in his owne dominion, had (vnder God, & not vnder the pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes temporall or spirituall, as by the decrees and constitutions of this king (and also of other as well before him, as after him) may euidentlie be testified; as where he amongst other lawes thus ordaineth touching the bishop, in words as follow.

Episcopo iure pertinet, omnem rectitudinem promouere, Dei videlicet, ac seculi. In primis, debet omnem ordinatum instruere, quid ei sit agendum iure, & quid hominibus secularibus iudicare debeant.

Debet etiam fedulò pacem & concordiam operari cum secu-
culi iudicibus, qui rectum velle diligunt, & in compellationum allegationem edocere, ne quis alij perperam agat in iureiurando, vel ordalio.

Nec pati debet aliquam circumuentionem iniustæ mensuræ, vel iniusti ponderis. Sed conuenit vt per consilium & testimonium eius, omne legis rectum, & burgi mensura, & omne pondus sit secundum a ditionem eius, institutum valde rectum: ne quis proximum suum seducat, prao quo decidat in peccatum.

Et semper debet christianis prouidere contra omnia, quæ prædicta sunt, & ideo debet se de pluribus intromittere: vt sciat quomodo gregi agat, quem ad Dei manum custodire suscepit, ne diabolus eum dilaniet, nec malum aliquod superueniat. Nunquam enim erit populo bene consultum, nec dignè Deo conseruabitur, vbi lucrum impium & magis falsum diligitur. Ideo debent omnes amici Dei quod iniquum est euertere, & quod iustum est eleuare, nec pati vt propter falsum, & pecuniæ quæstum homines se forisfaciant erga verè sapientem Deum, cui displicet omnis iniustitia.

Christianis autem omnibus necessarium est, vt rectum diligant, & iniqua condemnent, & saltem sacris ordinibus euectis iustum semper erigant, & praua deponant.

Hinc debent episcopi cum iudicibus, iudicia dictitare & interesse, ne permittant (si possint) vt illinc aliqua prauitatum gramina pullulent. Et sacerdotibus pertinet in suo diœcesi, vt ad rectum sedulò quemcumque iuuent, nec patiantur (si possint) vt christianus aliquis alij noceat, non potens inpotenti, non iumnus infirmo, non præfectus b subditis, non dominus hominibus suis, senuis, aut liberis. Et secundum a ditionem, & per mensuram suam, equanimiter per rectum, vt necessaria c seruí operentur super omnem scyram cui præest.

Et rectum est vt non sit aliqua mensurabilis virga longior quàm alia, sed per episcopi mensuram omnes institutæ sint, & exequatæ per suam d diœcesin. Et omne pondus consiet secundum ditionem eius, & si aliquid controuersiarum interfit, discernat episcopus.

Vniuscuiusq; domini proprium est & necesse, vt seruis condescendat, & compatiatur, sicut indulgentiis poterit: quia Domino Deo viuenti sunt æque chari seruus, & liber. Et omnes vnò & eodem pretio redemit, & omnes sumus Deo necessariò seruí: & sic iudicabit nos, sicut antè iudicauimus eos, in quos potestatem iudicij in terris habebimus. Et ideo opus est vt eis parcamus qui nobis parere debent, & tunc manutenebimur in Dei omnipotentis proprio iudicio: Amen.

The said Ethelstan besides, prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes giuing, where he saith and proclaimeth: Ego Ethelstanus rex, consilio Vlfelmi archiepiscopi mei & alienium episcoporum, mando præpositis omnibus in regno meo, in nomine Domini & sanctorum omnium, vt inprimis reddant de meo proprio decimas Deo, tam in viuente capitali, quàm in mortuis frugibus terræ: & episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, & aldermanni mei & præpositi mei, &c. That is, I Ethelstan king, charge and command all my officers through my whole realme, to giue tithes vnto God of my proper goods, as well in liuing cattell, as in the corne & fruits of the ground, and that my bishops likewise of their proper goods, and mine aldermen, and my officers and headmen shall doe the same. Item this I will, that my bishops and other headmen doe declare the same to such as be vnder their subiection, and that it be accomplished at the terme of saint John the Baptist. Let vs remember that Jacob said vnto the Lord, Of all things that thou giuest to me I will offer tithes vnto the Lord, &c. Also what the Lord saith in the gospell of saint Matthew, To him that hath it shall be giuen, and he shall abound. We must also consider how terrible it is written in bookes, that if we will not offer our tenths, from his nine parts shall be taken away, and onely the tenth part shall be left vs, &c. And in the same place, after that he hath assigned the church rights to be paid in the place vnto the they belong, it followeth thus: Facite etiam vt mihi mea propria capiatis, quæ mihi poteritis rectè acquirere. Nolo vt aliquid mihi iniustè conquiratis. Sed omnia vestra concedo vobis eo tenore, quo mihi mea similiter exoptetis. Cauete simul & vobis, & eis quos admonere debetis, ab ira Dei, & transgressione mea.

The law of K. Ethelstan concerning tithing stealing about twelue pence. Epitaph. in Ethelst. Sol illustrans, lustrans sororum ortus, Cum regem cæsa decreuit ille sua.

Among his other lawes and ordinances, to the number of 25. diuers things be comprehended, pertaining as well to the spirituall, as also to the temporall iurisdiction.

Out of the lawes of this king first sprang vp the attachment of theeues, that such as stole aboue twelue pence, and were aboue twelue yeares old, should not be spared.

And thus much briefle concerning the historie of king Ethelstan, and things in his time done: who reigned about the space of sixteene yeares. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his brother Edmund, the yeare of our Lord 940, who reigned fiue yeares.

## King Edmund.

EDmund the sonne of Edward the elder, by his third wife (as is declared) and brother of Ethelstan, being of the age of 18 yeares, entred his reigne, who had by his queene Elgina two sonnes, Edwin and Edgarus, surnamed Pacificus, which both reigned after him as followeth. This Edmund continued his reigne 6 yeares and a halfe. By him were expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all forren enemies out of the land. Such cities & townes which before were in the possession of strangers, as Lincolne, Nottingham, Derbie, Stafford, and Leicester, he recouered out of their hands. Thus the realme being cleared of forren power for a time; then the king set his studie and mind in the redressing and maintaining the state of the church: which all stood then in building of monasteries, and furnishing of churches, either with new possessions, or with restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this Edmund, this I find in an old written storie borrowed of William Carie, a citizen of London, a worthie treasurer of most woorthie monuments of antiquitie. The name of the author I cannot alledge, because the booke beareth no title, lacking both the beginning and the latter end; but the words there of faithfully recited, be these: Huius regis tempore, facta est dispersio monachorum Eushmensis cœnobij, cum substitutione canonicorum per Athelmum, & Vlricum laicos, & Osulphum episcopum, &c: that is: In the time of this king, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the monks out of the monasterie of Eusham, & canons substituted in their place, through doing of Athelmus & Vlricus lay men, & of Osulfus bishop, &c.

Ex libro rei Cariana.

Monkes put out of Eusham, the yeare of our Lord 941.

Where, as concerning this matter betweene monks and others of the clergie, first it is to bee vnderstood, that in the realme of England heretofore, before the time of Dunstan, the bishops sées and cathedrall churches were replenished with no monks, but with priests and canons, called then clerks, or ment of the clergie. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a sect betweene these two parties in stromelie of life and in habit: so that they which liued after a stricter rule of holinesse, were called monks, and professed chastitie, that was, to line from liuing (for so was chastitie then defined in those blind daies) as though holy matrimonie were no chastitie, according as Pathmutius did well define it in the councell of Nice. The other sort which were no monks but priests or men of the clergie so called, liued more free from these monkish rules and obseruances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfullie) married, and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular sort of other christians. By reason whereof great disdaine and emulation was among them, in so much that in many cathedrall churches, where as priests were before, there monks were put in: and contrarie, sometime whereas monks were intruded, there priests and canons againe were placed, and monks thrust out; wherevpon more shall appeare hereafter (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the meane time, something to satisfie the cogitation of the reader, which peraduenture either is ignorant, or else would know of the first comming in of monks into this realme and church of England in the Saxons time: this is to be noted, according as I find in old chronicles, namelie in the Latine historie of Gulielm. de gestis pontificum Anglorum, recorded touching the same. About this time of king Edmund, or shortly after, when hardinesse and strictnesse of life ioyned with superstition was had in veneration, and counted for great holinesse; men therefore, either to win publike fame with men, or merits with God, gaue themselues to leade a strict life, thinking thereby the stranger their conuersation was, and further from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect to bee towards God and man. There was at that time (and before that) a monasterie in France named Floriake, after the order and rule of Benedict: from the which monasterie did spring a great part of our English monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did congregate men daily to their profession. And so, partly for strangenesse of their rule, partly for outward holinesse of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holinesse that many had of them, were in great admiration, not onely with the rude sort, but with kings and princes, who founded their houses, maintained their rules, and inlarged them with possessions. Among the which order of monks comming from Floriake, especiallie was one

Guliel. de pontif. lib. 3.

The monastery of Floriake.

Oswaldus first a monke of Floriake, then bishop of Worcester and of Yorke, a great patron and letter vp of monkerie.

Oswaldus bishop of Worcester & great patron of monkerie. Guliel. lib. 3. de pontif.

Touching the which Oswaldus, William in his booke De pontifice, writing of his historie, hath these words: Familiaris per id temporis Anglis consuetudo fuit, vt si quiboni affati essent deuotionis, in beatissimi Benedicti monasterio cœnobialem susciperent habitum: a quo religionis huiusce manuit exordium, &c. That is, it was a common custome at that time among English men, that if any good men were well affected or inuited toward religion, they went to the monasterie of blessed S. Benedict in France, and there receiued the habit of a monke, whereupon the first origin of this religion began, &c. But of this Oswald bishop of Yorke, and Dunstan bishop of Canturburie, and Athelwald bishop of Winchester, how they replenished diuers monasteries and cathedrall churches with monks: and how they discharged married priests and canons out of their houses, to plant in monks in their cels, more shall bee spoken (by the grace of Christ) hereafter. Now let vs returne againe to the matter where we left, of king Edmund, who besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recouering the cities about expressed into his owne hands, did also subdue the prouince of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two sonnes of Dunmall king of Cumberland, hee committed the gouernance thereof to Malcolmus king of the Scots, vpon promise of his truthe seruice and obedience, when the king should stand in any need of him. In the time of this king, Dunstan was not yet archbishop of Canturburie, but onely abbat of Glastenburie: of whom many fabulous narrations passe among the writers, imputing more vnto him then veritie, whereof this is one of the first. What time Edgarus called Pacificus was borne, Dunstan being the same time abbat of Glastenburie (as the monkish fables dreame) heard a voice in the aire of certaine angels singing after this tenor, and saying: Now peace commeth to the church of England in the time of this child and of our Dunstan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the christian reader might the better ponder with himselfe the impudent and abominable fictions of this Romish generation. Out of the same mint also haue they forged, how the said Dunstan should heare the angels sing the Byzeleson, bled to be sung at euen-song in the church: Guliel. de pontif. lib. 2. Which is as true as that the harpe hanging in a womans house, played by it selfe the tune of the antheme, called Gaudent in cœlis, &c. What would not these deceiuers faine in matters something likely, which in things so absurd and so inconuenient, shame not to lie and to forge so impudently and also so manifestly? Through the motion of this Dunstan, king Edmund builded and furnished the monasterie of Glastenburie, and made the said Dunstan abbat thereof.

Dunstan abbat of Glastenburie.

The seruice of king Edmund. The abbey of Glastenburie was builded by king Ina, by the counsell of Aldelmus, after being destroyed by the Danes. Guliel. lib. 1. de regib.

Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif.

Concerning the end and death of this king, sundrie opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus say, that while this king Edmund indeuoured himselfe to saue his seruer from the danger of his enemies, which would haue slaine him at Pulcherchurch, the king in parting of the frase was wounded, and died shortly after. But Guliel. de regibus lib. 2. saith, that the king being at a feast at Pulcherchurch vpon the day of saint Augustine, spied a fellon sitting in the hall named Leof, whom he before for his fellonie had exiled, and leaping ouer the table did slie vpon him, and plucked the theefe by the haire of the head to the ground. In which doing, the fellon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the kings seruants, and at length was all to hewed, and died for himselfe.

The death of king Edmund.

By the lawes of king Edmund (ordeined and set forth, as well for the redresse of church matters, as also of ciuill regiment) it may appeare, that the state both of causes temporall and likewise spirituall, apperteined then to the kings right (the false pretended vsurpation of the bishop of Rome notwithstanding) as by these lawes is to be seene: where he by the advice of his lords and bishops, did enact and determine concerning the chastitie and pure life of ecclesiasticall ministers, and such as were in the orders of the church, with the penalties alld to them which transgressed the same.

The lawes of king Edmund touching as well the ciuil as ecclesiasticall as temporall.

Item, for tithes to be paid to euery christian man, and for the church sats, and almes fees, &c.

Item, for deflouring of women professed, which wee call nuns, &c.

Item, for euery bishop to see his churches repaired of his o'ne proper charge; and boldly to admonish the king, whether the honses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, for flying into the church for sanctuarie, &c.

Item, concerning cases and determinations spousall, or matrimoniall, &c.

All which constitutions declare what interest kings had in those daies in matters as well ecclesiasticall as others within their dominion, and that not onely in disposing the ordinances and rites, such as appertained to the institution of the church; but also in placing and setting bishops in their sees, &c.

Ulfstanus archbishop of Yorke & Oda archbishop of Canturburie.

In the time of this Edmund was Ulfstanus archbishop of Yorke, and Oda archbishop of Canturburie which Oda being a Dane borne (as is before touched) was promoted to that see by king Athelstan, for that (as they saw) he being first bishop of Sitton, and present with king Athelstan in the field against Analafus before mentioned, what time the said Athelstan had lost his sword, he through his intercession vp to heauen did see a sword from heauen come downe into the heath of the king. Whereof relation being made vnto the king by the foresaid bishop, Athelstan vpon the same was so affeard towards Oda, that not onely he counted him for a patron of his life, but also made him primate of Canturburie after the decease of Ulfrinus. This Oda was the first from the comming of the Saxons, till his time, which was archbishop of Canturburie being no monke. For all the other before him were of the profession of monkes, of whom a great part had been Italians vnto Bruualdus. Notwithstanding, this Oda being also a stranger borne, after hee was elected into the bishoprike, to conforme to the old custome of others before him, sailed ouer into France, and there at Floriake (after the vsuall manner aboue mentioned of Englishmen) receiued the profession and habit of monkish religion, as saith my foresaid author. And like as the said Oda first being no monke, was made archbishop of Canturburie: so also Ulfanus the same time being bishop of Yorke and of Worcester, differed from diuers his predecessors before him in profession and habit: of whom the forenamed author thus writeth in his third booke, speaking of Ulfanus: Qui sanctitate discrepabat & habitu: that is, Hee differed in sanctimonie and in habit. Whereby is to be collected, that in those daies was a diuersitie in habit and garment, not onely betweene monkes and bishops, but also betweene one bishop and another; albeit what difference it was, yet I do not find. But I returne againe to Oda, who by the description of his manners, might seeme not to be the worst that occupied that place, were it not that our lying historics faining false miracles vpon him (as they do of others) make him indeed to seeme worse then he was. As where they imagine that hee should see from heauen a sword fall into the seabbard of king Athelstan, which there he should conceale, to defend the church of Canturburie with his prayers from raine. And also where hee should turne the bread of the altar (as the writer reporteth it) into lively flesh, and from flesh into bread againe, to conuince the people which before doubted in the same. Where note against (good reader) that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is vntrue, yet is it to be noted that in those daies was a great doubt amongst Englishmen of the popish sacrament, and that transubstantiation was not receiued into the christian creed. The like iudgement is to be giuen also of that, where our English writers testifying of the same Oda, say that hee should prophesie long before of Dunstan to be his successor in the church of Canturbury. But to let these fantasies and idle stories passe, this which we find of Oda, his owne writing is certaine, that the said Oda in the reigne of king Edmund, had a synod conuened of the chiefe prelats and men of the clergie in his time, to whom he directed this letter here following; the copie whereof I thought to expresse, for the reader to see what zealous care reigned in archbishops then toward the church of the Lord. The words of his epistle proceed in this tenor.

Guliel. de pont. lib. 2. Polychro. lib. 6. cap. 6. Oda made monke at Floriake, after he was archbishop of Canturburie. Guliel. de pont. lib. 2.

Guliel. lib. 3. de pont. Ebor.

Elfinus archbishop of Canturburie elect. S. Edmunsburie.

The difference of habit and garments among men of the church.

The childeren of K. Edmund. Anno 946

Falsse and lying miracles noted vpon Oda.

Edreds gouernment of the realme.

A note to the reader.

Dunstan made bishop of Worcester and after of London.

Transubstantiation not yet receiued.

Tithe lie and all.

K. Edwin.

## The letter or epistle of Odo archbishop of Canturburie sent to the other bishops and men of the clergie.

The letter of Oda archbishop, to the prelats.

MIrabili cunĉti potentis polorum præsulis clementia opitulante, ego Odo ecclesiæ saluatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi archicpiscopus, Douernensis ciuitatis metropolitanus, coepiscopis fidei catholicæ compagatoribus, spiritualibi charitatis vigore meis confratribus, præsentium prosperitatem æthereig; decoris beatitudinem, &c.

The same in English.

By the diuine grace of God, I Odo of the church of our Lord and sauiour Iesus Christ, archbishop and metropolitan of the citie of Douer, to my fellow bishops and fellow planters of the catholike faith, & my fellow brethren in the spirituall bond of charity, with greeting, wish prosperity in this world present, and in the world to come felicitie. If it were so, or by any meanes could be, that all the riches of this world were laid before mine eyes, so that I being emperor had all things vniuersally vnder my subiection, all those things would I gladly giue, yea & my life also would offer willingly for the health of your soules, as which also doe desire and trust likewise my selfe to be strengthened with the feruencie of your holinesse, as appertaining to those things wherein the Lord our God hath set vs to be workemen, &c.

The king suspended by the archbishop. Edwin an enemie vnto monks.

And after a few other words of like effect, wherein he doth declare the heauie burthen of his office, it followeth after this manner.

Monks put out, and secular priests placed in their roomes.

Wherfore most humbly & one vnworthie, but yet a deuout fellow brother of yours, I beseech and exhort your holines, that you will not shew your selues cold & negligent in the cure and regiment of soules, so that in the time of the fearfull iudgement, the Lord do not complaine of you, saying: My shepheards did not feed my flocke, but they fed themselues. And againe: They were princes of my flocke, and I knew not of it. But rather let vs take heed and be diligent ouer the houshold of the Lord, ouer which he hath set vs to be the leaders, to giue them meate and true measure of corne in time conuenient: that is to say, whole-



wholesome doctrine. And although vpon mine owne demerits or worthinesse I doe not presume to comfort or exhort any man: but as one being vnworthie and faultie in transgressions innumerable, am glad, and stand in need rather to bee strengthened by your brotherly admonitions: yet for the ancient authoritie of my predecessors, as of Augustine of happie memorie, and also of all other saints, by whose industrie the rule of christianitie did first flourish and spring from this metropolitan see vnto all quarters of England: therefore I haue thought good to direct vnto you these my letters to the profit of you all: especially, for that our renowned and princely king Edmund, with all his people, doth ioy to follow that which he heareth in you and of you: and also, for so much as all his subiects which be vnder his imperiall dominion, doe loue and delight to follow most ioyfully the fame and report of your sincere conuersation, &c.

This Odo continued bishop the space of twentie yeares. After whom Elfinus was elected and ordained by the king to succed through fauour and money: but in going to Rome for the popes pall, in his iourney through the Alps, he deceased and died so: cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leaue of Christ) followeth to be declared.

This Edmund gaue to S. Edmund the martyr before mentioned, the towne of Wedjchechworth, which is now called S. Edmundsbury, with great reuenues and lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the friuolous miracles which our monkish story-writers here faine of this good Edmund, by the way (or rather out of the way) I let them passe.

And thus much concerning the reigne of king Edmund, who after he had reigned six yeares and a halfe, was slaine, as is said, at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glastenburie of Dunstan: leauing behind him two children, Edwin and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the foresaid children were yet young and vnder age, therfore Edred brother to king Edmund, and vncle to the children, gouerned as protector about the space of nine yeares and a halfe, till Edwin the eldest sonne came to age. This Edred with great moderation and fidelity to the young children behaued himselfe, during the time of his gouernment. In his time Dunstan was promoted through the means of Oda the archbishop, from abbat of Glastenburie, to bee bishop of Worcester, and after of London. By the counsell of this Dunstan, Edred was much ruled, and to much thereto addicted: in so much that the foresaid Edred is reported in stories to submit himselfe vnto much fond penance and castigations, inflicted to him of the said Dunstan. Such religious deuotion was then in princes, and more blind superstition in bishops. And here againe is another miracle as fantasticall as the other before, forged of Dunstan, that when that Edred being sicke, sent for Dunstan to be his confessor, by whom Dunstan should heare a voice declaring to him before, that Edred was already departed, at the declaring whereof Dunstans horse fell immediatly dead vnder him, with tile and all.

## King Edwin.

EDwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund afore mentioned, after his vncle Edred, began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. Of this Edwin it is reported of diuers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his lords, he shake suddenly from them, entred a secret chamber, to the companie of a certaine woman whom hee inordinately retained (being, as some say, another mans wife) whose husband he had before slaine, as others say being of his alliance, to the great mislliking of his lords, and especially of the clergie. Dunstan was not yet but abbat of Glastenburie, who following the king into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Oda the archbishop, causing him to be separat from the companie of the foresaid partie; by the which Oda, the king was for his fact suspended out of the church. By reason whereof, the king being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his land, and forced him for a season to flie into Flanders, where he was in the monasterie of saint Amandus. About the same season the monasticall order of Benedict monks, or blacke monks (as they were called) began to multiple and increase here in England. In so much that where before time other priests and canons had been placed, these monks were in their roomes set in, and the secular priests (as they then were called, or canons) put out. But king Edwin, for the displeasure he bare to Dunstan, did so ber all the order of the said monks, that in Malmsburie, Glastenburie, and other places more, he thrust out the monks, and set in secular priests in their stead.

The death of king Edwin.

Notwithstanding, it was not long but these priests and canons were againe removed, and the said monks in their stead restored, both in the foresaid houses, and in diuers other churches cathedrall besides, as in the next leafe of king Edgar (Christ willing) shall more at large appeare.

In fine, king Edwin being hated by reason of certaine his demeanors of all his subiects (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians) was by them removed from his kingly honor, and his brother Edgar in his stead receiued, so that the riuer of Thames diuided both their kingdoms. Which Edwin after he had reigned about the tearme of foure yeares departed, leauing no heire of his body. Wherefore the rule of the land fell vnto Edgar his younger brother.

## King Edgar.

EDgar the second sonne of Edmund and brother to Edwin, being of the age of fiftene yeares, began his reigne ouer the realme of England, in the yeare of our Lord 959. but was not crowned till fourtene yeares after: the causes whereof here vnder follow, Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his reigne hee called home Dunstan, whom king Edwin before had exiled. Then was Dunstan, which before was abbat of Glastenburie, made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after, this Odo archbishop of Canturburie deceased, after hee had gouerned that church 24 yeares. After whom Withilmus bishop of Winchester first was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that roome, Dunstan was ordeined archbishop, the other sent home againe to his old church. Where note by the way, how in those daies the donation and assigning of ecclesiasticall dignities remained in the kings hand, only they set their pall from Rome as a token of the popes confirmation. So Dunstan being by the king made archbishop, take his iourney to Rome for his pall of pope Iohn the 13. which was about the beginning of the kings reigne. Thus Dunstan obtaining his pall, shortly after his returne againe from Rome, intreateth king Edgar, that Oswaldus (who, as is said, was made monke at Floriake, and was nephue to Odo late bishop of Canturburie) might bee promoted to the bishopris of Worcester; which thing to him was granted. And not long after, though the meanes of the said Dunstan, Athelwolde (vpon Iodocus decease) to be the great patron of monkerie) first monke at Glastenburie, then abbat of Abendon, was also made bishop of Winchester. Of this Ethelwaldus, Gulielmus libro de gestis pontificum recordeth, that what time he was a monke in the house of Glastenburie, the abbat had a vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleepe a certaine great tree, the branches whereof extended throughout all the foure quarters of the realme, which branches were all couered with many little monks coules, other in the top of y tree was one great mitre coule, which in spreading it selfe ouer the other coules, inclosed all the tree, which mitre coule in the tree top, mine author thinketh in the interpretation applieth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of such prodigious fantasies our monkish historics be full; and not only our historics of England, but also the heathen stories of the gentiles bee stuffed with such kind of dreames of much like effect.

Of such a like dreame we read of the mother of Athelstan, how the mone did spring out of his wombe, and gaue light to all England. Also of king Charles the emperor, how he was led by a thief to see the torments of hell. Likewise of Furceus the hermite mentioned in the third booke of Beda, who saw the tops of heauen & the foure fires that should destroy the world: the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at baptisme; the second fire was of the couetous; the third of dissention; the fourth was of the fire of iniquitie and wrongfull dealing. Item in like sort of the dreame of Dunstan, and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Wilfanus, Wilrinus and Swithinus, &c. Of the dreame of the mother of this Ethelwold, who being great with him, did see a golden eagle flie out of his mouth, &c. Of the dreame likewise, or the vision of king Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples, and of the pots one being full of water, the other empte, &c. Also of king Edward the confessor, touching the ruine of the land by the conquerors of the Normans. We reade also in the historie of Assiages, how hee dreamed of Cyrus, and likewise of many other dreames in the bookes of the monks, and of the ethnike writers. For what cannot either the vile dalitie of mans head, or the deception of the lying spirit worke by man, in foresheming such earthly euents as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to bee vnderstood betweene these earthly dreames, speaking of earthly things, and matters of humaine superstition; and betweene other spirituall relations sent by God touching spirituall matters of the church pertaining to mans saluation. But to our purpose, by this dreame, and by the euent which followed after, it may appeare how and by what meanes the multitude of monks, began first to swarme in the churches of England: that is, in the daies of this Edgar, by the meanes of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswold. Albeit Dunstan was the chiefest ringleader of this race; yet Ethelwold being moto bishop of Winchester, and Oswold bishop of Worcester here next mentioned behind for their parts. By the infligation and counsell of these three aforesaid, king Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to redifie monasteries decayed by the Danes more then forte. As the house of Elie, Glastenburie, Abbington, Burga by Stamford, Thorney, Ramsey, Milton, Wenton, Winchcombe, Thamsforde in Deuonshire, with diuers more. In the setting vp and building of the which



Anno 959

King Edgar called Pacificus.

Dunstan made bishop of Worcester, and after of London. Ex hist. Mss. Houeden.

Spirituall liuings giuen by the king, and not by the pope.

Oswaldus bishop of Worcester, and after of Yorke.

Athelwoldus bishop of Winc. a great maintainer of monkerie.

Anno 963

Ex Guliel. Malmesburiensis de gest. pontif. Ang.

Monkish dreames.

Dreames not necessarie to be regarded.

Difference of dreames.

How and where monks first began to swarme in England.

Dunstan, Ethelwolde, Oswolde, three archbishops and prelats.

Monks builde and repaire by king Edgar.

the foresaid Ethelwold was a great doer and a founder vnder the king. Moreouer, through the motion of this Dunstan and his fellowes, king Edgar in diuers great houses and cathedral churches, where prebendaries and priests were before, displaced the priests and set in monks. Whereof wee read in the chronicles of Roger Houeden, in words and forme as followeth:

*Roger. Houeden. lib. Contin. ante num. post Bed. hist. Chronicon Iornalense. Guliel. de gestis pontif. lib. 2.*

Hic namque Ethelwoldus regem, cuius eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maximè prouocauit, vt clericos a monasterijs expelleret, & monachos sanctimonialesq; in eis collocaret, &c. that is, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the kings counsell, did vrge the king chiefly to expell clerkes out of monasteries, and in their roomes to bestow monks and nunnes, &c. Whereunto accordeth likewise Historia Iornalensis, conteyning the like effect in these words: Hoc anno Ethelwoldus Wint. & Oswaldus Wigornienſis, epiſcopi, iuſſu regis Edgari (clericis de quibuſdam maioribus eccleſijs expulſis) monachos inſtituerunt, aut de eiſdem clericis & alijs monachos in eiſdem fecerunt. Gulielmus also writing of the time of Dunstan, maketh the matter some what more plaine, where he saith: Itaq; clerici multarum eccleſiarum data optione, vt aut amictum mutarent, aut locis valedicerent, melioribus habitaculis vacue facientes: ſurgebant itaque in tota inſula religioſorum monaſteria, cumulabantur mole pretioſi metalli ſanctorum altaria, &c. Thus the secular priests being put to their choice, whether to change their habit, or to leaue their roomes, departed out of their houses, giuing place for other better men to come in. Then the houses and monasteries of religious men through all the realme went vp apace, &c.

Oswold bishop of Worcester, and archbishop of Yorke.

The policie of Oswald in driuing out priests to place in monks.

> Anno 969 God. 1. 2. de geſt. pont. Chr. Iornalenſ. in vita Edgari.

After the kings mind was thus persuaded and incited by these bishops to aduance monkery, then Oswoldus bishop of Worcester, and also made archbishop of Yorke after the decease of Odilettus, Sui voti compos effectus (as Houeden writeth) hauing his see in the cathedrall church here of S. Peter, began first with faire persuasions to allay the minds of the canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession and to be made monks, or no. Which when hee saw it would not take effect, he practised this policie with them. There to the said church of S. Peter, within the churchyard he erected another church of our Ladie, which when hee had replenished with monks, there he continually frequented, there hee kept, there he sat, and was euer there conuersant. By reason whereof the other church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselues so to bee left and neglected both of the bishop and of the people, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driuen of shame either to relinquith the house (such as would not enter the monkish profession) or else to become monks, such as had nothing else to lay vpon. After the like superstition (although not after the same subtilitie) did Ethelwold also driue out the canons and priests from the new monasterie in Winchester, afterward called Hida, and placed his monks. So in Oxford and in Gildune, with diuers other places more, the secular priests with their wiues were expelled, to giue place to monks. The cause whereof is thus pretended in certains storie-writers, whom I see also Fabian to follow: for that the priest and clerkes were thought slacke and negligent in their church seruice, and set in vicars in their stead, while they liued in pleasure, & inſtipend the patrimony of the church after their owne lust. Then king Edgar gaue to the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries, who also not long after shewed themselues as negligent as the others. Wherfore king Edgar (as mine authors write) by the consent of pope Iohn the thirteenth voided clerely the priests, and ordained there monks. Although certaine of the nobles, and some of the prelats were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following may partly appeare.

Prebendaries and priests slacke in their duite.

Priests voided of cathedrall churches, and monks set in.

The difference, order, and institution of monks examined.

But for so much as wee haue entred into the mention of monks and nuns, and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our moniſh stories commended: lest perhaps the simple reader may be deceiued therby, in hearing the name of monks in all histories of times to be such an ancient thing in christian life, euen from the primitiue church after the apostles time, both commonly recited & well received: therefore to helpe the iudgement of the ignorant, and to preuent all error herein, it shall not be vnprofitable, in following the present occasion here giuen (by way of a little digression) to intermeddle some what concerning the originall institution of monks, what they were in the old time which were called Monachi, wherein the monks of the primitiue time did differ from the monks of the middle time, and from these our monks now of this latter age: moreouer, wherein all these three do differ from priests (as we call them) and from men of the clergie. Wherfore to answere to the superstitious scruple of such, which allege the old antiquity of the name & title of monks: first I grant the name and order of monks to be of old continuance, bearing neere from the time of 300 yeres after Christ. Of whom diuers old authors do record, as Augustinus, Hieronymus, Basilius Magnus, who was also himselfe one of the first institutors and commenders of that superstition, Chryſoſtomus, Nazianzenus, Cuagrius, Sozomenus, Dionyſius, and diuers others. In the number of these monks (which there were diuided into heremits or anachorits, and into Coenobits) were Antonius, Paulus, Johannes, with diuers other recluses. Among the which was Hieronie, Basil, Macharius, Illarius, Pambus, Eſtammon, Simeon, with infinite others both in Palestina, Syria, Thebaide, Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Africa and in Scythia. In so much that Cassianus lib. 2. cap. 4. De Canon. Nocturn. orat. maketh mention of a certaine monasterie in Thebaide, wherein were aboue 5000 monks, vnder the gouernment of one abbat. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thousand and two hundred monks vnder one maner ruling, in the yeare of our Lord 596. Whereby it appeareth that monks were then, and two hundred yeares before, in the primitiue time of the church. But what monks these were, is to be considered: such as either by tyrannie of persecution were driuen into solitarie and desert places, or else such as not constreined of any, but of their owne voluntarie deuotion (ioyned with some superstition among, for the loue they had vnto spirituall contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world) swithdrew themselues from all companie, either hauing nothing to themselues proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but lay men: of which laymen, there were two sundrie sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which onely were partakers of the sacraments; the other in following a monasticall kind of life, were called monks (being nothing but lay men) leading a more seuere and stricter trade of life then the others, as may sufficiently appeare by August. lib. de moribus eccleſiæ, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus monachorum. Item, epiſtola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum, writting these words: Alia monachorum eſt cauſa, alia clericorum; clerici paſcunt oues, ego paſcor, &c: that is, One thing pertaineth to monks, an other thing to them of the clergie; they of the clergie feed their flock, I am fed, &c. Ex ex Dionyſio. Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth canon of the councell of Chalcedon, where it is prouided, Nemo nachi se eccleſiaſtici negotijs immisceant: that is, That monks should not intermeddle with matters of the church, &c. Et Leo epiſtola 62. vetat monachos & laicos, etſi ſcientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & concionandi.

*Cassian. lib. 2. cap. 4. de canon. Nocturn. orat.*

*Cassianus lib. de statutis ceno-biorum. cap. 4.*

Superstition.

*Cassian. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

Two sorts of lay men.

Monks in the old time were no other but lay men, leading a strict life.

*August. de mor. eccle. & Hieronym. ad Heliodor. Dionyſ. epiſt. concil. Chalc. can. 4.*

Monks forbidden to intermedle with matters ecclesiasticall.

By these foresaid authors alleaged, it is euident, that monks in the former age of the church, albeit they liued a solitarie life, yet they were then no other but onely lay men, differing from priests, and differing from the other monks which succeeded them afterwards in the middle age of the church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescript forme either of diet or apparell, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of saint Augustine, which be these: Neque inter hæc nemo vrgetur in aſpera, quæ ferre non poteſt: milli quod recuſat imponitur. Nec ideo contemnitur à cæteris, in quod eis imitandis se fatetur inualidum. Meminerunt enim quantoperè commendata ſit in ſcripturis charitas. Meminerunt omnia munda mundis, &c. Non quod intrat in os coinquinat hominem, ſed quod exit. Itaque non reijciendis generibus ciborum, quaſi pollutis, ſed concupiſcentiæ perdomandæ, & dilectioni fratrum retinendæ imiginilat omnis industria. And Sozomen. lib. 3. cap. 16. Speaking of the monks of the same time, which in cities had seuerall mansions from others, saith: Alij in urbe ciuitatum conuerſabantur, ſic ſeipſos gerentes, vt nullius momenti viderentur, & à mulcis nihil differrent, &c. Some liue in cities so behauing themselues, as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the latter monks was, in that they remained no other but in the order of lay men (onely being of a stricter life then the rest) and had nothing to doe in matters and charges eccleſiaſtical: which was afterward broken by pope Boniface the fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seene and said. Thirdly, the foresaid monks of that age (albeit the most part of them liued sole and single from wiues) yet some of them were married: certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of such as were married speaketh Athanasius in epiſtola ad Dracontium, qui ait ſe nouiſſe & monachos & epiſcopos coniuges & liberorum patres, &c: that is, Which saith, that he knew both monks and bishops married men, and fathers of children, &c.

Monks differing from priests.

Monks in the primitiue time differing from monks in the second age of the church.

*August. de inſtitutis monachorum.*

Monkery no mother of superstition and hypocriſie.

Basilius Magnus. Nazianz. mag.

Monks of the middle and latter age of the church deſcribed.

Monks of the primitiue time were no clerks, but meere laymen.

Causes of the founding of monasteries and nunries, tending to the deprauation of Christs paſſion and christian faith.

Monks of the old time some married, none reſtrained from marriage.

And yet the said monks of the old time, though they were better then the other which followed them; yet all that notwithstanding, superstition with them and among them began then to creepe into the church through the craftie subtilitie of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free iuſtification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples do declare the paine and prodigious superstition of these monasticall sort of men: which examples doe not lacke, if leisure rather did not lacke to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to inſert, to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and vnderstand, how shortly after the time of Christ and his apostles, the doctrine of christian iuſtification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, and the price of Christs passion to bee obscured through the vaine opinion of mens merits, &c. A certaine abbat named Moses thus testifieth of himselfe in the collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himselfe with much fasting & watching, that sometimes for two or three daies together, not onely hee felt no

Superstition crept in with monkerie.

The ignorance of our free iuſtification by Christ is the cause of all superstition.

*Ex Cassia. capit. 17. collat. 2.*



no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driuen also from sleep. In so much that hee was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sleepe to be giuen him some peece of the night. In the same author mention is made of a certaine old man an heremit, who because he had conceiued in himselfe such a purpose neuer to eat meat, without he had some ghest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstaine fiue daies together vntill sunday, while he came to the church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Two other examples yet more vsuall I adde out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtilty of Satan through superstition and false colour of holinesse, blindeth the miserable cities of such, which rather attend mens traditions then the word of God. In the fortith chapter of the said author, in his book De agrimargia, is told of a certaine abbat named Joannes, in the desert wilderness of Scythia, who sent two of his nouices with figs vnto one that was sicke in the wilderneſſe eighteen miles off from the church. It chanced these two young nouices missing the way, wandered so long in the wilde forest or wilderness and could not find the cell, that for emptinesse and weariness they waxed faint and tired: and yet rather would they die then taste the figs committed to them to carry, and so did: for thorough after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

Another story he also reciteth of two monasticall brethren, who making their progresse in the desert of Thebaide, purposed with themselues to take no sustenance but such as the Lord should minister himselfe vnto them. It happened as they were wandering desolat in the desert, and fainting almost for penury, certaine Mayles, a kind of people by nature fierce & cruell, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity, came forth, and of their owne accord offered bread vnto them: which bread the one thankfully receiued as sent of God, the other as counting it sent of man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lack perished.

Hereunto might I also annex the story of Mucius, who to declare his obedience, did not sticke at the commandement of his abbat, to call his sonne into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the monks in those daies drowned in superstition. What is this, but for mans traditions and conuandements to transgresse the commandement of God, which saith: Thou shalt do no murther; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is so blind that seeth not by these and infinit examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep in to the church? Wherein I cannot marueil enough, seeing that age of the church had in it so many learned doctors, who could not only did approue and allow these monasticall sects of life, but also certaine themselues were the authors and institutors of the same, yea and of mens traditions made the seruice of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Basilius Magnus, and Nazianzenus, who with immoderate austerity did so pluck downe themselues, that when they were called to the office of bishops, they were not able to sustaine the labor thereof.

Monks of the middle and latter age of the church.

After these foresaid monks of that time aboue rehearsed, followed other monks of the middle age of the church; who as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolat dens in the dark wildernesse, to approch more neere to great townes; where they had solemn monasteries founded by kings & queenes, and kings daughters, and other rich consuls, as is partly before touched; and the causes also touched withall, for the which they were first founded, as these: Pro remedio animæ meæ, pro remiſſione peccatorum meorum, pro redemptione peccatorum meorum, & pro ſalute regnorum, quiquemeo ſubiacent regimini populorum, in honorem glorioſæ virginis, &c. For all these impious and erroneous titles and causes we find alleged in stories, as in Palmelius burienſis, Jornalenſis, Henricus, & others more. In which histories I also note, that the most part of these aforesaid monasteries were erected first vpon some great murther, either by war in the field, or priuatly committed at home, as shall well appeare to them which read their bookes whom I haue alleged. But to returne to our monks againe, who (as is said) first began to creep from the cold field into warme townes and cloſters, from townes then into cities, and at length from their cloſe cels and cities into cathedral churches (as here appeareth by this story of king Edgar) where, not only they did abound in wealth and riches (especially these monks of our latter time) but much more did swim in superstition and Phariſaicall hypocriſie, being puffed and tied in all their doings, to certaine prescript rules and formall obseruances: in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures, carry man apparelled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the yere did serue, but as the coated rules and order of euery sect did inforce them. The number of which sects was infinitly diuers: some after Basilius rule went in white: some after Benets rule in blacke: some Cluniacenses, first set vp by Otho in the time of this king Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benets order: some after Hieronimes rule, leather girded, and coped about their white cote: some Gregorians, copper colored: some Dealle vmbrosa, grap monks: some Grandmontenſes, wearing a cote of mailes vpon their bare bodies, with a black cloke thereupon: some Celterians, who had white rochets on a black cote: some Celtines all in blew, both cloke, coule and cap: some Charter monks, wearing haircloth next their bodies: some Flagellants going bare foot in long white linnen shirts, with an open place in the backe, where they beat themselues with scourges on the bare skin euery day before the peoples eies, till the blood ran downe, saying that it was reuealed to them by an angell, that in so scourging themselues, within thirty daies and twelue houres, they should be made so pure from sinne, as they were when they first receiued baptisme: some Shaued monks: some Jesuits with a white girdle and a ruffet coule. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable sects & disguised orders of their fraternities? some holding of S. Benet, some of S. Hierome, some of S. Basil, some of S. Bernard, some of S. Bridget, some of S. Bruno, some of S. Lewis, as though it were not enough for christians to hold of Christ only. So subiect were they to seruile rules, that no part of christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunke in superstition, that not only they had lost Christs religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet gouernment of reason in all outward doings, wherein no one rule can serue for all men: the circumstance of time, place, person, and businesse being so sundry and diuers: contrary among these, no reason but only the knacke of a bell ruled all their doings, their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating, their comming in, their going out, their talking, their silence, and altogether like insensible people, either not hauing reason to rule themselues, or else as persons vngratefull to God, neither inioying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet vsing the grace of Christs liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Monks are subiect and ruled by the knocke of a bell.

Thus thou seest (gentle reader) sufficiently declared, what the monks were in the primitiue time of the church, and what were the monks of the middle age, and of these our latter daies of the church. Whereunto to ioyne this withall, that where the monks of elder time (as is said) were mere lay men and no spirituall ministers; afterward Bonifacius the fourth made a decree, An. 606, that monks might vse the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and also of absoluing them of their sinnes, &c. So then monks, who in the beginning were but lay men, and no spirituall ministers, forbidden by the generall councell of Chalcedon (as is aboue related) to intermeddle with matters ecclesiasticall; afterward in processe of time, did so much intrude vpon the office of spirituall ministers, that at length the priests were discharged out of their cathedrall churches, and monks set in their places: because that monks in those daies leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holinesse among the people then the priests, who then in the daies of king Edgar had wiues (at least so many as would) no law forbidding them to the contrare, till the time of Hildebrand, now called Gregory the seuenth, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the booke next following.

Monks made spirituall ministers, contrary to the old decrees and custome of the church.

Priests in king Edgars time had wiues.

And thus much by the way, as touching the order and profession of monks. Now to turne in againe from whence we digressed, that is, to the matter of king Edgar, who following the counsell and leading of Dunstan, and the foresaid Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, was some what thereby inclined to superstition: but otherwise of his owne nature well giuen to all vertues and princely acts worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in iustice, and sharp in correction of vices (as well in his magistrates as of other subiects) that never before his daies was lesse seldomy by robbers, nor lesse extortion or bribery by false officers. Such prouinces and lordships as were not yet come vnder the kings subiection, he vnited and adioyned to his dominion: and so made one perfect monarchy of the whole realme of England, with all the Iands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked, he kept vnder, he repressed them that were rebels, the godly he maintained, he loued the modest, hee was deuout to God, and beloued of his subiects, whom he gouerned in much peace and quietnesse. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did blesse him with much abundance of peace and rest from all wars: so that as the story recordeth of him, Nullas infidias domeſticorum, nullum exterminium alienorum ſenſerit, for the which he was called Pacificus. He neither tasted of any privy treason among his subiects; nor of any invasion of forren enemies. So studious he was of the publike profit of his realme, and fruitfull in his gouernment, that as the said story testifieth of him, Nullus fere annus in chronicis præterijt, quo non magnum & neceſſarium patriæ aliquid fecerit: No yere passed in all the time of his raigne, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the commonwealth, &c. A great maintainer he was of religion and learning, not forgetting therein the forsteps of king Alfred his predecessor. Among his other princely vertues this chiefly is to bee regarded, that whereas other princes commonly in much peace and quietnes are wont to growe into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed vnto them: this king in continu-

Edgarus rex pacificus.

King Edgar and king Alfred compared together.

A note for men of subtilty to marke.

A notable example of a prince, to admonish all princes how to rule.

Matters first done in the raigne of Englande.

The preuention of king Edgar in keeping the seas.

A notable example in a prince for all good princes to marke and to follow.

The honour of king Edgar to attend vpon drunken vessels.

Eight kings do homage to king Edgar.

The glory of king Edgar ex-postulated.

Wherein kings ought to glory.

King Edgar a louer of religious professors of monkerie. Ex Malmesb.

Vices noted in king Edgar.

King Edgar circumuented by one of his counsell.

continuance of peace (that notwithstanding) kept euer with him such a watch, and a vigilant security ioined with a seemely elemencie, that I cannot here but recite the witnesse of our history-writers, testifying of his diligent care ouer the commonwealth, which was so great, Vt nullum cuiuscunque dignitatis hominem leges eludere impune permitteret: that is, That hee would suffer no man, of what degree of nobilitie so euer hee were, to bally out his lawes without condigne punishment, &c. And followeth more in the same author: Nemo eius tempore priuatus latro, nemo popularis praedo, nisi qui malles in fortunas alienas grassari propriae vitae dispendio, &c. In all his time there was neither any priuy picker, nor open theefe, but he that in stealing other mens goods, would venture and hazard his owne life (as he was sure) the losse of his owne life, &c. Guliel. de reg.

Moreouer, as the fruitious industry of this prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent prouision did not lacke in this also, in deuising out the deuouring and rauening wolues throughout all his land. Wherein he shed this policie, in causing Ludwallus prince or king of Wales, to yeeld to him yerely by way of tribute three hundred wolues. By meanes whereof, within the space of foure yeres after in England & Wales, might scarcely be found one wolfe aliue.

This Edgar among other of his politike deeds, had in readinesse 3600 ships of warre, to scoure the seas in the summer time, whereof 1200 kept the east seas, as many to defend the west side, against as many on the south seas, to repulse the inuasion of forren enemies. Moreouer, in winter season, the vse and manner of this vertuous king was this: During all the time of his life, to ride ouer the land in progresse, searching and inquiring diligently (to vse here the words of mine author) Quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum obseruarentur: & ne pauperes à potentibus praeiudicium passi opprimerentur: that is, How his lawes and statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poore should suffer no preiudice, or be oppressed by any manner of waies by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him like a phenix to flie alone, that of all his posterity so few there be that seeke to keepe him company. And although I haue hetherto more already of this king, then I thinke will well be followed, yet this more is to bee added to the worthinesse of his other acts, that whereas by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in diuers places of England, much excessiue drinking was vsed, whereupon insued drunkennesse and many other vices, to the euill example and hurt of his subiects: her therefore to preuent that euill, ordained certaine cups with pins or nailes set in them, adding thereunto a law, that what persons drank past that marke at one draught, should forfet a certaine penny, whereof one halfe should fall to the accuser, and the other halfe to the ruler of the borough or towne, where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar by diuers authors, that about the thirteenth yere of his raigne, hee being at Chester, eight kings (called in histories Subreguli) to wit, petie kinges, or vnder kings, came and did homage to him. Of whom the first was the king of Scots, called Kinadius, Dacolinus of Cumberland, Mackus or Maxcolinus king of Monia, and of diuers other Iles: and all the kings of Wales, the names of whom were Dufnall, or Dunewaldus, Siferth, Huwall, Jacob, Michel, Juchel. All which kings after they had giuen their fidelity to Edgar, the next day following (for a pompe or ostite) he erected with these aforesaid kings into the riuer of Dee, there setting in a boat, take the role of the helme, and caused these eight kings, euery person taking an ore in his hand, to row him vp and downe the riuer to and from the church of S. Johns, vnto his palace againe, in token that he was master and lord of so many prouinces: whereupon hee is reported to haue said in this manner. Tunc demum poste successores suos gloriari, reges Angliae esse, cum tanta praerogatiua honoris & dignitatis vigere. In my mind this king had said much better, if he had rather said with S. Paul, Absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

And thus we haue heard hitherto touching the commendation of king Edgar, such reports as the old monkish writers thought to be false vnto him. as that he great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded so many monasteries for them, as were sundaies in the yere, as some say: or as Edmer reporteth, but forty and eight.

Now on the other side, what vices in him were reigning, let vs likewise consider, according as we finde in the said authors described, which make vnto to his aduancement. Whereof the first vice is noted to be enuie, as well vpon others, as namely vpon a certaine earle being of his secret counsell, called Athelwold. The storie is this: Odgarus duke of Deuonshire, had a certaine daughter named Elfrida, whose beautie being highly commended to the king, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid Athelwold (whom he especially trusted) to the parts, to see and to bring him word againe and if her beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the match betweene them. Athelwold well bidding the party, and seeing her beauty nothing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serue his owne turne, told all things contrarie vnto the king. Whereupon the king withdrawing his mind otherwise, in the end it came to passe that Athelwold himselfe did marry her.

Not long after, the king vnderstanding further by the complaints and rumors of certaine how he was preuented and beguiled, set a faire face vpon the matter before Athelwold, and merily iesting with him, told him how he would come and see his wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Athelwold the husband perceiuing this matter to goe hardly with him, made hast to his wife, declaring to her the comming of the king, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done, desired her of all loue, as she would saue his life, to disgrace and beforme her selfe with garments and such attire, as the king might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this, what did she, but contrary to the request of her husband, and promise of a wife, against the kings comming, trimmed her selfe at the glasse, and decked her in her best array. Whom when the king beheld, he was not so much enamoured with her, as in hatred with her husband, who had so deceiued him. Whereupon the king vpon after, making as though he would go to hunt in the forest of Hartwood, sent for Athelwold to come to him vnder the pretence of hunting, and there ran him through and slew him. After this, the villain son of Athelwold comming to him, the king likewise him slew for his hard hunting: Who answered againe, that which pleaseth the king, ought not to displease him: for the death of which Athelwold, Elfrida afterward builded a monastery of nuns in remission of sinnes.

Another fault which Malmsbury noteth in him, was the comming in of strangers into this land, as Saxons, Flemmings and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of this land, as the foresaid story of Salmesbury recordeth, whose words be these: Vndè factū est, vt fama eius per ora omniū volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandrici, ipsi etiam Dani huc frequenter annauigarent, Edgaro familiares effecti. Quorū aduentus magnum prouinciālibus detrimentū peperit. Inde meritò iureq; reprehendit eum historiæ, &c. That is: Whereby it happened that diuers strangers out of forren countries allured by his fame came into the land, as Saxons, Flemmings, and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The comming of which strangers bred great damage to the realme, and therefore is Edgar iustly blamed in stories, &c. With the which reprehension, all the Saxon stories also do agree.

The third vice to him obiected, was his incontinent and lasciuious luste in beflowing maids, as first of a dukes daughter being a nun, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilfrude: of which Wilfride was borne Editha a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also of another certaine virgin in the towne of Andwar, who by his priuie conueied into his bed by this meanes: The lasciuious king comming to Andwar not far from Winchester, and thinking to haue his pleasure of a certaine dukes daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the maid to be brought into him. The mother of the virgin greeting to haue her daughter made a concubine, secretly by night conueied to the kinges bed in stead of her daughter, another maiden of beauty and fauour not vncomely: vpon the morning rising to her worke, and so being knowne of the king what she was, had granted vnto her of the king such liberty and fauour, that of a seruant she was made an Alderman both to her master, and also to her mistresse. Ex Matthæo Paris. lib. de regib.

Another concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was Egelfleda or Elfleda called Candida, the white daughter of duke Ormere (as Guliel. Malmsbur. recordeth) the being also a professed nun, of whom he begot Edward in bastardy: for the which fact he was inioined by Dunstan seuen yeres penance. After which penance being compleat, then he toke to him a lawfull wife (as Malmsbur. writeth) Elfride, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, as otherwise called Egelred, whereof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter.

Ouer and beside all these vices noted and obiected to king Edgar in our monkish story-writers, I also obserue another no lesse, or rather greater vice then the other afore recited, which was, blind superstition and idolatrous monkery brought into the church of Christ, with the vnwarrantable expelling of lawfull married priests out of their houses. Whereupon what inconueniences insued after in this realme, especially in the house of the Lord, I leaue it to the consideration of them which haue heard of the detestable enormities of those religious votaries: the occasion whereof, first and chiefly began in this Edgar, through the instigation of Dunstan and his fellowes, who after they had inueigled the king, and halfed him both to their purpose, they caused him to call a councell of the clergy: where it was enacted, that the canons of diuers cathedrall churches collegiars, persons, vicars, priests and deacons, with their wiues and children, either should giue ouer that kind of life, or else giue vp their roomes vnto monks, &c. For execution of which decree, two principall bishops were appointed, Athelwold or Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Dunstall bishop of Worcester, as is partly before touched. Osbernus in vita Dunstani. Malmsb. de vit. pont. Rog. Houed.

And

The death of king Edgar.

Ex chronico Saxonico ecclesiæ Wigorniensis.

Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani.

Great detriment hapning in this realme by king Edgar.

Dunstan refuseth to take the king by the hand.

The words of Dunstan to king Edgar.

W. Malmsb.

The incontinent life of king Edgar.

Editha base daughter of Wilfreda the kings lemman.

Penance inioined to king Edgar by Dunstan.

King Edward reigned but three yeres crowned king.

Elfled prouen a nun, and Edward her some proued a bastard.

Edward borne in bastardy of Elfled king Edwards concubine.

Errors in Malmesbury, and cer tine other monks stories.

The first error. The kings penance not inioined for Elfrids, but for Edward.

The second error.

Elfrid the mother of Edward proued to be a professed nun.

King Edgar seduced by Dunstan and Athelwold bishop of Winchester.

Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani, fol. 17. Malmsb. Houeden. & alijs.

The seuing miracles of Elfled, Dunstan, and Editha, expounded.



And thus much concerning the history of king Edgar, and of such things as in his time hapned in the church; which Edgar after he had entred into the parts of Britannie to subdue the rebellion of the Welshmen, and there had spoiled the country of Glamorgan, and wasted the country of Rhos, within ten dates after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen yeres, died, and was buried at Glastenbury, leauing after him two bastards, to wit, Editha and Edward, and one some lawfully begotten named Ethelred, or otherwise by corruption called Egelred, for Edmund the Elder some died before his father.

Now heard before how king Edgar is noted in all stories to be an incontinent liuer in deflouring maids and virgins. Of which virgins, three notoriously are expressed in authors, to wit, Wilfride or Wilfride, the second was the dukes maid at Andwar, neere to Winchester, the third was Elfled mother of Edward, for the which Elfled he was staied & kept backe from his Coronation by Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, the space of seuen yeres; and so the said king beginning his raigne in the sixteenth yer of his age, being the yere of the Lord 959, was crowned at his age one and thirty, An. Dom. 974. as is in the Saxon chronicle of Worcester church to be proued. For the more ratified declaration of which matter, concerning the coronation of the king restrained, and the presumptuous behauior of Dunstan against the king, and his penance by the said Dunstan inioined, ye shall heare both Osberne, Malmesb. and other authors speake in their owne words, as followeth. Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato, &c. After that burnt in aeternum. Item where a certaine great beame or masterpost was loosed out of the place, he with making the signe of a crosse, set it in right frame againe. Moreouer, how the said Dunstan being tempted vpon a time of the diuell with the cogitation of women, caught the diuell by the nose with a payre of tongs, and held him fast. Item, how oft heauenly spirits appeared to him, and vsed to talke with him familiarly. Item how he prophecied of the birth of king Edgar, of the death of king Egelred, of the death of Editha, and of Athelwald bishop of Winchester. Also how our lady with her fellowes appeared visibly to him singing this song: Cantemus domino socie, cantemus honorem: Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio. Againe, how the angels appeared to him, singing the hymne called Kyrierex splendens, &c. And yet these prodigious fantasies with other more are written of him in chronicles, and haue been beleeued in churches.

Among manie other false and lying miracles, forged in this corrupt time of monkerie, the fabulous 97 rather fifth in legend of Editha were not to be ouerpassed, if so thanne and honestly it might well be recited. But to call the dirt of these popeholy monkes in their owne face, which so impudently haue abused the church of Christ, and simplicitie of the people, with their vngracious vanities; let vs see what this miracle is, and how honestlie it is told. Certaine yeares after the death of Editha, saith William of Malmesburie, which yeares Capgraue in his new legend reckoneth to be thirteene, the said Editha and also S. Denis holding her by the hand, appeared to Dunstan in a vision, willing and requiring him that the bodie of Editha in the church of Wilton, should be taken vp and shrined, to the intent it might be honored here in earth of her seruants, according as it is worshipped of her spouse in heauen. Dunstan vpon this comming frō Salisbury to Wilton, where Editha was interred, commanded her body to be taken vp with much honor and solemnitie. Who there in opening her tombe (as both Malmesburie and Capgraue with thame enough record) found all the whole body of this Editha consumed to earth, saue onely her thumbe, her belly, and the part vnder the belly. Whereof the said Editha expounding the meaning, declared that her thumbe remained sound, for the much crossing she vsed with the same. The other parts were incorrupted for a testimonie of her abstinence, and integritie, &c. Ex Malmes. & Capgrauo. What fatan hath so enuied the true sincerite of christian faith, and deuotion, as to contamminat the same with such impudent tales, such filthy vanities, and idolatrous fantasies as this? Such monkes with their detestable houses, where Christs people were so abominably abused and seduced to worship bead carcases of men and women, whether they deserued not to be raced and pluckt downe to the ground, let all shall readers iudge. But of these matters enough and to much.

¶ Here followeth the epitaph, written by Henricus archdeacon of Huntington, vpon the praise and commendation of king Edgar.

*Autor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,*
*Scepriger Edgarus regna superna petit.*
*Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,*
*Quod carnis bellis, clarnit inde magis.*
*Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,*
*Nequitiæ lapsum, iustitiaque locum.*
*Nouit enim regno verum perquirere falso,*
*Immensum modico, perpetuumque breui.*

Among his other lawes, this king ordained that the sunday should be solemnized from saturday at nine of the clocke, till monday morning.

King

A note for men of subtilty to marke.

A notable example of a prince, to admonish all princes how to rule.

Matters first done in the raigne of Englande.

The preuention of king Edgar in keeping the seas.

A notable example in a prince for all good princes to marke and to follow.

The honour of king Edgar to attend vpon drunken vessels.

Eight kings do homage to king Edgar.

The glory of king Edgar ex-postulated.

Wherein kings ought to glory.

King Edgar a louer of religious professors of monkerie. Ex Malmesb.

Vices noted in king Edgar.

King Edgar circumuented by one of his counsell.

The death of king Edgar.

Ex chronico Saxonico ecclesiæ Wigorniensis.

Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani.

Great detriment hapning in this realme by king Edgar.

Dunstan refuseth to take the king by the hand.

The words of Dunstan to king Edgar.

W. Malmsb.

The incontinent life of king Edgar.

Editha base daughter of Wilfreda the kings lemman.

Penance inioined to king Edgar by Dunstan.

King Edward reigned but three yeres crowned king.

Elfled prouen a nun, and Edward her some proued a bastard.

Edward borne in bastardy of Elfled king Edwards concubine.

Errors in Malmesbury, and cer tine other monks stories.

The first error. The kings penance not inioined for Elfrids, but for Edward.

The second error.

Elfrid the mother of Edward proued to be a professed nun.

King Edgar seduced by Dunstan and Athelwold bishop of Winchester.

Ex Osberno in vita Dunstani, fol. 17. Malmsb. Houeden. & alijs.

The seuing miracles of Elfled, Dunstan, and Editha, expounded.

Dunstan a posse-nerue.

Dunstan caught the diuell by the nose with an hot payre of tongs.

Our lady appeared to Dunstan.

Either marueil if certain books and epistles be falsly inscribed to the doctors, when the epistles of Christ are not to ascribe other mens writes also to the Virgin Mary her selfe.

A foule filthy monkish miracle in the story of Editha.

Another name of Dunstan.

The death of king Edgar.

An epitaph commendatory of king Edgar, writen by H. Huntington.

Sunday first ordained from saturday at nine of the clocke to monday morning.

## King Edward called the Martyr.

Anno 975. Byshops of King Edward. *Ex Simone Dunham.*

AFter the death of Edgar no small trouble arose amongst the lords and bishops for succession of the crowne: the principall cause whereof rose vpon this occasion, as by the story of Simon of Durham and Roger Houeden is declared. Immediatly after the decease of the king, Alfericus duke of Mercia, and many other nobles which held with Egelred or Ethelred the only right heire and lawfull sonne of Edgar, mistaking the placing and intruding of monks into churches, and the thrusting out of the secular priests, with their wiues & children out of their ancient possessions, expelled the abbats and monks, and brought in again the forsaid priests with their wiues. Against whom, certaine other there were on the contrary part, that made resistance, as Ethelwine duke of Saffangles, Elfwoldus his brother, and the earle Withnothus, hauing in a counsell together assembled, that they would neuer suffer the religious monks to be expelled and driuen out of the realme, which held vp all religion in the land, and thereupon risen & seuied an armie, whereby to defend by force the monasterics, such as were within the precinct of Saffangila.

Contention amongst the lords for chasing the king.

In this hurly burly amongst the lords about the placing of monks and putting out of priests, rose also the contention about the crowne, who should be their king: the bishops and such lords as fauoured the monks, seeking to aduance such a king as they knew would incline to their side: so that the lords thus diuided, some of them would haue Edward, and some consented vpon Egelred the lawfull sonne. Then Dunstan archbishop of Canturbury, and Oswold archbishop of Yorke, with other their fellow bishops, abbats, and diuers other lords and nobles assembled in a counsell together, the whitch Dunstan at the last came comming in with his crosse in his hand, and bringing Edward before the lords, so perswaded them, that in the end Edward by Dunstans meanes was elected, consecrated, and anointed for their king.

Edward the bastard made king and the right heire put backe.

And thus hast thou (good reader) the very truth of this storie, according to the writing of authors of most antiquity which liued nereest to that age, as Osberne & others; which Osberne liuing in the daies of William Conqueror, wrote this story of Dunstan through the motion of Lanfrancus, and allegeth or rather translateth the same out of such Saxon stories as were written before his time. Writes which Osberne we haue also for witnesse hereof, Nicolas Triuet in his English story written in French, and also Joannes Paris in his French story written in the Latin tongue, where he plainly calleth Edward, Non legitimum filium, that is, No lawfull sonne. Whereunto adde moreouer the testimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in plaine termes like wise repeat the same.

*Ex Osberno, Nic. Triuet, Ioan. Paris. Vincentio, Antonino.*

Now hauing laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let vs come to examine how truly our latter writers do say, which write that Editha and not Edward, was the child for who Dunstan intoined to the king seuen yeres penance, and also how truly they report Edward to be a lawfull heire, and Elfled to be a lawfull wife to king Edgar.

Editha proued not to be the child for whom king Edgar was inioined penance.

For first touching Editha, this is confessed by the said writers themselues, that she was of good yeres at what time Edgar her father was inioined his penance. After the which seuen yeres of his penance expired, hee lined at the most but three yeres and a halfe, which seuen yeres and three yeres and a halfe, do make in all but ten yeres and a halfe. But now the said authors themselues do grant, that she was made abbesse by her father, he being then alme. And how can this then stand with her legend, which saith that she was not lesse than seuen yeres of age? By which account it must needs fall out, that she could not be so little as fiue yeres old, before the birth of that child for whom the king did penance.

The yeres of Editha and Swanild, call be the reputation of Ingen and Houeden.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like manner to consider of the time of Edward: First, this by all writers is granted, that hee was slaine in the fifteenth yeere of his age. Which yeeres do well agree to that child which king Edgar begat in baſtardy, and for the which he did his penance: for the more euidence whereof, let vs come to the supputation of yeers in this sort.

The yeeres of Edward the bastard.

First, the penance of the king after the birth of this child, lasted seuen yeeres. Then the king after the same lined three yeeres and a halfe. After whose death Edward reigned other three yeeres and a halfe, which in all make the full summe of fourteen yeeres. About the count of which age, the said Edward going on his fifteenth yeere, by their owne reckoning was slaine.

King Edward called martyr, proued to be a bastard.

And thus haue ye by manifeſt demonstration proued by the right casting of the yeeres, after their owne grant and reckening, that Editha daughter of Ulfride was not the child for the child which was borne after Edward, and for whom the king was inioined penance: but that Edward rather was borne after Editha, and was the child for whom the penance was intoined: contrary to the opinion commonly received in the church, which for ignorance of the story hath hitherto holden Edward to be an holie martyr, and right heire vnto the crowne. Which error and opinion how it first sprung and by whom, albeit it pertaine not to my story to discusse, yet were it no hard matter to coniecture.

First after that Dunstan and Oswold with other bishops, abbats, and certaine lords and dukes of that faction, for the maintenance of monkery had aduanced Edward to be king, against queene Alfrith mother of Ethelred, and Alfericus duke of Mercia, and certaine other nobles which held the contrary side of the priests against the monks; in processe of time the monks that came after to write stories, perceiuing Dunstan to be reputed in the church of Rome for an holy saint, and the said king Edward for an holy martyr, and partly also to bolster vp their olone religion of monkery so much as they could, to the intent therefore they might saue both the credit of Dunstan and of the king, and especially bearing fauour to their olune religion, and partly that the reputation of the church of Rome should not be disteined by opening the truth of this matter, either did not see, or would not confesse herein what they knew: but rather thought best to blanch the story, and colourably to hide the simple truth thereof, making the people false lie beleeue that Elfleda the mother of Edward, was wife to king Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully borne, and also that Editha was borne after Edward, and to be the child for which the king was inioined penance. All which is false and contrarie both to the order of time aboue declared, and also to the plaine words of Malmesbury, which speaking of king Edgars last contrition, saith in plaine words: Dilexit vnicè integram lecto vni deferens fidem, quoad legitimam vxorem accepit Elfthridem, filiam Ordgari: that is, He had a concubine whom he loued intirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time hee maried for his lawfull wife Elfride the daughter of duke Ordgar, &c. Whereby we haue to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer concubine this was which Malmesbury speaketh of, certaine it is that Edgar lued in whoredome till time hee maried his lawfull wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these arguments and allegations aboue recited, let this also be perpended, how the said Dunstan with his complices, after the killing of king Edward, leauing the right heire of the crowne (which was Ethelred) inuent about (as Capgraue and their olune legend confesseth) to set vp Editha the other bastard to possesse the crowne, but that the more twise then her brother Edward, refused the same. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of Dunstan, and what should be the cause why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the crowne, rather then the lawfull heire, I leaue to all indifferent readers thereof to iudge.

*Malmsb. in lib. de regibus.*

Dunstan bishop with Editha the bastard, to take the crown from the right heire. *Ex Capgraue in vita sancti Edithæ.*

Anno 977.

After that Dunstan and his fellowes had thus set vp Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, that they had established the kingdome of monkery for euer, through the helpe of the young king, and the duke of Saffangles, and certaine other nobles whom they had drawen to their part. Holwbeit this matter pailed not so well with them as they hoped. For vpon after the coronation of this young king, Alfericus duke of Mercia, who followed much the deeds of the queene with other great men, stoutly standing on the contrary side, drone out the monkes from the cathedrall churches, which king Edgar before had set in, and restored against the priests (as Ranulphus saith) with their concubines: but in the history of the library of Joznall, I find it plainly expressed, with their wiues. The words of the writer author be these: Alfericus princeps Merciorum, cæteriquè plures, ciectis monachis de magnis monasterijs, quos rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, clericos cum vxoribus reduxerunt: that is, Alfericus duke of Mercia with other great men moze, drone out the monks from the great monasteries, whom king Edgar had there set in before, and restored against the priests with their wiues.

Duke Alfericus.

*Historia Iornalensis in vita Edgari.*

Whereby it doth euidently appeare, that priests in those daies were maried & had their lawfull wiues. The like before that in king Inas time is plaine, that bishops then had wiues & children, as appeareth by the words of the law then set forth, extant in the history of the said Iornalensis, which bee these: Si quis filiam alterius sine dolo vel parentum, si simile cognationi, & crescat euendatio secundum Weram eius regi, sicut cognationi. Si de parentela sit qui occidit eum, tunc exsedat emendatio patrini, sicut mandata Domini. Si episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c. And thus much by the way for priests wiues and their children.

Bishops and priests in those daies maried in England. *Iornalensis.*

Note to the purpose against our matter, which is to declare how the duke & nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monasteries after the death of king Edgar, therefore let vs heare what the monkish story of the abby of Croyland recordeth: Monachis de quibusdam monasterijs ciectis, clerici sunt introducti, qui statim monasteriorum maneria ducibus terræ distribuebant, vt sic in suas partes obligati, eos contra monachos defensarent. Hunc in modum clerici Euesshamenſi, monachis ejectis, clericis tantum introductis, Terreque tremui decretis ecclesiæ præmiati sunt, quibus regina nouercali nequitia, stans cum clericis in regis opprobrium, faucbat. Cum monachis autem rex, & sancti episcopi perstebant. Sed tyranni fulti reginæ fauore & potentia, super monachos triumphabant. Multus inde tumultus in omni angulo Angliæ factus est. Ex chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Croyland, &c. that is: The monks being expelled out of certaine monasteries, the clerks againe were brought in, who distributed the manors & farmes of the said mona-

*Ex chronico Ingulphi abbatis de Croyland.*

The cause pretended, why this story of king Edward is so sadly corrupted in monkish stories.



Great liuelinesse in the land about placing of monks, and displacing priests.

A controuersie betweene priests and monks. Priests maried agreed on and also confirmed in England. The obiection of priests against the monks. *Guliel. de regib. lib. 2.*

The answer of monks against the priests.

*Malmsb. in lib. de regibus.*

Maried men lines compared with the life of monks.

*Ex Capgraue in vita sancti Edithæ.*

A false president of Dunstans time that shake.

Here lacked a Thomas Cromwell to set out false lying.

Another as simple called at Calne.

Dunstan an enemie to priests wiues.

A sudden fall of three aged men in councell at Calne. *Henricus lib. 5. Gulielmus, Radulphus, Iornalensis, Fabian.*

The horrible wickedness of a queene-mother.

monasteries, to the dukes and lords of the land, that they being obliged to them should defend them against the monks. And to were the monks of Euesham thrust out, and the secular clerks placed, and the lands of the church giuen to the lords, with whom the queene, the kings stepmother holding the same time, tooke part also with the said clerks against the king. On the contrarie part stood the king and the pole bishops taking part with the monks. Holwbeit, the lords and peeres of the realme staying vpon the fauour and power of the queene, triumphed ouer the monks, &c.

Thus as much adoe there was through all quarters of the realme about the matter among the lords, to arose no lesse contention betweene the priests and monks of England. The priests complaining to the king and Dunstan, laid to their charges that it was vncomelie, vnchariteable, pea and vnnaturall, to put out an old knowen dweller for a new vnknowen; and that God was not pleased, that to be taken from the ancient possesso; which by God was giuen him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such iniurie to be done, lest peraduenture the same thing whereof he taught vpon diligall to an other, might after reuert and rebound vpon himselfe at length. The monks on the other side laid for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the new commer, nor yet looked vpon the person, but who so would take the crosse of penance vpon him, and followe Christ in vertuous living, should be his disciple.

These and such other were the allegations of the monks. But whether a monks coule or a liuiuelesse life make a sufficient title to enter into other mens possessions or no, I refer it to the iudgement of the godlie. The troublous cares in mariage, the necessarie prouision for housekeeping, the vertuous bringing vp of children, the daille helping of pouertie and bearing of publike charges, with other manifeſt perturbations & combrances daille incident vnto matrimonie, might iustlie suppose to godlie wise men to come nerer to the right crosse of penance, then the easie and loittering idlenesse of monkerie. In the end, vpon this controuerſie was holden a councell of bishops and other of the clergie. First, at Reading or at Winchester (as Guliel. saith) where the greater part both of the nobles and commons iudged the priests to haue great wrong, & fought by all meanes possible, to bring them againe to their old possessions and dignities. Ionalensis here maketh report all of an image of the crucifix, or a rood standing vpon the Greater wall, where the councell was holden. To this rood Dunstan requireth them all to pray, being beside not ignorant of some spirituall promisse before hand. In the midſt of their prayer the rood (or else some blind monke behind it in atrunke) through the wall, is reported to speake these words: Absit hoc vt fiat, absit hoc vt fiat: iudicastis bene, mutastis non bene. In remembrance whereof these verses were written vnder the rood feet.

Humano more crux præsens zedicitur ore,
Cæsitis affata, quæ perfidis hic fabricata,
Absit vt hoc fiat, & cætera tunc memorata.

Of this Dunstanicall 03 rather Satanicall oracle, Henricus maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Ioncdenus, nor Fabian in their histories. Gulielmus in his booke De regibus reporteth it but by hearesay, in these words, saying: Aliæ literæ docent, &c. Wherefore the lesse it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proueth in this matter nothing else but Dunstan to be a sorcerer, as Polydor Virgil also himselfe seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding for all this, yet the strife ceased not: it is so much that a new assemblie of the clergie and other was appointed after at a place called the street of Calue, where the councell was holden in a roome ouer the hall. In this assemblie grieuous complaints were obiected (as Polydor. saith) against Dunstan: but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remoue from that which he began to maintaine. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed (if it be true that in the stories is written) suddenlie the soles of the loft failed, and the people with the nobles fell downe, so that certaine were slaine, and many hurt. But Dunstan (they say, only) standing vpon a post of the sollar which remained vnbroken) escaped without danger. Which thing whether it so hapned to portend before the ruine of the realme and of the nobles (as Henry Huntington doth expound it) which after insued by the Danes, or whether it was so brought by Dunstans sorcerie (as were not impossible) no whether it were a thing but feigned of the monkish writers, and not true; all this I leaue to the readers, to thinke therein what them liketh. The stories say further, that vpon this the matter ceased, and Dunstan had all his will.

These things thus done at Calue, it hapned not long after the same, that king Edward, whom the writers describe to be a vertuous and a vnchaste prince, much pitifull and beneficiall to the poore, about the fourth yeere of his reigne came vpon a season from hunting in the forrest alone, without the companie of his seruants to the place in the west countrie, where Alfrith his mother with her sonne Egelred did lie. When the queene the mother was warned of his comming by her men, anon she called a seruant of hers which was of her speciall trust, opening to him all her conceiued counsell, and shewing him all points how and what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, she made towards the king, and receiued him with all courtesie, desiring him to tarie that night; but he in like courtesie excused himselfe, and for speed desired to see his brother, and to ouride vpon his horse sitting, the which was thereby brought.

Now while the cup was at his mouth, the seruant of the queene (being informed) strake him in the bodie with a long two edged dagger. After the which stroke the king take the horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he supposed to meet with his companie, but he died to soze, that with faintnesse he fell from his horse, his one foot being in the stirrup. By reason whereof he was drawen of his horse ouer fields and lands till he came to a place named Coudgate, where he was found dead: and for that neither the maner of his death, (nor yet he himselfe for the king) was known, was buried vnhonorablie at the towne of Warham, where the body remained the space of three yeeres, and then after was taken vp by duke Alfer above mentioned, and with pompe and honor accordingly was conueied to the minster of Shaftesburie, and there bestowed in the place called Edwardstow. Many tales run (more perchance then be true) concerning the finding and taking vp of his bodie, which our most common histories ascribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the king was buried. At first, how a pore woman borne blind, receiued sight by the meanes of S. Edward, there where he did lie. Also how a pillar of fire from heauen descended ouer the place of his burial. Then how the forsaid queene Alfrith taking her horse to go to the place, was stopped by the way, that neither her horse could be driuen by any meanes, nor she her selfe on fot was able to approch neere to the place where the corps of S. Edward was. Furthermore, how the said queene repentance of her fact, afterward builded two nunries, one at Amesburie by Salisburie; the other at Werewell, where she kept her selfe in continuall repentance all the daies of her life. And thus, as ye haue heard, was this vertuous yong king Edward murthered, when he had reigned almost foure yeeres, leauing no issue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus his brother.

King Edward traiterously murthered by his stepmother, and buried vnhonorably.

King Edwards bones found and buried, and honored.

Confirmation. Th. Burie of king Edward. Petrus Bensis. Hist. collect. by Polydor. and reuiewed by Ephes. Burie.

Two nunries founded vpon murther.

Anno 979.

There Edwards kings before the conquest.

Now in the order and course of the Romish bishops, mention was made laſt of Agapetus the second, after whom next succeded pope John the thirteenth, of whom Dunstan archbishop of Canturburie receiued his pall, as in the storie of king Edgar is before minded. This pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, repleat from his first bringing vp with abominable vices: a whoremaster, an adulterer, incestuous, sacrilegious, a gamester, an extortioner, periured, a fighter, a murtherer, cruell and tyrannous. Of his cardinals, some he put out their eies, from some he cut off their tongs, some their fingers, some their noses, &c. In a generall councell before the emperor Otho the first of that name (who was the first emperor of the Germans) after the empire was translated out of France to Germanie by pope Agapetus (as is aboue hinted) these accusations were articulat against him. First, that he neuer said his seruice, that in saying his masse he did not communicat, that he ordained deacons in a stable, that he committed incest with two of his sisters, that playing at dice he called for the diuell to helpe, that for money he made boyes bishops, that he deflowred young women and widowes, that of the palace of Lateran he made a stewes, that he lay with Stephana his fathers concubine, likewise with Rainera and with Anna and her neese, that he put out the eies of the bishop Benedict, that he caused houses to be set on fire, that he drake open houses, that he dranke to the diuell, that he neuer crossed himselfe, &c. For the which causes (and worthilie) he was deposed by the consent of the emperor, with the prelats, and pope Leo was substituted in his place. But after his departing (through the harlots of Rome and their great promises) the said pope John was restored again to his place, and Leo (set vp by the emperor) was deposed. At length about the tenth yeere of the popedome of this John; he being found without the citie with another mans wife, was so wounded of her husband, that within eight daies after he died.

Continuation of the Romish bishops of popes.

Pope John the thirteenth, a wicked pope.

Pope John the thirteenth deposed.

Pope John restored.

Pope John wounded in adulterie.

After him the Romans elected pope Benedictus the fift, without the consent of the emperor: wherevpon the said Otho the emperor being not a little displeased for displacing of Leo, whom he had before promoted, and for the chosing also of Benedict, came with his armie and laid siege to Rome, and so set by pope Leo again, the eight of that name; which Leo to gratifie his benefactor again, crowned Otho for emperor, and intituled him to be called Augustus. Also the power which Carolus Magnus had giuen before to the clergie & people of Rome, this Leo by a synodall decree granted to the emperor and his successors: that is, touching the election of the bishop of Rome, from the clergie & people to the emperor.

Pope Benedictus the fift.

Pope Leo the eight.

The election of the bishop of Rome from the clergie to the emperor.

The donations of Carolus Magnus and Otho to Rome.

Pope John, the fourteenth.

Pope John the fourteenth cast into prison.

The cruell reuenge of the pope.

Christening of bells first begun.

Pope Benedictus the first.

Pope Benedictus the second.

Pope Boniface the first.

Pope John the first.

Pope John Rome.

Pope Boniface diuerse thought the cheefe of Rome.

Pope Benedictus the fourth. Otho the second emperor.

Gilbertus a necromancer made archbishop.

Pope John the fifteenth.

Pope John the eighteenth. Pope Gregorie the first.

Pope John the eighteenth.

Two popes together in Rome.

Pope John had his eies put out, and to put to death.

Pope Gregorie reuiued.

Seuen electors of the emperors ordained in Germanie, and who they be. *Ex Cronico Martini.*

tions and possession, which either Constantinus (as they falslie pretend) or which Carolus Magnus toke from the Lombards, and gaue to them.

After pope Leo had reigned a yere and three moneths, succeeded pope John the fourteenth, against whom (for holding with the emperor) Berrus the head captaine of the citie, with two consuls, twelue aldermen, and diuers other nobles, gathering their power together, laid handes vpon him in the church of Lateran, and clapt the pope in prison eleuen months. The emperor hearing this, with all speed returned with his armie againe to Rome, who after execution done vpon the authors and chiefe doers of that fact, among other committed the foresaid Petrus to the popes arbitrement, whom he caused first to be stript naked, then his beard being shauen, to be hanged by the haire a whole day together, after that to be set vpon an asse (his face turned backward, and his hands bound vnder the asses taile) and so to be led through the citie, that all men might see him that done, to be scourged with rods, and so banished the citie. Thus ye se how the polite father followeth the inimitation of the gospell: Diligite inimicos vestros, Loue your enemies, Luke the first, &c. From this pope proceeded first the chiefenes of bels, An. 971.

After him followed pope Benedictus the first, who in like manner was apprehended by Cinthius a captaine of Rome, and cast in prison, where he was strangled, or as some say, famished to death.

Then came pope Donus the second, after whom Boniface the seuenth was pope, who likewise seeing the citizens of Rome to conspire against him, was constrained to hide himselfe, and seeing no place there for him to tarie, toke the treasure of S. Peters church, and so priuilie stole to Constantinople. In whose stead the Romans set vp pope John the fifteenth. Not long after, Boniface returning againe from Constantinople, by his monie and treasure procured a garrison or companie to take his part: by whose meanes the foresaid pope John was taken, his eies put out, and so throwen in prison, where he was, as some say, famished; some say he was slaine by Ferrucius. Neither did Boniface reigne manie dayes after, but suddenlie died, whose carcase after his death was drawen by the feet through the streets of Rome after a most despitefull maner, the people hissing and exclaming against him, Anno 976.

Next pope after him was Benedictus the fourth, by the consent of the emperor Otho the second, and reigned nine yeres. In the time of this pope, Hugh Capet the French king toke Charles (the right heire to the crowne) by the treason of the bishop of Laon, and when he had imprisoned him, he also committed to prison Arnoldus archbishop of Raines, and placed in his rome Gilbertus a monke of Flosiake (a necromancer) who was schoolemaster to Robert the kings sonne. But this pope Benedictus called a councell at Remis, restored the said Arnoldus againe, and displaced Gilbertus, which after by the help of Otho was made archbishop of Ravenna, and at length was pope, as in processe hereafter (Gods granting) shall be declared.

After Benedictus succeded in the see of Rome pope John the fifteenth, and died the eight month of his papacie; next to whom came John the fourteenth, and after him Gregorie the fifte in the yere of our Lord, 995. This Gregorie (called before Bruno) was a German borne, and therefore the more maliced of the clergie and people of Rome. Whereupon, Crescentius with the people and clergie consenting against the said Gregorie, set vp John the eighteenth. Gregorie vpon the same fled himselfe in all conuenient hast to the emperor Otho the third in Germanie: who hearing the complaint of Gregorie, and vnderstanding his wrongs, set forward with his armie well appointed to Italie, gat the citie, and there toke both Crescentius the consull, and John the pope. Which John the first hauing his eies put out, was depriued after of his life. Crescentius the consull was set vpon a vile horse, hauing his nose and eares cut off, and so was led through the citie, his face being turned to the horse taile, and afterward hauing his members cut off, was hanged vpon a gibbet.

Pope Gregorie thus being restored to his former state, reigned foure yeres in his papacie (although Marianus Scotus and Martinus say that he sat but two yeres) &c. During the which time he assembled a councell in Rome: where he, to stablish the empire in his owne countrie (by the consent and counsell of Otho) ordeined seuen princes of Germanie to be electors of the emperor, which order yet to this day remaineth. What be the names of these seuen electors, and what is their office, thus I find in these verses expressed.

Moguntinensis, Treuerensis, Coloniensis,
Quilibet imperij sit cancellarius horum,
Et Palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus camere, pincerna Bohemus.

These seuen he ordeined to be electors, three bishops, three princes (to wit) the Palatine, the duke of Saxonie, the marques Brandenburgh: to whom was added also the king of Bohemie to giue the od voice, if the euen voice could not agree. This constitution being first begun, An. 997. was after established in Germanie by Otho the emperor, the yere of our Lord, 1002. And thus much by the way, or rather digression, concerning the rages and tumults of the Romish church. Now to our matter againe.

## King Egelred, or Elred.

King Egelred.

KIng Edward thus being murthered, as is aforesaid, the crowne fell next to Egelred his yonger brother, and sonne to king Edgar by the foresaid quéne Alfrith, as we haue declared. This Egelred had a long reigne giuen him of God, which dured the terme of eight and thirtie yeres, but very vnfortunat and full of great miseries: and he himselfe (by the iudgers) seemeth to be a prince, not of the greatest courage to gouerne a common wealth. Our English stories writing of him thus repeat of his reigne: that in the beginning it was vngratious, wretched in the middle, & hatefull in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, that when Dunstan the archbishop should christen him, as he did hold him ouer the font, something there happened that pleased not Dunstan, whereupon he smote Per iaciam Mariam, iste ignauus homo erit, Vp the mother of Christ he will be a prince vnbridled and couardlie: Chron. de Crowland. I find in William of Malmesburie, Lib. 2. de regib. that this Egelred being of the age of ten yeres, when he heard his brother Edward to be slaine, made such sorow and weeping for him, that his mother falling thereuith in a rage, toke two candles (hauing nothing else at hand) wherewith she smoured him so sore (well neere till he swounded) that after the same he could neuer abide any waxe candels to burne before him. After this, about the yere of our Lord, 981 (the day of his coronation being appointed by the quéne, the mother, and the nobles) Dunstan archbishop of Canturburie (who first refused to do) with Oswald archbishop of Yorke, were inforced to accustome the king, and so they did at Kingston. In doing whereof, the report of thosies go, that the said Dunstan should say, thus prophesying vnto the king: that for so much as he came to the kingdome by the death of his brother, and through the conspiracie of the wicked conspirators and other Englishmen, they should not be without bloudshedding and sword, till there came a people of an vnknowen tongue, and should bring them into thraldome, neither should that prophesie be cleared without long vengeance, &c.

The coronation of Egelred.

The prophesie of Dunstan as manifestlie found.

In the chronicles of Croyland I find these words: Quoniam ascendisti ad thronum tuum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, propterea audi verbū Domini: Hoc dicit Dominus, non deficiet gladius de domo tua, seuiens in te omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ, & inerficiens de semine tuo, & de gente tua, vsque dum regnum tuum transferatur in regnum alienum: cuius ritum & linguam gens tua non nouit, nec expiabitur nisi longa vindicta, & multa sanguinis effusione peccatum matris tuæ, & peccatum virorum pessimorum, qui consenserunt consilio eius nequam, vt mitterent manum in Christum Domini ad effundendum sanguinem innocentem: *Chron. de Croyland.*

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was séene throughout the land, which appéred the one halfe like blond, and the other halfe like fire, and changed after into sundrie colours, and vanished at the last in the morning. Shortlie after the appearance of this cloud, in the third yere of his reigne the Danes arriuing in sundrie places of the land, first spoiled Southhampton, either slaying the inhabitants, or leading them captiue away. From thence they went to the ile of Thanet, then they inuaded Chester, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Deuonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much harme, & so retired to their ships againe. Roger Houeden writing hereof, saith; that London the same time, or (as Fabian saith) a great part of London was consumed with fire. About this time fell a variance betweene the foresaid Egelred and the bishop of Rochester: in so much that he made war against him, and besieged the citie. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the king sending him admonishment to giue ouer for the sake of S. Andzeiu: yet continued he his siege, till the bishop offered him an hundred pounds of gold; which he receiued, and so departed. The Danes seeing the discord that then was in the realme, and especiallie the hatred of the subiects against the king, rose againe, and did great harme in diuers places of England: in so much that the king was glad to grant them great summes of monie for peace to be had. For the assurance of which peace, Anlaffe captaine of the Danes became a christian man, and so returned home to his countrie and did no more harme. Betweene these enimies before recited, a fore schiselle of the bloudie sir, and hot feuers fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like murren also among the beasts. Moreouer, for lacke of iustice, many théeues, riotors, and bybers were in the land, with much miserie and mischiefe.

Houeden, lib. contonationum.

The Danes inuade London.

The king warreth against the bishop of Rochester.

About the eleuenth yére (some say the ninth yére) of this kings reigne, died Dunstan. After whom succeeded Sigeh rus as as Ioannensis writeth, Stigarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Guliel. lib. 1. de pontif. But as Polydorus saith, Siricius. After him Elfricus came, but Siricius after the mind of Guliel. lib. 1. but Polydor saith Alricius, then Elphegus &c.

The bloudie sir, and hot feuers reigned in this land.

The death of Dunstan. Elphegus. Elfricus. Siricius. Elphegus. archbishops of Canturburie.

About the same time in the yeare of our Lord 995. Abbanus bishop translated the bodie of saint Cuthert from Chester (which

Anno 995



The bishops see of Durham.

London besieged of the Danes.

The Danes spoiled the Lant.

Great tribute laid in of the Englishmen. Danegilt.

The sorowfull affliction of the English nation.

What dissension and bicker both among the nobles in a realme.

The pride and waiwardnesse of the Danes toward the Englishmen.

Lord Danes.

Lurdane.

Hen. Archidiac. lib. 6.

The first loying wife of Ethelred.

King Egelred marieth Emma the dukes daughter of Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

The Danes by force commission, raise tribute ouer towne of England.

Swanus king of Denmarke reuerth in England.

Excester beaten downe.

(which first was in a northerne land, then at Rochester) to Durelme or Dunelme. Whereupon the bishops see of Durelme first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes againe entred England, in many and sundrie places of the land: in such sort, that the king was to seeke to which coast he should go first to withstand his enemies. And in conclusion, for the auoiding of more harme, he was compelled to appease them with great summs of money. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assaulting the land in diuers places, not onely about the countrie of Northumberland, but also besieged the citie of London at the last. But being from thence repelled by the manhod of the Londoners, they traied to other countries adioyning, as to Esser, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, burning and killing whersoeuer they went: so that for lack of a good head or gouernor, many things in the land perished. For the king gaue himselfe to the vse of leacherie, and polling of his subiects, and disinherited men of their possessions, and caused them to redeeme the same againe with great summes of money, for heepaped great tributs to the Danes yearelie, which was called Danegilt. Which tributes so increased, that from the first tribute of 10000 pounds, it was brought at last in processe of time or fiue yeres to 40000 pounds. The which yearelie (during the time of Sir Edward, and after) was leuied of the subiects of this land.

To this sorowful misseuer was ioyned hunger and penury among the commons, in so much that euery one of them was constrained to plucke and scale from others. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward theeues and bibers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit, the greatest cause of this affliction (as to mine aspech) is not so much to be imputed to the king, as to the dissension among the lords themselues, who then did not agrée one with another.

But when they assembled in consultation together, either they did draw diuers waies; or if any thing were agréed vpon any matter of peace betweene the parties, sone it was broken againe; or else if any good thing were deuised for the preiudice of the enemie, anon the Danes were learned therof by some of the same counsell. Of whom, the chiefe doers were Edrike duke of Mercia, and Alfrike the admirall or captaine of the ships, who betrayed the kings naule to the Danes. Wherfore the king apprehending Alfagarus sonne of the said Alfrike, put out his eyes, and so did he after to the two sonnes of duke Edrike in like manner.

The Danes thus preuailing more and more ouer the Englishmen, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the husbandmen to care and sow the land, and to doe all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home, holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and seruant. And when the husbandman came home, he should scantly haue of his owne, as his seruants hands that the Danes had all at his will, and fill, faring of the best; when the owner scantly had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people being of them oppressed, were in such feare and dread, that not onely they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called euery one of them in the house where they had rule, lord Dane. Which word after (in processe of time, when the Danes were bandied) was so despite of the Danes turned of the Englishmen to a name of opprobrie, that when one Englishman would rebuke another, hee would say the more part call him Lurdane.

And thus hitherto (through the affliance of Christ) we haue brought this historie to the yeare of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries vpon this English nation, the land being brought into great thraldome by the grieuous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining the manifold villanies and iniuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within the realme: this yeare which was the yeare of our saiour 1000, this Egelred through the counsell of certaine his familiars about him, in the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, began a matter, which was occasion either giuen by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to insue vpon the Saxons, who had driuen out the Britains before; that was in ioyning with the Normans in mariage. For the king this yeare aboue said, for the more strength (as hee thought) both of him and the realme, married Emma the daughter of Richard duke of Normandie. Which Richard was the third duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of which mariage, king Egelred was not a little enhanced in his owne minde: and by reason of the same mariage, the Danes should bee suddenly flaine. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

After that tidings came into Denmarke of the murther of those Danes, anon after, Swanus king of Denmarke with a great host and naule landed in Cornuall: where, by treason of a Normane named Hugh, (which by fauour of quéene Emma was made earle of Deuonshire, the said Swanus toke Excester, and after beat downe the wals. From thence proceeding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Shirebourne, where they cruelly spoiled the countrie, & slue the people. But anon Swanus, hearing that the king was comming to him

Anno 1004

Norwich spoiled and wasted by the Danes.

A tribute paid to the Danes of thirtie thousand pounds to haue peace.

The perfecution of Turkillus a Dane.

Guilt counsell about a thing what hurt it doth.

Anno 1013

The second returne of Swanus into England.

The perfecution of Swanus king of Denes.

Canterburie besieged. Occasion of a false deacon.

Canterburie taken & burnt.

The sticking of the monks of Canterburie. A cruell murther of the Danes.

Elphegus the archbishop of Canturburie stoned to death.

King Egelred driuen to the ile of Wight, from thence to Normandie.

The prayer of christian mens prayer.

The death and end of Swanus.

The abbey of S. Edmunds-burie builded.

England when they were crowned, sent their crownes for an offering to S. Edmunds shrine, and redeemed the same againe afterwards with a condigne price.

King Egelred returneth into England.

When king Egelred heard of the death of Swanus, hee made preuision, and returned into England. Of whose sudden comming Canutus being vnprouided fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the noses and hands of the pledges, which his father left with him, sailed into Denmarke; who the next yeare returned againe with a great nauie, and landed in the south countrie. Wherefore the eldest son of king Egelred called Edmund Ironside, made preuision with the aid of Edrike duke of Mercia to meet him. But Edrike fayning himselfe sicke came not, but deceiued him. For as it was after proued, Edrike had promised his allegiance to Canutus. By reason whereof, Canutus entred the countrie of Westsaxon, and forced the people to be sworne vnto him, and to giue him pledges. In this season king Egelred being at London, was taken with great sicknesse, and there died, and was buried in the northside of Paules church behind the quire, after he had reigned vnprosperously thirtie and sir yeares; leauing after him his sald eldest son Edmund Ironside, and Alfred, and Edward which were in Normandie, sent thither before as is aboue rehearsed. This Egelred although hee was miserablie vnprospered and scorned of his enemies, yet hee with his counsell gaue forth wholesome lawes, whereof this is one parcell, containing good rules and lessons for all iudges and iustices to learne and follow.

A lesson for all iudges and iustices.

OMnis iudex iustus misericordiam & iudicium liberet in omnibus, & inprimis per rectam scientiam dicat emendationem secundum culpam, & eam tamen aduersitate properet indulgentiam. Quædam culpæ reputantur à bonis iudicibus secundum rectum emendandæ. Quædam per Dei misericordiam condonandæ. Iudicia debent esse sine omni haderunga, quod non parcatur diuiti alicui; vel egeno amico, vel inimico ius publicum recitari. Nihil autem iniustius est, quàm susceptio muneris per iudicio subuertendo: quia munera excæcant corda sapientum, & subuertunt verba iustorum. Dominus Iesus dixit. In quo iudicio iudicaueritis, iudicabimini. Timeat omnis iudex ac diligat Deum iudicem suum, ne in die iudicij mutus fiat, & humiliatus ante oculos iudicis cuncta videntis. Qui innocentem opprimit, & dimittit noxium pro pecunia, vel amicitia, vel odio, vel quacunque factione, opprimetur ab omnipotente iudice. Et nullus dominus, nulla potestas, stultos aut improbos iudices constituant, quia stultus per ignauiam, improbus per cupiditatem vitæ, quam didicit veritatem. Grauiùs enim lacerantur pauperes à prauis iudicibus, quàm à cruentis hostibus. Nullus hostis acerbior, nulla pestis efficacior quàm familiaris inimicus. Potest aliquoties homo fugere, vel defensione vitare prauos inimicos. Non ita possum iudices, quoties aduersus subditos malis desideriis inflammantur. Sæpe etiam boni iudices habent malos vicarios & ministros nephandos, quorum reatibus ipsi domini constringuntur, si nõ eos coerceant, & à rapacitate cohibeant. Quia Dominus & minister sæculorum ait: Non solùm malè agentes, sed omnes consentientes digni sunt æterna morte. Sæpe etiam prauj iudicis iudicium peruertunt, vel respectant, & non finiunt causam, donec volumas eorum impleatur. Et quando iudicant, non opera, sed munera considerant. Impij iudices, iuxta verbum sapientum, fuist rapaces lupi vespere nil reliquant vsque mane, id est, de præsenti solum vita cogitant, de futura nihil considerant. Malorum præpositorum mos est, vt quicquid possunt, aufferant, & vix necessitatem parum quid relinquant sustentationi. Iracundus iudex non potest attendere rectam iudicij faciem. Nam per furoris excæcationem, non perspicit rectitudinis claritatem. Iustum iudicium, vbi non persona consideratur. Scriptum est: Non attendas personam hominis in iudicio, nec pro aliquo facies, vt à vero declines, & iniustè iudices. Susceptio muneris est dimissio veritatis. *Ex historia bibliotheca Iornal.*

Bribes.

Enill iudges worst in a commonwealth when bloodie enimies.

Wicked officers.

Against wicked iudges.

A wicked iudge deposed and deprived by the king.

OF this king Egelred I find noted in the booke of Roger Houeden, that he deposed and deprived from all possessions, a certaine iudge or iustice named Walgeatus, the sonne of one Leonet, for false iudgement and other proud doings, whom notwithstanding he loued aboue all others.

*Edmund Ironside a Saxon, and Canutus a Dane,*
kings together in England.

ANno 1016

EDmund Ironside sonne of Egelred, king.

Canutus sonne of Swanus, king.

The battels betweene Edmundus and Canutus.

AFter the death of Egelred, variance fell betweene the Englishmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London, with certaine other lords, named Edwin the eldest sonne of Egelred (a young man of lustie and baliant courage) in martiall aduentures both hardie and wise, and could very well indure all paines; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more of the lords fauoured Canutus the sonne of Swanus, especially the abbats, bishops, and men of the spiritualtie which before had sworne to his father. By meanes whereof, betweene these two martiall princes were fought many great battels first in Dorsetshire, where Canutus was compelled to flie the field. And after that they fought an other battell in Worcestershire, so sore, that none could tell who had the better; but either for weariuesse or for lacke of day they departed one from the other, and on the next morow fought againe: but then Canutus was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought againe, where Edmund (as stories say) by the treason of that false Edrike duke of Mercia, whom he before had receiued to fauour) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were betweene these two princes. But vpon a season, when the hosts were readie to ioyne, and a certaine time of truce taken before battell, a knight of the partie of Edmund stood vp vpon a high place, and said these words.

A wittie oration to stay blood betweene two armies.

Daily we die, and none hath the victorie: and when the knights be dead on either part, then the dukes compelled by need shall accord, or else they must fight alone. And this kingdome is not sufficient for two men, which sometime sufficed seuen. But if the couetousnesse of lordship in these twaine be so great, that neither can bee content to take part and liue by the other, nor the one vnder the other; then let them fight alone that will be lords alone. If all men fight still, at the last all men shall be liaine, and none left to be vnder their lordship, nor able to defend the king that shall be, against strange enemies and nations.

Two kings fight hand to hand.

These words were so well allowed of both the hosts and princes, that both were content to trie the quarrell betweene them two onely. Then the place and time was appointed where they both met in sight of both hosts. And then either had alaied other with sharpe woods and stroks, first by the motion of Canutus (as some write) hastily they were both agreed, and killed each other to the comfort of both hosts. And shortly after they agreed vpon partition of the land, and after that, during their liues they loued as brethren. Some after, a sonne of wicked Egelred, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his father, espied, how that Edmund was at the draught, and with a speare (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the fundament, wherof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had reigned two yeares. He left behind him two sonnes, Edmund and Edward, whom Edrike the wicked duke, after the death of their father, take from their mother (not knowing of the death of Edmund his husband) and presented them to king Canutus, faluting him in these words. Aue rex solus. Thus Canutus after the death of Edmund Ironside, was king alone of the whole realme of England; and after (as they say) by the aduice of his counsell, hee sent the foresaid sonnes of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swanus king of Sweueland to be slaine, who abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon king of Hungarie, where Edmund being married to the kings daughter died, Edward was married to Agatha daughter of his brother Henrie the fourth emperor.

The wicked murther of king Edmund.

Two sonnes of Edmund Ironsde.

When Canutus was stablished in the kingdome, he called a parlament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the bishops, barons, and lords of the parliament there present, whether that in the composition made betweene Edmund and Canutus, any speciall remembrance was made for the children or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English lords fallie flattering the foren king, and speaking against their owne minds, as alo against their native countrie, answered and said; Nay: affirming moreouer with an oth (so the kings pleasure) that they to the vttermost of their powers, would put off the blood of Edmund in all that they might. By reason of which answere and promise, they thought many of them to haue purchased with the king great fauour. But by the iust retribution of God it chanced farre otherwise. For many of them, of the most part (such especially as Canutus did perceiue to be sworne before time to Edmund, and his heires, and also confidering that they were true Englishmen) hee mistrusted and disdained euer after. In so much that some hee exiled, a great sort he beheaded, and some by Gods punishment died suddenly. Among whom wicked Edrike also the traitor (although with his fugred words hee continued a while in the kings fauour) at length escaped not condigne reward for his execrable dealing. For (as the historie of Ioannensis recordeth) as the king was in displace beyond Thames, this Edrike, being beside accused, or else suspected of the king by coming vnto him, began to reckon vp his benefits and labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying Egelred, then in slaying king Edmund his sonne, with many such other deeds more, which al for his sake he hath done. Well, saith the king, thou hast right worthily deserued thy fee, and worthy thou shalt die for slaying thy naturall prince, and my louyng brother. And so commanded him to bee bound immediately hand and fot, and to be throwne into the Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the king with Aue rex solus, and therwith him the slaying of Edmund, Canutus (praising that he would make him therefore higher then all the lords of the realme) commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set vpon London bridge, and his body to be cast into the towne ditch, and thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as al they commonly doe, which with like dissimulation seeke the destruction of their prince and of their countrie.

Flatterie, falsedeliuer, and vntruth in English lords.

False vnfaithfulnesse and inconstant mutabilitie in English lords well rewarded.

The end of pernicious traitors.

This Canutus (shortly after the death of king Edmund, by the counsell of Edrike) exiled Edmund, being brother vnto king Edmund, called Rex rusticorum, the king of churles. But afterward he was reconciled againe to the kings fauour, and lastly

The brother of Edmund Ironside, banished, reconciled, and lastly slaine.

Edmund and Edward two sonnes of Edmund Ironside sent out to be slaine.

Canutus king of Denmarke.

Canutus marrieth Emma, wife before of Egelred.

Lawes of king Edgar.

Harold Harefoot king of England a Dane.

ANno 1039

Hardeknout last king of the Danes that reigned in England. Earle Godwin.

The miserable wretchednesse of Godwin against the Normans.

The Normans cliched, and yet the tenthe reckoned against.

Alfred the son of Egelred, right heire of the realme, soone ouerthrowne with cruell death.

The cause expressed why God suffered this land to be conquered by the Normans.

Example of Gods righteous iudgement.

The death of king Hardeknout.

The sons of earle Godwin.

The stoile of Alfred repeated.

Alfred or Alured sonne of king Egelred.

Hardeknout sent for home.

Harold (called Harefoot for his deliuernes and swiftnesse) sonne to Canutus by Elgina his first wife, began his reigne ouer England, in the yeare 1039. He held little lesse in memorie, for he reigned but foure yeares, saue that hee banished his stepmother Emma, and tooke her goods & iewels from her.

Hardeknoutus, being king of Denmarke, and second sonne to Canutus by his last wife Emma, was next king of England. In the time of these Danish kings, there was one Godwin an earle in England, which had been before in great fauour with Canutus, for his acts done in Northumberlande against the Norwegians: and afterward married the sister (some say the daughter) of Canutus. This Godwin was of a cruell and subtill wit, as hee declared no lesse by the two sons of king Egelred. For when these two aforesaid (whose names were Alfred and Edward) came from Normandy into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great companie of Normans: this Godwin (hauing a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marie to Edward, and set him vp to be king, to bring his purpose about) vsed this practise, that is, to perswade king Hardeknout and the lords, not to suffer those Normans to bee within the realme for leopardie, but rather to punish them for example: by which meanes he gat either mastered the most number of the Normans, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the monks of Canterburie: so he with the cruell companie of English souldiers, slue nine of the said Normans, and saued the tenth. And yet pilling the furie of Swanus (as not contented with that tyranny) he tithed againe the said tith, & slue euery tenth knight, and that by cruell torment, as twirling their guts out of their bodies, as twiteth Ranulphus. And among others, put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfredus, and sent him to an abbey of Elie: where he being fed with bread and water, indured not long after. Of some writers it was recoded, that he was there slaine with the forenamed torment, and Edward was conueied by some other into his mother, who fearing the treason of Godwin, sent him (some ouer the sea into Normandie againe. This cruell fact of Godwin and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it came of himselfe, or of the kings setting on, sithemth to me to be the cause, why the iustice of God did shortly after reuenge the quarrell of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English nation by William Conquerors, and the Normans which came with him. For so iust and right it was, that as the Normans comming with e naturall English prince, were murthered of Englishmen: so afterward the Englishmen should bee slaine and conquered by the Normans, comming with a foren king, being none of their naturall countrie.

Then it followeth in the storie, that this king Canute or Hardeknoutus (when he had reigned two yeres (being merrie at Lambeth) suddenly was stricken dumbe, and fell downe to the ground, and within eight dates after died without issue of his body, who was the last that reigned in England of the blood of the Danes.

This foresaid Godwin had by the daughter of Canutus his wife, but one sonne, which was drowned. Of his second wife he receiued six sonnes, to wit, Swanus, Harold, Tostius, Willmotus, Sirth or Sueth, and Leofricus, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was married to king Edward the Confessor.

Concerning the storie of this Alfred, I find it something otherwise reported in English chronicles, that it should bee after the death of Hardeknout; for so much as the earles and barons after his death, assembled and made a councell, that neuer after any of the Danes blood should bee king of England for the despite that they had done to Englishmen. For euermore before, if the Englishmen and the Danes had happened to meet vpon a bridge, the Englishmen should not be so hardie to moue a fot, but stand still, till the Danes were passed forth. And moreouer, if the Englishmen had not bowed downe their heads to do reuerence vnto the Danes, they should haue been beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanies they were driuen out of the land after the death of Hardeknout, for they had no lord that might maintaine them. And after this manner auoided the Danes out of England, that they neuer came againe.

Taken out of the English storie or chronicle compiled of certaine English clerkes.

The earles and barons, by their common assent and counsell, sent vnto Normandie for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward; intending to crowne Alfred the elder brother, and to make him king of England. And to this the earles and barons made their oath: but the earle Godwin of Westsax (fallie and traiterouslie) thought to slay these two brethren, assone as they came into England, to that intent to make Harold his sonne king: which sonne hee had by his wife Hardeknouts daughter that was a Dane. And to this Godwin went priuilie to Southhampton, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the messengers that went (saith mine author) into Normandie, found but onely Alfred the elder brother. For Edward his ponger brother was gone to Hungarie, to speake with his cosin the outlaw, which was Edward Ironsides sonne.

When Alfred had heard these messengers, and perceiued their tidings, he thanked God, and in all hast sped him to England, arriuing at Southhampton. There Godwin the false traitor (hauing knowledge of his comming) welcommed and receiued him with much ioy, pretending to leade him into London, where the barons waited for to make him king. And so they together passed forth toward London. But when they came to Guilford, the traitor commanded all his men to stay all that were in Alfreds companie, which came with him from Normandie; and after that to take Alfred, and so leade him into the ile of Elie, where they should put out both his eyes: and so they did. For they slue all the companie that were there, to the number of twelue gentlemen, which came with Alfred from Normandie; and after that they tooke Alfred, and in the ile of Elie they executed their commission. That done, they opened his body, tooke out his bowels, set a stake into y ground, and fastened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with nedels of iron they pricked his tender bodie, thereby causing him to goe about the stake, till that all his bowels were drawne out. And so died this innocent Alfred or Alured, being the right heire of the crowne, through treason of wicked Godwin. When the lords of England heard thereof, and how Alfred, that should haue been their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwin, they were wondrous wroth; and sware betweene God and them, that he should die a worse death then did Edith which betraied his lord Edmund Ironside, and should vtterdatly haue put him to death, but that the traitor fled there into Denmarke, and there held him foure yeares and more, and lost all his lands in England.

Ex hiſto. Ioannis Wigorn. auctoris.

An other Latin storie I haue (bearing no name) which saith that this comming in of Alfred and the Normans, was in the time of Harold Canutus sonne. And how Godwin (after hee pretended great amitie to them) suddenly in the night came vpon them at Guilford, and after he had tithed the Normans, sent Alfred to Harold at London, who sent him to the ile of Elie, and caused his eies to be put out.

Emma wife to Denelcus the emperor.

And thus much of Canutus and of his sons, Harold and Hardecanutus. Besides these two sonnes, Canutus had also a daughter named Gunilda, married to Henricus the emperour. Of whom some write, that she being accused to the emperour of adulterie, and hauing no champion or knight that would fight for her (after the maner of that countrie) for triall of her cause, a certaine little dwarfe or boy, whom shee brought with her out of England (stirred vp of God) fought in her cause against a mightie big Germane of a monstrous greatnesse, which little dwarfe, cutting by chance the sinewes of his leg, after broke him to the ground, and so cut off his head, and deliuered the life of the queene, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Canutus went to Rome. The beautifull church built at Rome for English pilgrims. Rome since confirmed by Canutus. The earthly wealthie church of Elie in Cambridgeshire builded by Canutus. S. Benets in Holme builded. Monks abbeis conuerted to monks.

Of this Canutus it is storied, that he following much the superstition of Achelnotus archbishop of Canterburie, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and there founded an hospitall for English pilgrims. He gaue the pope precious gifts, y burdened the land with a yearely tribute called the Rome-hat. He bestowed the body of Kerinus, and gaue great lands & ornaments to the church of Winchester; he builded S. Benets of Holme in Northfolke, which was before an heremitage. Also S. Edmundsbury, which king Athelstan before ordeined for a colledge of priests, he turned to an abbey of monks of S. Benets order.

Flatterers and slaues like about princes.

Henricus archbeacon of Huntington, lib. 6. maketh mention of this Canutus, as both also Polydor. lib. 7. That he after his comming from Rome, walking vp on a time by the post of Southhampton, but as Polydor saith, and Fabian affirmeth the same, that it was by the Thames side of London, when his flatterers comming about him, began to exalt him by with high words, calling him a king of all kings (most mightie) who had vnder his subiection both the people, the land, and also the seas: Canutus reuoking this matter in his mind (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to trie and refell their flattering words) commanded his chaire of estate to bee brought to the sea side, at what time it should begin to flow.

Canutus chargeth the ſea to hold backe, but it would not be.

A leſſon notable for kings and princes.

God onely the king of all kings and Lord of lords.

The kings crowne put on a rood.

Kings of England haue as much right in cauſes ſpirituall as temporall.

Certaine lawes of king Canutus for the ordering of matters eccleſiaſticall.

Adulteroſſe women to loſe their eares and noſes.

Polydor faith that no ſeat was brought: but ſitting vpon his garments being folded together vnder him, there charged and commanded the floods ariſing and comming towards his feet, that they ſhould not touch neither him, nor his clothes. But the water keeping his ordinarie courſe, came neere and neere: firſt to his feet, and ſo growing higher began to waſh him well fauoredly. Wherewith the king abaſhed, and partly alſo afeard ſtart backe, and looking to his lords; Lo (ſaith hee) ye call me ſuch a mighty king, and yet can I not command backe this little water to ſtay at my word, but it is readie to deuoure me. Wherefore all earthly kings may knowe, that all their powers be but vaine, and that none is worthy to haue the name of a king, but he alone which hath all things ſubiect to the power and authority of his word, which is the Lord of heauen and earth, the creator aboue of all things, the father of our Chriſt and Lord, who with him for euer is to be glorified: him let vs worſhip and extoll for our king for euer. After this as hiſtories witneſſe, he neuer ſuffered the crowne to come vpon his head, but went to Wincheſter, or (as ſome ſay) to Canterburie: but both thoſe may be true: for his going to Canterburie, was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher, and of more power then he himſelfe was, and therewithall to render his crowne for euer. With that, Egelnothus archbiſhop of Canturburie inferred him of the image of the crucifix before mentioned, which diſſolued the matter betweene married prieſts and life of monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at Wincheſter. Whereuppon the king pronoked to goe to Wincheſter to the rood, there reſigned vp his regall crowne, and made the rood king ouer all the land.

There is alſo to be noted in this Canutus, that although as is ſaid hee condeſcended in the beginning of his reigne, vpon king Edgars lawes: yet after in proceſſe of time, he ſet forth peculiar lawes of his owne. Among which, diuers there bee that concerne as well cauſes eccleſiaſticall, as alſo temporall. Whereby it may appeare, that the gouernment of ſpirituall matters not to depend vpon the biſhop of Rome: but to appertaine to the lawfull authoritie of the temporall gouernour, no leſſe then of matters and cauſes temporall. As for example, by theſe ordinances of the foreſaid Canutus may be well conſidered as here followeth: Pecunia ſepulturæ iuſtum eſt vt aperta terra reddantur. Si aliquod corpus a ſua parœchia deferatur in aliam, pecunia ſepulturæ, &c. In Engliſh.

It is meet and right that in funerals, money be giuen for opening the earth.

If any body, or corſe, bee carried from his owne pariſh into an other, the money of the buriall ſhall pertaine by the law to his owne pariſh church.

All ordinances and ceremonies of God, let them be obſerued as noted in all things requiſite.

Vpon the ſunday we forbid all publike faires or markets, all ſynods or conuenticles, huntings, or any ſuch ſecular actions, to be exerciſed, vnleſſe vrgent neceſſitie compell thereunto.

Let euery chriſtian man prepare himſelfe thrice a yeare to approach to the receiuing of the Lords body: ſo to eate the ſame as not to his iudgement, but to his wholeſome remedie.

If a miniſter of the altar doe kill any man, or haue intangled himſelfe in any notorious crime, let him be deprined both from his order and dignitie.

If any married woman (her huſband being aliue) haue committed adultery, and be proued with the ſame: to his open ſhame in the world, let her haue her noſe and eares cut off.

Let euery bodie, after the death of her huſband, remaine foule twelue moneths, or if ſhe marrie, let her loſe her iointure.

And here an end of the Daniſh kings. Now to the Engliſh kings againe, whoſe right line commeth in againe in Edward here following.

## ¶ King Edward called the Confeſſor.

Anno 1043 King Edward the Confeſſor.

England afflicted by the Danes the ſpace of 25 yeares.

FOr ſo much as God of his mercie and prouidence, who is onely the maker of heires, thought it ſo good, after the wofull captiuitie of this Engliſh nation, to grant now ſome reſpit of deliuerance, in taking away the Daniſh kings without any ſtirre left behind them: who reigning here in England, kept the Engliſh people in miſerable ſubiection, about the ſpace of eight and twentie yeares, and that from their firſt landing in the time of king Wightericus, waſting and hering this land the terme of 255 yeares. Now their tyrannie here comming to an end, the next election and right of the crowne fell (as apperteined) to Edward the yonger ſonne of king Egelred and Emma, a meere Engliſhman: who had been now long baniſhed in Normandie, as is aboue declared; a man of gentle and ſoft ſpirit, more appliable to other mens counſels, then able to truſt to his owne: of nature and condition ſo giuen from all warr and bloodſhed, that being in his baniſhment, hee wiſhed rather ſo to continue all his life long in that priuat eſtate, then by warr or bloodſhed to aſpire to any kingdome. This Edward after the death of Canutus the ſecond, or Hardicanute, being ſent for of the lords into Normandie to take poſſeſſion of the realme, although he ſomething miſtruſted the inconſtant and fickle heads of Engliſhmen (yet hauing ſufficient pledges laid for him in Normandie) came ouer, with a few Normans accompanied, and not long after was crowned at Wincheſter, in the yeare 1043, by Eliſus then archbiſhop of Canterburie. And not long after that, he maried Goditha, or Editha, daughter of earle Godwin, whom he intreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet beait her with her fiebly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as moſt like it was) or for loue of chaſtitie, it remaineth vncertaine. But moſt writers agree that he continued his life without offence with women, for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtorie writers, and called holy king Edward. After he had thus taken vpon him the gouernment of the realme, he guided the ſame with much wiſedome and iuſtice, the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, lacking two moneths, from whom iſſued (as out of a fountaine) much godlineſſe, mercie, pitie, and liberalitie toward the poore: gentleneſſe and iuſtice toward all men, and in all honeſt life he gaue a vertuous example to his people. Hee diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great tribute called Dane-gilt, which before time was yearely leuied to the great impouriſhing of the people. He ſubdued the Scots and the Welſhmen, which in their borders began to rebell againſt him. In much peace hee continued his reigne, hauing no forreneemie to aſſault him: albeit, as ſome chronicles doe ſhew, certaine Danes and Norwaies there bare, which intended to ſet vpon England. But as they were taking ſhipping there was brought to them firſt one ball, then an other, of mault or methe, to drinke vpon a boun voyage. Thus one cup counting after an other, after drinke came drunkenneſſe, after drunkenneſſe followed tangling, of tangling came ſtrife, and ſtrife turned into ſtripes; whereby many were ſlaine, and the other returned to their home againe. And thus the mercifull prouidence of the Lord diſpatched that iourney.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accuſed to be familiar with Alwin the biſhop of Wincheſter: vpon which accuſation (by counſell of earle Godwin) hee tooke from her many of her iewels, and cauſed her to bee kept ſome-what more ſtrictly in the abbey of Warwell, and the biſhop committed to the examination of the clergie. Polydor ſaith, they were both in priſon at Wincheſter, where the ſorrowing the deſame both of her ſelfe and of the biſhop, and truſting vpon her conſcience, deſireth them of iuſtice, offering her ſelfe ready to abide any lawfull triall, yea although it were with the tharpet.

Then diuers of the biſhops made labour to the king for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert then archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtopped the ſute. Who not well contented with their labour, ſaid vnto them; Why brethren, how dare ye defend her which is no woman but a beaſt? She hath defamed her ſonne for the king, and taken her lecherous leman the biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the prieſt, who ſhall then purge the woman, that is accuſed to be conſenting to the death of her ſonne Alphred, and procured hemm to the poyſoning of her ſonne Edward? But whether ſhe be guiltie or guiltleſſe; if ſhe will goe barefoted for her ſelfe foure ſteps, and for the biſhop fiue, continually vpon nine ploughſhares fire hot; then if ſhe eſcape harmeleſſe, he ſhall bee aſſoiled of this challenge and the alſo.

To this the graunted the day was appointed; at which day the king and a great part of his nobles were preſent, except onely Robert the archbiſhop. This Robert had been a monke of a houſe in Normandie, and an helper of the king in his exile, and ſo by the lending ſo of the king, came ouer and was made firſt biſhop of London, after archbiſhop of Canterburie. Then was the leſ blindfaid vnto the place betweene the nine mers, where the irons lay burning hot, and paſſed the nine ſhares vnhurt. At laſt, ſaith the; God Lord when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that ſhe was paſt the paine, ſhe kneeled downe giuing God thanks.

Then the king repented (ſaith the ſtorie) and reſtored vnto her ſhat he had done to her from time to time, and called her forgiuenelle. But the archbiſhop fled into Normandie.

Here about this time, about the tenth yeare of his reigne, fell paſſing great ſnow from the beginning of Januarie to the fourteenth day of March. After which inſued a great mortalitie of men, murren of cattell, and by lightning the corne was wonderfully blaſted and withered.

Not long after this a certaine earle of Bologne, who had maried king Edwards ſiſter, came into England; through the occaſion of whom, when execution ſhould bee done vpon the citizens of Douer, for a fray betweene them and the earles men, variance happened betweene king Edward and earle Godwin, who perceiuing that he could not withſtand the kings malice, although he gathered a great company to withſtand what he could, fled into Flanders, ſ was outlawed with his fiue ſons. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the ſaid Godwin: but the ſecond peace after by mediation ſhe was reconciled to the king againe and called from baniſhment, and ſo his god abearing hee gaue ſo pledges his two ſonnes, Sweon and Toſtius, which were ſent to the duke of Normandie there to be kept.

During the time of the outlawrie of Godwin, William baſtard duke of Normandie came with a goodly company into England to ſee king Edward, and was honorablie receiued. To whom the king made great chere, and at his returne inriched him with great gifts and pleaſures; and there (as ſome write) made promiſe to him, that if he died without iſſue, the ſaid William ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom of England.

In this kings reigne lined Marianus Scotus the ſtorie writer. As concerning the end of earle Godwin, the cruell murtherer of Alfred and of the Normans, although diuers hiſtories diuerſly do varie, yet in this the moſt part do agree, that as he ſat at the table with king Edward at Windſor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of earle Godwins ſonnes, to ſtumble and recouer againe, ſo that he ſpeed none of the diniſe, whereat Godwin laughed; and ſaid, how the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With which words the king calling to mind his brothers death that was ſlaine by Godwin, beheld the earle, ſaying, So ſhould my brother Alfred haue holpen me, had not Godwin been. Godwin then fearing the kings diſpleaſure, to be newly kindled, after many words in excuſing himſelfe, ſaid; So might I ſafely ſwallow this moſſell of bread, as I am guiltleſſe of the deed. But as ſome as hee had receiued the head, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawen from the table, and ſo was conueied by Harold his ſon to Wincheſter, and there buried.

About the ſixteenth yere of this kings reigne, the ſaid king Edward ſent Aldred biſhop of Worceſter to the emperor Henricus the fourth, praying him that he would ſend to the king of Hungarie, that his coſin Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide might come into England, for ſo much as he intended to make him king after him, which was called Edward outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Adelling, Margaret, and Chriſtina. But the yeare after his returne into this realme, this Edward deceaſed at London, and was buried at Wincheſter, or as Iornalenſis ſaith, at Pauls church in London. After whoſe deceaſe the king then receiued Edgar Adelling his ſonne, as his owne child, thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the vnſtaiedneſſe and inſtabilitie of the Engliſhmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the ſon of Godwin, and of others perceiuing thereby that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo well to paſſe) directed ſolemne ambaſſadors vnto William duke of Normandie his kinſman, admitting and aſſigning him to bee his lawfull heire, next to ſucceede after him to the crowne.

Then the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtopped the ſute. And not long after that, he maried Goditha, or Editha, daughter of earle Godwin, whom he intreated after ſuch ſort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet beait her with her fiebly. Whether it were for hate of her kin (as moſt like it was) or for loue of chaſtitie, it remaineth vncertaine. But moſt writers agree that he continued his life without offence with women, for the which he is highly exalted among our ſtorie writers, and called holy king Edward. After he had thus taken vpon him the gouernment of the realme, he guided the ſame with much wiſedome and iuſtice, the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, lacking two moneths, from whom iſſued (as out of a fountaine) much godlineſſe, mercie, pitie, and liberalitie toward the poore: gentleneſſe and iuſtice toward all men, and in all honeſt life he gaue a vertuous example to his people. Hee diſcharged the Engliſhmen of the great tribute called Dane-gilt, which before time was yearely leuied to the great impouriſhing of the people. He ſubdued the Scots and the Welſhmen, which in their borders began to rebell againſt him. In much peace hee continued his reigne, hauing no forreneemie to aſſault him: albeit, as ſome chronicles doe ſhew, certaine Danes and Norwaies there bare, which intended to ſet vpon England. But as they were taking ſhipping there was brought to them firſt one ball, then an other, of mault or methe, to drinke vpon a boun voyage. Thus one cup counting after an other, after drinke came drunkenneſſe, after drunkenneſſe followed tangling, of tangling came ſtrife, and ſtrife turned into ſtripes; whereby many were ſlaine, and the other returned to their home againe. And thus the merciſull prouidence of the Lord diſpatched that iourney.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accuſed to be familiar with Alwin the biſhop of Wincheſter: vpon which accuſation (by counſell of earle Godwin) hee tooke from her many of her iewels, and cauſed her to bee kept ſome-what more ſtrictly in the abbey of Warwell, and the biſhop committed to the examination of the clergie. Polydor ſaith; they were both in priſon at Wincheſter, where the ſorrowing the deſame both of her ſelfe and of the biſhop, and truſting vpon her conſcience, deſireth them of iuſtice, offering her ſelfe ready to abide any lawfull triall, yea although it were with the tharpet.

Then diuers of the biſhops made labour to the king for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert then archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtopped the ſute. Who not well contented with their labour, ſaid vnto them; Why brethren, how dare ye defend her which is no woman but a beaſt? She hath defamed her ſonne for the king, and taken her lecherous leman the biſhop. And if it be ſo, that the woman will purge the prieſt, who ſhall then purge the woman, that is accuſed to be conſenting to the death of her ſonne Alphred, and procured hemm to the poyſoning of her ſonne Edward? But whether ſhe be guiltie or guiltleſſe; if ſhe will goe bareſoted for her ſelfe foure ſteps, and for the biſhop fiue, continually vpon nine ploughſhares fire hot; then if ſhe eſcape harmeleſſe, he ſhall bee aſſoiled of this challenge and the alſo.

To this the graunted the day was appointed; at which day the king and a great part of his nobles were preſent, except onely Robert the archbiſhop. This Robert had been a monke of a houſe in Normandie, and an helper of the king in his exile, and ſo by the lending ſo of the king, came ouer and was made firſt biſhop of London, after archbiſhop of Canterburie. Then was the leſ blindfaid vnto the place betweene the nine mers, where the irons lay burning hot, and paſſed the nine ſhares vnhurt. At laſt, ſaith the; God Lord when ſhall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and ſhe ſaw that ſhe was paſt the paine, ſhe kneeled downe giuing God thanks.

Then the king repented (ſaith the ſtorie) and reſtored vnto her ſhat he had done to her from time to time, and called her forgiuenelle. But the archbiſhop fled into Normandie.

Here about this time, about the tenth yeare of his reigne, fell paſſing great ſnow from the beginning of Januarie to the fourteenth day of March. After which inſued a great mortalitie of men, murren of cattell, and by lightning the corne was wonderfully blaſted and withered.

Not long after this a certaine earle of Bologne, who had maried king Edwards ſiſter, came into England; through the occaſion of whom, when execution ſhould bee done vpon the citizens of Douer, for a fray betweene them and the earles men, variance happened betweene king Edward and earle Godwin, who perceiuing that he could not withſtand the kings malice, although he gathered a great company to withſtand what he could, fled into Flanders, ſ was outlawed with his fiue ſons. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the ſaid Godwin: but the ſecond peace after by mediation ſhe was reconciled to the king againe and called from baniſhment, and ſo his god abearing hee gaue ſo pledges his two ſonnes, Sweon and Toſtius, which were ſent to the duke of Normandie there to be kept.

During the time of the outlawrie of Godwin, William baſtard duke of Normandie came with a goodly company into England to ſee king Edward, and was honorablie receiued. To whom the king made great chere, and at his returne inriched him with great gifts and pleaſures; and there (as ſome write) made promiſe to him, that if he died without iſſue, the ſaid William ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom of England.

In this kings reigne lined Marianus Scotus the ſtorie writer. As concerning the end of earle Godwin, the cruell murtherer of Alfred and of the Normans, although diuers hiſtories diuerſly do varie, yet in this the moſt part do agree, that as he ſat at the table with king Edward at Windſor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of earle Godwins ſonnes, to ſtumble and recouer againe, ſo that he ſpeed none of the diniſe, whereat Godwin laughed; and ſaid, how the one brother had ſuſtained the other. With which words the king calling to mind his brothers death that was ſlaine by Godwin, beheld the earle, ſaying, So ſhould my brother Alfred haue holpen me, had not Godwin been. Godwin then fearing the kings diſpleaſure, to be newly kindled, after many words in excuſing himſelfe, ſaid; So might I ſafely ſwallow this moſſell of bread, as I am guiltleſſe of the deed. But as ſome as hee had receiued the head, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawen from the table, and ſo was conueied by Harold his ſon to Wincheſter, and there buried.

About the ſixteenth yere of this kings reigne, the ſaid king Edward ſent Aldred biſhop of Worceſter to the emperor Henricus the fourth, praying him that he would ſend to the king of Hungarie, that his coſin Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide might come into England, for ſo much as he intended to make him king after him, which was called Edward outlaw. The which requeſt was fulfilled, ſo that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Adelling, Margaret, and Chriſtina. But the yeare after his returne into this realme, this Edward deceaſed at London, and was buried at Wincheſter, or as Iornalenſis ſaith, at Pauls church in London. After whoſe deceaſe the king then receiued Edgar Adelling his ſonne, as his owne child, thinking to make him his heire. But fearing partly the vnſtaiedneſſe and inſtabilitie of the Engliſhmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the ſon of Godwin, and of others perceiuing thereby that he could not bring that his purpoſe ſo well to paſſe) directed ſolemne ambaſſadors vnto William duke of Normandie his kinſman, admitting and aſſigning him to bee his lawfull heire, next to ſucceede after him to the crowne.

Sweinus & Gonia, when he ſtudy. The end and death of Godwin. *Ex Iorna. Matmabur. Polydor. Fabia. & alijs.*

Godwins iudgement vpon Godwin, for the murthering of Alfred.

Pestilence plagued.

Edward the outlaw ſonne of Edmund Ironſide, ſent for to England.

Anno 1056 The death of Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide.

William D. of Normandie admitted heire to the crowne.

The enuie and pitoſh of brethren.

Kingracions children not a wicked father.

A place of Polydor Virgil examined.

Harold taken of the Normans.

Harold promiſeth duke William to marrie his daughter, and to be heire of the realme ſor his behoue.

Earle Leofricus euer true and faithfull to his prince.

Periurie plagued. VVilliam Conqueror heire to the crowne. King Edwards death. His iuſt lawes. 149

Edward the outlaw. Edgar Adeling. Margaret mother of Scotie. Agatha queene of England. Dauid king of Scots. The death of king Edward. *Guiel. Malmeſ. Ex Iornalen. Ex Hiſteria Richardi a Diſo compoſita.* The lawes of king Edward.

How Couentry was made free. God the wife to Leofricus.

The abbey of Couentrie builded by Leofricus.

Edward the outlaw. Edgar Adeling. Margaret mother of Scotie. Agatha queene of England. Dauid king of Scots. The death of king Edward. *Guiel. Malmeſ. Ex Iornalen. Ex Hiſteria Richardi a Diſo compoſita.* The lawes of king Edward.

Harold taken of the Normans. Harold promiſeth duke William to marrie his daughter, and to be heire of the realme ſor his behoue. Earle Leofricus euer true and faithfull to his prince.

Sodwins reconciled to the king by pledges giuen.

Harold taken of the Normans. Harold promiſeth duke William to marrie his daughter, and to be heire of the realme ſor his behoue. Earle Leofricus euer true and faithfull to his prince.

Sodwins reconciled to the king by pledges giuen.

Variance betweene the king and Godwin.

Great ſnow and mortalitie in England.

A ſtrange thing of ſix weeke trus, and with-out falſe conueiance.

Falſe accuſation firſt purged by hot iron.

Accuſation of the archbiſhop againſt Emma the kings mother.

Baſtard duke of Normandie came with a goodly company into England

Sodwins ſiue ſonnes outlawed.

Sweinus & Gonia, when he ſtudy. The end and death of Godwin. *Ex Iorna. Matmabur. Polydor. Fabia. & alijs.*

Godwins iudgement vpon Godwin, for the murthering of Alfred.

Pestilence plagued.

Edward the outlaw ſonne of Edmund Ironſide, ſent for to England.

Anno 1056 The death of Edward, ſon of Edmund Ironſide.

William D. of Normandie admitted heire to the crowne.

The enuie and pitoſh of brethren.

Kingracions children not a wicked father.

A place of Polydor Virgil examined.

Harold taken of the Normans.

Harold promiſeth duke William to marrie his daughter, and to be heire of the realme ſor his behoue.

Earle Leofricus euer true and faithfull to his prince.

Sodwins reconciled to the king by pledges giuen.

Variance betweene the king and Godwin.

Great ſnow and mortalitie in England.

A ſtrange thing of ſix weeke trus, and with-out falſe conueiance.

Falſe accuſation firſt purged by hot iron.

Accuſation of the archbiſhop againſt Emma the kings mother.

Baſtard duke of Normandie came with a goodly company into England

Sodwins ſiue ſonnes outlawed.



## *De iure & appendys regni Britanniæ, &c*

*quod ſit officium regis.*

REx autem, quia vicarius ſummi regis eſt, ad hoc eſt conſtitutus, vt regnum terrenum & populum domini, & ſuper omnia ſanctam eius venereatur eccleſiam & regat, & ab iniurioſis defendat, & malefactos ab eo auellat & deſtruat, & penitus diſperet. Quod niſi fecerit, nomen regis non in eo conſtabit, vetum papa Iohanne teſtante, nomen regis perdit: cui Pipinus & Carolus filius eius nec dum reges, ſed principes ſub rege Francorũ ſtulto ſcripſerunt querentes: ſi ita permanere deberent Francorum reges, ſolo regio nomine contenti. A quo reſponſum eſt, illos decet vocare reges, qui vigilanter defendunt & regunt eccleſiam Dei & populum eius, &c. In Engliſh thus.

The king, becauſe he is the vicar of the higheſt king, is appointed for this purpoſe, to rule the earthly kingdome, and the Lords people, and aboue all things to reuerence his holy church, to gouerne it, and to defend it from iniuries: to plucke away wicked doers, ſ vtterly to deſtroy them. Which vnleſſe he do, the name of a king agreeth not vnto him: but he loſeth the name of a king, as witneſſeth pope Iohn: to the which pope, Pipinus and Carolus his ſonne (being not yet kings but princes vnder the French king being not very wiſe) did write, demanding this queſtion, whether the kings of France ought ſo to continue, hauing but onely the name of a king. Vnto whom pope Iohn anſwereth againe, that it was conuenient to call them kings, which vigilantly do defend and gouerne the church of God and his people, following the ſaying of king Dauid the plalmograph: he ſhall not dwell in my houſe which worketh pride, &c.

*Ex Libro reg. antiquorum in prætorio London.* The office of a king preſcribed in the lawes of king Edward.

Moreouer, a king by right & by his office, ought to defend and

Nay, conſerue

conferue fully and wholly in all ampleneſſe without diminution, all the lands, honors, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crowne of his kingdome. And further to reduce into their priſtine ſtate, all ſuch things as haue been diſperſed, waſted, and loſt, which appertaine to his kingdome. Alſo the whole and vnturfaill land with all ſtands about the ſame vnto Norvvay and Denmarke, be appertaining to the crowne of his kingdome, and be of the appurtenances and dignities of the king: making one monarchie and one kingdome, which ſometime was called the kingdome of Britains, and now the kingdome of England: ſuch bounds and limits as is aboueſaid be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdome.

The limits of the kingdome of England how farre they do extend.

The office of a king further declared.

Moreouer, in the foreſaid lawes of this king Edward, it followeth in the ſame booke where the foreſaid Edward, deſcribing the office of a king, addeth in theſe words: A king, ſaith he, ought aboue all things to feare God, to loue and to obſerue his commandements, and cauſe them to be obſerued through his whole kingdome. Hee ought alſo to keepe, cheriſh, maintaine, and guerrie the holy church within his kingdome, with all integritie and libertie, according to the conſtitutions of his anceſtors and predeceſſors: and to defend the ſame againſt all enemies, ſo that God aboue all things bee honoured, and euer be before his eyes. He ought alſo to ſet vp good lawes and cuſtoms, ſuch as be wholeſome and approued: ſuch as bee otherwiſe, to reuocate them, and thruſt them out of his kingdome. Item, he ought to be iudgement and iuſtice in his kingdome, by the counſell of the nobles of his realme. All theſe things ought a king in his owne perſon to doe, taking his oath vpon the euangeliſt, and the bleſſed reliks of ſaints, ſweuring in the preſence of the whole ſtate of his realme (as well of the temporalte as of the ſpiritualtie) before hee bee crowned of the archbiſhops and biſhops. Theſe ſeruants the king ought to haue vnder him as vaſſals: deſchly luſt, auarice, and greedie deſire, whom if the kaepe vnder as his ſeruants and ſlaues, hee ſhall reigne well and honorablie in his kingdome. All things are to be done with good aduiſement and premeditation: and that properly belongeth to a king. For haſtie raſhneſſe bringeth all things to ruine, according to the ſaying of the gaſpell: Euery kingdome diuided in it ſelfe ſhall be deſolate, &c.

Three ſlaues and ſeruants a king ought to haue vnder his ſubiection.

After the dutie and office of princes thus deſcribed, conſequently followeth the inſtitution of ſubiects, declared in many good and neceſſarie ordinances, very requiſite and conuenient for publike gouernment. Of the which lawes William Conquero? was compelled, through the clamo? of the people, to take ſome, but the moſt part he omitted, contrarie to his olme oath at his coronation, inſerting and placing the moſt of his olme lawes in his language, to ſeruc his purpoſe: and which as yet to this preſent day in the ſame Normane language doe remaine. Now (the Lo?d willing) let vs proceed in the ſtorie as in o?der followeth.

## ¶ King Harold.

Anno 1066. Olcroy? laſt king of Sax?ons.

HAro?d the ſecond ſonne of earle Godwin, and laſt king of the Saxons, notwithſtanding that diuers of the nobles went with Edgar Adeling, the nert heire after Edmund Ironſide: yet he though force and might contemning the yong age of Edgar, and forgetting alſo his promiſe made to duke William, toke vpon him to be king of England, Anno 1066. When Harold Hareſtager, ſonne of Canutus king of Norway and Denmarke, heard of the death of king Edward, hee came into England with three hundred ſhips o? mo?e: who ſhea toyning with Toſtius, bro?her to the ſaid Harold king of England, entred into the north parts, and claimed the land after the death of Edward. But the lords of the countrie aroſe and gaue them battell, notwithſtanding the Danes had the victorie. And therfore Harold king of England prepared toward them in all haſt, and gaue them another ſtrong battell, and there had the victorie, where alſo Harold the Dane was ſlaine by the hand of Harold king of England; and Toſtius was alſo ſlaine in the battell. After this victorie, Harold hoard proud and cauetous, and would not biude the preyes to his knights that had deſerued it, but kept it to himſelfe; whereby he loſt the fauour of many of his knights and people.

Harold king of Denmarke and Toſtius ſlaine.

In this mean time William duke of Normandie ſent ambaſſage to Harold king of England, admoniſhing him of the couenants that were agreed betweene them: which was, to haue kept the land to his vſe after the death of Edward. Yet beſide that the daughter of duke William (that was promiſed to Harold) was dead, Harold thought him therefby diſcharged, and ſaid, that ſuch a rude fo?ith promiſe ought not to be holden concerning an others land, without the conſent of the lords of the ſame: and eſpecially fo? that he was thereunto fo? need o? fo? dread compelled.

The pope ſendeth a banner to duke William to bim bring warre into England.

Vpon theſe anſwers receiued, duke William in the meane while that the meſſengers went & came, gathered his knights, and prepared his naule, and had the aſſent of the lords of his land to aid and aſſiſt him in his iourney. And ouer that ſending vnto Rome to pope Alexander, concerning his title and vopageinto England, the pope confirmeth him in the ſame, and ſent vnto him a banner, willing him to beare it in the ſhip, wherein himſelfe ſhould ſaile. Thus duke William, being prouided of all things concerning his iourney, ſped him to the ſea ſide, and toke ſhipping at the hauen of S. Valerie, where he taried a long time ere he might haue a conuenient wind, for the which his ſouldiers murmured, ſaying it was a lwodneſſe, and a thing diſpleaſing God, to deſire to haue an other mans kingdome by ſtrength, and namely when God was againſt it in ſending contrarie wind, &c. At the laſt the wind ſhortly after came about, and they toke ſhipping with a great company, and landed at Haſtings in Suſſex.

Duke William landeth at Hastings.

For three cauſes duke William entred this land, to ſabdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him giuen by king Edward his nephue. The ſecond was to take wreke fo? the cruell murther of his nephue Alfred, king Edwards bro?her, and of the Normans, which deed he aſcribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to reuenge the wrong done to Robert archbiſhop of Canterburie, which was exiled by the meanes and labour of Harold, in the time of king Edward.

Three cauſes why duke William entred England.

Thus while Harold was in the north, duke William made ſo great ſpeed, that he came to London before the king; out of which he was holden, till he had made good ſuretie, that he and his people ſhould paſſe through the citie without tarping: which promiſe he well obſerued, paſſed the bridge, and went ouer to Suſſex, from whence he ſent a meſſage vnto Harold, and proffered him three maner of waies. Firſt, either forcer to him the poſſeſſion of the land, and ſo to take it againe of him, vnder tribute reigning vnder him; ſecondly, o? elſe to abide and ſtand to the popes arbitrement betwixt them both; o? thirdly, to defend his quarrell in his olme perſon againſt the duke, and they two onely to trie the matter by dint of ſwo?d, without any o?ther buſineſſe.

Three conditions offered by Harold to D. William.

Johannes Stella, Matthæus Pariſius, Antoninus Archiepiſcopus Florentinus, Robertus Barnus, Johannes Bapt?ſta.

But Harold refuſed all theſe offers, ſaying it ſhould be tried by dint of wo?des, and not by one ſwo?d: and ſo gathered his people and ioyned battell with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the abbey of Battell in Suſſex. In the beginning of which fight the Engliſhmen kept them in good aray like to banquith the Normans: wherefore duke William cauſed his men to giue backe as though they fled, whereby the Engliſhmen followed faſt and brake their aray. Then the Normans fiercely giuing a charge vpon them, in concluſion obtained the victorie through the iuſt prouidence of God. Where king Harold who before had murthered Alfred the true heire of the crowne, with his companie of Normans ſo cruelly, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an arrow, and thereof incontinent died: although Geraldus ſaith hee fled away to Cheſter, and liued after that a monke in the monaſterie of S. James. Which is not like, but rather that hee was there ſlaine after that he had reigned nine moneths, and was buried at Waltham (which prouieth that hee died not at Cheſter) and ſo was he the laſt that reigned in England of the blod of Saxons, the which continued (to reckon from Hengiſtus his firſt reigne in Kent) by the ſpace of 591 yeares: and if it be reckoned from the yeares of the Weſtſaxons, then it indured the ſpace of 565 yeares.

*Ex Iohan. Stella.*

The fight betwixt Harold and duke William.

King Harold ſlaine.

This duke William and king Edward were by the fathers ſide coſin germans remoued. For Richard the firſt of that name which was the third duke of Normandie after Rolo, was father to duke Richard the ſecond of that name, and brother to Emma mother to king Edward. Which duke Richard the ſecond was father to duke Robert, this duke Williams father.

The conſanguinitie betweene king Edward and William the Conqueror.

Albeit in this matter other ſome may gather otherwiſe and better, perchance; yet if I may ſay what I thinke, verily I ſuppoſe, that there is no conſanguinitie ſo much here the cauſe why God of his vnknowen iudgements ſuffered the Normans here to preuaile, as was rather the cruell murther of Alfred and of the innocent Normans, wrought by the cruell deſpite of Harold and the Engliſhmen, as is before declared. The which mercileſſe murther, God here iuſtly in this conqueſt recompenſed.

Further ſuite to recompenſed.

Now remaineth alſo to theſe foreſtaffaires of kings and princes, to adde ſome thing likewiſe concerning the continuation of the archbiſhops of Canterburie, beginning there where we laſt left: that is, with Siphegus, whom we declared a little before to be ſtoned by the Danes at Greenewich. After which Siphegus nert ſucceeded Lifingus, after him Egelnothus alſo aboue mentioned. Then Robertus a Normane a great doer (as is declared) about king Edward, and a faithfull counſellor vnto him, but who abode not long. After whom Stigandus inuaded the ſee, as they report by ſimonie, being both archbiſhop of Canterburie, biſhop of Wincheſter, and alſo abbat in an other place, wherein he continued a great ſpace, gathering and heaping goods togither, till at length duke William clapt him in priſon, and there kept him, placing in his rome Lanfrancus a Lombard borne, of whom more ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) hereafter to be declared.

Archbiſhops of Canterburie.

Lifingus, Egelnothus, Robertus, Stigandus.

¶ Although the church of Chriſt and ſtate of religion firſt founded and grounded by Chriſt and his apoſtles, did not continually altogether remaine in his primitiue perfection, wherein it was firſt inſtituted; but in proceſſe of time began from better to worſe to decreaſe and decline into much ſuperſtition and incon-

The decay of the church.



uenience: partly through the comming in of Mahumet, partly through the increaſe of wealth & riches, partly through the decreaſe of knowledge and diligence in ſuch as ſhould be the guides of Chriſts flocke: yet the infection and corruption of that time (though it were great) did not ſo abound in ſuch exceſſiue meaſure, as afterward in the other latter times now following, about the thouland yeers expired after Chriſt, wherof we haue to intreat, Chriſt ſo permitting. About which time and yere came Sylueſter, the ſecond of that name, who next ſucceeded after Gregory the fift, before mentioned: and occupied the ſea of Rome about the yere of our Lo?d 1000. lacking one o? two.

Pope Sylueſter the ſecond.

Sylueſter the ſecond a ſonle ſorcerer.

This Sylueſter was a ſorcerer, which after the ſort of them that work by familiars (as they call them) and by coniuration, compaced with the diuell to be made pope. And ſo hee was (though the operation of Satan) according to his requeſt. Which things ſome hiſtories ſay, hee did greatly repent before his death. But fo? a more ample declaration hereof, I will bring in the words of Johannes Stella, a Venetian, tranſlated from Latine into Engliſh, concerning the ſaid Sylueſter: to the intent that our inchunters & ſorcerers now adaies (where of there be too many in England) may the better though his example be admoniſhed. The words of Stella be theſe, agreeing alſo with the narration of Benno, Platina, and many o?thers. Sylueſter, the ſecond of that name, being pope, and a Frenchman, called Gibertus, late in his papacy foure yeers, one month, & eight daies. He entred to his papacie through one month, & laſtly all meanes: who from his youth being a wicked and ſalaſtfull meanes: who from his youth being a monke, and leauing his monaſterey, gaue himſelfe wholly to the diuell, to obtaine that which he required. And firſt comming to Hiſpalis a citie in Spaine, there applied his booke and praiſed alſo, in ſo much that he was made bocto?, hauing amongſt his auditors, (Otho the emperors ſonne, and Robert the French king, Lothar ius archbiſhop of Rauenna, and at laſt, though the Rhene, archbiſhop of Rauenna, and at laſt, though the operation of Satan, was exalted to the papacie of Rome, by on this condition, that after his death he ſhould giue himſelfe to the diuell, by whoſe procurement he came to that promotion. Upon a certaine time hee demanded an anſwer of the diuell, how long he ſhould inioy his popedom. To whom he anſwered again, Until thou ſay maſſe in Jeruſalem thou ſhalt line. At length the fourth yere of his popedome, ſaying maſſe at Lent time, in the temple of the holy croſſe, being called then Jeruſalem, there hee knew the time was come when hee ſhould die. Whereupon being ſtruck with repentance, confeſſed his faults openly before the people: deſiring all men to cut his body all in peeces (being ſo ſeduced by deceits of the diuell) and ſo being beuen in peeces, they would lay it vpon a cart, and burp it there wherſoeuer the horſes would carie it of their accord. And ſo the ſaying is to be, th at by the prouidence of God (wherby the wicked may learne yet hope of remiſſion with God, ſo that they will repent them in their life) the horſes of their olme accord ſtaied at the church of Laterane, and there he was buried: where as commonly by the rating of his bones within the tombe, is portended the death of popes, as the common report goeth. Thus much out of Johannes Stella concerning Sylueſter. By whom our ſorcerers & inchanters, o? magicians may learne to beware of the deceitfull operation of Satan, who at the end deceiueth and fruſtrateth all them that haue to do with him: as the end of all ſuch doth declare commonly, which vſe theſlike art o? trade. The Lo?d and God of all mercy, through the ſpirit of Jeſus our redeemer, diſſolue the works of Satan, and preſerue the harts of our nobles, and of all other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection, Amen.

*Ex Iohan. Stella.*

An admonition for ſorcerers and wicked conuerers.

After Sylueſter, ſucceeded John the nineteenth, by whom was brought in (as Volaterran ſaith) the feaſt of All ſoules brought into the church. Platina ſaith, the feaſt of All ſaints. This monke Dilo, thinking that purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mount Aetna, dreamed vpon a time in the country of Sicill, that hee by his maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules taken from them by the maſſes & dirges funerall. Ex Balcuthopo. in prolo. 4. lib. ſentent. And not long after him came John the twentith, and Sergius the fourth. After whom ſucceeded Benedictus the eighth: then John the one and twentith, who being promoted by art magicke of Theophylact his nephew, Gratianus, Bazulus, & other ſorcerers bought in and preſerue the harts of our nobles, and of all other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection, Amen.

The feaſt of All ſoules brought into the church.

*Concilium Florentinum.*

After Sylueſter, ſucceeded John the nineteenth, by whom was brought in (as Volaterran ſaith) the feaſt of All ſaints. This monke Dilo, thinking that purgatory (as he heard) ſhould be in the mount Aetna, dreamed vpon a time in the country of Sicill, that hee by his maſſes had deliuered diuers ſoules taken from them by the maſſes & dirges funerall. Ex Balcuthopo. in prolo. 4. lib. ſentent. And not long after him came John the twentith, and Sergius the fourth. After whom ſucceeded Benedictus the eighth: then John the one and twentith, who being promoted by art magicke of Theophylact his nephew, Gratianus, Bazulus, & other ſorcerers bought in and preſerue the harts of our nobles, and of all other Engliſhmen from ſuch infection, Amen.

Benedictus the ninth.

Gregorius the ſixth.

Which cauſe Henricus, ſurnamed Niger, the emperor, coming to Rome, diſplaced theſe three monſters at one time, placing for them Clement the ſecond, who then pon inacting that there ſhould no biſhop of Rome hereafter be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the emperour. Which conſtitution, though it was both agreeable, and alſo neceſſary for publike tranquillitie of that citie, yet the cardinals would not ſuffer it long to ſtand, but did impugne it afterward by ſubtill practiſe and open violence, as in proceſſe (the Lo?d permitting) ſhall appeare, in the time of Henricus the fourth and the fifth. In the time of this Clement, the Romans made an oth to the emperor, concerning the election of the biſhops, themſelues to intermedle no further therein, but as the aſſent of the emperour ſhould go with all. Hoſwbeit the emperor departing thence into Germany againe, by and by they forgot their oth, and within nine months after poiſoned the biſhop. Which fact, ſome impute to Stephen his ſucceſſor, called Damaſus the ſecond. Some impute it to Bzanius, who (as hiſtories record) within thirteen yeeres poiſoned ſix popes, that is, Clement the ſecond, Damaſus the ſecond, Leo the ninth, Victo? the ſecond, Stephanus the ninth, Nicholaus the ſecond.

A conſtitution, how a pope ſo be choſen, but by the conſent and confirmation of the emperour.

Pope Clement the ſecond.

Pope Damaſus the ſecond.

Thus Clement being poiſoned, after him ſucceeded Damaſus the ſecond, neither by conſent of the people, no? of the emperor elected, but by force and tumult, who alſo within three and twenty daies being poiſoned, in the yere 1049, much contention and ſtriuing began in Rome about the papall ſeat. Whereupon the Romans through the counſel of the cardinals ſent to the foreſaid emperor, deſiring to giue them a biſhop, and ſo he did, whoſe name was Bruno an Almain, biſhop of Culen, afterward called Leo the ninth. This Bruno being a ſimple man, and eaſie to be led with euill counſell, coming from the emperor towards Rome in his pontificall apparell like a popethere meeteth him by the way the abbat of Cluniake, and Hildebrand a monke, who ſeeing him ſo in his pontificalibus, began to rate him, laying to his charge, that he would ſo take his authoritie of the emperor, and not rather of the clergy of Rome, and the people thereof, as other his predeceſſors were wont to do: and ſo counſelled him to lay bowne that apparell, and to enter in with his olme habit, till he had his election by them. Bruno following their counſell, and confeſſing his fault before the clergy of Rome, obteined their fauour, and ſo was nominat Leo the ninth, whereby Hildebrand was made a cardinall, and put in high preme. Under this pope Leo were two councels, one kept at Vercelle, where the doctrine of Berengarius againſt the reall preſence in the ſacrament was firſt condemned, although Berengarius yet recanted not, which neuertheleſſe was done after in the councell of Lateran, vnder Nicholaus the ſecond, in the yere 1060. The other was kept at Moguntia, where amongſt many other decrees, was enacted, priеſts to be excluded and debarred vtterly from marriage. Item, that no lay man might giue benefice o? biſhoprick, o? any ſpirituall promotion, &c.

Pope Leo the ninth.

*Concilium Moguntinum.*

This Leo being at Thomes with the emperor vpo Chriſtmas day, did excommunicat the ſubdeacon, becauſe in reading the epiſtle, he did it not in the Roman tune, he being there preſent. The archbiſhop moued therewith, departed from the altar, (being then at maſſe) ſaying, he would not proceed any further in his ſeruice, vnleſſe his ſubdeacon were reſtored, where vpon the pope commanded him to be releaſed, and ſo they went forward in their ſeruice.

*Ann. Crantz. Saxo. lib. 4. cap. 45.*

After the death of Leo, whom Bazutus poiſoned the firſt yere of his popedom, Theophylactus did ſtriue to be pope: but Hildebrand to defeat him, went to the emperor: (partly alſo being ſent by the Romans for feare of the emperors diſpleaſure who aſſigned another biſhop a Germane, called Victo? the ſecond. This Victo? hauing a councel at Florence, depoſed diuers biſhops and prieſts for ſimonie and fornication: for ſimonie, in that they toke of ſecular men their dignities for money: for fornication, in that contrary to their canon, they were married, &c. The ſecond yere of his papacie, and little more, this pope alſo followed his predeceſſors, being poiſoned by the foreſaid Bazutus, through the procurement of Hildebrand and his matter.

Pope Victor the ſecond.

Here now began the church and clergy of Rome to vſurp out of the emperors hand the election of the pope: electing Stephen the ninth for pope, contrary to their oth and to the emperors aſſignment. Here was the church of Rome firſt brought to obedience of the Romiſh church, by this Stephanus the ninth biſhop of Rome, who alſo ſhamed not to accuſe the emperor Henry of whom mention is made before) of hereſie, for minithing the authoritie of the Roman ſea. So this was their hereſie at that time, not to maintaine the ambitious preſumptions of the Romiſh prelat. And ſimonie there called this, to take and inioy any ſpirituall liuing at a ſecular mans hand. Wherefore Stephen hearing this ſimony to raigne in diuers places, namely in the churches of Burgundy and Italy, ſent forth the cardinall Hildebrand to reſorme the matter: who was no leſſe earneſt in that kind of commiſſion to helpe the matter forward.

Pope Stephen the ninth. The church of Rome firſt brought vnder the church of Rome. The emperor accuſed of hereſie.

Hildebrand ſent in commiſſion for ſimony.

In the meane time Stephanus the pope, taſting of Bazutus cup fell ſicke. Hildebrand hearing that, appointeth home with all poſt ſpeed. So being returned to Rome, aſſembleth all the companies

Hildebrand by ſtately to ate.

companies and orders of the clergie together, making them to sweare that they should admit none to bee bishop, but which should be appointed by the publike consent of them al together. This being done, Hildebrand taketh his iourny into Florence, beeing to fetch the bishop of Florence, to call him bishop: the clergy swearing vnto him, that no bishop should be obtained before his returne againe. But the people of Rome not suffering the election to stand so long, all ye death of Stephen, elected one of their own city, called Benedictus the tenth. Hildebrand hearing of this, was not a little offended: wherefore returning to Rome with one Garhardus bishop of Florence, caused the clergy to proceed to a new election, saying, that Benedictus was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing. Vpon the clergy not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Siene, and there elected this Garhardus bishop of Florence, who n Hildebrand brought with him. So were two popes in Rome together: But Garhardus, named Nicolas the second, to ding a councel at Sutrium, through the help of duke Godfride and Guibert, and other bishops about Italy, caused the other pope to be deposed. Benedictus vnderstanding them to be set against him through the meanes of Hildebrand, deposed himselfe, and went to Telleras, liuing there more quietly than he should haue done at Rome.

Pope Benedictus thrusteth.

Pope Nicolas the second. Two popes in Rome together. Nicolas excommunicateth Benedict. Benedict excommunicateth him.

Here is to be touched by the way, the error of the glosse vpon the three and twentith distinction, which falsly alleageth out of the chronicles: that Benedictus the tenth, which succeeded Stephen, was deposed: after whom came Johannes bishop of Sabine for nine, and he againe deposed. Benedictus was then restored, and after displaced againe, and then Johannes archdeacon Ad portam latinan, was made pope, and he againe deposed by the emperor, and all in one yere. Which storie neither is found in any chronicle, nor agreeth vpon any Benedictus, saue only that Benedictus the ninth, which was deposed, & three raigned three popes together, Benedictus the ninth, Syluester the third, and Gregorius the sixth, which before was called Iohannes ad portam latinam, whom the emperor deposed: all three togither. But that Benedict neither was the tenth, neither did he succeed pope Stephen, as the glosse recordeth. Nicolas thus being set vp without the ninth both of the emperor and of the people of Rome, after his fellow pope was driuen away, bake vp the synod of Sutrium, and came to Rome, where he assembled another councell, called Concilium Lateranum. In which councell first was promulgat the terrible sentence of excommunication mentioned in the decrees, and beginneth: In nomine Domini nostri &c. The effect whereof is this. First, that he after a fearfull practise as far as plainly as he durst speake) vndermineth the empreros iurisdiction, and transferreth to a few cardinals, and certaine catholike persons, the full authoritie of chusing the pope. Secondly, against all such as doe creep into the seat of Peter by money or fauor, without the full cõsent of the cardinals: he banneth with terrible blasts of excommunication, accursing them and their children with diuels, as wicked persons, to the anger of almighty God, giuing also authoritie and power to cardinals with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a councell generall, wheresoeuer they will against them.

Concilium Lateranum. Anno 1059 Dist. 23. In no. A terrible curse of pope Nicolas.

Item, in the said councell of Laterane, vnder pope Nicolas the second, Berengarius Andegauensis, an archdeacon, was driuen to the recantation of his doctrine, denying the reall substance of Christs holy body and blood to be in the sacrament, otherwise then sacramentally and in mystery.

Berengarius recanteth his transubstantiation.

In the same councell also was hatched and inuented the new found deuice and terme of transubstantiation.

Transubstantiation brought into the church.

It were too long here to declare the confederation betwixt this Nicolas and Robertus Guiscardus, whom this pope (contrary to all right and god law, displacing the right heire) made duke of Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and captaine generall of S. Peters landes: at though his force of armes and violence, he might the better indue all such as should rebell to his obedience, and so did. Now let all men iudge and vnderstand (which be godly wise) how this flatterly with the doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a christian bishop, by outward armes and violence to conquer christian men and countries, vnder the obedience of a bishops sea. Thus pope Nicolas the second well answering to his Greeke name, by might & force continued three yeres and a halfe. But at length he met with Damasus 2. and so turned vp his heeles.

Dauncaris, Lieutenant, Guiscard Sir.

Desyring peace reacheth thereafter with the gospell. Anno 1062

At the beginning of this Nicolas, or somewhat before, about the yere of our Lord 1057. Henricus the fourth, after the decease of Henry the third, was made emperour, being but a child, and raigned fifty yeres: but not without great molestation and much disquietnesse, and all through the ingratious wickednesse of Hildebrand, as hereafter (the Lord so permitting) shall be declared.

Henricus the fourth emperor.

Here by the way commeth to bee noted an example, whereby all princes may learne and vnderstand, how the pope is to be handled, whosoeuer loketh to haue any godlinesse at his hand. If a man stand in feare of his curse, he shall be made his slaue: but if he be despised of you, you shall haue him as your lust. For the popes curse may well be allemiled to Domitians thunder: If a man giue eare to the noise and cracke, it seemeth a terrible thing: but if you consider the causes and effect thereof, it is a meer vainenesse.

The popes curse compared to Domitians thunder.

In the raigne of this Nicolas, in the yeare 1060. Aldredus bishop of Worcester, after the decease of Kinsius his predecessor should be made archbishop of Yorke, who comming to Rome with Tostius earle of Northumberland for his pall (as the manner was) could not obtaine it, but was despised of all his dignitie, for some default (I cannot tell what) in his answer: and furthermore, after his reuersion home, was spoiled also of all that he brought with him. Wherevpon he returning againe to Rome with Tostius the foresaid earle, there made his complaint, but could not be heard: till Tostius, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the pope to his face, that his curse was not to be feared in far countries, which his owne neighbors, yea and most vile vagabonds derided and despised at home. Wherefore he required the pope, either to restore Aldredus againe to his goods lost, or else it should be knowne that they were lost through his meanes and subtilties. And furthermore, it would come to passe, that the king of England hearing this, would order him of S. Peters tribute, taking it for a great shame to him and his realme, if Aldredus should come from Rome both despised of dignitie, and spoiled also of his goods, &c. In fine, the pope thus persuaded by the argument of his purse, was content to send home Aldredus with his pall, according to his request.

Aldredus archbishop of Yorke.

Tostius how he persuaded the pope.

Psal. 43.

After the death of Nicolas, the Lombards being oppressed before by pope Nicolas, and brought vnder feare, were the more desirous, and thought it good to haue a bishop of their companie, and so elected the bishop of Parmen called Cadolaus, to be pope: leading to the emperor, and desiring his fauor and supportation therein, for the election of the pope (said they) most properly appertained vnto him.

Cadolaus a Lombard made pope by the emperor.

The emperor well pleased and content, giueth his good leaue and voice withall. Hildebrand, no lesse a wicked necromancer, then a stout maintainer of popish liberties against god emperors, hearing this, setteth vp by a contrary faction, another bishop, Anselmus, after called Alexander the second. Cadolus thus elected by the emperor and the cardinals, setteth forward to Rome with a sufficient army and strength of men. Alexander also hauing his friends there receiued him with another armie, where they had a great conflict, and many slaine on both sides. But Cadolus as he had the better cause, so had he the worse fortune: who being repelled, yet repaired himselfe and came againe with a greater power: albeit hee preuailed not. The emperor hearing this hurly burly: to take vp the matter, sent thither his ambassadour. Who archbishop of Tullen, who comming to Rome, beginneth sharply to chide the pope for taking so vpon him without the leaue or knowledge of the emperor, declaring how the election of that see ought chiefely to appertaine to the right of the emperor, as it hath done for the most part in the time of his predecessors before. But Hildebrand all set vpon mischeeuous ambition, and also put vp not a little with his late victories; not suffering the ambassadour to tell to the end, interrupted him in the middle of his tale, affirming, that if they should stand to law & custome, the liberty of that election should rather belong to the clergie then to the emperor. To make short, Who the ambassador bearing (belike) more with the clergie then with the emperor, was content to be perswaded only required this in the emperors name, a councell to be had, to decide the matter: where at the emperor should be present himselfe: and so he was. In the which councell being kept at Mantua, Alexander was declared pope, the other had his pardon granted. In this councell amongst many other deliberations, was concluded concerning priests to haue no wiues: such as haue concubines to say no masse: priests chosen not to be secluded from holy orders: no benefices to be bought for money: alleuiats to be suspended til the time of Lent out of the church, &c. This also was decreed (which made most for Hildebrands purpose) that no spirituall man, whatsoeuer he be, should enter in any church by a secular person, and that the pope should be elected only by the cardinals, &c. Vnto Cardinalles inuented thus of Alexander, that after hee perceiued the fraudes of Hildebrand, and of other emperors enemies; and vnderstanding that he was set vp and inthronised but only for a purpose; being at his masse, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not sit in the place, vnlesse he had the licence of the emperor. Which then Hildebrand heard, he was stricken in such a feare, that scarcely he could keepe his hands off him, while masse was done. After the masse being finished, by force of soldiors and strength of men he had him into a chamber, and there all to be pommild pope Alexander with his fists, rating and rebuking him for that he would seeke for fauor of the emperor. Thus Alexander being kept vp in custodie, and being limited to a certaine allowance, as about five grotes a day, Hildebrand incroched all the whole reuenues of the church to himselfe, procuring thereby much treason. At length Alexander vnder the miserable endurance of Hildebrand, died at euentide after eleuen yeares and a halfe of his popedome. And thus much of Romish matters.

Concilium Mantuanum.

Gen. 34. Exod. 32.

Num. 25. Acts 5. 8.

Deut. 33.

Missula suspended in the time of Lent.

A decree that no secular man should giue a spirituall promotion.

Bruno Cardinalis.

Pope Alexander knocked about the pate by Hildebrand.

These things thus discoursed concerning the matters of Rome, now returning againe to our olume countrie storie, the order thereof would require to enter againe into the raigne of William Conqueror, the next king following in England. But



But as a certaine oration of king Edgars, which should haue been placed before, chanced in the meane time to come to my hands, not vnworthy to be read: I thought by the way in the end of this booke to insert the same (although out of order) yet better I iudge it out of order, then out of the booke.

*The oration of king Edgar to the clergy.*

BEcause God hath shewed his great mercy to worke with vs it is meet (most reuerend fathers) that we with wordy works we should answer his innumerable benefits. For we possesse not the land by our owne sword, and our owne arme hath not sained vs: but his right hand and his holy arme, because he hath bin delighted in vs. Therefore it is meet that we should submit both our selues and our soules to him, that hath subiected all these things vnder our gouernment: and that we ought stoutly to labor, that they whom he hath made subiect to vs, might be maners belongeth vnto vs: whether they liue chastlie, if they behaue themselues honestly toward them that be without, whether they be diligent at Gods seruice, if they be earnest to teach the people, if they be sober in eating and drinking, if they keep measure in apparell, and if they be discreet in iudgement. If yee had regarded these things with a triall of them (O reuerend fathers, by your leaues I speake) such horrible and abominable things of the clerks, should not haue come vnto our ears. I omit to speake how their crowne is not brode, nor their rounding conuenient: the wantonnes in your life, your pride in your gesture, the filthinesse in your words, doe declare the euill of the sture, the filthinesse in your words, doe declare the euill of the inward man.

Furthermore, what negligence is in Gods seruice, when scarse they will be present at the holy vigils? And when they come to masse, they seeme rather to bee gathered to play and laugh then to sing. I wil tell that, that good men for sorrow, and the euill laugh at. I will speake with sorrow (if to be I may expresse it) how they be riotous in bankettings, in chambering, drunkennes, and vnshamefastnes: that now clerks houses may be thought to be a stewes of harlots, and a couent of plaiers. There be dice, there is dancing and singing, there is watching to midnight, with crying & shouting. Thus the goods of kings, the almes of princes, yea (and that is more) the price of that precious blood is not esteemed. Haue our fathers then spent their treasures for this purpose? Hath the kings coffers decaied by taking away many reuenewes, for this cause? Hath the kings liberalitie giuen lands and possessions to Christs Churches for this intent, that clerks harlots should be decked with the same? that riotous feasts might be decked? that hounds & hawks and such other toies might be gotten? The souldiers cry out of these things, the people grudge, minstrels sing & dance, and yet ye regard it not, ye spare it, ye dissemble it. Where is the sword of Leule, and the zeale of Simeon, which killed the Sichemits, and the circumcised, which bare the figure of the that defile Christs church with filthy deeds, because they abused Iacobs daughter as an harlot? Where is Moses spirit, which spared not his owne kinsfolke that worshipped the head of the calfe?

Where is Phinees the priests dagger, which pacified Gods anger by his holy zeale, when he killed him that plaied the harlot with the Madianit? Where is Peters spirit, by whose power couetousnesse is detroied, and simoniacall hereste is condemned? Be earnest ye priests, be earnest to follow the waies of the Lord, and the righteousnes of our God. It is time to do against then that haue broken the law of God. I haue Constantines sword, and ye haue Peters sword in your hands; let vs ioyne right hands, let vs couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sonnes of Leui may minister in the temple, who said to his father and mother, I know you not, and to his brothers, I know not you. Go to diligently I pray you, lest we repent to haue done that we haue done, and to haue giuen that we giue. If we shall see that to be spent not in Gods seruice, but on the riotousnes of wicked men, through vile & corrupt liberty of life, for lacke of chastisement: let the relikes of holy Saints which they despise, & the holy altars, before which they play the mad men, moue you. Let the great deuotion of our ancestors moue you, whose almes the madnes of the clerks doth abuse. My great grandfather (as ye know) gaue the tenth part of all his lands to churches and abbies. My great great grandfather, Alfredus of holy memory, thought it not meet to spare his treasures, his goods, no costs, nor rents, that he might inrich the Church. My grandfather the elder, Edward, your fatherhood is not ignorant how great things he gaue to the churches. It becommeth you to remember with what gifts my father and his brothers did inrich Christs altars. O father of fathers, Dunstan, behold (I pray thee) the eies of my father looking on thee, from that bright place of heauen: hearken to his complaining words sounding in thine eares, thus pitifully lamenting: O father Dunstan, thou, thou (I say) gauest me counsell to build abbies and Churches, thou wait my helper & fellow worker in all things: I chose thee as a shepheard & bishop of my soule, and a keeper of my maners. When did I not obey thee? What treasures did I prefer in respect of thy counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if thou badst me? If thou thoughtst meete to giue any thing to the poore, I was ready. If thou thoughtst meet to giue any thing to churches, I deferred not. If thou complainedst that monkes or clerks wanted any thing, I supplied. Thou saidst that almes lasted for euer, and that there was none more fruitfull then that which was giuen to abbies or churches. For with that, both Gods seruants are sustained, and that which remaineth is giuen to the poore. O worthy almes! O worthie price of the soule! O wholesome remedie for our sinnes, which now doth stinke in the sweet furs of priests leumans, wherewith they adorne their cares and decke their fingers, apparelling their delicat bodies with silke and purple! O father, is this the fruite of mine almes, is this the effect of my desire, and of thy promise? What wilt thou answere to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know: When thou didst see a theefe, thou runnest not with him, neither hast thou put thy portion with adulterers. Thou hast rebuked, thou hast exhorted, thou hast blamed them: but words haue been despised; now we must come to stripes of correction. Thou hast here with thee the worshipfull father Edward bishop of Winchester. Thou hast the reuerend prelat Oswold bishop of Worcester. I commit this businesse to you, that both by bishoplie correction, and the kings authoritie, the filthie liuers may bee cast out of the churches, and they that liue orderly may be brought in, &c.

In this oration of king Edgar aboue prefred, three things are chiefly to be noted and considered of them that haue inducement to marke and vnderstand, to wit: The religious zeale and deuotion of kings, both in giuing to the church, and also in correcting the maners of churchmen. Secondly, the dissolute behauior and wantonnes of the clergy, then abusing the great reuenues and patrimonies of princes bestowed vpon them. Thirdly, the blinde ignorance and superstition of that time in both states, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, in esteeming Christs religion chiefly to consist in giuing to churches, and in maintaining of monkery, sadly being perswaded that remission of the sinnes, and remedy of their soules therein, no lesse then building monasteries, erecting churches and cloisters, and in placing monkes in the same, such other almsdeeds, and works of deuotion. Wherein appeareth how ignorant that time was of the true doctrine of Christs faith, and of free grace of the gospell, which promiseth life, remedy, and iustification, not by any deuout merits of cures, nor by any works either of the law of God, or of the inuentions of man, but onely and freely by our faith in Christ Iesus the sonne of God, in whom only consisteth all the promises of God. Amen.

The signifience and superstition of the time of king Edgar noted.

The doctrine of iustification vnknowne.

Iustification by faith in Christ.

Now remaineth as in the former booke before, so in this likewise, to prosecute the order and race of archbishops of Canterburie, as wee haue done the race of kings, beginning with Etheldredus, who succeeded next after Celnothe, the seuententh archbishop of that sea, mentioned where we left before.

## The names and order of the archbishops of Canterburie, from the time of king Egbert to William Conqueror.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 18 Etheldredus. | 18 | |
| 19 Pleimundus. | 19 | This Peimundus was schoolmaster to king Alfred. |
| 20 Athelmus. | 12 | |
| 21 Wlfelmus. | 13 | |
| 22 Odo. | 20 | By the praiers of this Odo, the monkish stories say, that the hand of king Ethelstan was brought againe into his scabbard. As is noted before in that kings time. |
| 23 Elfius, or Elfinus. | 1 | This Elfius, first bishop of Winchester, came to the seat of Canturbury by the commandement of king Edgar, some say by bribes, contrary to the mind of Odo. Whereupon in the first day of his consecration, he inuiting vpon the tombe of Odo with despite, shortly after went to Rome for his pall, where in his iourny vpon the Alps he died for cold, in so much that his horses being killed, and hee put in their warme bellies, yet could he get no heat. Malmsbur. |
| 24 Dunstan. | 20 | Of this Dunstan manie monkish miracles be fained, as of the harpe vpon the wall playing by it selfe, Gaudent in coelis, |

S. Dunstans harpe vpon the wall, but by a pin had hang at Westnour many yeres before, with his and all, and by it selfe did twang a-

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Polydorus maketh Dunstan to bee the 23 archbishop. | lis, &c. Of our Lady with her company appearing to him singing, Cantemus Domino sociæ, cantemus honorem; Dulcis amor Christi personet ore pio. Also of the angels singing Kyrieleison, &c. Item, of holding the diuell by the nose with a pair of tongs, tempting him with women: Malmes. Item of fearing the holy ghost at his masse in likenesse of a doue. Item, in deliuering the soule of Edwin from the diuell. Item, in foreseeing the death of king Ethred, by the death and falling of his horse. Item, of his mother being great with Dunstan, when all the candles of others went out, her only candle remained light: and many other like fables, &c. | 28 Elphegus. | 6 | a great tribute. Elphegus, because he denied to pay to the Danes a tribute, was stoned to death at Greenewich, and of some is called a martyr. |
| | | | 29 Liuingus. | 7 | |
| | | | 30 Egenoldus. | 17 | |
| | | | 31 Edsius. | 11 | |
| | | 10 | | | |
| | | | 32 Robertus. | 2 | This Robertus caused Godwin and his sonnes to bee banished, accusing them of treason. But afterward they being restored, he went to Rome, and at his returne died. |
| | | | 33 Stigandus. | 17 | Stigandus being an Englishman, in the time of William Conquero: the Norman, was by the craft of the said William conueied into Normandy, where a while with great honor he was entertained. At length the said William procured secretly the popes letters to depose him, that he might place Lanfrancus in his rome. This Stigandus died at length in prison. |
| 25 | Ethelgarus. | 1 | | | |
| 26 | Elfricus. | 11 | | | |
| 27 | Siricius. | 5 | 34 Lanfrancus. | 19 | |
| | | 20 | | | |

This Siricius was the counseller to king Egelred, to reteine peace of the Danes, with

*The end of the third Booke.*

# The fourth Booke, containing other three hundred yeeres from William Conqueror, to the time of *John Wickliffe, wherein is described the proud and misordered raigne of Antichrist, beginning to stir in the Church of Christ.*

William Conqueror.

WIlliam Duke of Normandie, surnamed Conqueror, base sonne of Duke Robert, the first Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto king Edward, after the foresaid victory against Harold and the Englishmen obtained, was receiued king ouer the realme of England, not so much by assent, as for feare and necessitie of time. For else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Atheling to the vttermost of their power. But being weakened and wasted in sundrie battels before, and the Duke comming to assault them, fearing not to make their party good, submitted themselues. Whereupon the said William (of a duke made a king) was crowned vpon Christmas day in the yeere of our Lord 1067. by the hands of Aldredus archbishop of Yorke; for as much as at that time Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury was absent, or else durst not, or would not come in the presence of the king. A little before the comming in of this duke, a terrible blazing starre was seene the space of seuen daies, which was the yeere before. In record whereof, as well of the conquest of the duke, as of the blazing starre, these verses yet remaine:

*Sexagenus erat sextus millesimus annus,*
*Cum pereunt Anglis, stellæ monstrante cometa.*

Which king thus being crowned, did reigne ouer the realme of England the space of one and twenty yeeres and one moneth, with great seueritie and cruelnesse toward the Englishmen, hurthening them with great tributes and exactions; which was to pay of euery hide of ground containing twenty acres, fiue shillings. By meanes whereof certaine parts of the land rebelled, and specially the citie of Exceter. But at last William ouercame them, and won the citie, & punished them grieuously. But for that and for other sterne deeds of William, diuers of the lords departed into Scotland: wherefore hee kept the other lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the Normans, giuing to them the chiefe possessions of the land. And forsomuch as he obtained the kingdome by force & dint of sword, hee changed the whole state of the gouernance of this commonweale; and ordeined new lawes at his own pleasure, profitable to himselfe, but grieuous and hurtfull to the people: abolishing the lawes of king Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworne before, to obserue and maintaine. For the which, great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people (as histories record) to haue the said lawes of king Edward reuiued againe.

King William following king Edwards lawes.

Where by the way speaking of lawes, this is memorable, that euen in this kings time the authoritie of the temporall magistrat was distinct from that of the church; but yet in such sort, that if need required, he should deale in causes ecclesiasticall, and be assistant to the bishop; whose iurisdiction what it was, and how qualified by king William now holding the sterne of gouernment in his hand, the words following doe declare.

Turrit. Lond.

✠ *Willelmus gratia Dei rex Anglorum, comitibus, vicecomitibus, & omnibus Francigenis & Anglis, qui in episcopatu Remigij episcopi terras habent, salutem. Sciatis, &c.* In English thus.

William by the grace of God king of England, to all shiriffes, vndershiriffes, and to all Frenchborne & English, which in the bishoprick of Remigius the bishop haue lands, greeting. Know you all, and the rest my faithfull subiects which abide in England, that the bishops lawes which haue bin not well, nor according to the precepts of holy canons, euen to my time in the kingdom of England, by the common counsel and the counsell of mine archbishops, and the rest of bishops and abbats, with all the princes of my kingdome I haue iudged to bee amended. Wherefore I command, and by my royall authority giue in charge, that no bishop or archdeacon do hold any more pleas of law in the hundred by the bishops lawes, nor bring any cause which pertaineth to the cure of soules vnto the iudgment of secular men: but whosoeuer according to the bishops lawes, about any sute or default be troubled, shall come to the place, which to this end the bishop shall chuse and name, and there answer his cause, and not according as in the hundred, but according to the canons and lawes of the bishop they shall do right vnto God and to their bishop. And if any puffed vp with pride, being called once, twice and thrice to the court of pleas, refuseth to come, and will not so be drawne to amendment, let him be excommunicat. And if need be to correct and reuenge this,

The iurisdiction ecclesiasticall qualified and circumscribed in king Williams time.

Tributs.

Rebellion.

Exact. Marcus Paris. and Matth. Westmon. Gaimar. Ingulphus.

Scots, king, new lawes.



this, let the power and iustice of the kings vndershiriffe be vsed. And he which being called or summoned to the bishops court, will not come, for euery calling shall be put to his answer before the bishop, and make amends. And this I defend, and by mine authoritie forbid, that no vndershiriffe, or prouost, or officer of the king, nor any layman, meddle or make with the laws belonging to the bishop; nor that any layman bring or sue another out of the bishops court of iustice vnto iudgement. And as for iudgement, let it be giuen in no place but in the bishops see, or in that place which in this behalfe the bishop shall appoint.)

By this euidence of record it is manifest (as you see) that duke William (now king) hauing assumed vnto himselfe the absolute authoritie roiall, indeuored to establish a forme of gouernement both in the church and commonwealth answerable to his owne mind: howbeit this is to be noted, that he allowed vnto the clergie a kind of iurisdiction of consenting persons before them, and likewise of exercising such ecclesiasticall discipline as the qualitie of that age and time did vse. Wherein we will not stand to debate any thing at large, but proceed in the course of our storie, as the spirit of God shall vouchsafe to direct vs.

Poore with the minster of S. Peter burnt.

Diuers and besides this, the foresaid William, as he was a warrior, so he delighting in forts and bulworks, builded foure strong castles: two at Yorke, one at Notingham, and another at Lincolne, which garrisons he furnished with Normans.

About the third yeere of his reigne, Harold and Canutus sonnes of Swanus, king of Denmarke, entred into the north countrie. The Normans within Yorke, fearing that the Englishmen would aid the Danes, fired the suburbs of the towne. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong, that it tooke into the citie, and burnt a great part thereof, with the minster of S. Peter, where no doubt many worthie works and monuments of books were consumed. In the time whereof the Danes by the fauor of some of the citizens entred the citie, and slue more then three thousand of the Normans. But not long after king William chased them out, and drawe them to their ships, and tooke such displeasure with the inhabitants of that countrie, that he destroyed the land from Yorke to Durham, so that nine yeeres after the prouince lay waste and vnmanured, onely except S. Johns land of Beuerlie, and the people thereof so stirtifie being kept in perurie by the war of the king, that (as our English storie saith) they eat rats, cats, and dogs, with other vermin.

The north countrie wasted. Horrible famin in the north parts of Northumberland.

Scots subdued to king Williams.

Also in the fourth yeere of this king, Malcome king of Scots entred into Northumberland, and destroied the countrie, and slue there many of the people both of men, women and children after a lamentable sort, and tooke some prisoners. But within two yeeres after, king William made such war vpon the Scots, that he forced Malcolme their king to do him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this realme vnder this foren Conquerour, which is now the fift time that the said land, with the inhabitants thereof hath beene scourged by the hand of God. First by the Romans in the time of Julius Cesar. Then by the Scots and Picts (as hath beene shewed) afterward by the Saxons. Againe, the Saxons & Englishmen did not enioy the possession of Britaine with long quiet, but were brought in as much subiection themselues vnder the Danes, as they had brought the Britains before (and that much more) in so much that through all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane vpon a bridge, he might not stir one foot, before the lord Dane (otherwise Lurdane) were past. And then if the Englishman had not giuen low reuerence to the Dane at his comming by, he was sure to be sharplie punished (swith more) as aboue hath beene declared. And this subiection almost continued from the reigne of king Ethelwolfus 220 yeeres, till the reigne of king Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred by the Normans against them, who conquered & altered the whole realme after their owne purpole, in so much that besides the innouation of the lawes, coines, and possessions, there was in no church of England almost any English bishop, but only Normans and forreners placed through all their diocese. To such miserie was this land then brought, that not onely of all the English nobilitie not one house was standing; but also it was thought reproofull to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God against the English nation, writers do assigne diuerslie to diuers causes (as partlie before is touched) of whom, some allgne this to be the cause, as followeth in the words of the storie: *In primitiua Anglie ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita vt reges & regine, duces & episcopi, vel monachatum, vel exilium pro Dei amore appeterent: processu vero temporis adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, vt genus nullum proditione & nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, &c.* The meaning whereof is this: That whereas kings and queenes, dukes and prelats, in the primitiue time of the English church, were readie for religion to forsake either libertie or countrie, and giue themselues to a solitarie life: in processe of time they grew to such dissolutenesse, that they left no other realme like vnto them in iniquitie, &c. Againe, some writing of the vilan of king Edward a little before the inuasion of the Normans, testifie, how the king repoting of his

Ex Henr. Huntingdon. lib. 6.

Ex histor. Iornalens.

England accursed and ouerrun for iniquitie.

The bastion of king Edward.

owne vision should heare, that for the great enormitie and misbehauior of the head dukes, bishops, and abbats of the realme, the kingdome should be giuen to the hand of their enemies after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred yeeres & one day. Which space was also seene by William Conqueror, to be one hundred and fiftie yeeres: and that his progenie so long should continue. Againe, some writers intreating of this to great wrath of God vpon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: *Nam sicut Anglo subiectos quos Deus determinare proposuerat (peccatis suis exigentibus) humiliauerat, & terra Anglie minus iuste fugauerant: sic isti duplici persecutione, &c.* Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britans (whom God purposed for their offendings to exterminate) and them vniustly did dispossesse of their land: so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution; first by the Danes, and after by the Normans. &c. Moreouer, to these iniuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let vs adde the cruell villany of this nation, in murthering and tithing of the innocent Normans before: who comming as strangers with Alfred the lawful heire of the crowne were despightfully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be alway iust and right) did suffer the Normans so to preuaile. By the comming in of the which Normans, and by their quarrel vnto the realm, three things we may note and learne. First, to consider and learne the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heauen, vpon all iniquitie and vnrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note, what it is for princes to leaue no iust or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often doe chance to realmes publikely by foren marriage with other princes, &c.

Englishmen iustly scourged for their cruell cruelty against the Normans.

Three things in this conquest to be noted.

Gods iust iudgement.

Lacke of successeon.

Foren marriages.

In the same fourth yeere of this king, betweene Easter and Whitsontide, was holden a solemne Councell at Winchester of the Clergy of England. At the which councell were present two cardinals sent frō Pope Alexander the second, Peter and John. In this councell, the king being there himselfe present, were deposed diuers bishops, abbats, and priors, (by the means of the king) without any euident cause to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the Church, as he had preferred his knights before to the rule of the temporalitie, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury was put downe for three causes against him pretended.

Anno 1070 A Councell holden at Winchester.

Single ouercommeth right.

Diuers bishops abbats and priors deposed in England.

The first was, for that he had holden wrongfully that bishoprickе, while Robert the archbishop (aboue mentioned) was liuing.

Stigandus archbishop of Canterbury deposed, and the causes why.

The second was, for that he had receiued the pall of Benedict bishop of Rome, the sift of that name. Which Benedict, for buying his popedome, had been deposed, as is shewed before.

The third cause, for that he occupied the said pall without licence and lawfull authority of the court of Rome.

Then Stigandus well prouoked the benenolence of king William. For where before the king semed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did vnto him great reuerence: then he changed all his mildnesse into stermesse, and accused himselfe by the bishop of Romes authoritie. So that in the end, Stigandus was deprined of his dignitie, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigandus is noted for a man so couetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his owne, and swearing that he had not a penie, yet by a key fastened about his necke, was found great treasure of his vnder the ground.

Faire countenance not to be trusted.

A couetous bishop.

At the same time was preferred to the archbishoprickе of Yorke, Thomas a Norman and canon of Bajon.

Thomas made archbishop of Yorke.

At which time also Lanfrancus abbat of Caadomonecle (a Lombard, and Italian borne) was sent for, & made archbishop of Canterbury, betweene which two archbishops about their consecration first began a contention, for giuing and taking the oth of obedience: but that contention was at that time appeased by the king, and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the archbishop of Canterburies obedience.

Lanfrancus an Italian archbishop of Canterbury.

After this it followed within short space, that the said Lanfrancus and Thomas archbishop of Yorke, who first builded the minster of Yorke, and gaue possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Remigius bishop of Dorcester for their pals, as the maner was; without which no archbishop nor bishop could be confirmed, although their election were neuer so lawfull. This pall must be asked no where but of Pope or his assigns, and that within three moneths: also it must be asked not saintly, but mightily: Dist. 100. cap. prisca. Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations (especially such as were far from Rome) so it was no small gaine to the Romish sea, for as they did order it. For although at the beginning the pall was giuen without mony, according to the decree, Dist. 100. for litle, as percase in this time of Lanfranke: yet in processe of yeers it grew to such excesse, that where the bishoprick of Yorke was wont to giue to Rome but ten thousand florens: afterward it arose so, that hee which asked his confirmation, could not obtain it, without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to fiue and twenty thousand, and at length to seuen and twenty thousand florens: which summe, Jacobus archbishop of Yorke was prest to pay, a little before the councell of Mi-

The minster of Yorke builded.

The pricing of the pall.

Dist. 100. cap. prisca.

Dist. 100. cap. Nouit.

Ex lib. Gratianus nationis Graecæ.

Jacobus archbishop of Yorke.

Thomas Elmhus boasteth to be first bishop in Germanie.

fil: insomuch that the said Jacobus, at his departing (which was within foure yeares after) said that his death did not so much greeue him, as to remember his pope subiects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the popes pall.

Now by this what right to the pope in whole Germanie, containing in it about fiftie bishoprikes, it may bee easilie conjectured. Lanfrancus thus comming to Rome, with the other two bishops: he for the estimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two pals, one of honor, the other of loue. Item, he obtained for the other two bishops also their confirmation. At which time, they being there present before Alexander: the controuersie began first to be mooued (or rather reuiued) for the primacie betwixt the two metropolitans, that is, betwixt the archbishop of Canterburie, and the archbishop of Yorke, whether of them should haue preheminence aboue the other. For Canterbury challenged to himselfe the prerogatiue and primacie ouer whole Britain and Ireland: the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two churches, and was often renewed in the daies of diuers kings after this: as in the reigne of Henrie the first, betwixt Thurstinus of Yorke, and Radulphus of Canterburie. And againe in the seuen and twentith yeare of the said king, at his second coronation: for Radulphus would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of Yorke, without his assent. Also in the reigne of Henrie the second, where Alexander pope made a letter decretall betwixt these two metropolitans, for bearing the crosse in the yeare 1159. Also another time, in the reigne of the said king, betwixt Richard of Canterburie, and Roger of Yorke. Againe, about the yeare of our Lord 1170. when Thomas Becket hearing the king to be crowned of Roger bishop of Yorke, complained thereof grieuouslie to pope Alexander the third. Item, another time in the yeare 1176 betwixt Richard, and the said Roger, whether of them should sit on the right hand of cardinall Hugo in his councell at London. Moreouer, in the beginning of reigne of king Richard in the yeare 1190. betwixt Baldoinus of Canterburie, and Godfridus of Yorke, &c.

How to proceed in the storie hereof. After this question was brought (as is said) to the popes presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into England, there to haue their cause determined. Whereupon they speeding themselues from Rome to England in the yeare 1070. and in the sixth yeare, as is said of this William: brought the matter before the king, in the citie of Winchester. Where Lanfranke first alleging for himselfe, brought in, from the time of Austin, to the time of Beda (which was about 140 yeres) how that the bishop of Canterburie had euer the primacie ouer the whole land of Britain and Ireland: how he kept his councels diuers times within the precincts of Yorke: how he did call and cite the bishops of Yorke thereto: wherefore some he did confirme, some he did excommunicate, and some he did remoue: besides also he alleaged diuers priuiledges granted by princes and prelats to the primacie of that see, &c.

To this Thomas archbishop of Yorke replieth againe, and first beginning with the first originall of the Britains church, declareth in order of time, how the Britains, &c.

Lucius the first king of Britain christened.

Eleutherius. Anno. 164.

Donor the head citie of Kent.

This was a. yeare after Christ 164. as some write, and in the raigne of Antonius.

The Britains first professours of this kingdome of Britain, which indured from Brutus and Cadwalader 2076 yeares, vnder an hundred and two kings, at length receiued the christian faith in the yeare 162. in the time of Lucius their king. Eleutherius bishop of Rome sent Faganus and Damianus preachers vnto them, at which time after their conuersion, they assigned and ordained in the realme eight and twentie bishops, with two archbishops. Theanus the archbishop of London, and Theodosius archbishop of Yorke. Vnder whole bishops and archbishops the church of Britain was gouerned after their conuersion almost 300 yeares, till at length the Saxons being then infidels, with Hengistus their king, subduing the Britains by fraudulent murther, inuaded their land, which was about the yeare of our Lord 449. After that the Britains being driuen into Cambria, which we now call Wales; the Saxons ouerrunning the land, diuided themselues into seuen kingdomes. And so being infidels & pagans, continued til the time that Gregorie bishop of Rome sent Austin to preach vnto them: which Austin comming first to Donor, being then the head citie of Kent, called in Latine Dorobernia, and there planting himselfe, conuerted first the king of Kent, called Edilbertus, who had then subdued certaine other kings vnto Humber. By reason whereof Austin was made archbishop of Donor, by the appointment of Gregorius, who sent him certaine pals with his letter from Rome, as before is expressed. Which letter being recited, then Thomas expounding vpon the same, beginneth to declare for himselfe, how the meaning of Gregorie in this letter was, to reduce the new church of Sarons or Englishmen to the order that was in the old time among the Britains: that is, to be vnder two metropolitans, one of London, the other of Yorke: for so the church was ordered in the time of the Britains, as is before declared. Notwithstanding, he giueth to Austin this prerogatiue during his life time, to haue authoritie and iurisdiction not onelie ouer his twelue bishops, but vpon all other bishops and priests in England. And after his decease then those two metropolitans, London and Yorke, to ouersee the whole clergie, as in times past amongst the Britains: whom he ioineth together after the death of Austin, to constitute bishops, and to ouersee the church. And that he so meaneth London to be equall in authoritie with Yorke, it appeareth by foure arguments. First, that he will London to be consecrat by no bishop, but of his owne synod. Secondlie, in that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt London and Yorke, but according only to that as eth one of them is elder in time. Thirdlie, for that he matcheth these two together in common councell, and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult vpon in the yeare of Christ Iesu: and that in such sort, that one should not dissent nor decord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should gouerne together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthlie, where he writeth, that the bishop of Yorke should not be subiect to the bishop of London; what meaneth this, but that the bishop of London should be equall with the metropolitan of Yorke, or rather superiour vnto him?

Lanfrancus replieth.

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregorie to be in the foresaid letter. To whom Lanfrancus againe answereth, that he was not the bishop of London, and that the question pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, hauing on his part many fautors, that this priuilege was granted by Gregorie to Austin alone, to haue all other bishops subiect to him: but after his decease, there should be equalitie of honour betwixt London and Yorke, without all distinction of prioritie; saue the onely prioritie of time should make superioritie betweene them. And although Austin translated the see from London to Kent, yet Gregorie, of his mind had beene to giue the same prerogatiue to the successors of Austin (which he gaue to him) would be repelled haue bitterd it in the words of his epistle, writing thus to Austin: That which I giue to thee Austin, I giue also and grant to all thy successors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his successors, it appeareth thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.

Thomas answereth.

Lanfrancus replieth.

To this Lanfrancus argueth againe: If this authoritie had beene giuen to Austin alone, and not to his successors, it had beene but a small gift, proceeding from the apostolike see, to his speciall & familiar friend: especiallie seeing also that Austin in all his life did constitute no bishop of Yorke, neither was there any such bishop to be subiect to him. Againe, we haue priuileges from the apostolike see, which confirme this dignitie to the successors of Austin, in the same see of Donor. Moreouer, all Englishmen thinke it both right and reason, to fetch the direction of well liuing from that place, where first they take the sparkle of right beleeuing. Further, whereas you say, that Gregorie might haue confirmed with plaine words the same thing to the successors of Austin, which he gaue vnto him, all that I grant: yet notwithstanding, this is nothing preiudiciall to the see of Canturburie. For, if you knowe to grise, that which is true in the whole, is also true in the part: and what is true in the more, is also true in the lesse. Now the church of Rome is as the whole, to whom all other churches be as parts thereof: and as Homo mankind is Genus the generall, in a certaine respect to all his Individua, to all particular persons, and yet is euery particular person liech the properties of the generall: so in like maner, the see of Rome in a certaine respect is the generall and the whole to other churches, and yet in euery particular church is contained the whole fulnesse of the whole christian faith. The church of Rome is greater then all churches: that which is wrought in it ought to worke in the lesse churches also: so that the authoritie of euery chiefe head of the church ought to stand also in them that do succeed, vnlesse there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore, like as the Lord said to all bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so Gregorie in like maner said to all the successors of Austin, that which he said to Austin. So thus I conclude: Like wise as the bishop of Canturburie is subiect to Rome, because he hath his faith from thence, so Yorke ought to be in subiection to Canturburie, which sent the first preachers thither. Note, whereas you allege that Gregorie would Austin to be resident at London, that is vtterlie vncertaine. For, how is it to be thought, that such a disciple would do contrarie to the mind of such a master? But grant (as you say) that Austin remoued to London, what is that to the see, which annot bishop of London? Notwithstanding, all this controuersie ceasing betwixt vs, if it shall please you to come to some peacable composition with me (all contention set apart) you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equitie shall extend.

A letter of Lanfrancus sent to pope Alexander.

Thomas answereth.

Lanfrancus replieth.

The dignitie of Canturburie confirmed by priuileges.

Bishops sees translated into England.

well replied of an Italian.

Dorobernia and Canturburie taken both for one.

If this similitude were framed into a syllogisme, neither were the maior true: and yet alike the minor were vtterlie false.

A councell holden at London, and what were the acts thereof.

With these reasons of Lanfranke Thomas gane ouer, condescending that the first of his province should begin at Humber. Whereupon it was then decreed, that Yorke from that time should be subiect to Canturburie in all matters appertaining to the rites and regiment of the catholike church: so that wheresoeuer within England, Canturburie should or would hold his councell, the bishop of Yorke should resort thither with his bishops, and be obedient to his decrees canonicall.

Order taken betweene Lanfrancus bishop of Canturburie, and Thomas bishop of Yorke.

Moreouer, that when the bishop of Canturburie should decease, Yorke should repaire to Donor, there to consecrat with others the bishop that should be elect. And if Yorke should decease, his successor should resort to Canturburie, or else



els where the bishop of Canturbury should appoint, there to receiue his consecration, making his profession there, with an oath of canonicall obedience. Thomas being content withall, Lanfrancus the Italian triumpheth with no small ioy, and putteth the matter for thwith in writing, that the memorie thereof might remaine to the posteritie of his successors. But yet that decree did not long stand. For shortlie after the same scar so superficially cured, brast out againe. In so much that in the reigne of king Henrie the first, An. Dom. 1122. Thurstinus archbishop of Yorke could not bee compelled to sweare to the archbishop of Canturburie; and yet notwithstanding by the letters of Calixtus the second was consecrated without any profession made to the said bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to history to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true christianity amongst christian bishops, who inflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honor, that without mere forcement of law no modestie could take place.

Of such like contentions among prelats of the clergie for superioritie, we reade of diuers in old chronicles, as in the historie intituled Chronicon Hirsfeldense, where is declared a blodie conflict, which twice happned in the church of Gollaria, betweene Pecelon bishop of Wildesheime, and Wederatus bishop of Fulda, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the emperor; the emperor himselfe being there present, and looking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Opus scientissimum Lanfranci.

Thus I haue declared the troublous contention betweene Lanfrancus & Thomas metropolitans of Yorke in the daies of Alexander, of which controuersie & of the whole discourse thereof, Lanfrancus writeth to pope Alexander, beginning thus:

*Domino totius christianæ religionis summo speculatori Alexandro, Lanckfrancus sanctæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ antistes, debitam cum omni seruitute obedientiam. In concilio quod Angli per vestram autoritatem conclam est, ubi querelæ Thomæ archiepiscopi Eboracensis ecclesiæ presbyter, & Anglorum doctor compositæ: and so forth in a long processe of words which follow. Among which in the middle of the epistle speaking of Donor and Canturburie, he hath these words. Vbi namque, quæ nunc Cantuarberia nominatur, antiquis temporibus tota prope terræ incolis Dorobernia vocabatur, &c.* with many other words in the said epistle, which for breuitie here I ouerpasse.

Hildebrandus seu Gregor. 7. Hildebrand the chiefe of all this Rountrie and plot in practise.

In the storie before of king Egelred was declared about the yeare of our Lord 1016. how the bishoprike of Lindisfarne otherwise named Holy land, in the sound of Tweed, was translated to Durham: so likewise in the daies of this Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, An. 1076. diuers bishops sees were altred and translated from towne to townes to greater cities. As the bishoprike of Selese was remoued to Chichester; that of Cornwall to Exeester; from Welles to Bathe; from Shirebourne to Salisburie; from Dorcester to Lincolne; from Lichfield to Chester, which bishoprike of Chester, Robert being then bishop, remoued from Chester to Couentrie. Likewise after that in the reigne of William Rufus, An. 1095. Herbert bishop of Thetford from thence reduced the see to Norwich, &c.

The abolicion of bishops in ancient time to emperors.

As concerning Water and Canterburie, whether the see was likewise translated from the towne of Douer to the citie of Canterburie in the time of Theodosius: or whether Canturburie by old time had the name of Dorobernia (as the letter of Lanfrancus to pope Alexander aboue mentioned doth pretend) I find it not in histories expresly defined, saue that I read by the words of William being yet duke of Normandie, charging then Harold to make a well of water for the kings vse in the castle of Dorobernia, that the said Dorobernia then was taken for that which we now call Douer: but whether Dorobernia and the citie of Canturburie be both one or diuers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I reade in the epistle of pope Bonifacius to king Ethelbert, as also to Justinus archbishop. Item, in the epistle of pope Honorius, to bishop Honorius. Item, of pope Vitalianus to Theodorus: of pope Sergius to king Ethelred, Alfred and Adulphus, and to the bishops of England. Likewise of pope Gregorie the third, to the bishops of England. Item, of pope Leo to Athelard archbishop of Canturburie. Of Formosius to the bishops of England, and of pope John to Dunstan, that the name of Dorobernia and of Canterburie indifferently are taken for one matter.

Popes made then princes.

Frederike the first theme first holding the popes left stirrop.

At this time (and by the procuring of this Lanfrancus) the ninth yeare of this king, a councell was holden at London, where among the acts thereof, these were the principall things concluded.

First, for the order of sitting, that the archbishop of Yorke should sit on the right hand, and the bishop of London on the left hand: or in the absence of Yorke, London should haue the right, and Winchester the left hand of the archbishop of Canterburie sitting in councell.

2 The second, that bishops should translate their sees from villages into cities, whereupon those sees aboue named were translated.

3 That monks should haue nothing in proper: and if any so had, he dying vnconfessed, should not be buried in the church yard.

4 That no clerke or monke of any other diocese should be admitted to orders, or receiued without letters commendatorie or testimoniall.

5 That none should speake in the councell except bishops and abbats, without leaue of the archmetropolitans.

6 That none should marrie within the seuenth degree, with any either of his owne kindred or of his wiues separted.

7 That none should either buy or sell any office within the church.

8 That no sorcerie nor any diuination should be vsed or permitted in holy church.

9 That no bishop nor abbat, nor any of the clergie should be at the iudgement of any mans death or dismembring, neither should be any fautor of the said iudgments.

Bishops of England abone to driue out monks and to place priests against in their stead.

Moreouer, in the daies of this Lanfrancus, diuers good bishops of the realme began to take part with priests against the monks, in displacing these out of their churches, and to restore the married priests again: in so much that Walkelinus bishop of Winchester had placed aboue forte canons in stead of monks for his part; but this godly enterprise was stopped by Lanfrancke the Italian Lombard. This lustie prelat sat nineteene yeares, but at his latter end he was not so fauoured of William Rufus, and died for sorow. Although this Italian Franke being archbishop had little leisure to write, yet somewhat he thought to doe to set out his famous learning, and wrote a booke against Berengarius, intituling it Opus scientissimum Lanfranci. The old church of Canturburie hee plucked downe and builded vp the new.

Anno 1074

After the death of pope Alexander aboue mentioned, next to him followed Hildebrand surnamed Gregorie the seuenth. This Hildebrand as he was a sorcerer, so was he the first and principall cause of all this perturbation that is now and hath been since his time in the church: by reason that though his example of all this ambition, stoutnesse and pride, entred first into the church of Rome, and hath euer since continued. For before Hildebrand came to Rome working there his feats, setting vp and displacing what bishops hee liked, corrupting them with pernicious councell, and setting them against emperors, vnder pretence of christian ordering matrimony, and vnder the title of liberty speaking peace and resisting authoritie: before this (I say) the church of Rome was in some order, and bishops quietly gouerned vnder christian emperors, and also were defended by the same: as Marcellus, Meltiades, and Siluester were subdued, and vnder obedience to Constantinus, An. 340. Siricius to Theodosius An. 388. Gregorius to Mauritius, An. 600. Pilarius to Iustinian, An. 728. Adrianus and Leo to Carolus Magnus, An. 801. Paschalis and Valentius to Ludouicus Pius, An. 830. Sergius the nine and twentith to Lotharius, An. 840. Benedictus the third and Ioannes the ninth vnto Ludouicus, son of Lotharius, An. 856. But against this obedience and subiection Hildebrand first began to murre, and by his example taught all other bishops to do the like.

In so much that at length they wrought and brought to passe, to be lawfull for a few cartillans and cardinals (contrarie to ancient ordinance and statutes decretall) to chuse what pope they list, without any consent of the emperor at all. And therefore as before it stod in the emperors gift, to giue and to grant bishoprikes, archbishoprikes, benefices and other ecclesiasticall preferments within their owne limits, to whom they list: now the popes through much wrestling, wars, and contention, haue extorted all that into their owne hands, and to their assignes: yea haue plucked in all the riches and power of the whole world, and not content with that, haue blessed and priuiledged so much about the emperor, that (as before) no pope might bee chosen without the confirmation of the emperor: so now no emperor may bee elected without the confirmation of the pope, taking vpon them more then princes, to place or displace emperors at their pleasure for euery light cause: to put downe, or to set vp when and whom they liked, as Fredericus Primus, for hole ding the left stirrup of the popes sadle, was persecuted almost to excommunication. The which cause moueth me to straine more diligence here, in setting out the storie, acts, and doings of this Hildebrand, from whom, as the first patron and founder sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Romane church: to the intent, that such as cannot read the Latin historiens, may vnderstand in English, the originall of euils: how, and by what occasion they first began, and how long they haue continued.

And first how this Hildebrand hitherto had behaued himselfe before he was pope, I haue partly declared. For though he was not yet pope in name, yet he was then pope in deed, and ruled the pope and all that belongs as him liked. Item, what wiles and fetches he had attempted euer since his first comming to the court of Rome, to magnifie and maintaine false libertie against true authoritie: what practise he wrought by councels, what factions and conspiracies he made, in stirring vp popes against emperors, striuing for superioritie: and what warres followed thereof. I haue also expressed. Now let vs see further (by the helpe of Christ) the worthie liues of this princely prelate, after hee came to bee pope, as they remaine in histories of diuers and sundrie writers described.

Ex Augustino & alijs.

## The tragicall historie of Gregorie the seuenth, *otherwise named Hildebrand.*

Gregorius the seuenth. *Ex Auentino.*

THe words of the Latine historie be these: *Hactenus pontifices Romani in comitijs curiatis calatis à sacerdotibus, equitatu, plebe, senatu, &c.*

In English.

Hitherto the bishops of Rome haue been elected by voices, and suffrages, of all sorts and degrees, as well of the priests and the clergie, as of the nobilitie, people, and senate, all conuenting and assembling together. And this election so I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of Roman emperors, who had authority to cal and to assemble al these, as well as bishops, together vnto councels as cale required. Vnder the authority and iurisdiction of these emperors, were contained both in Germany, France, Italie, and throughout the whole dominion of Rome, all patriarchs, bishops, masters of churches and monasteries by the decree of councels, according to the old custom of our ancestors, as is declared in a certaine storie in the life of Carolus Magnus. The holy and ancient fathers like as Christ our Lord with his disciples and apostles both taught and did, honored and esteemed their emperors as the supreme potestate next vnder God in earth, set vp, ordained, elected and crowned of God, aboue all other mortall men, and so counted them, and called them their lords. To them they yeelded tribute and paid their subsidies, also prayed euery day for their life. Such as rebelled against them they take as rebels and resisters against God his ordinance and christian piety. The name of the emperor then was of great maiestie, and receiued as giuen from God. Then these fathers of the church neuer intermedled nor intangled themselues with politike affaires of the common weale: much lesse they occupied martiall armes and matters of chiualrie. Onely in quietie and modestie was all their contention with other christians, who should be purest and most modest among them. And the more humblenes appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceiued of him. The sharpe and two edged sword they take, giuen to the church of Christ to saue, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and reuokith from death to life, making of men, gods; of mortall, immortall. Far were they from that to thrust out any prince or king (though hee were neuer so far out of the way, yea an Arrian) from his kingdome, or to curse him, to release his subiects from their oath and their allegiance, to change and translate kingdomes, to inuent empires, to pollute themselues with christian blod, or to war with their christian brethren for rule and principalitie. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loued and obeyed their princes. Againe, princes loued them also like fathers and fellow princes with them of the soules of men. Now this Gregorius the seuenth, otherwise named Hildebrandus thrusting vpon the Romanes which then rusted about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, trusting also vpon the power of Mathildas, a stout woman there about Rome; and partly againe, bearing himselfe bold for the discord among the Germanes: first of all others contrarie to the maner of elders) contemning the authoritie of the emperor, inuaded the cathedrall see of Rome, wanting himselfe as hauing both the ecclesiasticall and temporall sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulnesse of power was in his hand to bind and lose what to hee listed. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupie both the regiments, to challenge all the whole dominion both of the east and west church, yea and all power to himselfe alone, abiding none to be equall, much lesse superior vnto him, derogating from others, and arrogating to himselfe their due right and honor, setting at light Cesars, kings and emperors, and who reigned but by his owne godamercie. Bishops and prelats as his seruants he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring vp strife and wars, sowing of discord, making factions, rebelling ofte, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subiects to their princes. Yea if hee had offended or iniured the emperor himselfe, yet notwithstanding hee ought to be feared, as he himselfe gloorith in a certaine epistle, as one that could not erre, and had receiued of Christ our sauiour & Peter, authority to bind and vnbind at his will & pleasure. Priests then in those daies had wiues openly and lawfully, no law forbidding to the contrary, as appeareth by the deed and writings of their chapter seales and donations, which were giuen to temples and monasteries, wherein their wiues also bee cited with them for witnesse, and were called Presbyteritiæ. Also for bishops, prelats, persons of churches, gouernors of the clergie, masters of monasteries, and religious houses; all these were then in those times in the emperors ordination, to assigne by voice or consent to whom hee would. Now these two things Gregorius this pope could not abide; for the which two causes onely was all his striuing and driuing from his first beginning, to abolish the marriage of priests, and to translate the authoritie imperiall to the clergie. For to this scope one ly tended all his labour, practises and deuices, as appeared before in the councell of Lateran vnder pope Nicolas, and also in the councell of Mantua vnder Alexander, making their marriage heresie, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himselfe, to condemne ministers that were married for Nicolaitans, and to receiue any spirituall regiment of secular persons for simonie; directing forth his letters vpon the same to Henricus the emperor, to dukes, princes, potestats, tetrarchs: namely, to Berchtoldus, to Rodulphus of Slouenia, to Tiberius, Adalbertus, and their wiues. Item, to bishops, archbishops, to priests, and to all the people: in the which letters hee denounceth them to bee no priests, so many as were married, forbidding men to salute them, to talke, to eate, to companie with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all others, hee directed speciall letters to Otho bishop of Constance, concerning this matter. But Otho perceiuing the vngodly and vnreasonable pretence of Hildebrand, would neither separate them that were married from their wiues, nor yet forbid them to marrie which were vnmarried, &c.

Reuerence and obedience in olde time giuen to princes.

The manner and vertue of the first patriarkes described.

The ambitious presumption of Hildebrand.

Ex Auentino, qui interuis in hæc omnia dormisse.

Priests wiues called Presbyteritiæ, in old chapter seales.

Hildebrands mortall enemie against priests marriage.

Priests marriage made heretike.

Otho bishop of Constance.

## The copie of the letter of Hildebrand sent to the bishop of Constance against priests mariages.

GRegorie bishop, seruant of seruants of God, to the clergy & laitie, both more and lesse within the diocesse of Constance, saluation and benediction. We haue directed to our brother Otho your bishop, our letters exhortatorie: wherein we inioyned him, according to the necessitie of our dutie, by the authoritie apostolicall, that hee should vtterly abolish out of his church the heresie of simonie, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the chastitie of priests. But hee neither moued with reuerence of S. Peters precept, nor yet with the regard of his dutie, neglected to doe these things, whereunto we so fatherly haue exhorted him, incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done cleane contrarie to our commandement (yea rather the commandement of blessed S. Peter) so that hee hath permitted his clergie not onely such as had wiues, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take vnto them. Whereupon, we being truly informed thereof, and greeued therwith, haue directed to him another letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which letters also wee haue cited him vp to our councell at Rome, there to appeare and giue account of his disobedience, in the audience of the whole synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signifie this to you (our deare children) wherby in this behalfe we might the better prouide for your health and saluation. For if your bishop shal continue so obstinatly to repugne & resist against our commandement, he is not meet to sit ouer you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed S. Peter, by our apostolicall authoritie, that if this your bishop shall persist in his obstinacie, you that be his subiects hereafter giue ye him no seruice nor obedience. For the which thing doing, we here discharge you before God and your soules. For if your bishop shall seeme contrarie to the decreements and iniunctions apostolicall, wee through the apostolicall authoritie of S. Peter, discharge and absolue you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworne to him, so long as hee is a rebell against God and the apostolike seat, we loose you from the peril of your oath, that you shal not need to feare therein any danger, &c.

Otho bishop of Constance cited to appeare for suffering priests with their lawfull wiues.

The pope dispenseth for disobedience.

Otho bishop of Constance thus being cited, whether he did appeare personally himselfe, I doe not read. Thus I read and find, that in the said councell holden at Rome, Hildebrand with other bishops of Rome did then enact among many others, these three things most speciall. First, that no priest hereafter should marrie wiues. Secondly, that all such as were married should be diuorced. Thirdly, that none hereafter should bee admitted to the order of priesthood, but should sweare perpetuall chastitie, &c. This councell of Rome being ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrand concerning the single life of priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strait commandement giuen to bishops to execute the same.

Three things enacted by Hildebrand. Here commeth in the vow of chastitie.

## The copie of his bull sent into Italie and Germanie was this.

GRegorie the pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the seruant of the seruants of God, sendeth the apostles blessing to all them within the kingdomes of Italie and Germany that shew their true obedience to S. Peter. If there be any priests, deacons and subdeacons, that still will remaine in the sinne of fornication, we forbid them the churches entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of S. Peter, till time they amend and repent. But if they persuere in their sin, wee charge that none of you presume to heare their seruice: for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sinne, as the Lord doth testifie to vs by his prophets, I will turne your blessing, &c.

The clergie of France resisting so diuorcing from their wiues.

The bishops of France being called vpon daily with the popes letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the councell: but the residue of the clergie manfully and stoutly withstanding the popes decree, & inforcement of their bishops, would not agree, but repined therat & said, that the councell did manifestly

Single priesthood how it began.

resist repugne against the word of God, and that the pope did take from priests that which both God and nature had giuen them; and therefore that person to be an heretike, and author of a wicked doctrine, which ruled and gouerned not by the spirit of God but by satan. The decree and act set forth to rend directly against the word of God and the saying of Christ: Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc: All men haue not the gift and capacitie of the word. Item, to be against the sound doctrine of S. Paul writing these words: As concerning virginitie, I haue no commandement of the Lord, &c. Againe, He that cannot otherwise liue continently, let him marrie. Item, that it was against the canons both of the apostles and of Nicen councell. Moreouer, that it was against the course of nature which hee required, that men being sequestred from their naturall wiues and women, should be coacted to liue as angels: that is, to performe that which nature doth not giue. And therefore the bishop therein did open a pernicious window to vncleanesse and to fornication. In summe, giuing vp their answere, thus they concluded, that they had rather giue vp their benefices, then to forsake their naturall and lawfull wiues against the word of Christ. And finally, if married priests could not please them, they should call downe angels from heauen to serue the churches. But Hildebrand nothing moued neither with honest reason, nor with the authoritie of holy scripture, nor with the determination of Nicen councell, nor any thing else, followeth this matter; calleth vpon the bishops still, with his letters and legats both solicitate their minds, accuseth them of negligence and dastardnesse, threatneth them with excommunication, vnlesse they cause their priests to obey his decree inioyned them. Whereupon a great number of bishops for feare of the popes tyrannie, laboured the matter with their priests, by all meanes possible to bereaue them of their accustomed matrimonie.

Bishop of Mentz. *Ex Lambecio Scefnaburgen. in hist. Germanorum.*

Amongst other the archbishop of Mentz, perceiuing this act of taking away priests mariage, might breed him no little trouble; talketh with his clergie gentlie, admonisheth them of the popes mind and decree, and giuerth them halfe a yeares respit to deliberate vpon the case, exhorting them diligently to shew themselues obedient to the pope and to him, and to grunt with good will that which at length (will they nill they) needs they must be forced vnto, and therefore of their owne accord to stand content therewith, lest the pope should bee compelled to attempt waies of sharper seueritie. The time of deliberation expired, the archbishop assembleth his clergie at Erpsford, the moneth of October, & there willeth then according to the pontificall decree, either to abiure for euer all matrimonie, or else to renounce their benefices and ecclesiasticall liuings. The clergie against defend themselues against the popes decree with scriptures, with reason, with the acts of generall councels, with examples of ancestors by diuers strong arguments, declaring the popes decree not to be consonant, nor ought to take effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled so of the pope, and could not otherwise doe, but to execute that which was iniopned him.

The priests of Germanie flout against the popes vnlawfull proceedings.

The clergie seeing that no reason, nor prayer, nor disputation would serue, laid their heads together, consulting among themselues what was best to be done: some gaue counsell not to returne againe to the synod, some thought it good to returne and to thrust out the archbishop from his see, and to giue him due punishment of death for his deseruing, that by the example of him, others may be warned hereafter neuer to attempt that thing any more to the pruidice of the church, and the right full libertie of ministers. After that this was signified to the archbishop by certaine spies that were amongst them, that the clergie intended to do, the archbishop to preuent and salue the matter, sendeth to the priests as they were comming out, certaine messengers, bidding them be of good hope, & to returne againe to the metropolitan, and they should haue that should content their minds. So being persuaded, they come againe to the councell. The bishop promiseth he would doe his indeauor what hee could, to reuoke and turne the mind of the bishop of Rome from that sentence, willing them in the meane time to continue as they had done in their cure & ministerie. The next yeare following, Hildebrand the founder of satan sendeth his legat (a certaine bishop called Turiensis) vnto the archbishop of Mentz, and assembled there a councell. In the which councell the archbishop againe proposeth the matter, commanding all the clergie vnder paine of the popes curse, there perpetually either to abrenounce their wiues, or their liuings. The clergie defended their cause againe with great constancie. But when no defension could take place, but all went by tyrannie & mere extortion, it burst in the end to an vproare and tumult, where the legat and the archbishop being in great danger, hardly escaped with their liues, and in the councell brake vp. By this schisme and tumult it followed, that the churches after that in chusing their priests would not send them to the bishops (the enemies and suppressors of matrimonie) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselues, and so put them in their office without all leaue or knowledge of the bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no priests, but such as should take an oth of perpetuall singlenesse, neuer to marrie after. And thus first came vp the oth and profession of single

Pope Hildebrand forsaketh diuers of his cardinals.

Pope Hildebrand compelleth the bishops and priests of Rome to sweare vnto him.

priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other nations had followed the like constancie and concord of those Germane ministers, the diuelish drift and decree of this Hildebrand, or rather Heldebrand) had been frustrat and auoided. But this greedinesse of liuings in weake priests made them to yeld vp their godly libertie to wicked tyrannie. Yet this remaineth in these Germans to bee noted, what concord can doe in repelling the inordinate requicks of euill bishops if they constantly stand to truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of matrimonie.

Examples of concord in priests and ministers.

Now let vs proceed to the contents betweene wicked Hildebrand and the godly emperor. But before we by the way of digression it shall not be much wide from the purpose, to touch a little of the properties of this pope, as we find them described in certaine epistles of Benno a cardinall, writing to other cardinals of Rome: which Benno liued in the same time of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous pope.

Ex Benno cardinali.

Firſt, declaring that he was a sorcerer most notable, and a necromancer, an old companion of Siluester, of Laurentius and Theophylactus, called otherwise Benedictus nonus. Amongst others Benno Cardinalis writeth this historie of him: How vpon a certaine time this Gregorius, coming from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behind him his familiar booke of necromancie, which he was wont commonly to carrie alwaies with him. Whereupon remembring himselfe, entring the port of Lateran, he calleth two of his most trustie familiars to fet the booke, charging them at no hand to looke within it. But they being so restrained, were the more desirous to open it, & to perusse it, and so did. After they had read a little the secrets of the fatanicall booke, suddenly there came about them the messengers of satan, the multitude and terror of whom made them almost out of their wits. At length they comming to themselues, the spirits were instant vpon them to know wherefore they were called vp, wherefore they were vexed: quickly (said they) tell vs what ye would vs to doe, or else we will fall vpon you if ye retaine vs longer. Then spake one of the yong men to them, bidding them goe and plucke downe yonder wals, pointing vnto certaine high wals there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The yong men crossing them for feare of the spirits (seeing recouring themselues) at length came to their master. And it followeth moreouer in the epistle of the said Benno to the cardinals.

We haue made mention to you before of diuers colleges of the church of Rome, which refused to communicate with him; as Leo then archpriest of the cardinals, Benno, Vgoboldus, Iohannes the cardinall, Peter chancellor and cardinall, being all instituted before this Hildebrand. These three also being consecrated by him, that is, Natro, Innocentius and Leo, forlooke him, cursing the detestable errors which hee held. In like case Theodinus whom hee constituted archdeacon, and other cardinals more, Iohannes surnamed Primicerius, Petrus Oblationarius, with all that appertained to them, fauing one onely man. And now, when this Hildebrand saw that the bishops also would forsake him, hee called vnto him the lesse men, and made them priuie of his counsell, thinking thereby to separate the bishops, that they should haue no conference with the cardinals. After that he called together those bishops, and being garded with bands of laie men, hee inforced the bishops partly for feare, and partly for his menacing words, to sweare vnto him, that they should neuer disagree vnto that which hee would haue done, that they should neuer defend the kings quarrell, and that they should neuer fauour or obey the pope that should in his stead be instituted. Which thing being done, he sent them by meanes of the prince of Salernites, into Campania, and thus did he separate them from the companie of the cardinals, and from the citie of Rome. And not onely the bishops, but also the priests of the citie and clerks of inferior orders, as also the laie men he bound by their oaths, that at no time nor for any cause, they should condescend vnto the king.

Pope Hildebrand murdereth by made pope.

As soone as pope Alexander was dead, which died somwhat before night, the same day contrarie to the canons, he was chosen pope of the lay men. But the cardinals subscribed not to his election. For the canons prescribe (vnder paine of cursing) that none should be chosen pope before the third day after the buriall of his predecessor. But he (by sinister meanes thus climing to the see) remoued the cardinals of the said see, from being of the councell. But with what persons hee consulted night and day, Rome well heard and saw. And hee now putting the cardinals from his councell, his life, faith and doctrine, no man could accuse or beare witnesse of: whereas in the canons is commanded, that in euery place whersoeuer the pope is, should be with him three cardinals being priests, and two deacons, because of his ecclesiasticall testimonie and stile of veritie: of which canonicall decree looke gentle reader before. He violently wrested the sacred scriptures to couer his falshood, which kind of idolatrie how great it is, manifestly throughout all the scripture it appeareth. Contrarie to the minds and counsell of the cardinals, and besides the determinate order of pronouncing iudgement by the canons, he rashly did excommunicate the emperor, being in no synod solemnly accused before. The sentence of which excommunication, after rehearsall of these presents, shall also bee manifested (Christ willing)

The emperor wrongfully excommunicated.

willing) to the which excommunication, ſaith Benno, none of the cardinals would ſubſcribe. As ſoone as he aroſe out of his ſeat papal, to excommunicate the emperor, the ſame ſeate (being made but a little before with big timber) ſuddenly by the appointment of God was rent and ſhiuered in pieces: ſo that all men might plainely vnderſtand, what and how great and terrible ſchiſms that lubber had ſowen againſt the church of Chriſt, againſt the ſeate of S. Peter, and how cruelly he had diſperſed the chaire of Chriſt, in deſiling the lawes of the church, ruling by might and auſteritie in that his ſo perillous and preſumptuous excommunication.

The pope chuſeth himſelfe a new ſeate to excommunicate the emperor.

The pope diuideth the vnitie of the church.

In the deſcription of the ſame excommunication hee inſerteth thoſe things wherein he himſelfe erred, when hee abſolued the emperor being vniuſtly excommunicat, and the biſhops alſo communicating with him, and to the vttermoſt thus cutting and mangling the vnitie of the church & thoſe that communicated with the, did as much as in him lay to make two churches.

Alſo the ſame bold merchant commanded that the cardinals ſhould falt, to the intent that God would reueale whoſe opinion was better (either of the church of Rome, or of Berengarius) touching the controuerſie of the Lords body in the ſacrament. And hereby he proued himſelfe to be a manifeſt infidell, for that in the Nicen councell it is written, he that doubteth is an infidell.

Of this miracle we read in no approued hiſtorie.

Further, he ſought after a ſigne to eſtabliſh his faith concerning the article of the Lords bodie, as did Gregorie to confirme the womans faith, when the conſecrated bread was tranſubſtantiated into the forme of a fleſhly finger. He alſo ſent two cardinals (Attones and Cunones) vnto Anaſtaſe, that with the archprieſt of the ſame church they ſhould begin a faſt of three daies ſpace, and that euery of them (euery day during thoſe three daies) ſhuld ſay ouer the pſalter, & ſing maſſes, that Chriſt would ſhew vnto them ſome ſuch like ſigne of his bodie, as he did to the foreſaid Gregorie; which thing they could not ſee.

The emperor was wont oftentimes to go to S. Maries church in the mount Auentine to pray. Hildebrand when hee had by his eſpials ſearched out and knew all the doings of the emperor, cauſed the place where the emperor was accuſtomed (either ſtanding or proſtrate on his face to pray) to be marked, and for money he hired a naughtiepacke (like himſelfe) to gather and lay togither a heape of great ſtones diredtly ouer the place in the vaut of the church, where the emperor would ſtand, that in throwing the ſame downe vpon his head, he ſhould ſlay the emperour. About which purpoſe as the hireling haſted, and was buſie, remouing to the place a ſtone of great bigneſſe and weight, it broke the planke vpheron it lay, and the hireling ſtanding thereupon, both togither fell downe from the roofe to the pauement of the church, and with the ſame ſtone was daſht all in pieces. And after the Romans had vnderſtanding of the handling of this matter, they faſtened a rope to one of the feet of this hireling, and cauſed him to bee drawne through the ſtreets of the citie three daies together in example to others. The emperor notwithſtanding, according to his wonted clemencie, cauſed him to be buried.

The pope hireth one to slay the emperor.

Iohannes biſhop of Portua (being one of the ſecret counſell of Hildebrand) came vp into the pulpit of S. Peter, and amongſt other things in the hearing both of the clergy and people, ſaid: Hildebrand and wee haue committed ſuch a faſt and ſo horrible, for the which we are all worthie to be burned aliue (meaning of the ſacrament of the bodie of Chriſt) which ſacrament, Hildebrand when he thereof inquired a diuine anſwere againſt the emperor and would not ſpeake, threw into the fire & burned it, contrarie to the perſuaſion of the cardinals that were preſent, and would haue reſiſted the ſame.

Hildebrand caſteth the ſacrament of the lords body in the fire, becauſe it would giue him an anſwere.

In the ſecond holy day in the Eaſter weeke, when the clergie and the people were aſſembled at S. Peters church to heare maſſe, after the goſpell hee went vp into the pulpit: hee was in his pontificall attire, and in the preſence of diuers biſhops and cardinals; a great company both of the ſenate and the people of Rome being gathered togither, openly preached (among many other words of diuination) that the king whoſe name was Henrie, ſhould die (without all peraduenture) before the feaſt of S. Peter next inſuing: or elſe at leaſt wiſe that he ſhould be ſo deiected from his kingdome, that hee ſhould not bee able any more to gather togither aboue the number of ſix knights.

The pope a falſe prophet.

This he preached to the biſhops and cardinals, and all that were preſent, crying out of the pulpit in theſe words: Neuer accept me for pope any more, but pluckе me from the altar if this propheſie be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the ſame time he went about by helpe of priuie murtherers to kill the emperor, but God preſerued him. And many there were euen at that time which thought pope Hildebrand to be guilty, & to be the deuiſer of the treaſon, becauſe that then he (before the deed put in execution) preſumed of the death of the king, being by him falſly prophecied of before; which words of his wounded many mens hearts. And it came to paſſe that Hildebrand by his words was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is ſaid) gaue iudgement of himſelfe to be no pope, neither that he would be counted for pope any longer; but thought to bee both a belier and a traitor, vnleſſe that before the feaſt of S. Peter next comming the emperor ſhould die, or elſe ſhould be deprined of all kingly honor, in ſo much as he ſhould not be able

The pope by his owne mouth condemneth himſelfe for an heretike.

to make aboue ſix knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to paſſe, that by his owne mouth hee was condemned for an heretike.

Thus ſaith the Lord: the prophet which of arrogancie will propheſie in my name thoſe things I haue not commanded him, or elſe will propheſie in the name of other gods, let him bee ſlaine. And if thou ſhalt ſay with thy ſelfe, How ſhall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be ſpoken? This token ſhalt thou haue to know it by: Whatſoeuer thing the prophet in the name of God ſhall propheſie, and the ſame come not to paſſe, that maieſt thou be ſure the Lord hath not ſpoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the hautines of his own mind, & therfore thou ſhalt not be afraid of him.

The emperor preſerued by the power of God from the pope.

When the time was expired that Hildebrand in his diuination had ſet, & that neither the king was dead, neither the power of the empire empaired: and fearing leſt by the words of his owne mouth he ſhould be reprehended & condemned, ſubtilly hee turned his tale, ſaying, and perſuading the ignorant people that he ment not of the body of the king but of his ſoule: as though the ſoule of the king had loſt all, hauing ſix of his knights or ſouldiers, or elſe had been dead during that ſpace: and thus by theſe ſleights he beguiled the ignorant people. Againſt ſuch peophers S. Gregory vpon Eze. hiel ſaith: Between true prophets and falſe this difference there is, that true prophets, if they ſpeake any thing vpon their owne mind, they be ſoone rebuked: but the falſe prophets, both they tell lies, and not hauing the ſpirit of truth, they perſeuere in their falſhie.

A ſubtill ſhift of Hildebrand to ſaue his ſaying prophecie.

Three perſons depoſed: they were conuict, put to recanting and Hildebrand againſt all law.

Ouer and beſide, the ſaid Hildebrand iudged to death three men before they were conuict, or elſe conſtrued their crime, without the ſentence of any ſecular iudge, and cauſed them to be hanged vpon a paire of gallowes, ouer againſt the church of S. Peter in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or aduiſement, contrarie to the lawes which command that euery publike offender ſhould haue thirtie daies ſpace before hee bee put to execution. Which thing euen amongſt the pagans is in vre and obſerued, as reacheth the authoritie of S. Ambroſe, and the martyrdome of holy Marcellianus and Marcus.

The emperor caused by Hildebrand to accuſe himſelfe.

The great patience of the godly emperor.

Centius taken by the pope, and put into a barrell of nettle.

The pope taketh Centius, Centius reuenged by the pope contrary to promiſe and faith.

He caſt Centius the ſonne of Stephan the alderman into priſon, being before his truſtie friend; and in a veſſell being thicke ſet with ſharpe nailes, he tormented him to the point of death, who after that he was eſcaped, apprehended the ſaid Hildebrand. Of this apprehenſion before he was ſet at liberte, he openly forgaue all the conſpirators. Which thing afterwards, contrarie to his fidelity, he brake and reuenged, & cauſed Centius to whom he had forgiuen all offences, to be taken, & hanged him & nine of his mē vpon the gallowes before S. Peters porch.

There was at the apprehenſion of pope Hildebrand, a certaine widowes ſonne, to whom (and others more for their penance) hee inioyned a yeares baniſhment. Which time being expleat or run out, the widow in token of more ample ſatisfaction, thinking thereby to haue appeaſed the minde of Hildebrand, put a halter about his ſons necke, and drawing his ſonne by the rope vnto the foot of Hildebrand, ſaid: My lord pope at your hands will I receiue againe my ſon, which one whole yere hath indured baniſhment and other penance by your holineſſe inioyned. Then the ſaid Hildebrand for that inſtant, becauſe of thoſe which were with him in companie (diſſembling his wrath) deliuered hir his ſonne very churliſhly, ſaying: Get thee hence woman I bid thee, and let me be in reſt. After this he ſent his officers and apprehended the widowes ſon, and gaue commandement to the iuſtices to put him to death: who all together making anſwere, ſaid, that they could no more condemne or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the pope, and abidden the baniſhment, and done the penance by him inioyned. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand diſpleaſed with the iudges, cauſed the foot of the widowes ſon to be cut off: making neither repentance, nor the lawes and ordinances to bee of any eſtimation with him: and thus his foot being cut off, he died within three daies after with the paine therof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, vpon whom the blood of the church crieth vengeance, ſhed by the ſword (that is) the miſerable trecherie of his tongue: for which things (and that iuſtly) the church refuſed to communicate with him. *Hac Benno.*

The diſſemblance of the pope in killing a widowes ſonne which before had done his penance.

## An other epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals.

An other ſtile of Benno.

TO the reuerend fathers of the church of Rome, and to his beloued in Chriſt, and to his brethren that ſtall for euer be beloued, Benno the cardinall of the church of Rome wiſheth faithfull ſeruice, health and communion with the ſeruaūts of the catholike church. Of the which communion, diſcipline, and power he lately braggeth, that by the preſumption of his authority ſhall iuſtly bind or loſe any maner of perſon. And he doth vniuſtly bind what ſoeuer he be, that curſeth any man (being willing to make ſatiſfaction and bewailing his boldneſſe, being alſo vnconuict, and not confeſſing the crime) but rather curſing that partie in vaine, her curſeth and condemneth himſelfe, turning his weapon vpon his owne perſon to his deſtruction. O ſtrange and new found trecherie proceeding from the ſanctuarie, nay rather from him which as high prieſt ſeemeth to rule the church, and to be a iudge ouer the iudges!

Hilde-



A diuelliſh practiſe of Hildebrand in ſtirring the biſhops againſt the emperor.

Hildebrand was earneſtly in hand with the emperor, that he ſhould depriue thoſe biſhops, which came in by ſimonie. The emperor, thinking as a zealous prince, that this commiſſion had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the ſame, and forthwith without any conſideration, or iuſt conſideration of order, depriued certaine biſhops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable ſacrifice to God, not knowing the craftie handling of him. But Hildebrand then againe placed thoſe, whom the emperor for ſimony at his commandement had before depoſed, and thoſe whom by that meanes he made to beare a hatefull heart to the emperor, he reconciled againe vnto himſelfe in great familiaritie, and by many and great other taken of them, for their fidelitie towards him, he promoted aboue all the reſt. And thus by theſe pranks, the imperiall ſeate of the king being ſhortly after impaired, and deſtitute almoſt of friends, hee craftily purchaſing the friendſhip and fauor of the greateſt princes, the better to bring his matters to paſſe: ſuddenly againe, without any law, accuſation, without any canonicall vocation, without all iudiciall order, excommunicated the emperor (ſo obedient alwaies vnto him) and ſet the princes of the empire all againſt him. And notwithſtanding (as the apoſtle ſaith) that no man ought to circumuent his brother in his buſineſſe, as much as in him lay he rather mottified and killed him, then reprehended or corrected him. Thus the emperor being many waies circumuented: as, excommunicated beſides the canonicall order, and by the conſent and counſell of Hildebrand, ſpoiled of the greateſt part of his imperiall honor, and ouercharged with great wars and ſlaughters of his owne ſubiects, in vaine deſired hee and ſued for to haue the canon read and heard, cauſing him by force and violence at Canuſium, in the preſence of Hildebrand, to accuſe himſelfe by his owne confeſſion.

Say you now (I pray you) all ſuch as loue iuſtice, and loue not to leane either vpon the left hand, or elſe the right hand, in the fauor of any perſon; ſay your minds, whether that ſuch a confeſſion being forced vpon neuer ſo poore a man (much leſſe vpon an emperor) ought at ſuch a time to be preiudicial or not? Or whether he which extorted the ſame confeſſion, is guilte of the canon? Or elſe he, which being ſo peruerſtie iudge, ſuffered the iniurie of a moſt peruerſe iudge? Which alſo moſt patiently & publikely ſuffered this violence with lamentable affliction vpon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, in the ſharpe winter, which neuer was vſed, and was three daies togither at Canuſium, made a ſpectacle both of angels and men, and a ludibrious mocking ſtocke to that proud Hildebrand. Neuer truſt me, if that foureteen cardinals, the archdeacon himſelfe, and he that is called Primicerius, being all wiſe and religious men, beſides many other of the clerks of Lateran, to the iudgement and priuiledge of whoſe holy ſeate the whole world is obedient (weighing and conſidering his intolerable apoſtaſie) departed not from participating, and refuſed from communicating with him.

This glorious Hildebrand, and his affinitie by their new authoritie, breaking the decrees of the Chalcedon councell, not onely in words, but alſo in publike writings haue agreed, that it is tollerable both to baptiſe and communicat being out of the church of God: and how blind theſe men were, and alſo what heretiks they be, their owne writings doe declare. What a miſchiefe is this? (ſaith Benno) they preſume to iudge of the church, which ſwarue themſelues in all errors, who alſo eſteeme the veritie but as a lie; and leſt their poyſoned falſhood both in words and writings ſhould appeare, they haue (like ſubtill poyſoners, the ſooner to deceiue) mixed honie therewithall. A lie, ſaith ſaint Auguſtine, is euery thing pronounced with the intent of deceiuing of others.

*Mendacium quid.*

Much boaſt made of Hildebrand, but little theame, but like they let alone.

Pope Hildebrand a worker of ſorcerie and conturing.

The councell of Rome againſt the councell of Wormes.

Henricus 4. emperor.

The councell of Rome againſt the councell of Wormes. Henricus the emperor excommunicated by Hildebrand.

If were too long and tedious here to recite all the deteſtable doings, and diabolicall practiſes, of conturings, charmes, and filthie ſorceries, exercited betweene him and Laurentius, and Theophylact, otherwiſe named pope Benedict the ninth, wherof a long narration followeth in the foreſaid epiſtle of Benno to the cardinals to be ſeene, to whom the reader may repaire, who ſo hath either leiſure to read or mind to vnderſtand more of the abominable parts and diuelliſh acts of this Hildebrand.

Thus hauing ſufficiently alleaged the words and teſtimonies of Benno and Auentinus, concerning the acts and facts of this pope; now let vs proceede (in the order as followeth in his ſtorie) to ſet forth the miſerable veration which the vertuous and godly emperor ſuſteined by that vngodly perſon.

About what time Hildebrand was made pope, Henricus the fourth emperor was vncumbred and much vexed with ciuill diſſenſion in Germanie, by reaſon of certaine grieuances of the Saxons againſt him and his father Henricus the third. Wherupon the matter growing to ſedition, fines were taken, and great wars enſued, betwixt Otho duke of Saxonie, and Henricus the emperor. This buſie time ſeemed to Hildebrand very opportune to worke his feats, whoſe ſtudie and drift was euer from the beginning to aduance the dominion of the Romiſh ſeat aboue all other biſhops, and alſo to preſſe downe the authoritie of the temporall rulers, vnder the ſpirituall men of the church. And although he went about the ſame long before, by ſubtill traines and acts ſet forth concerning ſimonie: yet now he thought more effectuouſlie to accompliſh his purpoſed intent, after y he was eralted thither, where he would be. And therefore now bearing himſelfe the bolder, by the authoritie of ſaint Peters throne, firſt he began to put ſine the act ſet out by his predeceſſor, as touching ſimonie, curſing and excommunicating, whoſoeuer they were, that receiued any ſpirituall liuing or promotion at laie mens handes, as all ſuch as were the giuers thereof. For this he called then ſimonie, that vnder that colour he might deſeate the temporall poſſeſſors of their right, and ſo bring the whole clergie at length to the lure of Rome. And forſomuch as the emperor was the head, thinking firſt to begin with him, he ſendeth for him by letters and legats to appeare in the councell of Lateran at Rome. But the emperor buſied in his wars againſt the Saxons, had no leiſure to attend to councels. Notwithſtanding Gregorius the pope proceeded in his councell, rending there the cauſe and reaſon before the biſhops, why he had excommunicate diuers of the clergie, as Herman biſhop of Bamberge, counſellor to the emperor, and other prieſts more for ſimony. And there moreouer in the ſaid councell, he theatnedy to excommunicate likewiſe the emperor himſelfe, and to depoſe him from his regall kingdome, vnleſſe he would abrenounce the hereſie of ſimonie, and doe penance. The councell being ended, Guibertus archbiſhop of Rauenna perſuaded with one Centius (a Romane, the captaines ſonne, whom the pope had excommunicated) to take the emperors part againſt the pope: who watching his time in the temple of ſaint Marie, vpon Chriſtmaſſe day in the morning, taketh the pope and putteth him faſt in a ſtrong tower. The next day the people of Rome hearing this, harneſſe themſelues with all expedition to helpe the biſhop, whom when they loſed out of priſon, they beſieged the houſe of Centius, and pluckt it downe to the ground; his familie hauing their noſes cut off, were caſt out of the citie; Centius himſelfe eſcaping fled to the emperor. Guibert the archbiſhop pretending god will to the pope, departed from Rome, who likewiſe had wrought with Hugo Candidus cardinall, and with Theobaldus archbiſhop of Pillain, alſo with diuers other biſhops about Italie, to ſo ſaue the pope and take the emperors part. Gregorie the pope, called Hildebrand, hearing the conſpiracie, layeth the ſentence of excommunication vpon them all, and depriueth them of their dignitie. The emperor being moued (not without cauſe) with the arrogant preſumption of the proud prelat, called together a councell at Wormes. In which councell all the biſhops not onely of Saxonie, but of all the whole empire of Germaines, agreed and conclude vpon the depoſition of Hildebrand, and that no obedience hereafter ſhould be giuen to him. This being determined in the councell, Roulandus a prieſt of Parmen was ſent to Rome with the ſentence, who in the name of the councell ſhould command Gregorie to yeld vp his ſeate, and alſo charge the cardinals to reſort to the emperor for a new election of another pope. The tenor of the ſentence ſent by Roulandus was this.

Hildebrand the pope.

Ex Platina.

Marke this ye papiſts that ſay pope can not erre.

### The ſentence of the councell of Wormes againſt Hildebrand.

FOrſomuch as thy firſt ingreſſe and comming in hath beene ſo ſpotted with ſo manie periuries, and alſo the church of God brought in no little danger through thine abuſe and newfanglenes: moreouer, becauſe thou haſt defamed thine owne life and conuerſation, with ſo much and great diſhoneſtie, that we ſee no little perill or ſlander to riſe therof: therefore the obedience which yet we neuer promiſed thee, hereafter we vtterlie renounce, and neuer intend to giue thee. And as thou haſt neither taken vs yet for biſhops (as thou haſt openly reported of vs) ſo neither will we hereafter take thee to be apoſtolike.

Vale.

Gregorie the pope tickled with this ſentence, firſt condemneth it in his councell of Lateran with excommunication; Secondarily, depriueth Sigifridus archbiſhop of Mentz of his dignities, and eccleſiaſticall liuings, with all other biſhops, abbats and prieſts, as many as tooke the emperors part. Thirdly, accuſeth Henricus the emperor himſelfe, depriueth him of his kingdome and regall poſſeſſion, and releaſeth all his ſubiects of their oth of allegiance giuen vnto him, after this ſorte and maner.

### The tenor of the ſentence excommunicatorie againſt Henricus the emperor, by Hildebrand.

OBleſſed S. Peter prince of the apoſtles, bow downe thine eares I beſeech thee, and heare me thy ſeruant, whom thou haſt brought vp euen from mine infancie, and haſt deliuered me vntill this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and perſecute me, becauſe of my faith in thee. Thou art my witneſſe, & alſo the bleſſed mother of Ieſu Chriſt, & thy brother S. Paul, fellow partner of thy martyrdome, how that I entred this function (not willingly) but inforced againſt my will: not that I take it ſo as a robberie, lawfullie to aſcend into this ſeate: but becauſe that I had rather paſſe ouer my life, like a pilgrime

The pope inuesteth himselfe of S. Peter.

or priuate person, then for any fame or glorie to climbe vp to it. I doe acknowledge (and that worthilie) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge ouer christian people, and this power of binding and loosing is committed to me. Wherfore, trusting vpon this assurance for the dignitie and tuition of holy church in the name of God omnipotent, the father, the sonne, and the Holy ghost, I doe here depose Henrie the sonne of Henrie once the emperor, from his imperiall seat, and princely gouernment, who hath so boldly and presumptuously laid hands vpon thy church. And furthermore, all such as before haue sworne to be his subiects, I releasse them of their oth, whereby all subiects are bound to the allegiance of their princes. For it is meet and conuenient that he should be void of dignitie, which seeketh to diminish the maiestie of thy church. Moreouer, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his people; and hath separate himselfe from the fellowship of the church (which he, through his seditions, studieth to destroy) therfore I bind him by vertue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainely, that thou art Peter (in the rocke of whom as in the true foundation Christ) our king hath built his church.

Peter inheriteth Gods power in dissolue the sinnes of heauen.

The emperor thus assaulted with the popes censure, seeth aboue his letters throwe all nations, to purge himselfe, declaring how wrongfully, and against all right he was condemned. The princes of Almaine partly fearing the cracke of the popes thunderclap, partly against reioycing that occasion was ministred to rebell against the emperor, assembled a commencement, where they did consult and to conclude, to elect another emperor, and to fall from Henrie, vnlesse the pope would come to Germany, and hee there content to submit himselfe and obtaine his pardon.

The Saxons & other the popes part against the emperor.

Wherein is to be considered the lamentable affections of the Germans in those daies, so to forsake such a baliant emperor, and so much to reputte a vile bishop. But this was the rudenesse of the world then, for lacke of better knowledge. The emperor seeing the chiefe princes readie to forsake him, promiseth them with an oth, that if the pope would repaire to Germany, he would aske forgiuenesse.

Upon this the bishop of Trists was sent vp in commission to Rome, to intreate the pope to come into Germanie. The bishop (at the instance of the legat and of the princes) was content. He entred into Germanie, thinking to come to Augusta. After he was come to Verrellos (the bishop of that citie being the chancellor of Italie, and desirous to disturbe peace for the old grudge he had to the emperor) fallile perchaunch with the pope, that he was certaine the emperor was comming with a mightie great armie against him, counselling him therefore to prouide betimes for his owne safegard in some stronger place. Wherby the popes mind being altered, he retired backe to Canusium or Canosius, a citie being subiect to Matilda, a countesse of Italie, where he thould not need to feare the emperor.

Peace disturbed through wicked counsel.

Henricus vnderstanding the false feare of the pope, and of his retire to Canusium, incontinent (comming out of Spires with his wife and his yong sonne, in the deepe and sharpe of winter) resorteth to Canosius. All his peeres and nobles had left him for feare of the popes curse, neither did any accompanie him. Wherefore the emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his regall ornaments) came barefoted with his wife and child to the gate of Canosius, where he from morning to night (all the day falling) most humblie desireth absolution, crauing to be let in, to the speech of the bishop. But no ingresse might be giuen him once within the gates. Thus he continuing three daies together in his petition and sute; at length answere came, that the popes maiestie had yet no leasure to talke with him. The emperor nothing moued therwith, that he was noe let into the citie, patient and with an humble mind abideth without the walls, with no little grieuance and painefull labor, for it was a sharpe winter, and all frosen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate sute, at length it was granted through the intreating of Matilda (popes paramor), and of Arelaus earle of Sabandia, and the abbat of Clumaine, that he should be admitted to the popes speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, her yeldeth to the popes hands his crowne, with all other ornaments imperiall: and confessed himselfe vnworthie of the empire, if euer he doe against the pope hereafter, as he hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolued and forgiuen. The pope

A wonderous submission of a valiant emperor to a vile pope.

Notable patience in a noble emperor.

## Henricus the emperor, with his wife and child, barefoot and baregled
*waiting on pope Hildebrand, three daies and three nights, at the gates of*
Canusium, before he could be suffered to come in.



answereth he will neither forgiue him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but vpon conditions. First, to promise, that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrement in the counsell, and to take such penance as he shall inioyne him also that he shall be prest and readie to appeare, in what place or time the pope shal appoint him. Moreouer, that he being content to take the pope iudge of his cause, shall answere in the said councell to all obiections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall neuer seeke any reuengement herein. Item, that he (though he be quit and cleared therin) shall stand to the popes mind and pleasure, whether to haue his kingdome restored, or to lose it.

Henricus condescending of the pope.

The pope hath accused and iudged.

Finally, that before the triall of his cause, he shall neither vse his kingly ornaments, scepters, or crowne, nor vsurpe the authorite to gouerne, nor to exact any oth of allegiance vpon his subiects, &c. These things being promised to the bishop by an oth, and put in writting, the emperor is onely released of excommunication. The tenor of the writting is this.

Heere the head of the image appeareth in his colours.

### The forme and tenor of the oth, which
*Henricus made to the pope.*

I Henricus king, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our lord Gregorius the seuenth, promise to keepe



keepe all couenants and bonds betwixt vs, and to prouide that the pope go safely wheresoeuer he will without any danger either to him or to his retinue; especially in all such places as bee subiect to our empire. Nor that I shall at any time lay or hinder him, but that hee may doe that belongeth to his function, where and whersoeuer his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind my selfe with an oth to keepe. Actum Canos. 5. calend. Februarij indic. 15.

Thus the matter being decided betwixt them after the popes owne prescribement, the emperor taketh his iourny to Papia. The pope with his cardinals did dance and triumph with no little pride that they had so quailed the emperor, and brought him on his knees to aske them forgiuenesse. Yet notwithstanding, mistrusting themselues, and misdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter, if fortune should turne, and God giue the emperor to inioy a more quiet kingdome: therefore to preuent such dangers betime, they study and consult privily with themselues how to displace Henry cleane from his kingdome. And how that deuice might safely be conueied, they conclude and determine to deriue the empire into Rodulphus, a man of great nobility amongst the cheefest states of Germanie, and also to incite and stir vp all other princes & subiects (being yet free and discharged from their oths) against Henry, and so by force of armes to expell the emperour out of his kingdome. To bring this purpose the better to passe, legats were sent down from the pope, Sigehardus patriarch of Aquila, and Altimanus bishop of Padway, which should perswade through all France, that Henry the emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should giue to the bishop of Rome their consents in chusing Rodulphus to be emperor. This being done, there was sent to the said Rodulphus duke of Sueuia, a crowne from the pope with this verse:

The crafty conspiracy of the cardinals against the emperor.

*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodulpho.*

The verse.

The rocke gaue the crowne to Peter,
Peter giueth it to Rodulph.

The glosse vpon the verse of Hildebrand.

Here by the way of digression (to make a little glosse vpon this barbarous verse) two notable lies are to be noted. One, where he lieth vpon Christ, the other where he lieth vpon Saint Peter. First, that Christ gaue any temporall diademe to Peter, it is a most manifest lie, and against the scriptures, when as he would not take it, being giuen to himself, and saith, his kingdome is not of this world. Againe, where he saith that Peter giueth it to Rodulph: here he plaieth the poet; for neither had Peter any such thing to giue; and if he had, yet hee would not haue giuen it to Rodulph from the right heire: neither is it true that Peter did giue it, because Hildebrand gaue it. For it is no good argument; Hildebrand did giue it; Ergo, Peter did giue it: except pe will say, Hildebrand stirred vp great wars and bloudshed in Germany; Ergo, Peter stirred vp great wars in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did giue it to Rodulphus, but only Hildebrand the pope: who after he had so done, he gaue in commandement to the archbishop of Mentz and of Cullen, to elect this Rodulphus for emperor, and to anoint him king, and also to defend him with all force and strength they might.

The pope prouideth a double lier.

While this conspiracy was in hand, Henricus the emperor was absent, and the popes ambassadors with him also. In the meane space Rodulphus was elected emperor, vnknowing to Henry. Vpon this commeth the bishop of Straulsborough vnto the emperor, certifying him what was done. He suspecting and seeing the stomacke and doings of the Saxons so bent against him, muttereth his men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to Rome (trusting vpon the league betwixt him and his pope) and requireth the bishop to proceed with his sentence against Rodulphus, for the rebellious inuasion of his empire. But the bishop minding nothing lesse, sendeth word againe, not to be right to condemne any person (his cause being not heard:) thus vnder the pretence of the law, colouring his vnlatefull treachery. Henricus thus disappointed and forsaken on euery side, with his men about him, attempteth battell against Rodulphus. In which battel, a maruellous great slaughter was on both sides, but the victory on neither part certaine; so that both the captaines yet challenged the empire. After the battell and great murther on both sides, they sent to Rome both, to know of the popes determination, to whether of them two he iudged the right title of the empire to appertain. The bishop commanded them both to breake vp their armes, and depart the field, promising that he shortly would call a councel where this matter should be disputed; in the meane time they should cease from war. But before the messengers returned againe (their armies being refreshed) they had another conflict togither, but no victory got on either part. Thus both the captaines being wearied in warres, the Romish beast the bishop (which was the cause thereof, perceiuing whither these cruell wars would tend, to the great calamity not onely of the Germans, but also of other nations (trusting to finde another way to helpe Rodulphus and his adherents) sendeth downe a commission by Otho archbishop of

The pope traitorous to the emperor.

Great wars stirred vp by the pope.

Treuers, Bernardus beacon, and Bernardus abbat of Saltsilia: to whom he gaue in charge that they should call together a councell or sitting in Almany, and there to be defined to whether part the empire should pertaine, by most right and publike consideration; promising that what they should therein determine, he (talking vpon the matter, through the authorite of God omnipotent, and of saint Peter, and saint Paul) would ratifie the same. Moreouer, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the legats by the way, hee giueth with them letters to the princes and nations of Germany; wherof the contents bee declared briefely in Platina, if any list to reade them.

But the emperor would not so permit the legat to haue any councell within Germany, except they would first bepine Rodulphus of his kingdome. The legats considering that to be against the drift and intention of the pope, returned againe from whence they came. The pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was so disappointed by the emperor, braweth out another excommunication against him, and againe bereaueth him of his kingdome: reading about his letters excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodulphus the better. Platina hath in his booke the whole effect of the writing, which tendeth after this sort.

### The copie of the second excommunication of
*Hildebrand against the emperor.*

BLessed S. Peter, prince of the apostles, and thou Paul also the teacher of the Gentiles, giue care vnto me I beseech you a little, and gently heare me, for you are the disciples and louers of truth. The things that I shall say are true. This matter I take in hand for truth sake, that my brethren (whose saluation I seeke) may see the more obsequiously obey me, & better vnderstand, how that I trusting vpon your defence next to Christ & his mother, the immaculate virgin) resist the wicked, and am ready to helpe the faithfull. I did not enter this seat of mine owne accord, but much against my will, and with teares, for that I accounted my selfe vnworthy to occupy so high a throne. And this I say, not that I haue chosen you, but you haue chosen me, and haue laid this great burthen vpon our shoulders. And now, whereas by this your assignement, I haue ascended vp this hill, crying to the people, and shewing them their faults, and to the children of the church their iniquities, the members of Satan haue risen vp against mee, and haue laid hands togither to seeke my bloud. For the kings of the earth haue risen vp against mee, and the princes of this world, with whom also haue conspired certaine of the clergy subiects against the Lord, and against vs his anoynted, saying: Let vs breake asunder their bonds, and cast off from vs their yoke. This haue they done against me, to bring me either to death, or to banishment. In the number of whom is Henricus, whom they call king, the sonne of Henry the emperor, which hath lift vp so proudly his hornes & bcde against the church of God, making conspiracie with diuers other bishops, both Italian, French, and Germans. Against the pride of whom, hitherto your authority hath resisted, who rather being broken then amended, comming to mee in Cisalpina, made humble sute to me for pardon and obsolution. I thinking nothing else but true repentance in him, receiued him against fauor, and did restore him to the communion only, from which he was excommunicate but to his kingdome (from which in the synod of Rome hee was worthily expelled) I did not restore him, nor to the rents and fruits thereof (that he might returne to the faith againe) that I granted not to him. And that I did for this purpose, that if he should deferre to fall to agreement with certaine of his neighbours, whom he had alwaies vexed, and to restore againe the goods both of the church, and otherwhiles then he might be compelled by the censures of the church and force of armes thereunto. Whereby diuers and sundry bishops and princes of Germany (such as he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, elected Rodulphus their duke to be king in the place of Henricus, whom they for his transgressions had removed and displaced from his empire. But Rodulphus first in this matter vsing a princely modestie and integrity, sent vp his messengers to me, declaring how he was constrained (wild he, nild he) to take that regall gouernment vpon him, albeit he was not so desirous thereof, but that he would rather shew himselfe obedient to vs, then to the other that offered him the kingdome; and what seuer our arbitrement should be therein, he would be vnder obedience, both of vs, and of vs. And for more assurance of his obedience, he hath sent his owne children hither for pledges. Vpon this Henricus began to snuffe, and first increated with vs, to restraine and inhibit Rodulphus through the paine of our curse, from the vsurpation of his kingdome. I answered againe, I would send her of them had more right and title thereunto, and so send our legats thither vpon the same, to know the whole state of the matter, and thereupon I would decide betwixt them, whether of them had the truer part. But Henricus would not suffer our legats to come to vs to take vp the matter, and slew diuers both secular men, and of the clergy, spoiling and prophaning churches, and so by this meanes hath indangered himselfe in the bonds of excommunication. I therefore trusting in the iudgement

O pusillanimous hypocrite.

The pope praiseth Saint Peter to auoyd his king.

A similitude betwixt the pope & his kingdome.

Crocodils lachrymæ.

Gethsemane will appeare.

A figure called Synecdoche.

Cuius contrarium verum est.

Vim facimus scripturis, cum plenitudinem accipiamus potestatis.

Let all papists & martic here with the bottome of their hearts.

Although he were not fit to vse his authorite, yet he may by vsurpation.

ment and mercy of God, and in the supportation of the blessed virgin, also vpō your authority, do lay the sentence of curse vpon the said Henricus, and all his adherents: and here againe I take his regall gouernment from him, charging and forbidding all christian men that haue bin sworne vnto him, (whom I discharge here of their oth) that hereafter they obey him in nothing, but to take Rodulphus to their king, who is elected by many princes of the prouince. For so right it is and conuenient, that as Henry for his pride and stubbornnes, is deprived of his dignity and possessiōs: so Rodulphus being gratefull to all men, for his vertue and deuotion be exalted to the imperiall throne and dominition.

*The meane to bring vnderoos to stirre vp rebellion with them.*

Therefore, O you blessed princes of the apostles, grant to this, and confirme with your authority that I haue said, so that all men may vnderstand, if you haue power to bind and loose in heauen, you haue also power in earth to giue & take away empires, kingdomes, principalities, and whatsoeuer herein earth belongeth to mortall men. For if you haue power to iudge in such matters as appertaine to God: what then should we think you haue of these inferior and prophane things? And if it be in your power to iudge the angels, ruling our proud princes, what then shall it beseeme you to do vpon their seruants? Therefore let the kings vnderstand by this example, and all other princes of the world, what you bee able to doe in heauen, and what your are with God, that thereby they may feare to contemne the commandement of holy church. And now do you exercise this iudgement quickly vpon Henricus, whereby all men may see this fount of iniquity to fall from his kingdome, not by any chance, but by your prouision and only worke. Notwithstanding this I would crave of you, that he being brought to repentance through your intercessiō, yet in the day of iudgment, may finde fauor and grace with the Lord. Actum Romæ, nonis Martij, indictione 3.

*Nota argumentum.*

Furthermore Hildebrand not yet content with this, interdicted & deposed also Cuibertus archbishop of Rauenna, for taking the emperors part, commanding all priests to giue no manner obedience to him, and sendeth thither to Rauenna another archbishop with full authority.

*Confer of his censure with the history of the three brethren. Of Gondil. by Paxter.*

*Guibertus Archbishop deposed.*

After and vpon this, Henricus and Rodulphus to try the matter by the sword, coped together in battell, not without bloudshed, where Henricus by the fauor of God against the iudgement of Hildebrand had victorie. Rodulphus there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and caried to Wyperbolis, where hee commanded the bishops and chiefe doctors of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted vp his right hand, in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said: This is the hand which gaue the oth and fauthment vnto Henricus my prince, and which through your instigation, so oft hath fought against him in vaine: now go and performe your first oth and allegiance to your king, for I must to my fathers, and so died. Thus the pope gaue battell, but God gaue the victory.

*The 4. battell betweene Henry the Emperour and Rodulph. Henricus victor.*

*Rodulphus at his death acknowledgeth. The pope gaue the war, God gaue victory.*

Henricus (after his enemy being thus subdued, and warres being ceased in Germany) forgat not the old iniuries receiued of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated, and expelled from his kingdome, and there dares making humble suit (yea and that in sharpe winter) could find no fauor with him. Besides that, he incited moreouer and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore calleth together a councell of assemblie of diuers bishops of Italy, Lombardy and Germany at Ticina, 1084. where he purged himselfe, and accused the bishop Hildebrand of diuers crimes, to be an vsurper, periured, a necromancer and sorcerer, a fauter of discord: complaining moreouer of wrongs and iniuries done by the bishop and church of Rome, in that the church of Rome preferred the bishop before him, when that his father being emperor before him, had inuested and set in diuers and sundry bishops there by his assignement, without all others election. And now this bishop contrary to his oth and promise made, thrust in himselfe, without the will and knowledge of him, being their king and magistrat. For in the time of his father Henricus the third, this Hildebrand with other, bound themselues with a corporall oth, that so long as the emperor and his sonne now being king, should liue, they should neither themselues presume nor suffer any other to aspire to the papall seat, without the assent and approbation of the foresaid emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporall oth had done. Wherefore the foresaid councell with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed. The tenor of which condemnation is thus expressed in Abbate Vrspergensi.

*Concilium Brixiense.*

*Anno 1085*

*The bishop of Rome can be iudged without an emperor, but not the emperor.*

*Abbas Vrspergensis.*

The sentence of the councell of Brixia,
*against Hildebrand.*

BEcause it is not vnknowne, this bishop not to be elected of God, but to haue intruded himselfe by fraud and mony, who hath subuerted all ecclesiasticall order, who hath disturbed the gouernment of the christian empire, menacing death of body and soule against our catholike & peaceable king, who hath set vp and maintained a periured king, sowing discord where concord was, causing debate amongst friends, slanders, and offences amongst brethren, diuorcements and separation amongst the maried (for he tooke away the mariage of priests, as Henricus Mutius witnesseth) and finally disquieting the peaceable state of all quiet life: Therefore we here in the name and authority of God congregat togither, with the legats and hands of 19. bishops, the day of Pentecost at Mentz, doe proceed in canonicall iudgement, against Hildebrand, a man most wicked, preaching sacrilege and burning, maintaining periury and murthers, calling in question the catholike faith of the body and bloud of the Lord, a follower of diuination and dreames, a manifest necromancer, a forcerer, and infected with a pythonicall spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith, we iudge him to be deposed and expelled. And vnlesse he hearing this, shall yeeld and depart the seat, to be pertually condemned. Enacted 7. Calend. Iulij, feria. 5. indictione 3.

*Henricus Mutius.*

*Note the true pope iudged and deposed of the councell.*

This being enacted and sent to Rome: they elected Guibertus archbishop of Rauenna in the place of Hildebrand, to gouerne the church of Rome, named Clemens the third. But when Hildebrand neither would giue ouer his hold, nor giue place to Clement, the emperor gathering an army to send to Italy, came to Rome to depose Gregory, & to place Clement. But Hildebrand sending to Matilda the countesse before mentioned, required (in remission of all her sins) to withstand Henry the emperor: and so she did. Notwithstanding Henricus preuailing, came to Rome, where he besieg. d the city all the Lent, and after Easter got it, the Romans being compelled to open the gates vnto him: so he comming to the temple of S. Peter, there placeth Clement in his papacy. Hildebrand straight fleeth into Adrians tower with his adherents, where he being beset round about, at length sendeth for Robert Guiscardus his friend a Norman. In the mean time, while Robertus collecteth his power, the abbat of Cluniake, conferring with Gregory, exhorteth him to crown Henricus emperor in Lateran. Which if he would doe, the other promiseth to bring about, that Henry should depart with his army into Germany, whereunto the people of Rome also did likewise moue him. To whom Gregory answereth, that he was content so to doe (but vpon condition, that the emperor would submit himselfe to a the pope, to amend his fault, and to promise obedience. The emperor not agreeing to those conditions, went to Senas, taking Clement new stalled pope with him.

*The pope ferteth three of his paramour. The fift crimple to stale by remission of sins, began in Hildebrand.*

*Pestilence in England, and murren of beasts.*

*London wich the church of Pauls burnt.*

*Malcolm bishop of Cathenesse.*

After the returne of the emperor, the foresaid Robert Guiscardus approching with his soldiors, hurt in at one of the gates, and spoiled the city. And not long after deliuered Hildebrand out of his enemies hands, and carried him away to Campania, where he not long continuing after, died in exile.

*Platina. Nauclerus. Sabellicus. Cranzius. Benno, &c.*

Antonius writeth, that Hildebrand, as hee did lie a dying, called to him one of his chiefe cardinals, beseeching to him his fault and misorder of his spirituall ministery, in stirring vp discord, war, and dissention: whereupon he desired the cardinall to go to the emperor, and desire him of forgiuenesse, absoluing from the danger of excommunication both him and all his partakers both quicke and dead.

*Hildebrand the first author and patron of all mischiefe that followed after in popes.*

¶ Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the full history of pope Gregory the fourth, called Hildebrand: which I haue laid out more at large, and desire thee to marke, because that from this pope (if thou marke well) springeth all the occasion of mischiefe, of pride, pompe, stoutnesse, presumption and tyranny, which since that time hath raigned in his successors hitherto, in the cathedrall church of the Romish clergy. For here came first the fabrication of the temporall regiment, vnder the spirituall title of dictum Petri and emperors, which before were their ministers, now are made their vnderlings. Also here came in the suppression of priests mariage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in moreouer, the authority of both the swords spirituall and secular into spirituall mens hands. So that christian magistrates could do nothing in election, in giuing bishoprickes or benefices, in calling councels, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the clergy, but only the pope must do all. Yea moreouer, no bishop nor pastor in his owne parish could excommunicat or execute any discipline amongst his flocke, but only the pope challenged that prerogatiue to himselfe. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute emperors and kings with rebellion and excommunication, as the clergy themselues hereafter do testifie and witnes in proceeding against Paschalis. Thus the sic notes being well obserued, let vs (by the grace of Christ) now repaire againe to our country history of England.

*The death of William Conquerer.*

About the death of pope Hildebrand (or not long after) followed the death of king William conqueror, in the yer 1090. after he had raigned in England the space of one and twenty yeres, and ten moneths. The cause of his sickenesse and death is said to be this: for that Philip the French king vpon a time (iesting) said that king William lay in childbed and nourished his fat belly. With this the foresaid William hearing thereof, answered again, and said, when he should be churched, he would offer a thousand candles to him in France, wherewithall the king should haue little to do. Whereupon king William in the moneth of July (when the corne, fruit, and grapes were most flourishing) entred into France, and set on fire many cities and townes in the west side of France. And lastly, comming to the city of Meaux, where hee burning a woman being as a recluse in a wall inclosed (or as some say, two men anachorits inclosed) was so feruent and furious about the fire, that with the heat partly of the fire, partly of the time of the yere, thereby he fell into sickenesse and died vpon the same.

By the life and acts of this king it may appeare true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guilefull; rich, but couetous; a faire speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in outward and strong in armes, but rigorous in oppressing whom he ouercame, in leuying of taxes pilling all others. Insomuch that he caused to be inrolled and numbred in his treasury euerie side of land, and owner thereof: what fruit and reuenewes surmounted of euery lordship, of euery township, castell, village, field, riuer, and wood, within all the realme of England. Moreouer, how many parish churches, how many liuing cattell there were, what and how much euery baron in the realme could dispend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which testament yet remaineth in rols. After this taking or numbring, which was the yere before his death, followed an exceeding murren of cattell, and barrennesse of the ground, with much pestilence and hot feuers among the people, so that such as escaped the feuer, were consumed with famin. Moreouer, at the same season appeared many certaine other cities, a great part of the city of London, with the church of Pauls was walled with fire, in the yere of our Lord 1085.

In hunting and in parks the foresaid king had such pleasure, that in the country of Southhampton by the space of 30 miles, he cast downe churches and townships, and there made the new forrest, louing his Deere so dearly, as though hee had beene to them a father, making sharpe lawes for the preseruing thereof, vnder paine of losing both the eies. So hard he was to Englishmen, and so fauorable to his owne country, that as there was no English bishop remaining, but onely Wolstan of Worcester, who being commanded of the king and Lanfranke to resigne vp his staffe, partly for inability, partly for lacke of the French tongue, refused otherwise to resigne it, but only to him that gaue it, and so went to the tombe of king Edward, there he thought to resigne it, but was permitted to inioy it still: so likewise in his daies, there was almost no Englishman that bare office of honor or rule in the land. In so much that it was halfe a thanne at y time to be called an Englishman. Notwithstanding hee some deale fauored the city of London, and granted vnto the citizens the first charter that euer they had, written in the Saxon, with greene wax sealed, and contained in few lines.

*England peaceable from thence vp.*

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so giuen he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or siluer might passe through the whole realme without harme or resistance. This William in his time builded two monasteries, one in England at Battell in Sussex, where he wan the field against Harold, called the abby of Battell: another besides named Warmoundsey in his countrie of Normandy.

*The abby of Battell. The abby of Warmoundsay.*

After the life and story of king William thus briefly described, (with the acts and order of battell betweene him and king Harold (although much more might haue bin written of that matter, if the booke had come sooner to my hands, which afterwards I saw) now remaineth in the end of this story to describe the names of such barons & nobles of Normandy, which entred with him into this land, as well of them which were imbarked with him, and slaine also (as appeareth in the battell) as also of them who were planted and aduanced by the said Conquerer in the lands and possessions of English lords, whom he either expelled, or else beheaded. The names of which Normans here follow vnder written.

## Out of the annals of Normandy in French, whereof one very ancient written booke in parchment remaineth in the custody of the writer hereof.

THe day after the battell, very early in the morning, Odo bishop of Baieux sang masse for those that were departed. The duke after that desirous to know the estate of his battell, and what people he had therein left and were slaine, he caused to come vnto him a clerke that had written their names when they were imbarked at S. Valeries, and commanded him to call them all by their names, who called them that had bin at the battell, & had passed the seas with duke William. And hereafter follow their names.

*The names of those that were at the conquest of England.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ODo, bishop of Baieux. | uille, | Raoul de Guel, | Le fire de Mine, | Le fire de S. Cler. |
| Robert, Conte de Mortaign. These two were brethren vnto duke William by their mother. | Le Sire de Grāteuefnil | Auenel des Byars, | Le fire de Glauuille, | Rob. le filz. Henrey |
| | Guillaume Cuespin, | Paennel du Monstier | Le fire de Breccon, | duc de Orleans, |
| | Le fire de S. Martin, | Hubert, | Le Vidam de Partay, | Le fire de Hare- |
| | Guill. de Moulins, | Rob. Bertrame Tort, | Raoul de Morimont, | court, |
| Baudwin de Buillon, | Le fire de Puis, | Le fire de Seulle, | Pierre de Bailleul, fire | Le fire de Creue- |
| Roger conte de Beaumont, surnamed With ỹ beard; of whom descended the line of Meullent. | Geoffrey fire de Maienne, | Le fire de Doriual, | de Fiscamp, | coeur. |
| | Auffroy de Bohon, | Le fire de Breual, | Le fire de Beaufault, | Le fire de Dein- |
| | Auffroy & Maugier de Carrrait, | Le fire de S. Iehan, | Le fire de Tilliores, | court, |
| | Guill. de Garrennes, | Le fire de Bris, | Le fire de Pacy, | Le fire de Bremetot, |
| Guillaume Malet, | Hue de Gournay, | Le fire du Homme, | Le Seneschal de Tor- | Le fire de Combray, |
| Le fire de Monfort, sur Rille, | Sire de Bray, | Le fire de Sauchhoy, | cy, | Le fire Daunay, |
| | Le conte Hue de Goufnay, | Le fire de Cailly, | Le fire de Gacy, | Le fire de Fontenay, |
| Guill. de Viexpont, | Euguemont de laigle, | Le fire de Semilly, | Le fire Doully, | Le conte Deureux, |
| Neel de S. Saueur le Viconte, | Li viconte de Touars, | Le fire de Tilly, | Le fire de Sacy, | Le fire de Rebel- |
| | Rich. Danuerrenchin, | Le fire de Romelly, | Le fire de Vacy, | chil, |
| Le Sire de Fougiers, | Le fire de Biars, | Mar. de Basqueuille, | Le fire de Tourne- | Alain Fergant conte |
| Henrie Seigneur de Ferrieres, | Le fire de Solligny, | Le fire de Preaux, | eur, | de Britaigne, |
| | Le Bouteiller Daubigny, | Le fire de Gonis, | Le fire de Praeres, | Le fire de S. Vallery, |
| Le Sire Daubemare, | Le fire de Maire, | Le fire de Saincteaulx, | Guillaume de Cou- | Le conte Deu, |
| Guillaume Sire de Rommare, | Le fire de Vitry, | Le fire de Molliers, | lombieres, | Gualtier Giffard cō- |
| | Le fire de Lacy, | Le fire de Monceaulx, | Hue fire de Bollebec, | te de Longeuille, |
| Le Sire de Lithehare, | Le fire du val Dary, | | Rich. fire Dorbeck, | Le fire Destoute- |
| Le Sire de Touque, | Le fire de Tracy, | *¶ The archers du val du Reul, and of Brethuil, and of many other places.* | Le fire de Bonneboz, | uille, |
| Le Sire de la Mare, | Hue fire de Montfort, | | Le fire de Trefgoz, | Le conte Thomas |
| Le Sire de Neauhou, | Le fire de Piquegny, | | Le fire de Montfi- | Daubmalle, |
| Le Sire de Pirou, | Hamon de Kaieu, | | quet, | Guill. conte de Hoy- |
| Rob. fire de Beaufou, | Le fire Despitray, | Le fire de S. Saen, i. de S. Sydonio, | Hue le Bigot de Male- | mes & Darques, |
| Le Sire Damou, | Le fire de Torcy, | | tot, | Le fire de Bere- |
| Le Sire de Sotouille, | Le fire de Iort, | Le fire de la Kiuiere, | Le fire de la Hay, | uille, |
| Le Sire de Margneuille, | Le fire de Riuiers, | Le fire de Salnaruille, | Le fire de Mombray, | Le fire de Breante, |
| | Guillaume Moyonne, | Le fire de Rony, | Le fire de Say, | Le fire de Fiean- |
| Le fire de Tancaruille, | Raoul Tesson de Tinteleiz, | Le fire de Beaugieu, | Le fire de la Ferte; | uille, |
| Eustace Dambleuille, | | Le fire de Oblie, | Bouteuillain, | Le fire de Pauilly, |
| Le fire de Maugne- | Roger Marmion, | Le fire de Sacie, | Trouffebout, | Le fire de Clere, |
| | | Le fire de Naffie, | Guillaume Patric de | Toustan du Bec, |
| | | Le Viſquaius de Chymes, | la Laund, | Le fire de Maugny, |
| | | Le fire du Sap, | Hue de Mortemer, | Roger de Montgo- |
| | | Le fire de Glos, | Le fire Damuilers, | mery, |
| | | | Le fire Donnebaut, | Amauri de Touars. |

Duer and besides the great number of knights and esquires that were vnder them. In the same battell betweene the said William the bastard, duke of Normandy on the one part, and king Harold on the other part, there were slain on king Harolds side of Englishmen, 66654. And on duke Williams side there were slaine 6013 men, as it is to be found in the chronicles of S. Peter of Westminster, besides those that were drowned in the riuer of Thames.

Whsenas the aboue named and many other great lords were so called, some of them appeared, other some did not, for some of them were slaine there in the field, and others so wounded, that they could not come forth to shew themselues. Then gaue the duke commandement, that the dead should be buried; and those that were sicke comforted and eased the best that might be, &c.

Our

# Out of the ancient chronicles of England, touching the names of other *Normans which seemed to remaine alive after the battell, and to be aduanced in the signiories of this land.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I Ohn de Maundeuile, | R. de Butuilleyn, | H. de Haunsard, | S. Talbot, | I. de Maubank, |
| Adam Vedeuile, | H. de Malebranch, | I. de Lamare, | H. Saintfauer, | P. de Saint Malow, |
| Bernard de Freuile, | S. de Malemain, | P. de Mauruers, | T. de Samford, | R. de Leofeme, |
| Rich. de Rochuile, | G. de Hauteuile, | G. de Ferron, | G. de Vandien, | I. de Louotot, |
| Gilbert de Frankuile, | H. Hauteyn, | R. de Ferrers, | C. de Vautort, | G. de Dabbeuile, |
| Hugo de Douile, | R. de Morteyn, | I. de Desly, | G. de Mountague, | H. de Appetot, |
| Symond de Roteuile, | R. de Mortimer, | W. de Werders, | Tho. de Chamber- | W. de Percy, |
| R. de Euile, | G. de Kanouile, | H. de Borneuile, | non, | H. de Lacy, |
| B. de Kneuuile, | E. de Columb, | I. de Saintenys, | S. de Montfort, | G. de Quincy, |
| Hugo de Moruile, | W. Paynel, | S. de Syncler, | R. de Ferneuaulx, | E. Tracy, |
| R. de Coleuile, | C. Paniner, | R. de Gorges, | W. de Valence, | R. de la Souche, |
| A. de Waruile, | H. Pontrel, | E. de Genere, | T. Clarel, | V. de Somery, |
| C. de Karuile, | I. de Riuers, | W. de Feus, | S. de Cleruaus, | I. de Saint John, |
| R. de Roteuile, | T. Reuile, | S. de Filberd, | P. de Aubemarle, | T. de Saint Gory, |
| S. de Stoteuile, | W. de Beauchamp, | H. de Turberuile, | H. de Saint Ar- | P. de Boyly, |
| H. Bonum, | R. de Beaupale, | R. Troblenuer, | uant, | R. de Saint Valery, |
| I. Monum, | E. de Ou, | R. de Angon, | E. de Auganuteys, | P. de Pinkeny, |
| W. de Vignoum, | F. Louel, | T. de Morer, | S. de Gant, | S. de Pauely, |
| K. de Vifpount, | S. de Troys, | T. de Rotelet, | G. de Malearbe, | G. de Monthaut, |
| W. Bailbeof, | I. de Artel, | H. de Spencer, | H. Mandut, | T. de Mountchefy, |
| S. de Baleyn, | Iohn de Monte- | R. de Saintpuenten, | W. de Cheſun, | R. de Lymozy, |
| H. de Marreys, | brugge, | I. de Saint Martin, | I. de Chandut, | G. de Lucy, |
| I. Aguleyne, | H. de Mounteferel, | G. de Cuſtan, | R. Filz vrs, | I. de Artois, |
| G. Agilon, | W. Truſſebut, | Saint Conſtantin, | B. Vicont de Low, | N. de Arty, |
| R. Chamburlayne, | W. Truſſel, | Saint Leger & Saint | G. de Cantemere, | P. de Grenuile, |
| N. de Veudres, | H. Byſet, | Med, | T. de Candlow, | de Greys, |
| H. de Verdon, | R. Baſſet, | M. de Cronu & de S. | R. Breaunce, | V. de Creſſy, |
| H. de Verto, | R. Molet, | Viger, | T. de Broxeboof, | F. de Courcy, |
| C. de Vernon, | H. Malouile, | S. de Crayel, | S. de Bolebec, | T. de Lamar, |
| H. Hardul, | G. Bonet, | R. de Crenker, | B. Mol de Boef, | H. de Lymaltz, |
| C. Cappan, | P. de Bonuile, | N. Meyuel, | I. de Muelis, | I. de Moubray, |
| W. de Camuile, | S. de Rouile, | I. de Berners, | R. de Brus, | G. de Morley, |
| I. de Cameyes, | N. de Norbeck, | S. de Chumly, | S. de Brewes, | S. de Gorney, |
| R. de Rotes, | I. de Corneux, | E. de Charers, | I. de Lille, | R. de Courtenay, |
| R. de Boys, | P. de Corbet, | I. de Grey, | T. de Bellile, | P. de Gourney, |
| W. de Waren, | W. de Mountague, | W. de Grangers, | I. de Waterule, | R. de Cony, |
| T. de Vardboys, | S. de Mountfychet, | S. de Grangers, | G. de Neuile, | I. de la Huſe, |
| R. de Boys, | I. de Geneuyle, | S. Baubewyn, | R. de Neuburgh, | R. de la Huſe, |
| W. de Audeley, | H. Gyffard, | H. Vamgers, | H. de Burgoyne, | V. de Longeuile, |
| K. Dynham, | I. de Say, | E. Bertram, | G. de Bourgh, | P. Longeſpy, |
| R. de Vaures, | T. Gilbard, | R. Bygot, | S. de Lymoges, | I. Pouchardon, |
| G. Vargenteyn, | R. de Chalons, | S. Treoly, | L. de Lyben, | R. de la Pomercy, |
| I. de Haſtings, | S. de Chauward, | I. Trigos, | W. de Helyoun, | I. de Pountz, |
| G. de Haſtaink, | H. Ferret, | G. de Feues, | H. de Hildrebron, | R. de Pontlarge, |
| L. de Burgee, | Hugo Pepard, | H. Filiot, | R. de Loges, | R. Eſtraunge, |
| | I. de Harecourt, | R. Taperyn, | S. de Seintlow, | Tho. Sauage. |

A little aboue, mention was made of the bishops sea of Shirebourne, translated from thence to Salisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Hirmannus a Norman, who first began the new church and minster of Salisbury. After whom succeeded Osmundus, who finished the worke, and replenished the house with great liuing, and much good singing. This Osmundus first began the ordinary which was called Secundum vsum Sarum, An. 1076. The occasion whereof was this, as I find in an old story booke intituled Eulogium. A great contention chanced at Glastenbury betweene Thurstanus the abbat and his conuent, in the daies of William Conqueror. Which Thurstanus the said William had brought out of Normandy from the abby of Cadonum, and placed him abbat of Glastenbury. The cause of this contentious battell was, for that Thurstanus contemning their quier seruice, then called the vse of Saint Gregory, compelled his monks to the vse of one William a monke of Fiscam in Normandy. Whereupon came strife and contentions amongst them, first in words, then from words to blowes, after blowes then to armor. The abbat with his gard of harnest men, fell vpon the monks, and drawe them to the steps of the high altar, where two were slaine, eight were wounded with shafts, swords, and pikes. The monks then driuen to such a strait and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselues with formes and candlesticks, wherewith they did wound certaine of the souldiors. One monke there was (an aged man) who in stead of his shield, take an image of the crucifix in his armes for his defence, which image was wounded in the breast by one of the bow-men, whereby the monke was saued. My story addeth more, that the striker incontinent vpon the same fell mad: which fauoreth of some miracle in addition betweene the text. This matter being brought before the king, the abbat was sent againe to Cadonum, and the monks by the commandement of the king were scattered in far countries. Thus by the occasion hereof, Osmundus bishop of Salisbury deuised that ordinary, which is called the vse of Sarum, and was afterward receiued in a manner through all England, Ireland and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this king William.

The first bishop of Salisbury. Osmund bishop of Sarum. *Ordinale ecclesiasticæ officij secundum vsum Sarum.* Ex Eulogio historiar. lib. 1. The vse and ordinary of Sarum, how and when it was deuised.

Which William after his death by his wife Matildis or Maud, left three sonnes, Robert Courtheise, to whom he gaue the dutchy of Normandy; William Rufus his second sonne, to whom he gaue the kingdome of England; and Henry the third sonne, to whom hee left and gaue treasure, and inioined William to be to his people louing and liberall, Robert to be to his people sterne and sturdy.

In the history called Iornalensis, is reported of a certaine great man, who about this time of king William was compassed about with mice and rats, and flying to the midst of a riuer, yet when that would not serue, came to the land againe, and was of them deuoured. The Germans say that this was a bishop, who dwelling betweene Cullen and Mentz, in time of famin and dearth, hauing store of corne and graine, would not helpe the pouerty crying to him for reliefe, but rather wished his corne to be eaten vp of mice and rats. Wherefore being compassed with mice and rats (by the iust iudgement of God) to auoid the annoiance of them, he builded a tower in the midst of the riuer of Rheine (which yet to this day the Dutchmen call Rats tower) but all that would not helpe, for the rats and mice swam ouer to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at length he was deuoured.

Example of Gods iust iudgement vpon a bishop, who being vnmercifull to the poore, was eaten with rats and mice.

## William Rufus.

WIlliam Rufus, the second son of William Conquerour, began his raigne in the yeere of our Lord 1088, and raigned thirteene yeeres, being crowned at Westminster by Lanfrancus, who after his coronation, released out of prison by the request of his father, diuers of the English lords, which before had been in culloby. It chanced that at the death of William Conquerour, Robert Courtheise his eldest sonne was absent in Almanie; who hearing of the death of his father, and how William his younger brother had taken vpon him the kingdome, was therewith greatly moued, in so much that he laid his dukedome to pledge vnto his brother Henry, and with that good gathered vnto him an army, and so landed at Hampton, to the intent to haue expelled his brother from the kingdome. But William Rufus hearing thereof, sent to him faire and gentle words, promising him dedition and subiection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that

Anno 1088 William Rufus.



being he was stoln in place and possession, he might inioy it during his life, paying to him yeerely three thousand markes, with condition; that which of them ouerliued the other, should inioy the kingdome. The occasion of this variance betweene these brethren, brought a great dissention betweene the Norman lords and bishops, both in England and in Normandy. In so much that all the Norman bishops within the realme almost rebelled against the king, taking part with duke Robert, except onely Lanfrancus, and Wolstan bishop of Worcester, before mentioned, an Englishman, who for his vertue and constancie was so well liked and fauoured of his citizens, that (emboldened with his presence and prayer) they stoutly maintained the citie of Worcester against the siege of their enemies, and at last banquished them with vtter ruine. But duke Robert at length by the aduice of his counsell (hearing the words sent vnto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiuing some matter of doubt or doublenesse) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into Normandy, leauing the bishops and such others in the byers, which were in England taking his part against the king.

Wolstan bishop of Worcester.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that betweene him and his lords was oft dissention. Wherefore (well neere) all the Normans tooke part against him; so that he was forced of necessitie to draw to him the Englishmen. Against so couetous he was, and so vnmeasurable in his talks and takings, in selling benefices, abbies and bishoprickes, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

In the third yeere of this king, died Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturbury; from whose commendation and worthinesse, as I list not to detract any thing (being so greatly magnified of Polydorus his countryman) so neither doe I see any great cause why to adde any thing thereto. This I thinke, vnlesse that man had brought with him lesse superstition, and more sincere science into Christ his church, he might haue kept him in his country still, and haue confuted Berengarius at home. After the decease of Lanfranke, the seat of Canterbury stood empty foure yeeres.

Anno 1091 The death of Lanfrancus archbishop of Canterbury.

After the counsell of Lanfrancus aboue mentioned, there in was concluded to translating of bishops seas, from villages into head cities; Remigius bishop of Dorchester, who (as ye heard companied Lanfrancus vnto Rome) remoued his bishops seat from Dorchester vnto Lincolne, where he builded the minster there situate vpon an hill within the said citie of Lincolne. The dedication of which church, Robert archbishop of Yorke did refuse, saying, that it was builded within the ground of his precinct. But after, it had his Romish dedication by Robert Meuet, next bishop that followed. By the same Remigius also was founded the cloister or monasterie of Stow, &c.

Remigius bishop of Lincolne.

Lincolne minster builded.

Stow abby builded.

In the fourth yeere of this king, great tempests fell in sundry places of England, specially at Winchcombe, where the steeple was burned with lightning, the church wall burst thorow, the head and right leg of the crucifix, with the image of our lady on the right side of the crucifix throwne downe, and such a clink left in the church, that none might abide it. At London the force of the weather and tempest ouerturned fiue hundred houses. In which tempest the roofe of Bowchurch was hurled vp in the wind, and by the vehemencie thereof was pitched downe a great depnesse into the ground.

Anno 1092 Winchcombz steeple burnt with lightning. The hundred houses blowne downe with wind. The roofe of Bow-church ouerthrowne.

King William (as ye haue heard, an ouerdoing potter, or rauener rather of church goods) after hee had giuen the bishopricke of Lincolne to his chancellor Robert Meuet (aboue mentioned) began to enuill, auouching the sea of Lincolne to belong to the sea of Yorke, till the bishop of Lincolne had pleased him with a great sum of money of fiue thousand marks, &c.

Robert Meuet paid fiue thousand marks for his bishoprick. Herbert Losinga bishop of Norwich. *Losinga i. adulator.*

And as nothing could come in those daies without money from the king; so Herbert Losinga, paying to the king a piece of money, was made bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to bee abbat of Ramsey. Who likewise the same time remouing his seat from Thetford to the citie of Norwich, there erected the cathedrall church with the cloister in the said citie of Norwich, where he furnished the monks with sufficient liuing and rents of his owne charges, besides the bishops lands. Afterward, repenting of his open and manifest simony, he went to Rome, where hee resigned into the popes hands his bishopricke but so, that incontinent he receiued it againe. This Herbert was the sonne of an abbat called Robert, for whom he purchased of the king to be bishop of Winchester, whereof rose these verses:

*Filius est presul, pater abba, Simeon vtrique:*
*Quid non speremus si nummos possideamus?*
*Omnia nummus habet, quod vult facit, addit & aufert,*
*Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit presul & abba, &c.*

Norwich minster builded by Herbert.

Pope Victor the third.

He heard a little before of the death of pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand, the Germaine emperor did graunt to lese their authority and right in the popes election, and in giuing of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand, came pope Victor by the setting vp of Matilda, and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise shewed himselfe stout against the emperour. But God gaue the Emperour ouer thorow his enemies.

Pope Victor poisoned in his chalice.

Pope Victor (as some say in his chalice,) sate but one yeere and a halfe. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And like as the kings of Israel followed most part the steps of Ieroboam, till the time of their desolation: so for the greatest sort all popes followed the steps and proceedings of this Hildebrand their spirituall Ieroboam, in maintaining of false worship, and chiefly in vpholding the dignity of that sea, against all rightfull authority, and the lawfull kingdome of Sion. In the time of this Victor, began the order of the monks of Charterhouse, through the meanes of one Hugo bishop of Gracionople, and of Bruno bishop of Cullen.

A comparison betweene Hildebrand pope of Rome, and Ieroboam king of Israel.

The order of Charterhouse monks began.

Next to Victor sat Urban the second, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new decrees enacted against Henry the emperor. In this time were two popes at Rome, Urbanus and Clemens the third, whom the emperor set vp. Vnder pope Urban came in the white monks of Cistercian order, by one Stephan Harding a monke of Shirebourne, (an Englishman) by whom this order had his beginning in the wildernesse of Cistercy, within the prouince of Burgoyne, as witnesseth Cestrensis. Others write that this Harding was the second abbat of that place, & that it was first founded by the means of one Robert abbat of Molisme in Cestercium, a forrest in Burgundy, Anno 1098, (perswaded perchance by Harding) and afterwards in the yeere of our Lord 1135, it was brought into England by a certaine man called Speke, which builded an abbie of the same order called Perinale. In this order the monks did liue by the labor of their hands; they paid no tithes nor offerings, they wore no fur nor lining, they wore red hoses, their coules white, and cotes blacke, all vpon the same a little circle, they eat no flesh but only in their iourny. Of this order was Bernardus, &c.

Pope Urban the second.

Two popes in Rome.

The order of Cistercian or white monks began.

This Urban held diuers councels; one at Rome, where he excommunicated all such lay persons as gaue inuestiture of any ecclesiasticall benefice. Also all such of the clergy as abiected themselues to be vnderlings or seruants to lay persons or ecclesiasticall benefices, &c.

Synodus Romana vel Placentina.

Another councell he held at Clermount in France, there among other things, the bishop made an oration to the lords being there present, concerning the voyage and recouring of the holy land from the Turkes and Saracens. The cause of which voyage first sprang by one Peter a monk or hermit, who being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the christians vnder the Pagans, made thereof declaration to pope Urban, and was therein a great solicitor to all christian princes. Wherevpon therefore, after the foresaid oration of pope Urban, 30000 men (taking on them the signe of the crosse for their cognisance) made preparation for that voyage, whose captaines were Godfrey duke of Loraine, with his two brethren, Eustace and Baldwine, the bishop of Pody, Bohemund duke of Puell and his nephew Tancredus, Raimund earle of Saint Egidius, Robert earle of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French king. To whom also was ioined Robert Curthoise duke of Normandy, with diuers other noble men, with the foresaid Peter the hermit, who was the chiefe causer of that voyage.

Synodus Clarimontana.

The voyage into the holy land.

The number that went. The captaines of them which went to the holy land.

At that time many of the said noble men laid their lands and lordships to mortgage to prouide for the forenamed voiage; as Godfrey duke of Loraine, who sold the dukedome of Bollogne to the bishop of Eburone for a great sum of money. Also Robert Curthoise duke of Normandy, laid his dukedome to pledge to his brother William king of England for ten thousand pounds, &c.

Thus the christians, which passed first ouer Bosphorus, hauing to their captaine Peter the hermit (a man perchance more deuout then expert to guide an armie) being trapped of their enemies, were slaine and murthered in great numbers among the Bulgars, and were to the towne called Ciuitus.

Anno 1096

The acts of the christians in their voyage to win Hierusalem.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople, there Alexius was emperor; passing ouer by Hellespontus going to Hierusalem, they take the cities of Nicea, Epesela, Tarsis, and subdued the country of Cicilia, appointing the possession thereof to certaine of their captaines.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth month of the siege, it was yeelded to the christians by one Pyrrhus; about which season were fought many strong battels, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without losse of many christian men. The gouernance of this citie was committed to Bohemund duke of Puell, whose martiall knighthood was often proued in time of the siege thereof.

Antioch taken by the christians.

And not long after, Corbran maister of the Persians chiualry was vanquished and slaine, with an hundred thousand infidels. In which discomfiture were taken 15000 camels.

Anno 1098

Hierusalem on the nine and thirtith day of the siege, was conquered by the christians. Robert also duke of Normandy was elect to be king thereof. Howbeit he refused it, hearing of the death of king William Rufus of England; wherefore hee neuer sped in all his affaires well after the same. Then Godfrey, captaine of the christian army, was proclaimed the first King of Hierusalem. At the taking of the citie was such

The slaughter of the Persians christians. Hierusalem conquered by the christians. *Ex Hemmic. lib. 3.*

such a murther of men, that blood was congealed in the streat the thicknesse of a knife. Then after Godfrey raigned Baldwin his brother. After him Baldwin the second nephew. Then Gaufridus duke of Gaunt, and after him Gaufridus his sonne, by whom many great battels there were fought against the Saracens, and all the country thereabout subdued, saue Ascalon, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the voiage to the holy land. Now to our owne land againe.

About this time (as Matt. Parisiensis writeth) the king of England fauored not much the see of Rome, because of their impudent and insatiable exactions which they required, neither would he suffer any of his subiects to goe to Rome, alleaging these words in the author thus expressed: Quòd Petri non inhærent vestigijs, præmijs inhiantes; non eius potestatem retinent, cuius sanctitatem probantur non imitari: that is, Because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither haue they the power and authority of him, whose holinesse they declare themselues not to follow, &c.

The king of Englands iudgement against the pope. Ex Matt. Paris.

Decrees of pope Urbanus.

By the same Urbanus the seuen houres which we call Septem horas canonicas, were first instituted in the church.

Item, by this pope was decreed, no bishop to be made but vnder the name and title of some certaine place.

Iohn Stella.

Item, that mattins and houres of the day should euery day be said.

Matthæus.

Also euery saturday to bee said the masse of our lady, and all the Iewes sabbath to be turned to the seruice of our lady, as in the councell of Turon, to the which seruice was appointed the anthemne, Ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto fœmineo sexu.

Dist. 31. Ecclesiæ 15. §. 6. Iuratos.

Item, all such of the clergy as had wiues, to be deprined of their order.

Item, to be lawfull for subiects to breake their oth of allegiance, with al such as were by the pope excommunicat.

Item, not to be lawfull both for husband and wife to thicken one child both togither, with matters many more.

By the same pope thus many chapters stand written in the canon law, Dist. 7. Sanctorum. dist. 31. Eos qui 1. q. 1. Si qui dist. 56. Presbyterorum, 11. q. 3. quibus 15. q. 6. Iuratos 16. q. 7. Congregatio 19. q. 2. Statuimus, 23. q. 8. Tributum, 30. q. 4. quod autem, &c.

30 q. 8. quod autem.

In the first yere of this kings raigne, Malcolme king of Scots, which foure times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the north parts, as is before theined, burst into Northumberland with all the power hee could make, and there by the right iudgement of God was slaine with his son Edward, and also Margaret his wife, sister to Edgar Adeling aboue minded, a vertuous and deuout lady, within three daies after.

Exampl of Gods rightfull iudgement in punishing cruel murther.

The same yere he gaue the archbishopsick of Canterbury (after that hee had detained the same in his owne hands foure yeres) to Anselme abbat of Becke in Normandy.

Anselme made archbishop of Canterbury.

This Anselme was an Italian, in the citie of Augusta borne, and brought vp in the abbie of Becke in Normandie: where he was so strict a follower of vertue, that (as the storie recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in hell, then in heauen with sin. Which saying and wish of his (if it were his) may seeme to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and vnderstanding of the scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the iustification of a christian man. Further, they report him to be so far from singularitie, that he should say, it was the vice which thrust the angels first out of heauen, and man out of paradise.

The saying of Anselme pondered.

The vice of singularity.

Of this Anselme it is moreouer reported, that he was so ill willing to take the archbishopsicke, that the king had much adoe to thrust it vpon him: and was so desirous to haue him take it, that the city of Canterbury (which before Lanfrancus did hold but at the kings good will and pleasure) he gaue now to Anselme wholly, which was about the yere of our Lord 1093. But as desirous as the king was then to place the said Anselme, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all maner of meanes to defeat him if he might. Such strife and contention rose betweene them two for certaine matters, the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

Anselme ill willing to take the archbishopsicke. Canterbury first giuen to the archbishop wholly. Strife and contention betweene the king and Anselme.

After that Anselme had been thus elected to the sea of Canterbury, before he was fully consecrate, the king communed with him (allaying by all gentle maner of words to intreat him) that such landes & possessions of the church of Canterbury as the king had giuen & granted to his friends since the death of Lanfrancus, they might still inioy the same, as their owne lawfull possessions, through his grant and permission. But to this Anselme in no case would agree. Whereupon the king conceiuing great displeasure against him, did stop his consecration a great season, till at length in long processe of time, the king inforced by the daily complaints and desires of his people and subiects for lacke of an archbishop to moderat the church, was constrained to admit and authorize him vnto them. Thus Anselme with much adoe, taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the king, went to his sea of Canterbury. And not long after, the king sailed ouer to Normandy.

Anselme stopped from his consecration.

Anselme consecrated.

Anselme doth homage to king William.

About this time there were two striuing in Rome for the popedome, as is afore touched, Urbanus and Guibertus. Diuers realmes diuerslie consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England taking part with their king, was rather inclined to Guibertus, called Clement the third: but Anselme did fully goe with Urbanus, making to his reception with the king, entring to his bishoppicke. After the king was returned againe from Normandy, the archbishop commeth to him, and asketh leaue to goe to Rome, to set his pall of pope Urban: which when he could not at first obtaine, he maketh his appeale from the king to the pope. Whereat the king being luckily displeased, chargeth the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made: that is, if hee without his licence, would appeale either to Urban or to any other pope. Anselme answereth againe, that it was to be referred vnto some greater councell, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to breake a mans allegiance to a terrene prince, if he appeal to the vicar of saint Peter. And here much arguing and contending was on both sides. The kings reason procedeth thus: The custome (saith he) from my fathers time hath been in England, that no person should appeale to the pope without the kings licence. Hee that breaketh the customes of the realme, violateth the power & crowne of the kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crowne, is a traitor & enemy against me, &c. To this Anselme replieth againe; The Lord (saith he) easily discussith this question, hytelly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we ought to giue vnto the vicar of S. Peter, where he saith; Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church, &c. And to thee I will giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind in earth, it shall be bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer thou lossest in earth, shall be loosed in heauen, &c. Againe, to them all in generall he saith; He that heareth you heareth me, and who despiseth you despiseth me. And in another place; He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the king, he himself also; Giue (saith he) to the emperor, what belongeth to the emperor, and to God, giue that to God belongeth. Wherefore in such things as belong to God, I will yeeld, and must yeeld by godright and duty, my obedience to the vicar of saint Peter; and in such things as belong againe to terrene dignities of my prince, in those I will not denie to him my faithfull helpe and counsell, so far as they can extend.

The kings reasons against the appeale.

Anselmes reply against the king.

The kings answere to Anselme for his appealing to Rome.

The customes of England.

The reasons of Anselme to proue the popes authority about other kings.

Anselme here ignorantly called by the king, the vicar of S. Peter, where the canon law calleth him but the successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ.

Anselme requireth to go to Rome without the kings leuing.

Thus haue ye the grounded arguments of this prelat, to stand to stiffe against his prince, thereunto peraduenture was ioined also some peece of a stubborne heart. But in this conclusion, none of his fellow bishops durst take his part, but were all against him: namely, William bishop of Duresme, to whom Anselme thus protesteth, saying: Wholoeuer he were that would presume to proue it any breach of allegiance of fealty to his soueraigne, if he appealed to the vicar of saint Peter, he was ready to answere at all times to the contrary. The bishop of Duresme answering againe, that hee which would not be ruled by reason, must with force be constrained, &c. The king hauing on his part the agreement of the bishops, thought to depriue the archbishop both of his pall, and see, and to expell him out of the realme. But he could not performe his purpose; for Anselme as he was ready to depart the realme, he said, whensoeuer he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he tooke nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the meane season the king had sent priuily two messengers vnto pope Urban, to intreat him to send his pall to the king, for him to giue it where he would. Which messengers by this time were returned againe, bringing with them from Rome Gualter bishop of Alban the popes legat, with the pall to bee giuen vnto Anselme. This legat first landing at Douer, from thence came priuily (vnknowne to Anselme) to the king, declaring and promising, that if Urban was receiued pope of England, whatsoeuer the king required to be obtained, he by his priuilege from the apostolicall sea would ratifie and confirme the same: saue onely that when the king required of the legat that Anselme might be remoued, the legat thereunto would not agree, saying that it was vnpossible to be obtained, that such a man as he being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause. In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtaine his request of the legat, yet the legat brought to with the king, that Urban was proclaimed lawfull pope throughout all the realme.

All the bishops of the Realme stood of the kings side against Anselme, William bishop of Duresme.

Gualterus the popes legat commeth to England.

Anselme could not be remoued by the king.

The pope priuely ratifieth some fault, for a subiect to repugne against his king.

Then were sent to Anselme certaine bishops to moue and proue his mind, declaring what charges and paines the king had been at in his behalfe, to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would haue stood him in great expences, & that all this the king had done for his sake. Wherefore if it were good reason and conuenient, that he (to gratifie the king) should something condescend to his request againe. But with all this Anselme the stout archbishop would not bee moued. Wherefore the king seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant vnto him the full right of his archbishopsicke. And so the day appointed when the pall should be brought to Canterbury, being carried with all solemnity in a thing of siluer, the archbishop with a great concourse of people, came forth here vnto with his priestly vestiments, after a most goodly maner to meet the same: and so being brought in, was laid vpon the altar, whilest Anselme (spreading ouer his shoulders his popish vestiments) proceeded vnto his popish masse.

The stoutnesse of Anselme against his king.

The manner of bringing in Anselmes pall into Canterbury.

Thus



Thus agreement being made betweene the king and the bishop, so long as it would hold, it happened the peare following, the king with his armie entred into Wales, to subdue such as there rebelled against him. After the victorie gotten, the king returned home againe with triumph, to whom Anselme thought to haue come to congratulate his prosperous successe. But the king preuented him by messengers, laying to the bishops charge both the small number and euill seruice of his souldiers sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselme was dasht, who at the same present had thought to haue obtained and done many great matters with the king touching the state of the church. But here all turned contrarie to his expectation: insomuch that hee was charged against the next court of parliament, to make his answere. But he auoided that by appealing to Rome. Wherefore he made his sute and friends to the king for licence to goe to the pope. Vnto the which sute the king answered againe, that hee should not goe, neither was there any cause for him so to doe, for that both hee knew him to be of so sound a life, that hee had done no such offence, whereof he needed to craue absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lacke of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsell there: Insomuch (saith the king) I dare say, pope Urban rather hath to giue place to the wisedome of Anselme, then Anselme to haue need of Urban. Wherefore as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarrie. And if he continue in his disobedience still, I will assuredly seize vpon his possessions, and conuert his archbishopsike into my coffers: for that hee transgressedly and breaketh his fidelitie and obeysance, promising before to obserue all the customs of my kingdome. Neither is it the fashion in this realme, that any of my nobles should goe to Rome without my sending. And therfore let him sweare vnto me, that he shall neither for any greeuance appeale hereafter to the see of Rome, or else let him void my realme.

Another quarrell of the king against Anselme.

Anselme denied leaue to goe to Rome.

Anselme appeacheth from the king, to the pope.

Anselme charged for a traitor.

Anselme againe appeacheth to Rome.

The kings answere to Anselme for his appealing to Rome.

The customes of England.

Anselmes reply against the king.

The reasons of Anselme to proue the popes authority about other kings.

Anselme here ignorantly called by the king, the vicar of S. Peter, where the canon law calleth him but the successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ.

Anselme requireth to go to Rome without the kings leuing.

Against these words of the king, Anselme thinking not best to replie againe by any message, but by word of mouth, comming himselfe personally to the king, placeth himselfe (after his order) on the right hand of the prince, where he made his replie vnto the message sent to him by the king. Whereas you say I ought not to goe to Rome either for lacke of any trespasse, or for abundance of counsell and knowledge in me (albeit I grant to neither of them as true) yet what the truth is therein, I refer it to the iudgement of God. And whereas yee say that I promised to keepe and obserue your customs: that I grant, but with a condition: so far to keepe them, and such of them to obserue, as were consonant to the lawes of God, and ruled with right and equitie. Moreouer, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelitie and allegiance, so that contrarie to your customs I appeale to the see of Rome (my reuerence and dutie to your soueraigntie reserued) if another would say it, that is vntrue. For the fidelitie and obeysance that I owe to thee (O king) I haue it of the faith and fidelitie of God, whose vicar S. Peter is, to whose seate I do appeale. Further, where as ye require me to sweare, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeale to Rome: I pronounce openly that a christian prince requireth such an oth of his archbishop vnlawfully. For if I should forsweare S. Peter, I should denie Christ. And when I shall at any time denie Christ, then shall I bee content and readie to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to go to Rome. And peraduenture when I am gone, the goods of the church shall not so serue your temporall desires and commodities as ye weene for. At these words of the bishop, the king and his nobles were not a little incensed: defending againe, that in obseruing the kings customs, there was neither condition nor any clause put in, either of God or right. No was I said Anselme. If so be that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any christian should be bound to any customs which goe contrarie to God and to right. Thus on both sides passed much altercation betweene them.

Note the high reasons of Anselme.

The bishops late Anselme alone.

Anselme fleeing out of England.

Anselme searched by the kings officers for letters.

At length the king, after many threatning words, told him hee should carrie nothing out of the realme with him. Well said the bishop, if I may neither haue my horse nor garments with me, then will I walke on foot, and so addressed him toward his iourney (all the other bishops forsaking him) whereof none would take his part: but if hee came to them for counsell, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsell, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holines was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the king their lord; whose fauor they could not lacke, for the perill that might happen both to themselues & to their kindred. But for him because hee was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him: they willed him to go forward as he had begun. their secret consent he should haue, but their open voice they would not giue him. Thus Anselme remaining at Douer sixteene daies tarrying for wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly knowne in the court, the kings officer, William Warriwast, preuented his purpose, searching by the kings commandement al his trusses, coffers, fatchels, sleeues, purse, napkin, and bosome for letters, and for money, and so let him passe. Who sailing into France, first rested a while at Lions, from thence came to Rome to Pope Urban, according to the tenor and forme of acertaine epistle of his, wherein among many other things in the same epistle contained: these words he writeth to pope Paschalis, the third yere after his banishment, after the death of Urban, and a little before the death of the king.

## To the lord and reuerend father Paschalis,

*high bishop, Anselme seruant of the church of Canturburie offreth due subiection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead.*

*Ex epist 36. paulo post initium.*

I See in England many euils, whose correction belongeth to me, and such I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine owne fault. The king desireth of me, that vnder the name of right I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not haue the pope receiued nor appealed vnto in England, without his commandement; neither that I should send a letter vnto him, or receiue any from him, or that I should obey his decrees. He suffered not a councell to be kept in his realme now these thirteene yeares, since he was king. In all these things and such like, if I asked any counsell, all my suffragan bishops of his realme, denied to giue me any counsell, but according to the kings pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God: I asked licence of him to goe to Rome, vnto the see apostolicall, that I might there take counsell for my soule, and the office committed vnto me. The king said that I offended against him for the onely asking of licence; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespasse (asserting him neuer to aske his licence any more to appeale to the pope at any time hereafter) or else that I should quickly depart out of his land. Wherefore chusing rather to goe out of the land then to agree to so wicked a thing, I came to Rome as you know, and declared the whole matter to the holy pope. The king by and by as same as I went out of England, inuaded the whole archbishoprike, and turned it to his owne vse, hauing the monks only with bare meate, drinke and cloth. The king being warned and desired of the holy pope to amend this, contemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third peare since I came thus out of England, and more. Some men not vnderstanding, demand why I did not excommunicate the king. But the wiser sort, and such as haue vnderstanding, counsell me that I do not this thing: because it belongeth not vnto me both to complaine and to punish. To conclude, I was forewarned by my friends that are vnder the king, that mine excommunication (if it should bee done) would bee laughed to scorne and despised, &c.

A fragment as portion of a letter of Anselme to pope Paschalis.

*Ex legenda Anf. aut Edmero, ex epist. Anselm. 36.*

The king would not haue the pope receiued nor appealed vnto in England.

Anselme complaineth of the king and of his suffragan bishops.

The king contemneth the popes warning.

By these here aboue prefixed, appeareth how Anselme the archbishop comming vnto Rome, made his complaint to pope Urban of the king: and how the pope writing vnto the king in the behalfe of Anselme, his letters and commandements were despised. And now to our storie. In the meane time, while the popes letters were sent to the king, Anselme was bid to waite about the pope to take his answere backe. Who perceiuing at length, how little the king reputed the popes letters, began to be wearie of his office, desiring the pope that he might be discharged thereof: but the pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him vpon his obedience, that wheresoeuer hee went, he should beare with him the name and honor of the archbishop of Canturburie. Whereunto Anselme againe said, his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for Gods cause was readie to suffer whatsoeuer should happen (yea though it were death it selfe) as hee thought not lesse would follow thereof. But what should we thinke (saith he) is there to be done, where not onely iustice taketh no place, but is vtterly oppressed? And whereas my suffragans not onely doe not helpe (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for fauor doe impugne the same? What (saith the pope) as touching these matters, wee shall sufficiently prouide for at the next councell to be holden at Vaion, whereas I will you the same time and place to bee present.

*Concilium Baionense.*

When the time of the councell was come, Anselme amongst others was called for, who first sitting in an vtter side of the bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the pope, with these words: *Includamus hunc in orbe nostro tanquam alterius orbis papam.* Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the successors of the see of Canturburie, in euery generall councell by the decree of pope Urban, to sit at the right foot of the pope. In this said councell great strife and much reasoning there was against the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the holy Ghost. Where is to be noted, that the Greeke church hath of long time differed from the Latine church in many and sundrie points, to the number of twentie, or almost 29 articles, as I haue them collected out of the register of the church of Hereford: whereof like as occasion hereafter may serue (God willing) for a further

Anselme and his successors of Canturburie placed at the right foot of the pope in his generall councels.

*De processione spiritus sancti.*

The difference betweene the Greeke church and the Latine.

ther and more ample tractation to be made: to here by the way partly I meane to touch some. The first is,

## Wherein the Greeke church differeth from the Latine.

Extreme rites of christianitie.

THe first article wherein the Greeke church altereth from the Latine or Romish church is this: *Quod sicut extra obedientiam Romani ecclesiæ pro eo quod ecclesia Constantinopolitana non est subiecta, sed æqualis.* 1. *Dicunt dominum apostolicum non habere maiorem potestatem, quam quilibet patriarcha. Et quicquid sit prater scientiam eorum per papam, vel pro eorum approbatione conditum est vitiosis, &c.* In English.

First they are not vnder the obedience of the church of Rome, because that the church of Constantinople is not subiect, but equall to the same.

The articles of difference betweene the Greeke church and the Latine church of Rome.

2 They hold that the bishop of the apostolike see of Rome, hath not greater power then the foure patriarchs. And what soeuer the pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no valor.

3 Item, they say whatsoeuer hath been done or concluded since the second generall councell, is of no full authoritie, because from that time they recount the Latins to bee in error, and to be excluded out of the holy church.

4 Item, *Dicunt eucharistiam confectam per Romanam ecclesiam non esse verum corpus Christi.* That is: They hold the eucharist consecrated by the church of Rome, not to bee the very body of Christ. Also where the Romish church doth consecrate in vnleauened bread, they consecrate in bread leauened.

5 Item, they say that the Romish church doth erre in the words of baptisme, for saying, I baptize thee: when they should say, Let this creature of God be baptized, &c.

6 They hold moreouer, to bee no purgatorie, nor that the suffrages of y church do auaile the dead, either to lessen the paine of them that be detained to hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to saluation.

7 Item, they hold that the soules out of the bodies departed whether they haue done good or euil) haue not their perfect paine, or glorie: but are reserued in a certaine place, till the day of iudgement.

8 Item, they condemne the church of Rome, for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9 Item, they condemne the church of Rome, for that as well women as priests annoint children (when they baptise them) on both shoulders.

10 Item, *Dicunt panem nostrum panagiam.* That is, They call our bread *Panagia.*

11 Item, they blame the church of Rome for celebrating their masse on other daies besides sundaies, and certaine other festiuals appointed.

12 Also in this the Greeke church varieth from the Latine, for they haue neither creame, nor oyle, nor sacrament of confirmation.

13 Neither do they vse extreme vnction, or anoiling after the manner of the Roman church, expounding the place of S. Iames of the spirituall infirmitie, and not corporall.

14 Item, they vnnome no satisfaction for penance, but only that they shew themselues to the priests annointing them with simple oyle in token of remission of sinnes.

15 Item, only on maundie thursday they consecrate for the sicke, keeping it for the whole yeare after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated, then vpon any other. Neither do they fast any saturday through the whole yeare, but only on Easter euen.

16 Item, they giue but onely fiue orders, as of clerks, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; when as the Romane church giueth nine orders, after the nine orders of angels.

People here found to want somewhat.

17 Moreouer, the Grecians in their orders make no vow of chastitie, alleging for them the testimonie of S. ℣ *Ego presbyter vel diaconus, vxorem habens castè nos regimen, &c.* That is: I N. priest or deacon will not forsake my wife for honestie sake.

18 Item, euery yere the Grecians vse vpon certaine daies to excommunicate the church of Rome, and all the Latines as heretikes.

19 Item, among the laid Grecians they are excommunicate, that beat or strike a priest. Neither do their religious men liue in such priestly chastitie as the Roman priests do.

20 Item, their emperor amongst them doth ordaine patriarchs, bishops, and other of the clergie, and deposeth the same at his pleasure, also giueth benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the fruits of the same benefices, as pleaseth him.

This article is worthie not to be rightly collected out of the Grecians.

21 Item, they blame the Latin church because they eat not flesh, egs and cheese on fridaies, and doe eate flesh on saturdaies.

22 Item, they hold against the Latine men, for celebrating without the consecrated church, either in the house or in the field: and fasting on the sabbath day: and for permitting menstruous women to enter into the church before their purifying: also for suffering dogs and other beasts to enter into the church.

23 The Grecians vse not to kneele in all their deuotions, yea not to the body of Christ (as the register termeth it) but one day in the whole peare: saying and affirming, that the Latins be gotes and beasts, for they are alwaies prostrating themselues vpon the ground in their prayers.

24 The Grecians moreouer permit not the Latins to celebrate vpon their altars. And if it chance any Latin priest to celebrate vpon their altar, by and by they wash their altar in token of abomination and false sacrifice. And diligently they obserue, that whensoeuer they do celebrate, they do but one liturgie or masse vpon one altar or table that day.

25 Item, they dissent from the church of Rome touching the order and maner of the proceedings of the holy Ghost.

These articles, wherin is declared the difference betweene the east and west church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authenticall register of the church of Hereford: so I thought here to insert them, y leaue them to the consideration of the reader. Other foure articles more in the same register be there expressed concerning simonie, vsurie, not with them forbidden and touching also their emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damnifie by any maner of way the Latine priests, &c. Which articles, for that either they seeme not truely collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I ourpasse them. To the purpose now of our storie ensuing.

When certaine of these aboue prefixed were moued in the foresaid councell to be discussed; namely concerning the assertion of proceeding of the holy Ghost, and concerning leauened bread in the ministration of the Lords supper; Anselme, as is aboue said, was called for, who in the tractation of the same articles so bestirred him in that councell, that he well liked the pope and them about him, as mine author recordeth. Wherevpon, touching the matter of vnleauened bread, how indifferently he seemed there to reason, and what he writeth to Valeran bishop of Nurenburgh, thereof ye shall heare by a piece of his letter sent to the said bishop, the copie hereof insueth.

Anselme a stout champion against the Grecians.

## Anselme seruant to the church of Canturburie, *to Waltram bishop of Nurenburgh. Epist.* 325. post initium.

A letter of Anselme sent to Waltram bishop of Nurenburgh. *Ex epist. Anselmi.* 325.

AS concerning the sacrifice, in which the Grecians thinke not as we doe: seemeth to many reasonable catholike me, that which they do, not to be against the christian faith: for both hee that sacrificeth vnleauened and leauened, sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord (when hee made his bodie of bread) that he tooke bread and blessed: it is not added vnleauened, or leauened. Yet it is certaine that he blessed vnleauened bread (peraduenture) not because the thing that was done required that, but because the supper in which this was done, did giue that. And whereas in an other place he called himselfe and his flesh bread, because that as many as liue temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liueth for euer. Hee saith not vnleauened or leauened, because both alike are bread: for vnleauened and leauened differ not in substance as some thinke, like as a new man afore sin, and an old rooted man in the leauen of sinne, differ not in substance. For this cause therefore only he might be thought to call himselfe and his flesh, bread, & made his body of bread, because that this bread vnleauened or leauened) giueth a transitorie life; and his body giueth euerlasting life, not for that it is either leauened or vnleauened. Although it be a commandement in the law to eate vnleauened bread in the passeouer, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ whom they looked for was pure and cleane: and we that should eate his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leauen of malice and wickednesse. But now, after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eate the vnleauened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread (of which we make that flesh) is not necessarie for vs. But manifest it is, to bee better sacrificed of vnleauened, then of leauened, &c.

Bread in the communion to be vnleauened is not necessarie.

To this letter I haue also adioyned an other epistle of his to the said Waltram, appertaining to matters not much vnlike to the same effect: wherin is intreated touching the varietie and diuers vsages of the sacraments in the church, whereby such as call and crie so much for vniformitie in the church, may note peraduenture in the same something for their better vnderstanding.

## A peece of an other letter of Anselme to the said Waltram bishop of Nur.

*To the reuerend father and his friend, Waltram by the grace of God the worshipfull bishop of Nurenburgh, Anselme the seruant of the church of Canturburie, greeting, &c.* Ex epist. Anselmi. fol. 317.

YOur worship complaineth of the sacraments of the church, that they are not made euery where after one fort, but are handled in diuers places after diuers sorts. And truely, if they were ministred after one fort and agreeing through the whole church

Another letter.



church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithstanding, because there be many diuersities which differ not in the sum of the sacrament, in the strength of it, or in the faith, or else can be gathered into one custome: I thinke that they are rather to bee borne with in agreement of peace, then to be condemned with offence. For we haue this from the holy fathers, that if the vnitie of charitie be kept in the catholike faith, the diuersitie of customes hurt nothing. But if it be demanded whereof this diuersitie of customes do spring; I perceiue no other cause thereof, but the diuersitie of mens wits, which although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing: yet they agree not in the fitnesse and comelinesse of the ministring. For that which one iudgeth to be meeter, oftentimes an other thinketh lesse meet: wherefore not to agree in such diuersities, I thinke it not to swarue from the truth of the thing, &c.

Diuersitie of vsages in the church to be borne with, and not to be condemned with offence.

Diuersitie of customes in the church hurt nothing.

Excommunication denounced against the Grecians.

Excommunication sent against king William.

First breake his head, and then giue him a plaister.

Message betweene the king and the pope.

Then in the storie it followeth, after long debating and discussing of these matters in the councell, when they had giuen forth their determination vpon the same; and the pope had blasted out his thundring excommunications against the Grecians, and all that take their part: at length was brought in, touching the complaints and accusation against the king of England. Vpon the hearing whereof, pope Vrban with his adherents was readie to proceed in excommunication against the king. But Anselme kneeling before the pope, after hee had first accused his king, then after obtained of him longer time to be giuen vpon further triall.

Thus the councell breaking vp, the pope returning againe to Rome, directly downe his letters to the king, commanding him that Anselme with all his partakers (in speedie wise) should be reuested againe into his archbishoprike, and all other possessions thereunto appertaining. To this the king seemeth nowhere againe by messengers, who comming to the pope, declared in the kings behalfe on this wise; That the king their master did not a little maruell, what cause in his mind to command Anselme to be reuested and reseized againe into his former archbishoprike, seeing he told him before plainely, that if hee went out of England without his leaue, hee would so vse the matter against Anselme (saith the pope) haue ye no other matter against Anselme but onely this? No (quoth they.) And haue ye taken all this trauell (saith the pope) to come hither so far to tell me this, that the primate of your countrie is therfore ill vsed and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the see and iudgement apostolicall? Therefore if thou touch thy lord, shed thee bone and bloud of him he will not bee excommunicated, that he quickly reuest Anselme againe to all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hard & for thy labour, take to thy tearme, and see that thou bring me answere againe from him into this citie, against the next councell the third weeke after Easter. The messenger of Israeter being somewhat astonied at the hearing of this so tragicall answere, thinking yet to worke some thing for his king and maister, came secretly to the pope, saying that hee would confer a certaine mysterie from his king priuatlie with his holinesse betweene them two. What mysterie that was, or what there passed from the king to the pope and the court of Rome, mine author doth not shew: but so cunningly that mysterie was handled, that with a full consent both of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was giuen, from Easter to Michelmas, and the popes holinesse beate to aduantage, that when the councell came (which then was holden at S. Peters church in Rome) albeit great complaints were then denounced against the king: yet such fauor was found, that hee take no harme. Onely the sentence of excommunication was there pronounced against such lay persons as gaue inuesture of churches, & them that were so inuested. Also against them that doo confer-rate such, or which giue themselues in subiection to laymen for ecclesiasticall liuings, as is before touched, &c.

A stout speeche of Israeter sent to Waltram bishop of Nurenburgh.

Ex epist. Anselmi. 325.

A bishop inprisoned by hand-labor at Rome.

Concilium Romanum, *Opinionem superstitiosam damnans.*

Acts of the councell of Rome.

This councell being finished, the archbishop seeing the vnstedfastnesse of the pope, which pleased him but a little, take his iourney into Lions, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death first of pope Vrban, then after of the king.

Of this king William many things be diuerslie recorded, some to his commendation, and some to his discommendation: whereof this is one, which some will ascribe to hardinesse, but I rather to rashnes in him. As this king vpon a time was in his dispost of hunting, suddenly word came to him, that duke Robert his brother was in Normandie (was he sieged. The king without longer tarrying or aduisement take the straight way toward the sea side, sending to his lords that they should follow after. They being come to his presence, aduised him to stay till the time his people were assembled, but he would not bee staied: saying, that such as him loued (hee knew) would soone follow him, and so went to take ship. The shipmaster seeing the weather so darke and cloudie, was afraid, and counselled the king to tarie till the wind did turne about, for the weather more fauourable. But the king persisting in his iourney, commanded him to make all the speed he might for his life: saying, that he neuer heard that any king yet was euer drowned. And so passed the sea in safetie, and came to Normandie.

The hardines or rather rashnesse of king William.

The saying of king William, how he neuer knew any king drowned.

The thirteenth yeare of his reigne the said king William hauing the same time in his hand three bishoprikes, Canturburie, Winchester, and Sarum; also twelue abbeyes in farme: as he was in his dispost of hunting in the new forest, by glancing of an arrow (shot of a knight named Walter Tirell) was wounded to death, and so hæcheelie was carried to Westminster, and there was buried. Where also is to be noted, that Richard the eldest germane of king William, and sonne to duke Robert his brother, was likewise slaine in the forsaid forrest. See the iust hand of God vpon kings sharping wrongfully vpon other mens grounds, as did William Conqueror their father, in making this new forrest, plucking downe diuers churches and townships the compasse of thirtie miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot reuenge, yet God reuengeth either in them, or in their posteritie, &c. This king as he allwaies vsed concubines, so left he no issue legitimate behind him. His life was such, that it is hard for a storie that should tel the truth, to say whether he was more to be commended or reproued. Among other vices in him, especially is to be rebuked in him vnmeasurable and vnreasonable crueltie: insomuch that he coueted if he might, to be euery mans heire. This one example of a liberall and princely nature I find in him: that vpon a time, when a certaine abbat of a place was dead, there came to his court two monks of the same house, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the king, and offered large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignitie. There was also the third monke of the same place, which of meeknesse and humilitie followed the other two; to the intent that vpon him whom the king had admitted for abbat, he should giue attendance, and as his chapleine to haue with him returned. The king called before him the two monks seuerally, of whom the either out proffered the other. As the king cast his eye aside, he espied the third monke standing by, supposing that his comming had been also for the like cause. Then the king calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would giue more then his brethren had offered to be abbat. He answered to the king, and said: that hee neither had nor would (if he might) offer any pennie for it, by any such vnlawfull meane.

The death of William Rufus, Walter Tirell.

The new forrest.

Example of the iust hand of God reuenging the faults of kings in their posteritie.

Conuersation of the monke with king William.

A famous example of holines rewarded.

Two holie monks both preferred.

When the king had well pondered this third monks answere, he said that he was best worthie to be abbat, and to haue the rule of so holy a charge; and so gaue vnto him that benefice without taking any pennie.

Vrban reconciliated vnto the church emperor.

Vrban bishop of Rome, who (as is said) succeeded after Victor, ruled the church of Rome, about the space of twelue yeres: and among his other acts, hee excommunicated the emperour and among his other acts, hee excommunicated the emperour Henrie the fourth of that name, as a man not much deuote to that see of Rome. But yet a worthie and victorious prince hee was; in whom albeit some vice perchance might be noted: yet in one thing, wherefore any prelate or minister of Christ ought to excite his subiects to rebell against publike iustice of God appointed. This emperor Henry the fourth was by foure popes seuerally excommunicat: first by Hildebrand, by Victor, Vrban, and Paschal. Which excommunication wrought so in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrarie to their sworne allegiance) rebellious die conspired against their king and emperor. Amunder of whom, amongst the rest, was one certaine earle named Ludouicus, to whom Waltramus bishop of the church of Mergburgh, a godly and faithfull man, as appeareth, doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience. Vnto the which letters hee likewise doth answere againe, by cauilling sophisticall, and by meere affection, rather bis posed to discord, then seeking sincerite of truth. And for so much as in these two letters, the argument of christian obedience on both sides is to debated by proues and reasons, as may be profitable for the reader to perus and vnderstand: I thought therefore not to defraud the English reader of the same, wherof peraduenture some vtilitie might be taken. The tenor of the bishops letter to the earle here followeth.

Foure popes excommunicate the emperor.

Ludouicus earle conspiring and rebellious against the emperor.

## The epistle of Waltramus bishop of Mergburgh to *the earle Ludouicus, exhorting to concord* and obedience.

*Ex appendice Mariani Scoti.*

*WAltramus Dei gratia id quod est, Ludouico serenissimo principi, cum instantia orationum & meritis ipsum adornia desiderabilis est institutissimum. Omni regno vtilis est concordia, de*

§ Anno § 1090 §

In English.

Waltram by the grace of God being that he is, to Ludouike the noble prince, with instance of prayers offereth himselfe seruiceable to all things. To euery realme concord is a thing profitable, and iustice much to be desired. For this vertue is the mother of godlinesse, and the confeseration of all honestie. Whosoeuer seeking after ciuill dissension, & incensech others to effusion of blood, he is a murtherer, and partaker with him, whose gaping & thirsting for anothers blood, goeth about seeking whom he may deuoure. You therefore, confidering with your selfe (most noble prince) how God is the God of peace and not of dissension (so much as in you doth lie) haue peace with all men. God is charity, the diuell is hatred. The whole law & prophets consist in loue & charitie. He that hateth & maligneth his brother is a murtherer, & hath no part with Christ in the kingdome of God. This we read testified and protested both by him which

Concord and vnitie obedience necessarie in a common wealth.

which is the truth himselfe, & by him which was the scholar of the truth: who vpon the breast of the Lord (drinking a more ful draught of the gospell) reioyceth the citie of God with abundance of plentifull floods. In like maner that worthie vessell of election, who being rapt vp to the third heauen (not by man but by reuelation of Iesus Christ) protesteth also, saying: Let euery soule submit himselfe to higher powers: There is no power, saith he, but of God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that be true therfore, which certaine of our friends do iangle among women, and the vulgar sort, that we ought not to bee subdued to kingly power: then is it false which the apostle teacheth, that euery soule must submit himselfe vnder power & superiority. But can the verity lie? Or doe we seeke for experimēt of him, who spake in the apostle, Christ the Lord? Or do we prouoke the Lord? Be we stronger then hee? For what doth he but thinketh himselfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? For there is no power but of God. But what saith the prophet? Confounded be all they that striue against thee O Lord, and the men which rupugne against thee shall perish. Rodolph, Hildebrand, Egbert, with many other princes, resisted the ordinace of God in Henrie the emperor. And lo, euen as they had neuer been, so are they now perished; and as their end was euil, so their beginning could not be good.

Disobedience punished of God.

Now therfore, forsomuch as they which be contrarie to vs do earnestly striue against vs euen with their owne arguments, whereas of right (I dare referme to your iudgement) we ought to vse the authority of Christ & ancient fathers, before that which our aduersaries take out of their own treasurie: And because I will not refuse the order of law in this behalfe; let it bee the end of the strife, that either I may be openly shamed before the people, either else (the victorie falling on our side) we may win you to the obedience of our soueraigne lord the emperor. Also take you heed to this saying; If any man doe preach otherwise then that which is preached, let him be of you accursed. This curse, I say, doth not proceed from any new prophane authoritie, but is thundred downe from the high heauen. And therefore which know not the righteousnes of God, but goe about to stablish their own righteousnesse, and therefore bee not subiect to the righteousnes of God, I may boldly say: let such be accursed. So may you well say, Confounded bee all they that proudly rise vp against the Lord: but thy seruant (O Lord) shall reioyce. For as thou hast well said, Without me you can doe nothing, so in iudging of the wicked thou dost not condemne the iust. Who art thou that iudgest another mans seruant, to his owne lord whether he doth stand or fall?

Gal.

Iohn.

Rom.

*The answere of earle Lewis to bishop Waltram.*

A scoffing answere of the learned fetcher of bishop Waltram.

THe earle Lewis to the lord Waltram, how soeuer vnworthie or vnmeet he be for the name. Like as a good man from the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good fruit, so doth the euill man from the euill treasure of the heart bring forth euill fruit. What arrogancie hath so possest you, to prouoke my displeasure with such iniurious contumelies? For indeed those my good lords and spirituall fathers, which strengthen me in the way of righteousnes: you (railingly) call them bloodie men like vnto Satan, and the wholesome lessons which they teach, you say they are but dreams of the common people amongst foolish women. Hath God any need of your iudgement that you should speake leasings for him? Iniquitie hath taught your mouth to follow blasphemous tongues: so that well may the prophet say of you, He would not vnderstand to doe well, hee hath deuised wickednes vpon his bed. Although therefore you being altogether froward, haue only spoken froward things: yet we haue determined to set a watch before your mouth, like as if a shameless person should stand vp before vs: & the word of God doth prouoke vs, saying: Answera foole according to his owne foolishnesse, lest he should seeme wise in his owne opinion. Shall foolish speake & wise some hold his peace? Shall lies be freely vttered, & truth compelled to keepe silence? Shall darkenes couer the earth, & shal not the Lord arise & shine? yea rather the light hath lightened the darkenes, & darkenes hath not comprehended it. In consideration hereof our hearts haue melted, and our zealous meditation haue set vs on fire. We therfore speake and crie, and the little foxes which vndermine the Lords vineyards (as much as in vs is) we driue away, fearing the threatning prophecie: You haue not withstood our aduersaries, neither haue you made a bul worke for the defence of the house of Israel, that you might be able to stand in battell in the day of the Lord. Let them heare: I speake not to you which haue eares and heare not, eyes and see not, which haue made darke the light that is in you: but let them heare: I say, that bee well disposed, and haue eares to heare withall: as for you, you haue no vnderstanding, and if you haue you cloke it. Neither haue you any thing to say or to proue, by what reason wee should be subiect to the lord Henrie whom you call emperor. And yet (as it is giuen vs to vnderstand) you goe about to perswade, that of necessitie we ought to be subiect to him, and that by the argument of S. Paul; Let euery soule be subdued to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; he therefore that doth withstand power, doth resist Gods ordinance. The which sentence of the apostle, we say that you doe euill conceiue, and therfore euill interpret: for if euery power be of God (as you vnderstand) what is ment by that, that the Lord doth speake of some by the prophet? They did reigne and were nor made princes by me, and I knew them not. If euery power be of God as you take it, what is to be thought of that, that the Lord doth say: If thine eye offend thee, plucke it out, and cast it from thee? For what is power, but the eye? Certainely, Aug. in the exposition of this sentence of the apostle (Let euery soule, &c) doth say, that if the powers do command any thing against God, then haue them in contempt: but yet neuertheless feare them. Is there any iniquitie with God? Is Christ the minister of sin? God forbid. What shall we therefore say? Doth the apostle preach contrarie to truth? Aug. saith, No. One wind filleth many pipes of diuers tunes. Therefore let vs heare the apostle agreeing and expounding himselfe, and destroying his enemie and auenger: There is (saith he) no power but of God. What followeth? He therefore (saith he) that doth resist the power, &c: God forbid, doth nothing follow? But what doth follow? Those powers which bee ordained of God truely, that is it we looke for. O crafty tongue, O hart imagining mischief, O consuming breath that shal not returne, why hast thou lied to the Holy ghost? Thine owne conscience shall accuse thee. Behold the wicked fleeth and no man doth pursue him. Why would you suppresse the truth to the intent to deceiue? Why stole ye away the pith & effect of this sentence? For if these words should be taken away from the midst of the sentence, it should lie (contrarie to it selfe) inconuenient and halfe dead. The word of the Lord is herein fulfilled, He that diggeth a pit for his neighbour shall fall therin himselfe. Verily you can neither excuse you of theft, neither auoid the punishment due for the same. O vnhappie man! what shall you answere to the iudge, when he shall require an account of his seruants of whom he putteth you in trust, seeing you shall be set before him in the midst, & proued a picker of your masters treasure? Wherefore did you not feare the iudgement & execution, when as the guiltines of offence doth require condigne punishment? The apostle through the Holy ghost did foresee, that you and such heretikes as you should spring in the church, which should cal good euill, & euill good, & that should put darkenes in place of light, & light in place of darkenes, which also should take occasion by the sentences of truth to bring in error: when as he did set this before, There is no power but of God: to the intent he might take away the coniecture of false vnderstanding. For (saith he) those powers that be, are ordained of God. Giue therfore an ordinarie power, and we doe not resist, yea we will forthwith doe our homage. But I doe maruell (if at the least there remaine in you any one drop of blood) that you are not ashamed, to call the lord Henrie a king, or to allow him any ordinarie place.

Whether euery power is to be obeyed or no. Ose. 8.

If euery power which ouerbeth his subiects is to be cast out, then hath this earle made a faire argument.

How liuely these papists describe themselues in their owne colour.

But Paul taught the emperor to be an ordinarie power, when he appointed to him.

Is this a seemely order (thinke you) to giue place to wickednesse, and to make a generall confusion in mixing good and euill, Gods and mans deuices togither? Either do you thinke this good order for man to sin against his owne body, as (oh shamefull wickednesse) to make his owne wife a common harlot, a mischiefe not heard of at any time since the beginning of the world before now? Or do you allow this for good order, when as the Lord saith, Defend the widows, especially such as require equitie of iustice, and then them to send away most filthily defiled? Mad Orestes doth protest him to be our of his wit: he will say these things to be orderly or well done. Vntill this most miserable time, nature hath euer loued secrecie; but your king giuen vp to a reprobate sense, hath vncouered the priuities of nature, who hath not let to lay abrode all shamefastnesse. We will not speake of other things which cannot be numbred, that is to say, burning of churches, robberies, firing of houses, manslaughters, murders, and such like, the number whereof he knoweth, and not we: for let vs speake chiefie of those things which most grieue the church of God. Harken therfore to true & not fained things: Harken, I say, to matters of earnest, & to no trifles. Euery one that doth sell spirituall dignities, is an heretike. But the lord Henrie, whom they call a king, doth sell both bishopriks and abbacies: for truly he sold for money the bishoprike of Constance, Babemberge, Mentz, and many others. The bishoprikes of Ratisbone, Augusta, and Strausbrough he sold for a sword, & the abbey of Fulda for adulterie: and for filthie fodomitrie hee sold the bishopricke of Mons. A wickednesse it is to speake or heare of such a fact. The which things if without shame ye wil denie, he is to be condemned by the witnesse of heauen & earth: yea & of the silly poore idiots that come from the smiths forge. Wherfore the lord Henry is an heretik, for the which most wicked euils he is excommunicate from the see apostolike, so that he may not exercise either kingdom or power ouer vs which be catholike. And whereas you burthen vs with hatred of our brethren, know you that we purpose not to hate any of affection, but of a godly zeale. God forbid that we should thinke Henry worthy to be accounted amongst our christian brethren, who indeed is reputed for an ethnike and publican, in that he refused to heare the church which so oft hath reproued him. The hatred of whom we offer vnto God for a great sacrifice, saying with the Psalmist: Lord shall not I hate them that hate thee? and shall not I triumph ouer thine enemies? I hate them with an inward hatred that be enemies to me for thy sake. The truth it selfe commending the worthinesse of this hatred, doth say: If any doe not hate father and mother, brethren and sisters for my sake, he cannot be my disciple. We are not therefore iustly to be reproued of hatred, which do giue ouer our owne soule to bee in the way of God: who indeed are commanded to hate father and mother, and euery affection which doth withstand vs for walking in the path of God. Hereof it commeth, that we labor with al our studie and indeuour to beware of the enimies of the church, and them to hate; not for that they bee our enimies, but Gods. Further, where you persuade peace to bee had with all men, you must remember what the apostle doth put before, If it may be. But if it cannot be that we can haue peace with them, who can be contrarie to God? Who doth not know the Lord our sauiour, to commend not onely peace, when as hee saith, My peace I giue vnto you, my peace I leaue vnto you: but that he is the peace (as saith the apostle) he is the peace which made of both one: for hee calleth him our peace, speaking in commendation of the peace: Thinke not (saith he) that I came to send peace, for I came not to send peace, but the sword. What is meant by this? Why is peace called a sword? Or doth peace bid battell? Yea truely, to destroy the peace of the diuell. For the diuell hath his peace, wherof the Lord speaketh: When as the strong man keepeth his house, he doth possesse all his substance in peace. Oh how mightilie doth the diuell keepe his souldiers and his house in this time! who with the shield of falshood, and the helmet of vntruth, so doth defend him, that he will not suffer either arrow or dart of truth to pierce him. Neuerthelesse, our Lord being more strongly armed, and fiercelyer comming vpon your giant, is able to ouercome him and to take away his weapons, wherein hee putteth his trust. We are not therfore to be blamed, if we do detest that peace, more cruell then any war, the which the truth it selfe did reprooue, weeping ouer Ierusalem, and saying: Truely, it grieueth me this day to see sinners in peace; being like vnto that peace, whereat the Psalmist was offended. Whereas you condemne pope Gregorie, king Rodulphus, and marques Eggebertus, as men that haue died of an vnhappie death, and do magnifie your lord, because he doth ouerliue them: it doth plainely (for sooth) appeare, that you remaine voide of all spirituall consideration. Is it not better to die well, then to liue ill? They be truely happie, who suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake. By the same reason may you esteeme Nero, Herod, and Pilat happie, in that they ouerliued Peter, Paul, Iames apostles, and Iesus Christ. What can be said more foolish and wicked then this opinion? Wherefore refraine your babling tongue from this blasphemie, left that you place your selfe in the number of them, which seeing the end of the iust to be glorious (themselues doing late and vntruitfull penance, bewailing in the anguish of the spirit) shal say: These be they whom sometime we had in derision & laughed to scorne, we being out of our wits, thought their liues madnesse, & their end to bee without honor. Behold how they be allowed to bee amongst the children of God, and their portion is amongst the saints. Wherefore we haue erred from the way of truth, and the brightnesse of righteousnesse did not shine vpon vs. What did our pride auaile vs? And what profit did the boasting of our riches bring vs? They are all vanished away like a shadow. The which words we haue registred vp into perpetuall memory, and we do despise euery attempt that shall stir vp it selfe against the truth of God; and reioycing in troubles, we may be reproued, put to shame and rebuked, yea and finally be slaine and killed, but we will neither yeeld, nor bee ouercome. And with great triumph will we reioyce in our fathers doings, of whom you (as a beardlesse boy, and of small knowledge haue not rightly conceiued: who indeed despising princes commandements, haue deserued euerlasting reward.

Oh how craftilie doth Satan here shape himselfe to an angell of light.

This to likely, that the emperor would make his owne wife a common harlot.

Euill well neuer said well.

Well said when you are not able to withstand him, yet you cannot hold your tongue, but runne a foole, prattling the same thing that hath lightened the darkenes, & darkenes hath not comprehended it.

He hath yeerned more reason then some, but little to the purpose.

Ex vetusto chronico.

*There is a certaine chronicle in old English meter, which among other matters speaking of William Rufus, declareth him to be so sumptuous and excessiue in pompous apparel, that hee being not contented with a paire of hose of a low price, which was three shillings, caused a paire to bee bought of a marke; whereupon his chamberleine procuring a paire much worse then the other before, said:*

That they costened a marke, and vnneth he them so bought:
Yea belamie (quoth the king) they are well bought.

*Whereby is to be noted what difference is to be seene betweene the hose of princes then, & the hose of ferningmen now.*

Appendix historiæ.

*After the time of this king William, the name of kings ceased in the countrie of Wales among the Britaines, since king Ris, who in the reigne of this king, the yeare of our Lord 1093, was slaine in Wales.* Ex continuatione Roger. Houed.

Kings ceased in Wales.

## King Henrie the first.

{Anno 1100}

Henrie Beauclerke the first, king of England.

What learning doth in a palace.

HEnry the first of that name, the third son of William Conqueror, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his reigne in England, the yeere of our Lord 1100, who for his knowledge and science in the seuen liberall arts was surnamed Clerke or Beuclerke. In whom may well appeare, how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce to the gouernment and administration of any realme or countrie. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the cler-

The lawes of king Edward reuiued. The misery of England vnder the Conquerour.

Ex Mat. Paris. I. lor. Hist.

gie, released the grieuous payments, reduced againe king Edwards lawes, with emendation thereof; hee reformed the old and vntrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arme, he greatly abhorred excesse of meats and drinks, many things misused before his time hee reformed, and liued so quietly more by counsell then by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton, he secluded from his court. This man (as appeareth) little fauoured the vsurped power of the bishop of Rome. Some after he was king, he married Matilde, Maud, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, and of Margaret his wife, daugh. of Edward the outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed nun in Winchester, whom notwithstanding (without the popes dispensation he married by the counsell of Anselme, by the which Maud he receiued two sons, William and Richard, and two daughters, Maud and Marie. Which Maud afterward was married to Henry the fift emperor, &c.

Example what fruit to learne of the Lords burnings.

In the second yeare of his reigne, Robert his elder brother duke of Normandie, who being occupied in the christian wars against the Turks, and being elect (as you heard) king of Ierusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the kingdome thereof: for the which (as is thought) he neuer sped well after. Thus the said Robert leauing off the Lords busines, and returning into Normandie made there his preparation, and came ouer into England with a great host to challenge the crowne: but by mediation of the lords it was agreed vpon, that Robert should haue yearely during his life three thousand marks, as was likewise promised him before by king Rufus his brother: and whether of them ouerliued the other, to be the others heire. And thus Robert departed againe into Normandie, to the great discontentation of his lords there. But in few yeares after, the forenamed tribute of three thousand marks through the meanes of queene Maud was released to the king his brother. In processe of time, variance falling betweene king Henrie and the said Robert his brother: at length Robert in his war was taken prisoner and brought ouer into England, and was put into the castle of Cardife in Wales, where hee continued as prisoner while he liued.

Duke Robert taken prisoner.

In this time, as about the third yeare of this king, the hospitall of S. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded (by meanes of a minstrell belonging vnto the king, named Raier) and after it was finished by Richard Whittington alderman and maior of London. This place of Smithfield was at y day a lay stal of all odure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the kings lawes were put to execution.

The hospitall of Bartholomew founded.

Diuers strict lawes were by this king prouided, especially against theues and felons: that whosoeuer were taken in that fault, no money should saue him from hanging.

Item, that whose did counterfeit false money, should haue both his eyes and nether parts of his body cut off.

Item, in the same councell was decreed an order for priests to be sequestred from their wiues, which before were not forbidden according as the words of mine author do purport, whose words be these: *Anselmus prohibet vxores sacerdotibus Angelorum, auris non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam murdissimum videtur esse, quibusdam periculosissimo dum mundicias viribus maiores apprehendi, in mundicias horribiles ad christiani nominis summum dedecus incidere*, &c. Henr. Hunt.

Ex Henr lib. 7. Anselme.

Item, it was then decreed that monks and priests should beare no rule ouer lay persons.

Item, it was then decreed concerning byedering of haire, and wearing of garments.

Item, that the secret contract betweene a pong lad and a pong maid should not stand: with other things more concerning the excommunication of Sodomits, &c.

In the stole of William Rufus before was declared how Anselme the archbishop of Canturbure departing out of the realme, went vnto the pope; who after the death of king William was sent for againe by the foresaid king Henrie, and so returned againe, and was at the councell of the king at Westminster; where the king in the presence of the lords as well temporall as spirituall, ordained and inuested two bishops, Roger of Salisburie, and Roger bishop of Hereford. During which parliament or councell of the king, Anselme in his consecration deposed and displaced diuers abbats and other prelats from their romes and dignities: either for that they lawfully came not by them, or vprightly did not administer the same.

Th' king ordaineth two bishops without the pope.

After his councell, and the other before set forth by Anselme, Herbert bishop of Norwich, had much adoe with the priests of his diocesse: for they would neither leaue their wiues nor yet giue ouer their benefices. Whereupon he wrote to Anselme the archbishop for counsell, what was to be done therein. Which Anselme required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to perswade the people of Norwhollie and Suffolke: that as they professed christianitie, they should subdue them as rebels against the church, and vtterly to driue both them and their wiues out of the countrie, placing monkish their romes, as by the epistles of the said Anselme doth appeare. Wherof certaine parcels shall hereafter (by the grace of Christ) insue for the better euidence of this and the other his aduertisements aboue recited.

Herbert bishop of Norwich, diuorceth his wife from the bed.

Anselme reuocheth clarks from marrieng of wiues. Ex epist. Anselmi. lib. 3. epist. 126.

The like businesse also had Gerard the archbishop of Yorke, in depriuing the priests of his prouince from their wiues:

B 3 iij. which

which thing with all his excommunications and thunderings he could hardly bring about. Upon this rumbling of Anselme with married priests, were running bookes made to helpe the matter withall, when reason could not serue. Which bookes for the folie thereof I thought here to anner.

*O male viuentes, versus audite sequentes,*
*Decreti vestras, quas odit summa potestas,*
*Linguaque propter eum, tentit qui morte trophæum.*
*Quod si non sacius, si ferna claustra petetis.*
*Christi non fruimber, ne presbyter ille ministret,*
*Quisquis non cernens, Dominum quæ perdit amorem:*
*Contrarie enim vere decimus insipientem:*
*Non ex vancere loquor hæc potius sed amore.*

*Verses made against the liuing of priests.*

About the end of the third yeare of this king, which was the computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell betweene king Henrie and Anselme, the occasion whereof was this. He heard a little before how Henrie the first king had of his owne authoritie inuested two bishops, one Roger which was chancellor, bishop of Salisburie: and another bishop of Hereford. Besides them 9 more also he inuested, and diuers other like things tooke he vpon him in the ecclesiasticall state, which hee might lawfully do, Gods word allowing well the same: but because it was restrained by the bishop of Rome for him so to doe, this Anselme swelled, fretted and inueied so mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirme them, nor communicate nor talke friendly with them, whom the king had inuested and inuested: but opprobriously called them abortiues, or children of destruction, pubanelesly rebuking the gentle king as a despiser of religion and pollutor of their holy ceremonies: as witnesseth Polydorus. With this vncomely outrage the king was much displeased as he might full well, and required Gerard the archbishop of Yorke (as he ought him allegiance) to consecrate them: who without delay did so, well performing the same, saying that one William Giffard, to whom the king had giuen the bishoprike of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke. For the which cause the king (worthilie with him offended) deprived him both of bishoprike and goods, and banished him the realme.

*Anno 1103. Anselme hauing procured king Henrie and the archbishop of Canturburie.*

*Gerard bishop of Winchester refuseth to be consecrated by the archbishop of Yorke.*

Moreouer, the king required of Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie, to doe vnto him homage after the manner of his ancestors, as witnesseth Guliel. de gestis pontif. Angle. Also it was asked of the said Anselme, whether that he would be with the king in giuing inuestures, as Lanefrancus his predecessor was with his father. To whom Anselme said, that he promised not at any time, that hee would enter into this order, to keepe the law or custom of his father, as Lanefrancus did. Moreouer, as concerning homage to be done to the king, that he refused, alleging the censures of the popes excommunication, who in his councell of Rome a little before had giuen forth open sentence of excommunication, vpon all such late persons (whatsoeuer they were that should from henceforth confer or giue any spirituall promotions: also vpon them that receiued them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receiuers. Moreouer, he accursed all them that for benefices or other ecclesiasticall promotions should subiect themselues vnder the homage or seruice of any great man, king, prince, duke, or earle of the lande. For it was vnseemely (said the pope) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were consecrated vnto so high a working, as was granted to no angel (that is, to create him with their crosses which created all, and to offer vp the same before the sight of the father for the saluation of the whole world) should be brought to such a slauerie, as to bee subiect to those filthie hands, which both day and night are polluted with shamefull touchings, robberies and bloodshed, &c. This decree of pope Urban, Anselme alleging for himselfe, denied to subiect himselfe to the kings homage, fearing (as he said) the popes excommunication. Vpon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts vnto the pope, then Paschalis, who stoutly standing to the keys and determinations of Urban his predecessor, would in no case yeeld to the kings inuesting.

*Acts of the Romish councell against laymen to giue any spirituall promotions.*

*Ex Guliel. de gestis pontif. Angl.*

*Anselme refuseth to do homage to the king.*

*Ex Matthæo Paris. Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de gestis pontif. Angl.*

In the meane time, while there was long disputation on both sides for inuesting: the nobles of the realme contended, that inuestings did belong to the kings dignitie: wherefore the king calling for Anselme againe, required him either to doe homage to him, or else to voide his kingdome. To whom Anselme replying againe, required the popes letters: For I will not forgo the liberties of my kingdom for any pope. Thus the contention continued betweene them. Anselme saith, hee would not out of the realme, but depart home to his church: and there see who would offer him any violence, and so did. Not long after, message came from the king to Anselme, requesting him after a gentle sort, to repaire to the kings presence againe, to set an end of the controuersie begun: whereunto Anselme granted and came. Then were new ambassadors sent againe to the pope, that he would something qualifie and moderate (or rather abolish) the straitnesse of the Romish decree before mentioned. On the part of Anselme went two monks, Waldwinus and Alexander. On the kings behalfe were sent two bishops, Robert, bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert bishop of Norwich, with the kings letters written vnto the pope, containing in forme as followeth.

*The king hath nothing to do with the popes letters.*

*Messengers sent again to Rome.*

*Patri venerabili Paschali summo pontifici, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum, salutem. Promotionis vestræ in sedem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ plurimum congaudeo, petens vt amicitia quæ patrimeo cum antecessoribus vestris fuit, inter nos quoque illibata permaneat. Unde, vt dilectio & benignitas a me videatur sumere vitium, beneficiis quod ab antecessoribus meis beatus Petrus habuit, vobis mitto: absque honore & eam obedientiam quam tempore patris mei antecessores vestri in regno Angliæ habuerunt, tempore meo vt habeatis volo, eo videlicet tenore, vt dignitatis vestæ & consuetudines, quas pater meus tempore antecessorum vestrorum in regno Angliæ habuit, ego tempore vestro in eodem regno meo integrè obtineam. Notumque habeat sanctitas vestra, quod me viuente (Deo auxiliante) dignitates & vsus regni Anglie non minuentur. Et si ego (quod absit) in tantam me deiectione ponerem: optimates mei (imo totius Anglie populus) id nullo modo paterentur. Habita igitur (charissime pater) vtilitori deliberatione, ita fergere nos moderetur benignitas vestra, ne quid iniuste faciam, & a vestra me cogatis recedere obedientia.*

The letter of king Henrie the first vnto the pope.

In English.

To the reuerend father Paschall the chiefe bishop, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. For this your promotion vnto the see of the holy church of Rome, as I am heartily glad: so my request is to you, that the friendship and amity, which hath beene tofore betweene my father and your predecessors in times past, may now also betweene vs in like maner continue vndiminished. And that loue and gentlenesse may first begin on my part; here I send to you that gift that S. Peter had in former time of my predecessors. And likewise the same honors and obedience, which your predecessors haue had in the realme of England before in the time of my father, I will you to haue the same in my time also: after this forme I meane and tenor, that the vsage and maner of dignitie and customs which my father hath had in this realme of England in the time of your ancestors; I in like ample maner also now in your time may fully inioy the same in this the said realme of England. Therefore be it knowne to your holinesse, that during this life of mine (God almightie stabling me to the same) these aboue manned dignities, vsages, and customes of this realme of England, shall in no part be lettened. Yea, and if that (as God forbid I should) would so much deiect my selfe vnto such cowardnesse: yet my nobles, yea the whole people of England in no case would suffer it. Wherefore (deare father) vsing with your selfe a better deliberation in the matter, let your gentlenesse so moderat it selfe towards vs, lest ye compell me (which I shal do against my will) to recede and depart vtterly from your obedience.

Spoken like a king.

The king sent a point to feast the popes obstinacie.

At the same terme also hee sent another letter or epistle to the said pope, crauing of him the pall for Gerardus archbishop of Yorke, the forme whereof here also followeth.

Another letter of king Henrie the first, sent to the pope

*Reuerendo & diligendo patri vniuersali papæ Paschali, Henricus Dei gratia rex Anglorum salutem. Amor quem plurimum erga vos habeo, & benignitas qua multum vestros alios exornat, &c.*

In English.

To the reuerend and welbeloued father, vniuersall pope Paschalis, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. The great loue which I beare to you, and the no lesse gentlenesse in you, which not a little beautifieth your doings, diminisheth to me boldnesse to write. And whereas I thought to haue retained still this Gerardus with me, and to haue craued your pall for him by letters: yet notwithstanding, when his desire could not otherwise be satisfied, but would needs present himselfe before your prefence, by his owne heart to craue of you the same, I haue sent him vp vnto you, desiring your beningne fatherhood in his behalfe, that he obtaining the pall at your hands, may be sent home againe to me. And thus requiring the affistance of your praiers, I pray the Lord long to continue your apostleship.

*This second letter of the king in sending for the pall, was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author saith) procured such fauor to Gerardus archbishop of Yorke, and bringer therof: that no complaint of his aduersaries afterwards could hurt him with the pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grieuously for diuers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselme archbishop of Canturburie.*

Polydorus in his eleuenth booke of his English historie affirmeth, that Anselmus also went vp to Rome with Gerardus about the same cause. But both the premises and sequell of the storie argue that to be untrue, for what needed the two monks to be sent vp on Anselms side, if hee had gone vp himselfe? Againe, how could the pope write downe by the said messengers to Anselme, if hee had there been himselfe present? For so proceedeth the storie by the narration of Malmesburie and others.

A place of Polydorus worthy noting, found fault in. *Ex Guliel. lib. 1. de pont. Ang.*

After



The pope seeth against the king.

After the ambassadors (thus on both sides sent vp to Rome) had laboured their cause with instant suite, one against the other: the pope glad to gratifie the king (yet loth to grant his request, being against his owne profit, and therefore more inclining to Anselmus side) sendeth downe his letters to the said Anselme, signifying that he would not repeale the statutes of his holy fathers for one mans pleasure: charging him moreouer, not only not to presse in the cause of inuesting, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid decrement of pope Urban his predecessor, &c. Besides this letter to Anselme, he directed also another to the king himselfe: which letter, mine author saith, the king suppressed and did not shew, onely declaring by word of mouth, that the ambassadors had said vnto him from the pope. Which was, that he permitted vnto him the licence of inuesting, vpon condition that in other things hee would execute the office of a good prince, &c. To this also the testimony of the two bishops aboue minded, did accord, which made the matter more probable. But the two monks on the other side replied againe, bringing forth the letter of Anselme to the contrary, &c. To them was answered againe, that more credit was to be giuen to the degree and testimony of the bishops, then to theirs. And as for monks, they had no sufferage nor testimony (said they) in secular matters, and therefore they might hold their peace. But this is no secular matter, said Walwaine abbat of Ramsie. Whereunto the nobles against the kings part answered, saying, that he was a good man, and of such demeanor, as they had nothing to say against him, neither so would if they might: but yet both humane and diuine reason taught them so, to preferre more credit and confidence to the testimony of three bishops, then of two monks. Whereby may well appeare, that Anselme at that time went not with them. Then Anselme seeing the king and his peeres how they were set, and hearing also the testimony of the three bishops, against whom he saw he could not preuaile, and also hauing the popes scale, which hee saw to be to prudent on the contrary side, made his answere againe; that he would send to Rome for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreouer, that he neither would, nor durst giue ouer his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the determination of the church of Rome, vnlesse he had a perfect warrant of abolution from thence, for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that hee should not send, but go himselfe to Rome. And much intercourse was made, that he would take that iourny in hand himselfe, in his owne person, to put somthing to the pope for the peace of the church and of his country. And so at the length, by perswasion, was content, went to Rome, and spake with the pope. In short time after followeth also the kings ambassador (William Warlwast) newly elect bishop of Exceter, who there pleading on the kings side, for the ancient customes of the realme, and for the kings right of inuesting, &c. first declared, how England of a long continuance had euer bin a prouince peculiar to the church of Rome, and how it paied duly his yearely tribute vnto the same. Inferring moreouer how the king, as he was of nature verie liberal, so also of courage a prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he thinke it should be to him (as it were indeed) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his progenitors, should not defend and maintaine the liberties and customes by them procured? Wherefore he desired the pope to see to the matter, so as might stand both with the kings honor, and also with his owne profit and aduantage; who otherwise no doubt should lose a great peece of mony out of the realme, vnlesse he did remit some thing of the seuerity of his canons and lawes decreetall.

Anselme refuseth to do homage to the king.

The effect of the oration of Gul. Warlwast at the popes court.

With these and such other perswasions like to the same effect, the court of Rome was well contented, agreeing that the kings requeft ought with all fauor to be granted. But the pope and Anselme sat still marking their doings. The ambassador supposing their silence to be a halfe a yeelding vnto him, added moreouer and said; that the king, no not for the crowne of his realme, would lose the authority of inuesting or admitting his prelats within his dominion. Whereunto the proud pope answering againe, burst out in these words: Nor I (said he) for the price of this head (as thou seest) will lose the giuing of spiritual promotions in England, and confirming it with an oth: Before God saith he I speake it, know it for a certaine, &c. Then it followeth in the story of Malmesbury: With this word of the pope, the mindes of the rest were changed, saying: Benedicta sit cordis tui constantia, benedicta oris tui loquela. The kings attorny also was thereuith dashed, who notwithstanding yet brought to passe, that certaine of the kings customes vsed before of his father, were released vnto him. At the which time in the same court was decreed, that (the king only which had inuested them, being excepted) the other which were inuested by the king, to be excommunicated: the absolution and satisfaction of whom, was left to Anselme the archbishop.

*Ex Guliel. de gestis pontif. Angl. lib. 1. Ex Matth. Paris. lib. 1.*

Apond answer of the pope.

Excommunication abused.

Thus Anselme being dismissed from Rome, took his iourney toward England. But the ambassador pretending to goe to S. Nicolas remained behinde, to see whether he could win the popes mind to the kings purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he ouertaketh Anselme by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the kings pleasure. The king (saith he) giueth to you in charge and commandement, that if you will come to England, and there behaue your selfe to him, as your predecessors did to his father, you should be receiued and retained in the realme accordingly: if not, you are wise enough (saith he) ye know what I meane, and what will follow, &c. And so with these words parting from him, returned againe to the king. Anselme remained at Lions a yere and a halfe, writing diuers letters to the king, after this effect, and words as followeth.

Anselme remaineth three yeares in banishment.

*Ex Guliel. Londinensi.*

To his reuerend lord, Henry, king of England,
Anselme, archbishop of Canturbury, faithfull
seruice with praiers. *Epist. 224.*

A letter of Anselme to the king.

Although you vnderstand by William Warlwast, what we haue done at Rome; yet I shall shortly shew you that belongeth to mee. When I came to Rome, I declared the cause wherefore I came to the lord pope. He answered that he would not swarue from the statutes of his predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should haue no fellowship with them that receiued inuestings of churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this prohibition, except they will doe penance, and forsake that they had receiued, without hope of recouery, neither that they should communicate with the other bishops that had confecrated such men, except they would present themselues to the iudgement of the apostolike sea. The foresaid William can be a witnesse of all these things if he will. This William when we departed asunder (reckoning vp in your behalfe the loue and liberalitie which you haue had alwaies towards me) warned me as your archbishop, that I should shew my selfe such a one, that if I would come into England, that I might be with you as my predecessour was with your father: and yee might intreat me with the same honour and liberality that you father intreated my predecessor. By which words I vnderstand, that except I should shew my selfe such a one, you would not haue mee come into England. For your loue and liberalitie I thanke you: but that I should bee with you as my predecessor was with your father, I cannot doe it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor dare communicate with them that take inuestings of churches at your hands: because of the foresaid inhibition made, I my selfe hearing it. Wherefore I desire you to send me your pleasure heerein (if it pleafe you) whether I may returne into England (as I said) with your peace, and power of mine office.

The proud stoutnesse of a prelate in a strong cause.

In the meane while, great businesse there was, and much posting went to and fro betweene the king, the archbishop, and the pope, but nothing was done: for neither would the pope agree to the king, neither would the king condescend to the archbishop. At last, the archbishop seeing by no meanes he could prouaile against the king, thought to reuenge himselfe by excommunication, and so went about the same. The king, hauing word thereof by the countesse Adela his sister, besought her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselme with her: whereupon (through the means of the countesse) reconcilement was made, and the archbishop was restored to his former possessions againe. Only his returne into England was deferred, because he would not communicat with those whom the king had inuested. So the king take his passage ouer into England, and Anselme made his abode at the abbay of Beeke.

Anselme whom to excommunicate the king.

Reconcilement made betweene the king and Anselme.

Then were ambassadors againe directed vnto Rome. William Warlwast, and Waldwin aboue named, abbat of Ramesey, who at length concluded the long controuersie betweene the king and the pope, vpon this agreement, that the king should take homage of the bishops elect, but should not deale with inuesting them by staffe and ring, &c. While the ambassadors were thus in their suite at Rome, diuers complaints were dailie brought from England to Anselme, against the priests and canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late councell holden at London, recliued their wiues into their houses againe, and so were permitted by the king, paying him certaine money for the same. Anselme (the foe enemy against all marriage) aggrieued therewith, addresseth his letters vnto the king, requiring him to refraine from any more taking of such creations; declaring moreouer and affirming, that the offences of all such ecclesiastical maisters, must be corrected by the instance of bishops, and not of lay men. To this the king answereth gently againe by letters, tempering himselfe, how he purposed shortly to come ouer into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amisse, either in these or other things, he would reforme it by his obedience.

Ambassage to Rome.

*Guliel. Malmesbiensis. de gestis pontif.*

Popish priests and their wiues against the decree of the councell.

The faults of ecclesiasticall ministers belong to your but to bishops to correct, saieth Anselme.

It was not long after, the messengers being now returned from Rome) but the king as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where hee warring against his brother Robert, brought both him and the country of Normandy at last vnder his subiection. But first meeting with Anselme at the abby of Becke, he consented and agreed with him in all such points as the archbishop required. As first, that all his churches, which before were made tributary vnto king William his brother, now should remaine free from all tribute. Item, that he should require nothing of the said churches or pramices in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreouer, concerning such priests and ministers, as had giuen mony to the king for their company with their wiues, it was agreed that they should surceasse from all

The king brought vnder the archbishop.

Conditions granted by the king to Anselme.

all ecclesiasticall function, the space of three yeres, and that the king should take no more after such maner. Item, that all such goods, fruits, and possessions, as had ben taken away before from the archbishoprike, should be restored at his comming again vnto England, &c.

Vniforme return into England.

This Anselme, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after this victory gotten vpon the king, for the which he so long fought; with ioy and triumph sailed into England, hauing all his popish requests obtained. Where first he sticketh like a lion vpon the married priests, contrary to the word of God, diuorcing and punishing that by mans authority, which the eternall and almighty God had coupled. Fort, he watcheth them, which did hold any church by fauor vnder the king. Against simony likewise, and against them that married within the seuenth degree, he proceedeth with his full pontificall authority.

Priests driuen out of their liuings.

Anno 1106

Shortly after, as king Henry had finished his warre in Normandy, and with victory returned againe into England, about the thirtieth yere of his raigne, Anselme archbishop of Canturbury, by the permission of the king) assembled a great councell at Westminster in London, of the clergy and prelats of England.

In the which by the bishop of Romes authority he so wrought with the king, that at length, albeit (as the story saith) not without great difficulty, it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no temporall man after that day, should make inuesture with crosse or with ring, or with pastorall staue. In this councell sunday and diuers iniunctions were giuen forth to priests and deacons: as diuers other synodall acts also by the same Anselme had ben concluded in other councels before. And because here falleth in mention of the acts synodall concluded in the time of this Anselme, I thought here good to packe them all in one generall heape together, as we find them in Malmesburie, and in other sundry authors scatteringly recited.

The first thing decreed by this Anselme in his synodal councels, was touching the fault of simonie, whereby diuers both bishops and abbats (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed. And lay men forbidden to conferre any ecclesiasticall promotion.

Also it was decreed, that no bishop should beare any office in secular matters, business or meetings. And that such should not goe apparelled as the lay men did, but should haue their vestures decent and meet for religious persons. And that in all places they should neuer go without some to beare witnesse of their conuersation.

English Gospellers in the time of K. Henrie the first.

Ex Hermanno & alijs.

Priests apparell.

Item, that no archdeaconries should be let out to farme.

Archdeaconries not to be farmed.

Item, that no archdeacon should be vnder the degree of a deacon.

Item, that no archdeacon, priest, deacon, subdeacon, colligener, nor canon, should from thenceforth marry a wife, nor yet keep her if he had ben married to one before.

Marriage of priests forbidden.

Item, that euery subdeacon, being vnder the degree of a canon (after the profession of chastity, marrying a wife) should be subiect to the same rule.

Vow of chastitie brought in.

They ordained also, that a priest keeping company with his wife, should be reputed vnlawfull, and that he should say no masse; and of the said masse he should not be heard.

Benefices not to goe by hereditage.

They charged that none were admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a subdeacon, vnlesse he did profesle chastitie.

That priests sonnes should not claime by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the custome had alwaies bene before.

Item, that no spirituall person should sit in any secular office, as to be procurators or iudges of bloud.

How they were set out in Scotland for lost chancellor in queene Maries time.

Item, that priests should not resort to tauernes, or bankets, nor sit drinking by the fire side.

That the garments of priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent.

Priests crowns Tithes. Diuers of parishes. Building of chapels. Who to church or not. Baptisme priuie. Abbats to minister no warre.

Item, that the men of the clergy should weare broad crownes.

Item, that no tithes should be giuen but to the church.

Item, that no churches or prebends should be bought.

That no new chapels should bee made without consent of the bishop.

That no church should be hallowed, before the necessary provision were made for the priest, and for the church to be maintained.

That abbats should set forth no men to warre, and that they must both sleep and eat in the same house with their monks, vnlesse some great necessity do let.

Monks limited to giuing penance.

Item, that monks doe inioine no penance to any man without the knowledge of his abbat. And that their abbats may giue no licence therein, but onely for such persons whose charge they haue of soule.

Monks no godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

That no monks should bee godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

Abby lands.

Item, that monks should haue no lordships to farme.

Item, that monks should take no churches but by the bishop, neither should so spoile and oppresse the churches giuen to them, with their rents, that sufficient were not left for the ministers of the same.

Impropriation restrained.

That priuie contract betweene man and woman without witnesse should not stand, but be frustrat if each party doe goe from the contract.

Diuy contracts.

Rounding.

Item, that such as weare long haire of the clergy, be so rounded, that part of their care appeare, and that their eies be not couered.

Item, that there be no matrimoniall copulation, within the seuenth degree of kindred, nor so to continue if they bee married: but the marriage to be broken. And if any being priuie to that incest, do not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same crime.

Marriage within the seuenth degree restrained.

Item, that no funerall or burpings be without their owne parish church, so that the priest thereof doe lose that which to him is due.

Burpings.

Item, that no man vpon any new fangled rashnesse, do attribute any reuerence or opinion of holinesse to dead mens bodies, to foure tapers, or to any other thing (as the vse hath been in times past) without authority of the bishop.

No holinesse to be giuen to tapers and places.

Item, that no buying and selling be vsed hereafter in England of men, as of other cattell.

Selling and buying of men.

Item, after the restraint of priests marriage, when filthy sodomitry began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced also to make an act for that, which was this.

Sodomitry.

With a grieuous curse we condemne both them that occupie the abhominations vice of sodomitry, and them also that willingly assist them, as be wicked doers with them in the same, till such time as they may deserue absolution by penance and confession.

A law with a fat tail for sodomitry.

So that whatsoeuer he be that is noised or proued to be of this wickednes (if he be a religious person) he shal from thence forth be promoted to no degree of honor, and that which he hath shall be taken from hir

If he be a lay person, he shall bee deprined of all his freedome within the land, and be no better then a forreiner.

And because it shal be knowne, the absolution of such as be secular, belong only to bishops: it was therfore enacted, that on euery sunday in euery parish church of England, the said excommunication should be published, &c.

Exempl. Anselmi.

Romes the prepostrous vnreasoning of Anselme in creating the vice of sodomitry.

But marke in this great matter what followed. For as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth: this grieuous generall curse was soone called backe against by the sute of certaine, which perswaded Anselme, that the publication or opening of that vice gaue kindling to the same in the hearts of lewd persons, ministring occasion of more boldnesse to them to doe the like. And so to stop the occasion of filthy sodomitry, the publication thereof was taken away: but the forbidding and restreinement of priests vnlawfull marriage (which chiefly was the cause thereof) remained still. And thus euer since horrible sodomitry remained in the clergy both for lacke of marriage more vsed, and for lacke of publication lesse punished.

Ranulph. Cestrensis, lib. 7.

Besides all these synodall acts aboue comprehended, and giuen out by Anselme in his councels before, here also in this present councell at Westminster, in the yeere of this king aforesaid, he also directed other new iniunctions to the priests.

First, that they and their wiues should neuer more meet in one house, neither yet haue dwelling in their territories.

Penalties and forfeits against priests that keepe their wiues.

Item, that the priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should keepe no woman in their house, vnlesse they were of their next kin.

Item, for such as had dissenered themselues from the society of their wiues, yet for some honest cause they had to common with them, they might, so it were without daunger, and with two or three lawfull witnesses.

In the latter ende shal come false teachers, forbidding mariage, and eating of meats, &c.

Item, if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, and could not purge himselfe against by strable men of his owne order (if he be a priest, or if he be a deacon by foure, or by he a subdeacon by two) then he should be iudged a transgressor of the statutes, depriued of his benefice, and be made infamous, or be put to open reproch of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, as in contempt of this new statute, held still his wife, and presumed to say masse, vpon the eight day after (if he made not due satisfaction) should be seuerely excommunicated.

Item, all archdeacons and deacons to be straitly sworne, not to winke or dissemble at their meetings, nor to beare with them for mony. And if they would not be sworne to this, then to lose their offices without recouery.

Purification of priests that had been maried.

Item, such priests as for saking their wiues, were willing to serue still and remaine in their holy order, first must cease forty daies from their ministration, setting vicars for them in the meane time to serue; and taking such penance vpon them, as by their bishop should be intoined them.

Thus haue ye heard the tedious treatise of the life and doings of Anselme, how superstitious in his religion, how stubborne against his prince he was, what occasion of warre and discord hee ministred by his complaints (if they had bene taken) what scale without right knowledge, what seruencie without cause he pretended, what paines without profit hee take. Who if he had bestowed that time and trauell in preaching



thing Christ at home to his flocke, which he take in gladding to Rome, to complaine of his country, in my minde he had ben better occupied. Moreouer, what violent and tyrannicall iniunctions he set forth of inuesting and other things, yee haue heard; but specially against the lawfull and godly mariage of priests. Wherein, what a vehement aduersary he was, here may appeare by these minutes or peces extracted out of his letters, which we haue here annexed; in forme and effect as followeth.

## A letter of Anselme.

*Anselme archbishop, to his brethren and dearest sonnes the Lord prior and others at Canturbury.*

King Henry permitted priests to haue both churches and wiues. Exempl. Anselmi. 77. & 171. Pope Paschal hath so decreed it at Rome. Ergo priests must haue no wiues.

AS concerning priests, of whom the king commanded that they should haue both their churches and their women as they had in the time of his father, & of Lanfrancus archbishop: both because the king hath reuested and reseized of the whole archbishopricke, & because so cursed a mariage was forbidden in a councell in the time of his father and of the said archbishop: boldly I command by the authority which I haue by my archbishopricke, not onely within my archbishopricke, but also throughout England: that all priests which keepe women, shall be depriued of their churches and ecclesiasticall benefices.

## A letter of pope Paschalis to Anselme.

*Paschal bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, to his reuerend brother Anselme, archbishop of Canturbury, greeting and apostolicall blessing.*

Exempl. Anselmi. Pope Paschal writeth that he would haue the church now come by Iesus children, which burt the were it to the church for priests to haue wiues.

WE beleeue your brotherhood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romish church concerning priests children. But because there is so great multitude of such within the realm of England, that almost the greater and better part of the clerks are reckoned to be on this side: therefore we commit this dispentation to your cure. For we grant these to be promoted to holy offices by reason of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church (such as learning and life shall commend among you) that yet notwithstanding the preiudice of the ecclesiasticall decree be taken heed to hereafter, &c.

## Another letter of Anselme for inuesting.

*To the reuerend lord and louing father Paschal high bishop, Enselme seruant of Canturbury church, due subiection and continuall praiers.*

King Henry and his nobles ready to forsake the Romish church.

AFter that I returned to my bishoprick in England, I shewed the apostolicall decree: which I being present, heard in the Romish councell. 1. That no man should receiue inuesting of churches at the kings hand, or any lay person, or should become his man for it, and that no man should presume to consecrat him that did offend herein. When the king and his nobles, and the bishops themselues, and others of the lower degree heard these things, they took them so grieuously, that they said they would in no case agree to the thing, and that they would driue me out of the kingdome, and forsake the Romish church, rather then keep this thing. Wherefore reuerend father, I desire your counsell by your letter, &c.

Iudges corrupted.

## Another letter of Anselme.

*Anselme archbishop, to the reuerend Gudulphus bishop, and to Arnulphus prior, and to William archdeacon of Canturbury, and to all in his diocesse, greeting.*

A letter of Anselme against priests receiuing again their wiues. Exempl. 17. Priests excommunicated for receiuing again their wiues.

WIlliam our archdeacon hath written vnto me, that some priests that be vnder his custody (taking againe their women that were forbidden) haue fallen vnto the vnclennes from the which they were drawne by wholesome counsell and commandement. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they vtterly despised with wicked pride, his warning and worthy commandement to be receiued. Then he calling together many religious men and obedient priests, excommunicated worthily the proud and disobedient, that beastly despised the curse, and were not afraid to defile the holy ministery, as much as lay in them, &c.

Exempl. 155. Whether to more mercy for a monke to cause himselfe in the chapter to be whipped, or to suffer obediently the whipping of his abbat.

Vnto these letters aboue prefixed, I haue also adioined an other of the said Anselme, touching a great cale of conscience, of a monks whipping of himselfe. Wherein may appeare both the blind and lamentable superstition of those religious men, and the iudgement of this Anselme in the same matter.

## Another letter of Anselme.

*Anselme archbishop, to Bernard manke of the abby of S. Warburg, greeting and praier.*

A terrible example for corrupt iudges to beware.

A letter of Anselme.

I Heard it said of your lord abbat, that thou iudgest it to be of greater merit, when a monke either beateth himselfe, or defireth himselfe to be beaten of another; then when he is beaten (not of his owne will) in the chapter, by the commandement of the prelacie. But is not so as you think. For that iudgement that any man commandeth to himselfe, is kingly. But that which he suffereth by obedience in the chapter is monkish. The one is of his owne will, the other is of obedience, and not of his owne will. That which I call kingly, kings and rich proud men command to be done to themselues. But that which I call monkish, they take, not commanding, but obaying. The kingly is so much easier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the sufferer. But the monkish is so much the grieuouser, by how much it differeth from the will of the sufferer. In the kingly iudgement, the sufferer is iudged to be his owne: in the monkish he is proued not to be his owne. For although the king or rich man, when he is beaten, willingly sheweth himselfe humbly to be a sinner; yet he would not submit himselfe to this humblenesse at any others commandement, but would withstand the commander with all his strength. But when a monke submitteth himselfe to the whip humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelat; the truth iudgeth him to be of so much greater merit, by how much he humbleth himselfe more, and more truly then the other. For hee humbleth himselfe to God only, because he knoweth his sinnes. But this man humbleth himselfe to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himselfe both to God and man for Gods cause, then he which humbleth himselfe to God only, and not to Gods commandement. Therefore if he that humbleth himselfe, shall be extolled, Ergo he that more humbleth himselfe, shall be more exalted. And where I said, that when a monk is whipped, that it differeth from his will; you must not so vnderstād it, as though he would not patiently beare it with an obedient will; but because by a naturall appetite he would not suffer the sorrow. But if ye say, I doe not so much flie the open beating for the paines (which I feele also secretly) as for the shame: know then that hee is stronger that reioiceth to beare this for obedience sake. Therefore be thou sure, that one whipping of a monke by obedience, is of more merit then innumerable whippings taken by his owne mind. But whereas hee is such, that alwaies he ought to haue his heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to iudge him then to be of a great merit, whether hee be whipped priuily or openly, &c.

The iudgement or conclusion of Anselme vpon the case. False opinion of merit.

And thus much concerning Anselme archbishop of Canturbury, whose stout example gaue no little courage to Thurstinus and Becket his successors, and others that followed after, to do the like against their kings and princes, as in processe hereafter by the grace of Christ shall appeare.

Anno 1105

About this time 1105. two famous archbishops of Mentz being right vertuous and well disposed prelats, were cruelly and tyrannously beat withall, and intreated by the bishop of Rome: their names were Henry and Christian. This Henry hauing intelligence that hee was complained of to the pope, sent a learned man (a special friend of his) to excuse him, named Arnold, one for whom he had much bone, and promoted to great liuings and promottons. But this honest man Arnold, in stead of an excuser, become an accuser, driuing the two elect cardinals with gods gold, by which meanes he obtained of them these three cardinals to be sent as inquisitors and ouerlookers in that present case. The which (comming to Germany) summoned the said Henry, and deposed him of his archbishopricke (for all he could doe) either by law or iustice: substituting in his place the foresaid Arnold, vpon hope (truly) of the ecclesiasticall gold. Whereupon that vertuous and honorable Henry (as the story telleth) spake vnto those his peruerse iudges on this wise: If I should appeale vnto the apostolike sea for this your vniust proceise had against mee, perhaps the pope would attempt nothing any more therein then yee haue, neither should I winne any thing by it, but only taste of body, losse of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and mifling of his sauor.

Wherefore I doe appeale vnto the Lord Iesus Christ, as to the most high and iust iudge, and cite you before his iudgement, there to answer me before the high iudge. For neither iustly nor godly (but by corruption as it pleaseth you) you haue iudged. Whereunto they scoffingly answered (Go your first, and we will follow, for long after (as the story is) the said Henry died. Whereof the said two cardinals hauing intelligence, sent one to the other iestingly, Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow according to our promise. And verily they said truer then they were aware of: for within a while they died in one day. For the one sitting vpon a iakes to ease himselfe, voided out all his intrailes into the draught, and miserably ended his life. The other gnawing off the fingers of his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth (all deformed in deuouring himselfe) died. And in likewise, not long after the end of these men, the foresaid Arnold (most horrible) in a sedition was slaine; and certaine daies (lying stinking aboue the ground vnburied) was open to the scoffe of euery rascall and harlot. The historiographer in declaring hereof crieth vpon the cardinals in this manner: O ye cardinals, yee are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hither therefore, come yet hither, and heape and carry into your countries

the

the diuell, and offer your selues to him with that mony, wherof ye haue been most gluttonous and insatiable.

About the same time and yeere when king Henry began his raigne, pope Paschalis entred his papacy, succeeding after Urbanus, about the yeere of the Lord 1100, nothing swarning from the steps of Hildebrand his superior. This Paschalis being elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cried thrice, Saint Peter hath chosen god Rainerius, hee then putting on a purple vesture, and a tire vpon his head, was brought vpon a white palfray into Lateran, where a sceptor was giuen him, and a guilde put about him, hauing seuen keies, with seuen seales hanging thereupon for a remembrance or token of his seuen-fold power, according to the seuen-fold grace of the holy Ghost: of binding, losing, shutting, opening, sealing, resigning, and vnbinding. After this Paschalis was elected pope, Henry the fourth, the forsaid emperor (of courage most valiant, if the time had serued thereto) thought to come vp to Italy to salute the new pope. But vnderstanding the popes mind bent against him, he changed his purpose. In the meane time, Paschalis to shew himselfe vnkinde to Hildebrand in no point, began first to depose all such abbats and bishops whom the emperor had set vp. Also banished Albertus, Theodoricus, and Magiualphus striuing at the same time for the papacie. I spake before of Guibert, whom Henry the emperour had made pope against Hildebrand. Against this Guibert, Paschalis made out an army, who being put to flight, not long after departed.

The popes insolent dealing.

The seuenfold power of the keies.

Of Rantelphus, Conte and martyr.

The bishops of Florence a martyr.

Sabellicus.

Rainucci at Treuis.

About the same time, Anno 1101, the bishop of Florence began to teach and to preach of antichrist then to be borne and to be manifest, as Sabellicus testifieth: whereupon Paschalis assembling a councel, put to silence the said bishop, and condemned his bookes. In this councell at Treuis, priests that were married were condemned for Nicolaitans. Item, according to the decree of Hildebrand, all such of what degree or estate soeuer they were, being laymen, that gaue any ecclesiasticall dignities, were condemned of simonie. Furthermore, the statute of priests tithes there he renewed, counting the selling away thereof as a sinne against the holy Ghost. Concerning the excommunication and other troubles, that Hildebrand wrought against Henricus the fourth emperor, it is declared sufficiently before. This excommunication Paschalis the pope renewed afresh against the said Henry. And not onely that, but also conuenting the princes of Germany vnto a generall assembly set vp his owne sonne against him, causing the bishop of Mentz, of Cullen, and of Wormes, to depriue him of his imperiall crowne, and to place his sonne Henricus the fifth in his fathers kingdome, and so they did. Comming to the place at Bilgedeim, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crowne, from him. The emperor denyeth the cause, being then excommunicat and void of friends. They pretending against (I cannot tell what) for selling of bishoprickes, abbacies, and other ecclesiasticall dignities for mony also alleaging the popes pleasure and of other princes. Then required he first of the bishop of Mentz (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishoprickes before) asking them in order, if he had receiued of them any penie for his promoting them to their dignities. This when they could not deny to be so: Well saith he, and doe you requite me against with this? With diuers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their oth and allegiance to their prince. But the periured prelats, neither reuerencing his maiestie, nor moued with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him (sitting in his throne) his crowne imperiall, then disaulturned him, taking from him his purple and his scepter. The cheefe emperor being left desolat and in confusion, saith to them: Videat Deus & iudicet: that is, let God see and iudge. Thus leauing him, they went to his sonne to confirme him in his kingdome, and caused him to driue his father out. Who then being chased of his owne sonne, hauing but nine persons about him, did flie by the duke dome of Lunbugh, where the duke being then in hunting, perceiuing and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The emperor fearing no other but present death (for he had displaced the same duke before out of his dukedome) submitted himselfe, crauing of him pardon, and not reuengement. The duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also receiued him to his castell. Soone ouer, collecting his souldiors and men of war, brought him to Cullen, and there was well receiued. His sonne hearing this, besieged the citie of Cullen. But the father by night escaping, came to Leodium, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and of constant heart. In so much, that his power being strong enough, hee was now able to pitch a field against his enemies, and so did; desiring his friends that if he had the victory, they would spare his sonne. In fine, (the battell ioined) the father had the victory, the sonne was put to flight: many being slain on both sides. But shortly after, the battell renewed againe, the sonne preuailed, the father was ouercome and taken. Who then being vtterly dispossessed of his kingdome, was brought to that exigent, that comming to Spire, was faine to craue of the bishop there, whom he had done much for before) to haue a prebend in the church; and for that he had some skill of his booke, he desired to serue in our ladies quire. Yet could he not obtaine so much at his hand, who swore by our lady, he should haue none there. Thus the wofull emperor, most vnkindly handled, and repulsed on euery side) came to Leodium, and there for sorow died, after he had raigned fifty yeers, whose body Paschalis after his funerall caused to be taken vp againe, and to be brought to Shires, where it remained fiue yeeres vnburied. Hæc ex Helmoldo.

A tragicall history of the pope Paschalis stirring the sonne against the father.

*Ex historia Helmoldi.*

The pardon for the sin against the father.

A gratefull example of a good and thankfull duke.

A naughty sonne of a good father.

*Ex Helmoldo, & Gotfrido Viterbiensi.*

After the decease of this emperor Henry the fourth, his sonne Henricus the fifth raigned the space of twenty yeeres. Who comming to Rome to be crowned of the pope, could not obtaine it, before hee would fully assent to haue this ratified, that no emperor should haue any thing to do with the election of the Romain bishop, or with other bishoprickes. Besides that, (about the same time) such a stir was made in Rome by the said bishop, that if the emperor had not defended himselfe with his owne hands, he had been slaine. But as it happened, the emperor hauing the victory, amongst many other Romans (which were partly slaine, partly taken in the same skirmish) he taketh also the pope, and leadeth him out of the citie: where he indenteth with him vpon diuers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recouering againe his right and title in the election of the pope, and of other bishops: whereunto the pope assenting, agreed to all. So the emperor (being crowned of Paschalis) returned againe with the pope to Rome.

{Anno 1107} Henricus emperor. *Ex chronica Cuspiniani, &c.*

The pope taken prisoner.

All the conditions betweene the emperor and the pope (so long as the emperor remained at Rome) stood firme and ratified. But as soone as the emperor was returned againe to Germany, forthwith the pope calling a synod, not only reuoked all that he had agreed to before: but also excommunicated Henricus the emperor, as hee had done his father before, repeuing the former Priuilegium for prauilegium. The emperor returning from Rome to France, there married Mathild daughter to king Henry. Who then hearing what the pope had done, (grieued not a little) with all expedition marcheth to Rome, and putteth the pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the meane time the bishops of Germany (the popes good friends) slept not their businesse, inceasing the Saxons all that they might against their Cesar: in so much that a great commotion was stirred vp, and grew at length to a pitcht field: which was fought in the month of February, by the word called Sylua Caruiaira, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fiftéene.

War raised by the pope and his papists.

The emperor seeing no end of these conflicts (vnlesse hee would yeeld to the pope) was faine to giue ouer, and forgoe his praueledge, falling to a composition, not to meddle with matters pertaining to the popes electio, nor with inuesting nor such other things belonging to the church and churchmen. And thus was the peace betweene them concluded, and proclaimed to no smal reioicing of both the armies, then lying by Wormes, neere the riuer of Rhene.

Peace concluded betweene the emperor and the pope.

In the time of this Paschalis, lined Bernardus, called Abbas Claraualensis, in the yeere 1108, of whom sprang the Bernardine monks.

Bernardus the abbat.

Bernardine monks came in.

About that time the citie of Worcester was consumed almost all with fire. An. 1109.

The citie of Worcester almost all consumed with fire. Marbilius.

All this while Henricus the emperor had no issue (hauing to wife Mathildis, the daughter of Henry the first, king of England, and that by the iust iudgement of God, as it may appeare. For as he hauing a father, persecuted him by the popes setting on, contrary to the part of a naturall son: so Gods prouidence did not suffer him to be the father of any child, naturally to loue him, or to succeed him.

Example of the lobs iust retribution and iudgement.

After the death of Paschalis, An. 1118, succeeded pope Gelasius, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in Rome. And at length another pope was set vp by the emperour called Gregorius the eighth, and Gelasius driuen away into France, and there died. After whom came Calixtus the second, (chosen likewise by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperour) who comming vp to Rome to inioy his seat, first sent his legat into Germany to excommunicat the emperor: Henricus, who then hauing diuers conflicts with his fellow pope Gregorius, at length drawe him out of Rome. At this time by this occasion, great disputation and controuersie was betweene the emperor and the popes court, whether of them in dignitie should excell the other: wherof reasons and arguments on both sides were alleaged, as in the verses here following are comprehended.

Two popes striuing together.

Pope Calixtus the second.

The pope excommunicateth the emperor.

Allegatio imperatoris contra papam.

*Cæsar lex viuas, stat regibus imperatiua,*
*Legeq; sub viua sunt omnia iura datiua,*
*Lex ea castigat, soluit & ipsa ligat.*
*Condit or est legis, neq; debet lege teneri,*
*Sed sibi complacuit sub lege libenter haberi:*
*Quicquid ei placuit, iuris adinstar erat.*
*Qui ligat ac soluit Deus ipsum protulit orbi,*
*Diuisit regnum diuina potentia secum,*
*Astra dedit superis, cætera cuncta sibi.*

Responsio



Responsio Romanæ curiæ contra imperatorem.

*Pars quoque papalis sic obuiat imperiali,*
*Sic dans regnare, quod Petro subjiciaris:*
*Ius etenim nobis Christus vtrumque parit.*
*Spiritus & corpus mihi sunt subiecta potenter,*
*Corpore terrena teneo cælestia mente,*
*Vnde tenendo polum, subiua ligoque solum.*
*Æthera pandere, calica tangere, papa videtur.*
*Namque, tollere, mittere, soluere cuncta meretur,*
*Qui dedit omne decus lex noua, lexque vetus.*
*Annulus & baculus quamuis terrena putentur,*
*Sunt de iure poli, quæ significare videntur.*
*Respice intra Dei, mens tua cedat ei, &c.*

In conclusion, the emperor being ouercome so much with the vaine reasons of the popes side, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse (talking with princes and perswaded by his friends) was faine to condescend to the vnreasonable conditions of the pope. First to ratifie his election, notwithstanding the other pope (whom the said emperor had set vp) yet was aliue. Secondly, that he should resigne vp his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the pope, and inuesture of bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set vp in the church of Lateran for a triumph of the emperor: thus subdued, the pope maketh out after Gregorius his fellow pope, being then in a towne called Sutrium, being besieged and taken. Gregorius also was taken. Whom Calixtus the pope, sitting vpon a camell (his face to the camels taile) brought him so through the stretes of Rome, holding the taile in his hand in stead of a bridle, and afterward being vnone, was thrust into a monastery.

Gregorius brought into Rome by the pope, his face to the hoyse taile. *Ex Platina. Vincentio. Sicilo &c.*

Amongst many other acts done by this glorious pope, first he established the decrees of the papall sea against this emperor. He brought in the fours quarter fasts, called ember daies. Dist. 70. cap. Ieiunium.

The ember daies by whom they were brought in, and when.

By the same Calixtus, the order of monks called Præmonstratenses were brought in.

Præmonstratenses.

Further, by him it was decreed to be iudged for aduiterie, if any person (by his life time) had put from him either bishopricke or benefice, grounding vpon this scripture of S. Paul to the Romans: *Alligata est vxor legi viri, quam diu vir eius viuit: eo defuncto, soluta est a lege viri, &c.* That is, The wife is bound to the law of her husband, so long as the husband liueth: after he is dead, she is loose from the law of her husband, &c.

Scripture cleerly applied of the pope.

Item, the same Calixtus holding a generall councell at Rhemis, decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons should put away their concubines and wiues: or else, whosoeuer was found to keepe his wife, to be depriued of benefice, and all other ecclesiasticall liuings: whereupon a certaine English writer made these verses following:

Priests and ministers compelled to leaue their wiues.

*O bone Calixte, nunc omnis clerus odit te.*
*Quondam presbyteri poterant vxoribus vti,*
*Hoc destruxisti, postquam tu papa fuisti, &c.*

That is, in good fo wood.

The hatred of the clergy, hast thou good Calixte,
For sometimes priests might vse their wiues right,
But that thou hast reiected, since pope thou wast elected.

And thus much of the Romain matters. Now to our country story againe. After the death of Anselme before mentioned (who deceased the yeere of Christ 1109. after he had been in the sea sixteene yeeres) the church of Canturbury stood void fiue yeers: and the goods of the church were spent to the kings vse. And when he was prayed to helpe the church that was so long without a pastor, his answer was: pretending that where his father and brother had accustomed there to set the best tried and approued men that might be found, to the intent therefore that he might do the same (in chusing such, which either should equall the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as neere as they could) he take therein the more time and leasure. And so with shift of answer delaied out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice.

{Anno 1109}

The same yeere (after the death of Anselme) the king conuerted the abby of Ely to a bishopricke, which before was vnder the bishopricke of Lincolne, placing there Henry bishop of Winegor, the first bishop of that sea. And as of late yeeres before this, diuers wonders were seene, as starres falling from heauen, so thicke that they could not be numbred, at the setting forth of the christians to the holy land: Iornalens. A blasing starre ouer Constantinople. A flying boiling out bloud (seene at Fincham) sted in Barkeshire) three weekes together. An. 1090. Gisburnensis. After that, the firmament appearing so red, as it had been all on fire: also two full moones appearing together, one in the east, the other in the west (on Maundy thursday) with a blasing starre in the same yeere appearing about the taking of duke Robert, hauing a white circle inclosing it. An. 1106. Iornalens. Also with an eclipse of the Sun darkned after that. So likewise about this present yeere, An. 1110. was seene the flood of Trent, about Nottingham, so dried vp from morning to

The bishopsick of Ely first planted. Henry first bishop of Ely.

{Anno 1110}

Trent dried vp.

{Anno 1113} Worcester consumed with fire.

An earel quake. Rainers and prædicant. *Ex Gualtero Gisburnensi.*

{Anno 1114} Rodulphus archbishop of Canturbury. Thurstinus archbishop of Yorke. Differēces betweene Thurstine of Yorke and Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury for subiection. The letter of Paschalis to king Henry.

thyr of the clocke at after none, that men might go ouer it dry shod: Gisburnens. Also in Shrewsbury a great earthquake happened, and after that followed a sharpe winter, great murren of beasts, and pestilence of men, as Gualterus Gisburnens. recordeth. Moreouer, the same author mentioneth, that next about the same yeere, the like wading of water also happened in the flood of Medway: and in the Thamis (betweene the bridge and the tower, and vnder the bridge, from midnight to the next euening) was so great an ebbe, that an vnnumerable sort of people and children waded ouer, scarce knee deepe in the water, the sea withdrawing his tide ten miles from his accustomed course. Rog. Houeden. Gualter. Gisburnens. &c. In the which yeere also, as the said author and Iornalens. doe testifie, the citie of Worcester by casuality was consumed with fire. Also the citie of Chester, An. 1114. Reg. Houed.

{Anno 1115} Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ libertas.

The next yeere following, Rodulphus bishop of Rochester (an Englishman) was promoted to bee archbishop of Canturbury, and Thurstinus the kings chaplen was elect archbishop of Yorke. Who being content to receiue his benediction of consecration of the sea of Canturbury; yet because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same sea, he was by the king depriued of his dignity.

Then Thurstin (by the instigation of certaine of his clerks at Yorke) take his iourny to Rome, who there making his complaint to pope Paschalis, brought with him a letter from the pope to the king, where among other words was contained as followeth: *Audiuimus electum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, virum sapientem & strenuum, sine iudicio ab Eboracensi sequestratum ecclesia, quod nimirū diuinæ iustitiæ, & S. patrū institutionibus aduersatur. Nos quidem neque Cant. ecclesiam nouis, neque Eboracensem volumus præiudicium pati, sed eam cōstitutionem quæ a B. Gregorio Anglicæ gentis apostolo, inter eas dem ecclesias constituta est, firmam censemus, illibatamque seruari. Idem ergo electus vt iustitia exigit, ad suam ecclesiam omnibus modis reuocetur. Si quid autem quæstionis inter eas dem ecclesias nascitur, præsentibus virisque partibus in vestra præsentia pertractetur, &c.*

In English thus:

We heare and vnderstand, that the archbishop elect of the church of Yorke (a discreet and industrious man) is sequestred from the church of Yorke, which standeth against both diuine iustice, and the institution of holy fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the church of Canturbury should be impaired, nor a grame that the church of Yorke should suffer any preiudice, but that the same constitution which was by blessed Gregory (the apostle of the English nation) set and decred betweene those two churches, should remaine still in force and effect inuiolat. Wherefore, as touching the forsaid cleare, let him be receiued again by any meanes, as right and meete it is, vnto his church. And if there be any question betweene the forsaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present, &c.

*Ex Gualtero Gisburnensi, Ex Gabriel. de pontif. lib. 4. Ex Reg. Houed. Fabian. &c.*

Vpon the occasion of this letter a solemne assembly there was appointed at Saltelbury, about the hearing of this controuerse. The barunce betweene these two prelats it increased more and more. Rodulph archbishop of Canturbury in no case would yeeld nor condescend to giue imposition of hands vnto him, vnlesse he would make his profession of obedience. Thurstin again said he would willingly receiue and imbrace his benediction; but as touching the profession of his subiection, that he would not agree vnto. Then the king declaring his mind therein, signified vnto Thurstin, that without his subiection and obedience professed to the archbishop of Canturbury, hee should not inioy his consecration to bee archbishop of Yorke. Whereunto Thurstin nothing replying againe, renounced his archbishoppricke, promising moreouer to make no more claime vnto it, nor molest them that should inioy it.

{Anno 1116} Assembly of the nobles at Salisbury. Thurstin refuseth to profess subiection to the archbishop of Canturbury. Thurstin promiseth to renounce his archbishoppricke.

Shortly after this, it happened that pope Paschalis died: after whom, as is aboue rehearsed, succeeded pope Gelasius, who liued not past a yeere, and died in France. Whereupon the cardinals (which then followed the said pope Gelasius into Cumiake) created another pope of their chusing, whom they called Calixtus the second. The other cardinals which were at Rome did chuse another pope called Gregory, as mention before is made: about which two popes much stir there was in christian realmes. As this Calixtus was remaining in France, and there calling a generall councell at Rhemis, as he heard before; Thurstinus the archbishop of Yorke desired licence of the king to go to the councell, purposing there to open the cause of his church, which eftsones he obtained: first promising to the king that he should there attempt nothing that should be preiudicial to the church of Canturbury. In the meane time, the king had sent secret word vnto the pope, by Rodulph and other procurators, that in no case he would consecrat Thurstinus. Yet, notwithstanding the faithfull promise of the pope made to the king, to it fell out, that the said pope through the sute of his king, to it fell out, that the said pope through the sute of his king, so it fell out, that the said pope through the sute of his king, to it fell out, that the said pope through the sute of his king, so fore discontented with Thurstin, and warned him the entry of his land.

{Anno 1118} Pope Calixtus breaketh promise with the king. Thurstin sacreth archbishop of Yorke by the pope against the king's mind.

*Concilium Rhemense.*

In this councell at Rhemis (aboue mentioned) where were gathered 434. prelats, these fiue principall acts were concluded.

1. That

Acts of the councell of Nycene.

1 That no man should either buy or sell any bishoprike, abbathip, deanry, archdeaconship, priesthood, prebendship, altar, or any ecclesiastical promotion, or benefice, orders, consecration, church halowing, seat or stall within the quier, or any office ecclesiastical, under danger of excommunication, if he did presse.

2 That no lay person should give investure of any ecclesiastical possession; or that any spirituall man should receive any such at any lay mans hand, under paine of deposiation.

3 That no man should inuade, take away, or detaine the goods or possessions of the church; but that they should remain firme and perpetuall, under paine of perpetuall curse.

4 That no bishop or priest should leave any ecclesiasticall dignitie or benefice to any, by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for baptisme, chrisme, anoiling, or burial, no mony should be exacted.

5 Item that all priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should be vtterly debarred and sequestred from company of their wives and concubines, vnder paine of excluding from all christian communion.

Decrees sent to the emperor.

The acts thus determined, were sent ex Nicene to Henricus the emperor, to see and try, before the breaking vp of the councell, whether he would agree to the canonicall elections, free consecration, and inuesting of spirituall persons, and to other acts of the said councell. The emperor misliked and refused, that he would take nothing that ancient custome of his progenitors had given him. Notwithstanding, because of the authority of the generall councell, he was content to consent to the residue, saue only the inuesting of ecclesiasticall function to bee taken from him, to that he would neuer agree. Vpon this, at the next returne of the pope to the councell, the emperor was appointed to be excommunicated. Which thing, when diuers of the councell did not well like, and therefore did separat themselues from the rest, the pope applying against them the multitude of the seuenty disciples which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therfore diuided themselues from him; declaring moreouer to them, how they which gathered not with him, scattered; and they that were not with him, were against him. By these and such like perswasions, he inducing them against to his side, and so by that councell Henricus the emperor was excommunicated.

The emperor agreeth not to the popes inuesting.

The councell diuided. *Ex Reg. Houed.* Heere the emperor excommunicated. Agreed that England should haue no other legat from Rome, but only the archbishop of Canturbury.

It was not long after but the pope came to Gisortium, where Henry king of England resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send hereafterward no legat, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, vnlesse the king himselfe should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not otherwise be decided by his olone bishops at home. The cause why the king required this of the pope was, for that certaine Roman legats had been in England a little before (to wit) one Guido, and another Roman named Ardelmus, and another also called Petrus, who had spoiled the realme of great treasure, as the accustomed manner of the popes prond legats is want to be, Guliel. de pont. lib. 1. Also he required of the pope, that he might vse and retaine all the customes vsed before of his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

England sheareth by the popes legats.

All the customs of the realme restored to the king.

To these petitions the pope did easily consent, requiring against of the king, that he would licence Thurstinus the archbishop aboue minded, to returne with fauor into his realme. But that the king vtterly denied, vnlesse he would professe fidelitie on to the church of Canturbury, as his predecessors had done before, and required himselfe by his oth, which hee before had made. To this the pope answered against, that he by his authority apostolicall, both might, and would also easily dispence with him for his promise or oth. Then the king said, that hee would talke with his councell thereof, and so bad him an answer of his mind. Which answere was this, that for the loue and request of the pope, he was cotent that Thurstinus should reenter his realme, and quietly inioy his prelatship, vpon this condition, that he would (as his predecessors did) professe his fidelitie to the church of Canturbury. Otherwise (said he) so long as he was king, hee should neuer fit archbishop of the church of Yorke. And thus ended that meeting betweene the king of England and the pope for that time.

The pope forbiddeth the king to be crowned.

Thurstinus returned.

Anno 1120.

The pope terrifieth the king, compelled to receiue Thurstinus for feare of the popes curse.

Anno 1122.

William archbishop of Canturbury.

The yere following after that, which was An. 1120, the foresaid pope Calixtus directeth his letters to Thurstinus to the king, and to Radulph archbishop of Canturbury. In which epistle, by his full power apostolicall, he doth interdict both the church of Canturbury, and the church of Yorke, with all the parish churches within the same cities, from all diuine seruice, from the burtiall also of the dead, except onely baptising of children, and absolution of them that lie on dying; vnlesse within a month after the receit of the same, Thurstinus without any exaction of fulsication made) were receiued and admitted to the sea of Yorke, and that the king likewise should doubtlesse be excommunicated, except he would consent vnto the same. Whereupon Thurstinus for feare of the popes curse, was immediatly sent for and reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his archiepiscopall sea of Yorke.

It followed not long after (within two yeres) Radulph archbishop of Canturbury departed, in whose sea succeeded after him Guillelmus de Turbine. About which time (in the seuen and twentith yeare of the kings raigne) the gray friers by procuring of the king came first into England, and had their house first at Canturbury. About the same season or a little before, the king called a councell at London, where the spirituality of England (not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the king to haue the punishment of married priests: by reason of which grant (whereof the spirituality afterwards much repented) the priests paying a certain to the king, were suffered to retaine their wiues still, whereby the king gathered no small sum of mony. Rog. Houed. Guliel. Gisburnensis. At this time began first the foundation of the monastery called Cisburne in Cleueland.

The gray friers first came into England.

Anno 1125. Priests pay for their wiues.

*Ex Gabel. Gisburnens. Hunting. lib. 7.*

The abbey of Cisburne buil-ded.

It was about touched, how Matild or Maud daughter to king Henry, was married to Henry the fifth emperor; who after the decease of the said emperor her husband, returned about this present time with the imperiall crowne to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of S. James. For the top thereof the king builded the abby of Reading, where the said hand was reposed. This Matild was received by the said councell to be next heire to the king her father, in possession of the English crowne, for lacke of issue male. And some after vpon the same, was sent ouer to Normandy, to marry with Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Anion, of whom came Henry the second, who (after Stephan) was king of England. And about this time also was founded the priory of Norton in the prouince of Chester, by one William the sonne of Nichelle. In the story of Polychronicon, Iornal, and Polydorus is declared, how the king was troubled greatly with those euyll spirits appearing vnto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of husbandmen of the country, which appeared to site vpon him with their mattocks and instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe vnto them. In the second, hee saw a great number of faulkiers and harnessed men to come fiercely vpon him. In the third, he saw a company of prelats & churchmen, threatning him with their bishops staues, and fiercely approching vpon him. Whereupon (being dismaied) in all haste ran and toke his sword to defend himselfe, fmding there none to strike: who afterward asking counsell concerning these visions, was monished by one of his physitians (named Grimbald) by repentance, almes, and amendment of life, to make some friends to God, and to his country vpon he offended. Which three bolnes thus being made, the next yere after he went to England; where he being vpon the seas in a great tempest with his daughter Matild, remembred there his three bolnes. And so comming to the land (for performance of the same) first released vnto the commons the Dane gilt which his father and his brother before had reuelued. Secondly, he went to S. Edmundsbury, where he shewed great benefits to the churchmen. Thirdly, he procured iustice to be administred more rightly throughout his realme, &c. Also he ordained and erected a new bishoprike at Carlil.

The gray friers house at Reading.

Matild daughter to the king.

Norton priory.

Henry 5. dyed at Vtrich in the empyrie.

Anno 1130. The pope excommunicateth the emperor.

Three terrible visions of the king.

Three bolnes made of king Henry.

Anno 1131. Dane gilt released.

The church re-ligned.

Iustice rightly administred.

Bishoprike of Carill newly erected by king Henry.

In the three and thirtith yeare of the kings raigne (as writeth a certaine author) a great part of the citie of London, with the church of S. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsuntweeke.

The citie and Paules church of London burned.

Matthæus Parisiensis.

Honorius the second.

After Calixtus (those stoop and time is before discoursed) succeeded pope Honorius the second, notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he by the meanes of certaine citizens, obtained the papacie. An. 1125. About the second yere of his elnation (as is to be read in Mat. Parisiens.) there was a certaine legat of his called Iohannes Cremensis, sent downe to England from the pope for the redresse I cannot well tell whereof. But in deed the chiefest purpose of his comming, as of all others after him in those dates, was to fill their pouches with English mony, as may further appeare by their proceedings. This legat comming then with the popes letters directed both into England and into Scotland, after he had well refreshed himselfe in bishops houses, and amongst the abbats, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergie together, inquired of priests concubines, otherwise called their wiues, and making thereupon a statute in the said synod of London, after this tenor: *Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, & canonicis, uxorum, concubinarum, & omnium omnino fœminarum cuiuscunq; conditionis, autoritate apostolica inhibemus, præter matrem aut sororem, uel amitam, aut cuiusmodi alie omnino careant suspicione. Et qui decreti huius violator extiterit (confessus uel conuictus) priuiledgio ordinis priuetur. Inter consanguineos seu affinitate propinquos, usque ad septimam generationem, matrimonia contrahi prohibemus.* That is, to priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons, we doe vtterly inhibit by authority apostolicall, all manner company and conuersation with all kind of women, except only their mother, sister, or aunt, or such of whom there is no suspicion. And whosoeuer shall be found to violat this decree, being conuict thereof, shall sustaine thereby the losse of all that he hath by his order. Moreouer, amongst kinred or such as be ioined in affinitie, we forbid matrimony vnto the seuenth generation, &c. But see how God worketh against such vngodly proceedings. The next night after it happned the same cardinall (trusting and reuelling with his concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, whereof he had so friendly giuen out precepts the next day before, to the no little slander and shame, as Mat. Paris. doth write of the whole clergy.

A Romish statute concerning priests wiues and concubines.

Vnto



Vnto this time liued Henricus the fift emperour, after he had raigned twentie yeares, lying without issue, as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus, the imperiall crowne came vnto Lotharius duke of Saxon, in the yeare one thousand one hundred twentie and seuen.

Arnulphus martyred at Rome. The history of Arnulphus.

Certaine histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this pope Honorius the second. Some say he was archbishop of Lugdune, as Hugo Platina, Sabellicus. Trithemius saith he was a priest, whole historie, as it is set forth in Trithemius, I will briefely in English expresse. About this time, saith he, in the dates of Honorius the second, one Arnulphus Priest, a man zealous and of great deuotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome, which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lasciuious solemne, incontinencie, auarice, and immoderat pride of the clergie, prouoking all to follow Christ and his apostles in their pouertie rather, and in purenesse of life. By reason whereof, this man was well accepted with the people, but not sufficient to counsell: What then to, and highly liked of the nobilitie of Rome for a true disciple of Christ, but of the cardinals and the clergie, no lesse hated then fauoured of the other. In so much that vpuithe in the night season they tooke him and destroyed him. Howbeit, Theodoricus, saith he, was reuealed to him before, from God by an angell, he being in the desert when he was sent forth to preach, wherunto he said vnto them publikely with these words: I know (saith he) ye seeke my life, and know you will make me away priuilie: but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, flountnesse, auarice, incontinencie, with your vnmeasurable greedinesse in getting and heaping vp of riches, therefore he you displeased with me. I take heere heauen and earth to witnesse, that I haue preached vnto you, that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemne me and your Creator, who by his only sonne hath redeemed you. And no marueil if you seeke my death, being a sinfull person, preaching vnto you the truth, when as if Saint Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices, which do so multiplie abone all measure, you would not spare him neither. And as he was expelling this, with a loud voice he said moreouer: For my part I am not afraid to suffer death for the truths sake: but this I say vnto you, that God will take vpon your iniquities, and will be reuenged. You being full of all vnpuritie, play the blind guides to the people committed vnto you, leading them the way to hell; a God be is of reuengeance. Thus the hatred of the clergie being incensed against him for preaching truth, conspired against him, and so laying priuie wait for him, toke him and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.

Arnulphus martyr.

Ex Tritemio. A booke called *Tripartitum*, written 400 yeares ago.

Number of holie dates.

Curious singing in cathedrall churches.

The world ouercharged with begging religions.

Promotion of euill prelats.

Superfluitie of apparell in bishops families.

Billoyns scales abused to get money.

Non residents in benefices.

Rash bestowing of benefices.

Blasphemie of the church goods.

Old bookes of councels lost by the negligence of the clerkes.

The vnchast life of priests condemned by the nature of the bodies.

In the second toome of the generall councels impainted at Cullen, is mentioned a certaine booke called Opus tripartitum, written as the author supposeth, aboue foure hundred yeares ago, either of this Arnulphus, or else about the same time. In this booke the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuses in the church. First of the number of holy dates, declaring what occasions of vice grow thereby, according vnto the common saying of whores and naughtie women, which say they bantage more in one holy day then in fiftie other dates besides.

Item, complaineth of the curious singing in cathedrall churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea many yeares about the same, which otherwise they might giue to the learning of better sciences.

Likewise complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging friers and religious men, and prosecuted women, shewing what great occasion of idle and vncomely life commeth thereby.

Also of the inconsiderat promotion of euill prelats, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the euill demeanor of the people.

Item of the great wantonnesse and lasciuiousnesse in their seruants and families, concerning their excesse in wearing of apparell.

Item, complaineth also of the outragious and excesse gaines that prelats and other vnder them take for their seale, especially of officials, scribes, and such like; which giue out the seale they care not how nor wherfore, so they may gaine money.

He complaineth in like maner that prelats be so slacke and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices.

Further, complaineth of the rash giuing of benefices to parsons, vicars, and curats, not for any godlinesse or learning in them, but for fauour or friendship, or intercession, either else for hope of some gaine, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the church.

After this he toteth in prelats, how they waste and expend the goods of the church in superfluities, or vpon their kinsfolkes, or other vnable wates, which should rather be spent on the poore.

Thirdly, in the tenth chapter he complaineth, for that through the negligence of men of the church (especially of the church of Rome) the bulls and monuments of the old councels, and also of the new, are not to be found: which should be reserued and kept in all cathedrall churches.

Item, that many prelats be so cold in doing their duties. Also reprocheth the vnchast and bolupteous demeanour of ecclesiasticall persons, by the example of bothes, whole nature is (saith he) that if any of their company leauing his olone mate, lopneth with any other, all the rest fleeth vpon him, whether it be of the beateth him, and plucketh his fethers off: what then, saith he, ought good prelats to do to such a person of their company, whole filthines and corrupt life both difficth so many, and hindereth in the whole church?

Marriage forbidden the french clergie.

The popes seruice granting priests of Christ, was found with an harlot.

Agayne, for so much as we reade in the booke of Esdras, lib. 2. cap. 9. that he purging Israel of strange women, began first with the priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of al sorts of men, first the purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the prophet Ezechiel; Begin first with my sanctuarie, &c.

Amendment of life ought first to begin with the priests.

Moreouer, how that in the time of Philip king of France, the whole realme was interdicted, for that the king had but one woman in stead of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And againe, seeing in these our dates the king of Portugale hath been sequestred from his dominion, by the authoritie of the church, being thought not sufficient to gouerne: What then ought to be said to that prelat who abuseth other mens wiues, virgins and nuns, which also is found vnable and insufficient to take vpon him the charge of soules?

The realme of France interdicted.

King of Portugale deposed.

About the peere of our Lord 1128, the orders of the knights of the Rhodes called Iohannits, also the order of Templars rose vp.

The knights of the Rhodes and Templars.

After Honorius next in the same diuruption succeded pope Innocentius the second. An. 1130. But as it was with his predecessors before him, that at euerie mutation of new popes came new perturbations, and commonly neuer a pope was elected, but some other was set vp against him (sometimes two, sometimes three popes together) so likewise it happened with this Innocentius; for after he was chosen, the Romans elected another pope named Anacletus. Betwixt these two popes was much adoe, and great conflict though the partaking of Rogerius duke of Sicile, taking Anacletus part against Innocentius, vntill Lotharius the emperor came, who rescuing Innocentius, droue Rogerius out of Italy. Mue stories record, that king Henrie was one of the great helpes in setting vp and maintaining this pope Innocentius against Anacletus; Cisburnensis.

Pope Innocentius the second.

Hurliburlie betweene popes.

Amongst many other things, this pope decreed that whosoeuer did strike a priest or clerke being shauen, he should be excommunicated, and not to be absolued, but only of the pope himselfe.

The popes curse proclaimed against such as strike any priest.

About the time of doing these things, being the yeare of our Lord 1135, king Henrie being in Normandie, as some say, by taking there a fall from his horse, as others say, by taking a surfet in eating lampreies, fell sicke and died, after he had raigned ouer the realme of England fiue and thirtie yeares and odde monthes, leauing for his heires vnto the empresse his daughter, with her yong sonne Henrie to succed after him, to whom all the prelats and nobilitie of the realme were sworne. But contrarie to their oath made to Maud in the presence of her father before, Willliam the archbishop of Canturburie and the nobles of the realme crowned Stephen earle of Bologne, and suffers sonne to king Henrie, vpon Saint Stephens day in Christmas weeke, which archbishop the next yeare after died, being, as it was thought, iustly punished for his periurie. And many other lords which did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like iustice of punishment is mentioned how the bishop of Salisburie, who contrarie vnto his oath, being a great doer in the coronation of Stephen, was apprehended of the same king, and miserablie, but iustly, exterminied.

The death of king Henrie. Anno 1135.

Periurie iustly punished.

A certaine written English storie I haue, which addeth more, and saith, that king Stephen hauing many fees in diuers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went then to Oxford and take the bishop of Salisburie, and put a rope about his necke, and so led to him to the castle of Ties, that was his. and commanded them to render vp the castle, or he would slay and hang their bishop. Which castle being giuen vp, the king take the spoile thereof. The like also he did vnto the bishop of Lincolne named Alexander, whom in like maner he led in a rope to the castle of the bishops that was vpon Trent, and also there deliuer vp the castle, or else he would hang their lord before the gate. Long it was before the castle was giuen vp, yet at length the king obtaining it, there entred and toke all the treasure of the bishop, &c. Roger Houeden and Fabian allegding a certaine old authour, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this periurie vnto one Hugh Bigot, steward sometime vnto king Henrie. Who immediatly after the death of the said Henrie, came into England, and before the said archbishop and other lords of the land, toke iuilly an oath and swore, that he was present a little before the kings death, when king Henrie admitted for his heire (to be king after him) Stephen his nephew, for so much as Maud his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the archbishop with the other lords gaue to battle credence. But this Hugh, saith he, escaped not vnpunished, for he died miserable in a short time after. Ex Fabian. Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practise of Henrie bishop of Wincheiter, and other prelats by his setting on, which Henrie was brother vnto king Stephen, &c.

Exempla. Angli. Ex Gerv. Dorob. Ex Fabi. in the Steph.

## King Stephan.

Anno 1136 King Stephan.

THus when king Stephan contrarie vnto his oath made before to Dauid the empresse, had taken vpon him the crowne (as is aboue said) he knowe before the lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegilt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreouer, because he dreaded the coming of the empresse, he gaue licence to his lords, euery one to build vpon their owne ground strong castles or fortresses, as them liked. All the time of his raigne he was vexed with warres, but especially with Dauid king of the Scots, with whom he was at length accorded: but yet the Scotish king did him no homage, because he was sworne to Dauid the empresse. Notwithstanding, yet Henrie the eldest sonne to king Dauid did homage to king Stephan. But he after repenting thereof, entred into Northumberland with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruell wise, neither sparing man, woman or child. Such as were with child they ript, the children they toss vpon their speares points, and laying the priests vpo the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhod of the English lords and soldiers, and through the prayers of Thurstin archbishop of Yorke, they were not withall, and slaine a great number of them, and Dauid their king constrained to giue Henrie his sonne hostage for suretie of peace. In the meane time king Stephan was occupied in the south countries, besieging diuers castles of diuers bishops and other lords, and tooke them by force, and fortified them with his knights and seruants, to the intent to withstand the empresse, whose comming he euer feared.

Building of castles in England.

The cruelties of the Scots against the English.

Anno 1140 Dauid the empresse came into England against Stephan.

About the first peare of his raigne, Dauid the empresse came into England out of Normandie, and by the aid of Robert earle of Glocester, and Ranulph of Chester, made strong warre vpon king Stephan. In the end wherof the kings partie was chased, and himselfe taken prisoner, and sent to Bristow there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when king Stephan should ioyne his battell, it is said in a certaine old chronicle before minded, that he being at the masse (which then the bishop of Lincolne said before the king) as he went to offer vp his taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the masse was done, (at what time the king should haue beene housled) the rope where by the pix did hang, did breake, and the pix fell downe vpon the altar.

King Stephan taken prisoner.

After this field, the quéene, king Stephans wife (lying then in Kent) made great labour to the empresse and her counsell, to haue the king deliuered and put into some house of religion, but could not obtaine. Also the Londoners made great suite to the said empresse, to haue and to vse against S. Edwards lawes, and not the lawes of her father, which were more strict and straunge vnto them then the other. Which when they could not obtaine of her and her counsell, the citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would haue taken the empresse: but the hauing knowledge thereof, fled priuilie from London vnto Oxford. But then the Kentishmen and Londoners taking the kings part, ioyned battell against the empresse, there the foresaid Robert earle of Glocester, and base brother to the empresse was taken, and so by exchange, both the king and earle Robert were deliuered out of prison. Then Stephan without delay gathering to him a strong army, straitly pursued the foresaid Matild or Maud with her friends, besieging them in the castle of Oxford. In the siege whereof fell a great snow and frost so hard, that a man well laden might passe ouer the water: vpon the occasion whereof, the empresse bethinking her selfe, appointed with her friends and retinue, clothed in white shéets, and so issuing out by a posterne gate, went vpon the ice ouer Thames, and so escaped to Walingford. After this, the king (the castle being gotten) when he found not the empresse, was much displeased, and molested the countrie about diuers maies. In conclusion, he pursued the empresse and her companie so hard, that he caused them to flie the realme, which was the first peare of his raigne.

What it is for princes to be hard and strict to their subiects.

King Stephan and Robert earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

The second peare after this, which was the eight peare of his raigne, there was a parliament kept at London, vnto the which all the bishops of the realme resorted, and there denounced the king accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the church, or to any minister therof. Whereupon the king began somewhat to amend his conditions: for a certaine space: but afterward (as my storie saith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were, my author maketh no relation therof, &c. Mor returne againe to the storie, the empresse compelled, as is said, to flie the realme, returned againe into Normandie to Geffrey Plantagenet her husband. Who, after he had patiently borne and defended the duchie of Normandie, against the puissance of king Stephan a long time, ended his life, leauing Henrie his sonne to succeed him in that dukedome. In the meane while, Robert earle of Glocester, and the earle of Chester, who were strong of people, had diuers conflicts with the king, in so much that at a battell at Wilton betweene them the K. was well nere taken, but yet escaped with much paine.

The vncertaine assertion thereof.

The decease of Geffery Plantagenet.

It was not long after, but Eustace sonne to king Stephan, who had married the French kings sister, made war on duke Henrie of Normandie, but preuailed not. Some after, the said Henrie duke of Normandie (in the quarrell of his mother Maud) with a great puissance entred into England, and at the first wan the castle of Malmesburie, then the tower of London, and afterward the towne of Nottingham, with other holds and castles, as of Walingford and other more. Thus betweene him and the king were fought many battels, to the great auoyance of the realme. During which time, Eustace the kings sonne departed. Vpon the occasion whereof, the king caused Theobald (which succeeded next after William aboue mentioned) archbishop of Canterburie, to make meanes to the duke for peace, which vpon this condition betweene them was concluded, that Stephan during his life time should hold the kingdome, and Henrie in the meane time to be proclamed heire apparent in the chiefe cities throughout the realme. These things thus concluded, duke Henrie taketh his iourney into Normandie (king Stephan and his sonne William bringing him on his way) where William the kings sonne taking vp his horse before his father, had a fall and brake his leg, and so was had to Canturburie. The same peare king Stephan, about October (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after he had raigned nineteene yeares perfectly.

Henrie duke of Normandie.

Henrie entred into England.

Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet king Stephan and duke Henrie concluded.

The death of king Stephan.

Saint William of Yorke.

Iohn Cumin.

In the time of this king, which was the fiftenth peare of his raigne, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the pope, did hold a councell at London. In the which councell first began newe found appellations from councels to the pope, found out by Henrie bishop of Winchester. For as the words of mine author do record: *In Anglia namque appellationes inusitatum erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit. In eodem namque concilio ad Romani pontificis audientiam ter appellatum est, &c.* That is: For appellations before were not in vse in England, til Henrie bishop of Winchester being then the popes legat, brought them cruelly in, to his owne hurt. For in that councell thrice appeale was made to the bishop of Rome.

Pope Lucius his second warres against the senators.

Spirituall excommunication abused in temporall causes.

In the time of king Stephan died Gratianus a monke of Bononie, who compiled the booke called the popes decrees. Also his brother Petrus Lombardus bishop of Paris, which is called the maister of sentences, compiled his foure bookes of the sentences. These two brethren were the greatest doctors in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them: and this they call the spirituall vnderstanding of the mysterie. And therefore no marueil if the supper in those daies were seene blacke and dimme.

Gratianus the compiler of the popes decrees.

Petrus Lombardus maister of the sentences.

Some also affirme, that Petrus Comestor, writer of the scholasticall historie, was the third brother to these aboue named.

Petrus Comestor.

In the same time and raigne of the said king Stephan was also Hugo surnamed De sancto victore. About the which time (as Polychronicon recyteth) lined and died Bernardus Claraualensis.

Hugo de sancto victore.

Bernardus Claraualensis.

The author of the historie called Iornalensis, maketh also mention of Hildegare the nun and prophetesse in Almanie, to liue in the same age. Concerning whose prophecie against the friers, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) more shall be laid, when we come to recite the order and number of friers and religious men crept into the church of Christ.

Hildegarde.

The reade moreouer of one named Ioannes de temporibus, which by the affirmance of most of our old histories, liued 361 peares, seruant once to Carolus Magnus: and in the raigne of Stephan king of England died. Polychron. lib. 7. Continuator Henr. Hunt. Iornalensis in vita Steph. Nicol. Triuet. &c.

Ioannes de temporibus.

In the daies also of this king, and by him, was builded the abbey of Feuersham, where his sonne and he were buried. He builded the monasterie of Finchesis and of Feuersance, the castle of Walingford, with a number of other castles more.

During the time of the said king Stephan, the peare of our Lord 1144. the miserable Iewes crucified a child in the citie of Norwich. Nicol. Triuet. & alij.

The Iewes crucified a christian bodie at Norwich.

The order of the Gilbertines.

Much about the same time came vp the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert sonne to Iacoline a knight of Lincolneshire, &c.

Mention hath been made before of certaine English councels holden in the time of this king, where it was (as one of them vnder Theobald the archbishop of Canturburie) decreed, that bishops should liue more discreetly, should teach their flocke more diligently: that reading of scriptures should be frequented more vsually in abbeyes: that priests should not be rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learne and teach the Lords prayer and creed in English. Malmesb.

The Lords prayer and the creed in English.

Math. Parisiensis writeth, how Stephan king of England in these daies reserued to himselfe the right and authoritie of bestowing of spirituall liuings, and inuesting prelats, in the peare 1122.

Matth. Paris. in vita Steph. king of England.

At which time also, Lotharius the emperour began to doe the



the like in recouering againe the right and priuiledge taken away from Henricus his predecessour, had not Bernardus giuen him contrarie counsell.

Lotharius the emperour.

Cursing with booke, bell, and candle.

Where came into the church the manner of cursing with booke, bell, and candle, deuised in the councell of London, holden by William bishop of Winchester vnder pope Celestinus, which succeeded after Innocentius, An. 1144.

Also Lotharius succeeded in the imperiall crowne Conradus, the nephew of Henricus the fift afore mentioned, An. 1138. which why amongst many emperours is not found to receiue the crowne at the popes hand.

Anno 1038

In the daies of this emperor, who raigned fiftéene peares, were diuers popes, as Celestinus the second, Lucius the second, Eugenius the third, at which time the Romans went about to recouer their former old manner of chusing their consuls and senators. But the popes then being in their ruffe, in no case would abide it, whereupon arose many commotions, with much ciuill war amongst them. In so much that pope Lucius (sending for aid to the emperour, and he otherwise letted at that time could not come) armed his souldiers, thinking to inuade them, or else to destroy them in their owne house. Whereupon arose many commotions, this comming to their knowledge before, the people was all in arap, and so much adoe was amongst them. Pope Lucius being also amongst them in the fight (well pelted with stones and blowes) lined not long after. Likewise pope Eugenius after him, An. 1145, put the Romans for the same matter, first did curse them with excommunication: after, when he saw that would not serue, he came with his host, and so compelled them at length to take his peace, and to take his conditions which were these: That they should abolish their consuls, and take such senators as he by his papall authoritie should assigne them.

Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

Henrie Barbrick king of England and duke of Normandie concluded.

Adrianus a pope, an Englishman.

Then followed Anastasius the fourth, and after him Adrian the fourth an English man, by his name called Breakespeare, belonging once to S. Albons. This Adrianus kept great stirre in like sort with the citizens of Rome for abolishing their consuls and senat, curbing, excommunicating, and warring against them with all power he could make, to the time he remoued the consuls out of their office, and brought them all vnder his subiection. The like businesse and rage he also stirred vp against Apulia, and especially against the empire, blustring and thundering against Fredericus the emperor, as (the Lord graunting) you shall heare anon, after we haue prosecuted such matter, as necessarily appertaineth first to the continuation of our English storie.

## King Henrie the second.

Anno 1154 King Henrie the second.

HEnrie the second of that name, the sonne of Gefferey Plantagenet, and of Maud the empresse, and daughter of king Henrie the first, began his raigne after king Stephen, and continued fiue and thirtie yeares. The first peare of his raigne he subdued Ireland, and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him lord chancellour of England. This king cast downe diuers castles which were erected in the time of king Stephen. He went into the north parts, where he subdued William king of Scotland, who at that time held a great part of Northumberland, vnto Newcastle vpon Tine, and ioyned Scotland to his owne kingdome from the south ocean, to the north iles of Orchades. Also he put vnder his dominion the kingdome of Wales, and there set to fall downe many great woods, and made waies plaine. So that by his great manhood and policie, the seignorie of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the iles Orchades, Britaine, Poictou, and Guien. Also he had in his rule, Normandie, Galcoine, Angeou, and Chinon: also Aluernie and the citie of Tholous he wan, and were to him subiect. Duer and be titles (by the right his wife claimed) daughter to the earle of Poictou, he obtained the mounts Pyzane in Sxaine: so that we reade of none of his progenitors, which had so many countries vnder his dominion.

Thomas Becket chanc. lour of England.

What was done in the first peare of his raigne.

Anno 1157

In England were seene in the firmament two sunnes, or (as it is in Chronica chronicorum) in Italie appeared three sunnes by the space of three houres in the west, and the peare following appeared three moones, whereof the middle moone had a red castle ouerthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the iudgement of some) the great schisme that after fell among the cardinals, for the election of the bishop of Rome: or else rather the businesse betweene Fredericus the emperour and the popes, whereof partly mo is incidently occasion giuen vs to discourse: after that I haue first written of Gerhardus and Dulcinus Nauarrensis, who in their time according to their gift, did carnestly labour and preach against the church of Rome, defending and maintaining, that prayer was not more holy in one place then in another, that the pope was antichrist, that the clergie and prelats of Rome were reiect, and the whole throne of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalypse, &c. Peraduenture those had receiued some light of knowledge of the Waldenses, who at length with a great number of their followers were oppressed and slaine by the pope. And although some inconuncient points of doctrine and dishonestie in their assemblies be against

Gerhardus, and Dulcinus, preachers against antichrist of Rome.

Ex historia Gisleberti Mons.

them alledged of some, yet these times of ours do teach vs sufficiently, what credit is to be giuen to such popish flanders, forged rather vpon hatred of true religion, then vpon any iudgement of truth. Illiricus in his booke De testibus, referreth the time of these two to the peare of our Lord 1180: but as I find in the storie of Robert Gulsburne, these two about the peare of our Lord 1158, brought thirtie with them into England, who by the king and the prelats were all burnt in the forehead, and so driuen out of the realme, and after (as Illiricus writeth) were slaine by the pope.

Anno 1158

And now (according to my promise premised) the time requiretth to proceed to the historie of Fredericus the first (called Barbarossa) successor vnto Conradus in the empire, who marched vp to Italie, to subdue there certaine rebels. The pope hearing that, came with his clergie to meet him by the way, in a towne called Sutrium, thinking by him to find aid against his enemies. The Emperour seeing the bishop, lighteth from his hosse to receiue him, holding the stirrup to the prelat on the left side, when he should haue held it on the right, wherewith the pope shewed himselfe somewhat grieued. The emperour smiling, excused himselfe that he was neuer accustomed to hold stirrups. And seeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the lesse matter was what side of the hosse he held. The next day to make amends against to the bishop, the emperor sending for him, receiued him, holding the right stirrup vnto the prelat, and to all the matter was made whole, and he the popes white sonne againe.

Frederike Barbarossa emperour.

The pope displeased that the emperour did not hold his right stirrup.

The emperour holdeth the popes stirrup.

After this, as they were come in and sat together, Adrianus the pope begunneth to declare vnto him, how his ancestors before him, such as sought vnto the see of Rome for the crowne were wont alwaies to leaue behind them some speciall token or monument of their benuolence, for the obtaining thereof, as Carolus Magnus in subduing Lombards, Otho the Berengarians, Lotharius the Normans, &c. Wherefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from him vnto the church of Rome, in restoring againe the countrie of Apulia to the church of Rome. Which thing if he would doe, he for his part againe would do that which appertained vnto him to do: meaning in giuing him the crowne, for at that time the popes had brought the emperours to fetch their crowne at their hands.

The pope's old practise in setting princes together by the eares.

Frederike with his princes, perceiuing that vnlesse he would of his owne proper costs and charges fetch in againe Apulia out of Duke Williams hands, he could not speed of the crowne, was faine to promise to all that the pope required, and to the next day after was crowned.

This done, the emperour returneth into Germanie, to refresh his armie and his other furnitures, for the subduing of Apulia. In the meane while Adrianus not thinking to be idle, first giueth forth censures of excommunication against William duke of Apulia. Besides, not content with this, sendeth also to Emmanuel emperor of Constantinople, inueighing him to warre against the foresaid William. The duke perceiuing this, sendeth both to the pope for peace, promising to restore to him whatsoeuer he would.

Warre stirred vp by the pope.

But the pope though the malignant counsell of his cardinals would graunt to no peace, thinking to get more by warre. The duke seeing nothing but war, prepareth himselfe with all expedition to the same. To be briefe, making all his power out of Sicilie, he arriueth at Apulia, and there putteth Emmanuel the emperour to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the citie of Bonauenture, where the pope with his cardinals were looking for victorie. He planting there his siege, so straitly vexed the citie, that the pope with his cardinals were glad to intreate for peace, which they refused before. The duke granted vnto them peace vpon certaine conditions: that is, that neither he should inuade their possessions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope should make him king of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded and they departed. The bishop comming to Rome, was no lesse troubled there about their consuls and senators, in so much that when his curses and excommunications could not preuaile no; ferue, he was faine to leaue Rome, and remoued to Aretinum.

What more gainefull to the pope then peace.

The pope disseuered from the emperour.

The pope vexed by the duke of Apulia.

The pope compelled to intreate for peace.

The emperour at home, began to consider with himselfe, how the pope had ertoted from the emperours, his predecessours, the inuesting and induing of prelats, how he had pilled and polled all nations by his legats, and also had been the sower of seditions through all his empire: he began therefore to require of all the bishops of Germanie: he began therefore to require of all the bishops of Germanie: he began therefore to require of all the bishops of Germanie

In priore editione.

*An English.*

*A letter of pope Adrian to the emperour Frederike.*

Adrian bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to Frederike emperour, health and apostolical benediction. The law of God, as it promiseth to them that honor father and mother long life, so it threatneth the sentence of death to them that curse father and mother. Wee are taught by the word of truth, that euerie one, the which exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low. Wherefore (my well beloued sonne in the Lord) we marueil not a little at your wisdome, in that ye seeme not to shew that reuerence to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to shew. For why? In your letters sent to vs, you prefer your owne name before ours, wherein you incur the note of insolencie, yea rather (to speake it) of arrogancie. What should I here recite vnto you, the oath of your fidelitie, which you sware to blessed S. Peter and to vs, and how you obserue and keepe the same? Seeing you so require homage and allegeance of them that be gods, and all the sonnes of the high God, and presume to ioyne their holy hands with yours, working contrarie to vs: seeing also you exclude, not only out of your churches, but also out of your cities, our cardinals, whom we direct as legats from our side: what shall I say then vnto you? Amend therefore I aduise you, amend; for while you go about to obtaine of vs your confecration and crowne, and to get those things you haue not, I feare much your honour will lose the things you haue. Thus fare ye well.

*The emperours name before the popes.*

## The answere of Frederike the emperour to the pope.

FRederike by the grace of God, Romane emperour, euer Augustus, vnto Adrian bishop of the Romane church, and vnto all such that be willing to cleaue vnto those things which Iesus began to worke and teach, greeting. The law of iustice giueth to euery person accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our parents: of whom, according as we haue receiued this our dignity of the imperial crowne and gouernance: so in the same kingdome of ours, we doe render their due and true honor to them againe. And for so much as duties in all sorts of cases is to be fought out, let vs see first in the time of Constantine (Siluester then being bishop of Rome) what patrimonie or regalitie he had of his owne, due to him that he might claime. Did not Constantine of his liberal benignity giue libertie, and restored peace vnto the church? And whatsoeuer regalitie or patrimonie the see of our papacie hath, was it not by the donation of princes giuen vnto them? Reuolue and turne ouer the ancient chronicles (if either you haue not read, or neglected that we do affirme) there it is to be found. Of them which be Gods by adoption, and hold our lordships of vs; why may we not iustly require their homage, and their sworne allegeance, when as he which is both your master and ours (taking nothing of any king or any man, but giuing all goodnesse to all men) paid toll and tribute for him and Peter, vnto Cæsar? giuing you example to do the like. And therefore faith to you and all men, Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble of heart, &c. Wherefore either render againe your lordships and patrimonies which yee hold of vs: or else if ye find them so sweet vnto you, then giue that which is due to God, vnto God: and that which is due to Cæsar, vnto Cæsar. As for your cardinals, we shut them out both of churches and cities, for that we see them not preachers, but prollers; not repairers of peace, but rakers for money; not pillars and vpholders of the church, but pollers infatiable of the world, and moilers of money and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men (such as the church requireth them to be) members and makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poore and weake mens causes in the way of equitie, &c: then shall they find vs prest and readie to relieue them with stipends, and all things necessarie. And whereas you inferre such questions as these vnto secular men little conducing to religion) you incur thereby no little note and blemish of your humilitie (which is keeper of all vertues) and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in mouing such matters as seeme to vs vnsemely for you, yee giue thereby offence to such as depend of your word (giuing eare to your mouth, as it were to an euening shower:) for wee cannot but tell you of that we heare, seeing now the detestable beast of pride doth creepe into the seat of Peter, prouiding alwaies (as much as we may by Gods grace) for the peace of the church. Fare ye well.

Upon this Adrian the pope directeth out a bull against Frederike, excommunicating him with publike and solemne ceremonies. Moreouer, conspiring with William duke of Apulia fought all manner of waies to infest the emperour, and to set all men against him, especially the clergie. Amongst manie other writing to Hallitus bishop of Triuers, to Arnulphus bishop of Mentz, and to Frederike bishop of Collen, secretly first to make them of his side. His epistle to them foloweth to this effect.

*A seditious and pitifull letter of the pope to the bishops of Germanie.*

THe empire of Rome was transferred from the Greekes to the Almans, so that the king of Almans could not be called emperour, before he were crowned of the bishop apostolicall. Before his consecration hee is a king, afterwards emperour. Whence hath he his empire then, but of vs? By the election of his princes he hath the name of a king, by our confecration he hath the name of the emperour of August, or of Cæsar. Ergo by vs he raigneth as emperour. Search ancient antiquities. Zacharias P. promoted Carolus, and made him a great name, that he was made and called emperour: and after that, euer the king of Almans was named emperour and aduoct to the see apostolicall, so that Apulia (conquered by him) was subdued to the bishop of Rome: which Apulia with the citie of Rome is ours, and not the emperours. Our seat is at Rome, the seat of the emperour is at Aquis in Arduenna, which is a wood in France. The emperor whatsoeuer he hath, he hath it of vs. As Zacharias did translate the empire from the Greeks to the Almans, so we may translate it againe from the Almans to the Greekes. Behold it lieth in our power to giue it to whom we will, being therefore set vp of God aboue gentiles and nations, to destroy and plucke vp, to build and to plant, &c.

*Clett haggard and like a pye.*

*Scripture well wyested.*

*Note here a courageous hart in a valiant emperour.*

*An example for all princes to follow.*

*Note.*

And yet further to vnderstand the ambitious presumption of the proud see of Rome, it so chanced this emperour Frederike at his first comming vp to Rome, did behold there in the palace of Lateran, a certaine picture brought forth vnto him, how Lotharius the second emperor was crowned of the pope, with the inscription of certaine verses in Latine, declaring how the foresaid emperour comming to Rome, first did sweare to the citie, after was made the popes man, and so of him received the crowne. Frederike offended with this picture, desired the pope it might be abolished, that it should be no cause of any dissension hereafter. The pope vnderstanding the intent of the emperour, how loth he was to come vnder subiection to his see, deuised by all craftie waies to bring it to passe. And first taking his occasion by the bishop of Laodicea (being then detained in custodie, I cannot tell by whom) sent diuers and many letters vnto him; and yet not so there, as proud and disdainfull. Wherein the first salutation by his legats, was this in Latine: *Salutat vos beatissimus pater noster papa, & omnes fratres cardinalium, ille vt pater, hi vt fratres.* That is, Our most blessed father the pope greeteth you, and the vniuersall compante of the cardinals, he as your father, they as your brethren. Meaning thereby that he should vnderstand himselfe to be subiect and vnderling to the pope, no lesse then the cardinals were. Moreouer in his letters obiecting diuers things against him, reciteth how many and great benefits he had receiued of the church of Rome, by the which church he had obtained the fulnesse of his honour and dignitie, &c. The emperour with his princes perceiuing whereunto the pope by his legats did tend (being a prince of courage) could not abide such intolerable presumption of a proud message: wherevpon much contention fell betweene the legats and the princes. And of whom then, say the legats, receiueth Cæsar the empire, if he take it not of the pope? with the which word the Germain princes were so much offended, that had not the emperour staied them (with much adoe) they should haue vsed violence against the legats. But the emperour not permitting that, commanded the legats away, straitly charging them to make no tarrie by the way to any person or persons, but straight to depart home. And he, to certifie the whole state of the empire of the truth of the matter, directeth forth these letters that follow.

*Ex Reden. in appendice Frisingen.*

*See the ambitious presumption of a proud priest.*

## The tenor of the emperours letter sent through all his empire.

FOr so much as the prouidence of God (whereof dependeth all power both in heauen and earth) hath committed to vs his ancoined, this our regiment and empire to be gouerned, and the peace of his churches by our imperiall armes to be protected; we cannot but lament and complaine to you with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of dissension (the root and fountaine of euils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption) thus to rise from the holy church, imprinted with the seale of peace, and loue of Christ.

By reason whereof (except God turne it away) we feare the whole bodie of the church is like to bee polluted, the vnitie thereof to be broken, and a schisme and diuision to be betwixt the spirituall and temporal regiment. For we being of late at Bisunze, and there intreating busily of matters pertaining as wel to the honor of our empire, as to the wealth of the churches, there came ambassadors of the see apostolicall, declaring that they brought a legacie to our maiestie of great importance, redounding to the no small commoditie of our honor and empire.

Who then, the first day of their comming, being brought to our presence, and receiued of vs (as the manner is) with honour accordingly, audience was giuen them to heare what they had to say. They forthwith bursting out of the mamon of iniquitie, haute pride, stoutnesse and arrogancie, our of the execrable presumption of their swelling heart, did their message with letters apostolicall, whereof the tenour was this: That we should alwaies haue before our eyes, how that our soueraigne lord the pope gaue vs the imperiall crowne, and that it doth not repent him, if so beit we haue receiued greater benefits at his hand.

And



And this was the effect of that so sweet and fatherly legation, which should nourish peace both of the church and of the empire. To vnite them fast together in the band of loue.

At the hearing of this so false, vntrue, and most vaineglorious presumption of the proud a message, not only the emperors maiestie conceiued indignation, but also all the princes (there present) were moued with such anger and rage thereat, that if our presence and request had not staied them, they could not haue held their hands from these wicked priests, or else to haue proceeded with sentence of death against them.

Furthermore, because a great number of other letters (partly written alreadie, partly with seales readie signed, for letters to be written according as they should thinke good to the churches of Germanie) were found about them, whereby to worke their conceiued intent of iniquitie here in our churches, to spoile the altars, to carie away the iewels of the church, and to fley off the lims & plates of golden crosses, &c. To the intent their mariticous meaning should haue no further power to raigne, we gaue them commandement to depart the same way they came. And now, seeing our raigne and empire standeth vpon the election of princes, from God alone, who in the passion of his sonne subdued the world to be gouerned with two swords necessarie, and againe, seeing Peter the apostle hath so informed the world with this doctrine, *Deum timete, regem honorificate*: that is; Feare God, honor your king: therefore, whose faith that we haue and possesse our emperiall kingdome by the benefit of the lord pope, is contrarie both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and also shall be reproued for a lier.

Therefore as our endeuour hath been heretofore, to helpe and to deliuer the seruile captiuitie of churches out of the hand, and from the yoke of the Egyptians, and to maintaine the right of their liberties and dignities, we desire you all with your company to lament with vs, this slanderous ignominie inferred to vs and our kingdome, trusting that your faithfull good will, which hath been euer trustie to the honor of this empire, (neuer yet blemished from the first beginning of this citie, and of religion) will prouide, that it shall haue no hurt through the strange nouelties and presumptuous pride of such. Which thing rather then it should come to passe, know you this for certaine, I had rather incur the danger of death, then to suffer such confusion to happen in our daies.

This letter of Cæsar fretted the pope not a little, who wrote againe to the bishops of Germanie, accusing the emperor, and willing them to worke against him what they could. They answere againe with all obedience to the pope, submitting themselues, and yet accusing the emperour, and blaming him rather; and reboted him hereby to tempt his letters and legacies with more gentlenes and modestie; which counsell he also followed accordingly.

*Pope Alexander treading on the necke of Frederike the emperour.*




*Holy Scripture abused.*

*The pope treading on the emperours necke.*

Much trouble had good Frederike with this pope, but much more with the other followed. For this pope continued not vpon long, but a space only of 4. yeares and 6. moneths. About whose time rose vp the order of the hermits by one William once duke of Aquitania, afterward a frier. This Abianus walking with his cardinals abroad, to a place called Anagnia or Arignanum, (as Volateran calleth it) chanced to be choised with a stie getting into his throat, and so was strangled, who in the latter time of his papacie was wont to say, that there is no more miserable bird of life in the earth, then to be a pope, and to come to the papacie by blood, that is (said he) not to succeed Peter, but rather Romulus, who to raigne alone did slay his brother.

*The order of hermits.*

*Anno 1159*

*The saying and iudgement of pope Adrianus of the papal see.*

*The popes rather succeeding to Romulus then to Peter. Pope Alexander terrified.*

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came there vp next much worse, one Alexander the third of that name; who yet was not elect alone; for he set him the emperor with nine cardinals (albeit Sabellicus saith but with three) did set vp another pope, named Victor the fourth. Betweene these two popes rose a foule schisme and great discord, and long continued. In so much that the emperour being required to take vp the matter, sent for them both to appeare before him, that in hearing them both, he might iudge their cause the better. Victor came, but Alexander (disdaining that his matter should come in controuersie) refused to appeare. Whereupon the emperour with a full consent of his bishops and clergie about him, assented and ratified the election of Victor to stand, and so brought him into the citie, there to be receiued and placed. Alexander, flying vnto France, accused them both, sending his letters to all christendome against them, as men to be auoided and cast out of all christian companie. Also to get him friends at Rome by gifts and money, got on his side the greatest part of the citie, both to the fauouring of him, and to the setting vp of such consuls as were for his purpose. After this, Alexander comming from France to Sicill, and from thence to Rome, was there receiued with much fauour, through the helpe of Philip the French king.

*Alexander excommunicateth the emperour.*

The emperour, hearing this rebellion and conspiracie in Rome, remouued with great power into Italie, where he had destroyed diuers great cities. Comming at length to Rome, he required the citizens that the cause betwixt the two popes might be decided, and that he which had the best right might be taken. If they would so do, he would restore againe that which he tooke from them before. Alexander mistrusting his part, and doubting the wils of the citizens (hauing ships readie prepared for him, from William duke of Apulia) fetcht a course about to Venice.

*Anno 1164*

To declare here the difference in histories, betweene Blondus, Sabellicus, and the Venetian chronicers, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will omit as this most doe agree, that the pope being at Venice, and required to be sent of the Venetians to the emperour, they would not send him. Whereupon Frederike the emperour sent thither his sonne Otho, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his comming. The young man more hardie then circumspect (coming with the Venetians) was ouercome, and so taken, was brought into the citie. Hereby the pope take no small occasion to worke his feats.

The father to helpe the captiuitie and miserie of his sonne, was compelled to submit himselfe to the pope, and to intreat for peace. So the emperour comming to Venice (at S. Marks church) at the bishop was, there to take his absolution, was bid to kneele downe at the popes feet.

The proud pope setting his foot vpon the emperors necke, said the verse of the Psal. *Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem & draconem*; That is: Thou shalt walke vpon the adder & on the basilisk, and shalt treade downe the lion and the dragon. To whom the emperor answering again, said *Non tibi sed Petro*: That is not to thee but to Peter. The pope again: *Et mihi et Petro*. Both to me and to Peter. The emperor fearing to giue any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, so was absolued, & peace made betweene them. The conditions whereof were these. First, that he should receiue Alexander for the true pope. Secondly, that he should restore againe to the church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the emperour obtaining againe his sonne, departed.

*Volateran ranken with a contradiction.*

Here, as I note in diuers writers, a great diuersitie and varietie touching the order of this matter (of whom some say that the emperour came in Palestina before he came to Venice, some say after) so I marueil to see in Volateran (so great a fauourer of the pope) such a contradiction, who in his two and twentith booke saith, that Otho the emperors sonne was taken in this conflict, which was the cause of the peace betweene his father and the pope. And in his three and twentith booke against

faith, that the emperour himselfe was taken prisoner in the same battell: and so afterwards (peace concluded) tooke his iourney to Asia and Palestina. This pope in the time of his papacie (which continued one and twentie yeares) kept sundrie councels both at Turo and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and others his predecessors; as to bind all orders of the clergie to the vow of chastitie; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define chastitie aright. For who so liueth not a chast life saith he, is not fit to be a minister. But herein lieth an error: full of much blindnesse, and also perill, to thinke that matrimonie immaculat (as S. Paul calleth it) is not chastitie, but only a single life, that they esteeme to be a chast life.

Concilium Lateranense. The clergie bound to the vow of chastitie. Papists care not to much in permitting chastitie, as in detaining chastitie.

Now for so much as our English pope holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, hapned also in the same time of this pope Alexander, let vs somewhat also speake of him, so far as the matter shall seeme worthie of knowledge, and to stand with truth: to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flatterie and lies of such popish writers as paint out his storie, men may the better iudge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

## The life and historie of Thomas Becket
*archbishop of Canturburie.*

Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie.

IF the cause make a martyr, as is said, I see not why we should esteeme Thomas Becket to deserue martyr, more then any other whom the princes sword doth here temporally punish for their temporall defects. To die for the church, I grant is a glorious matter. But the church (as it is a spirituall and not a temporall church) is to stand vpon causes spirituall, and vpon an heauenly foundation, as vpon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to Gods commandements; and not vpon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, priuiledges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these bee giuen to the church, I pray God churchmen may vse them well; but if they be not giuen, the church cannot claime them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the princes power. To contend with princes for the same, it is no matter, (in my mind) materiall, to make a martyr, but rather a rebellion against them, to whom we owe subiection. Therefore, as I suppose Thomas Becket to be farre from the cause and title of a martyr (neither can he be excused from a plaine rebell against his prince) so yet would I haue wished against the law rather publikely to haue found out his fault, then the swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to haue smitten him, hauing no speciall commandement, neither of the prince, nor of the law so to do. For though the indignation of the prince (as the wise prince saith) is death, yet it is not for euery priuat person straightwaies to reuenge the secret indignation of his prince, except he be publikely authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, the lawes first to haue executed their office vpon him. Certes, it had been the safest way for the king, as it proued after; which had inst matter enough, if he had prosecuted his cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of martyrdome, neither had there followed that shrinking and fainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret prouidence of God (which gouerneth all things) did see this way percase to be best, and most necessarie for those daies. And doubtlesse (to say here what I thinke, and yet to speake nothing against charitie) if the emperours had done the like to the popes, contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners, that is, if they had vsed the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traiterous rebellion, they had broken the neckes of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church. But for lacke of that, because emperours hauing the sword, and the truth on their side, would not vse their sword; but standing in awe of the popes vaine curse, and reuerencing his seate for Saint Peters sake, durst not lay hand vpon him, though he were neuer so abominable and traiterous a malefactour: the popes perceiuing that, take so much vpon them (not as the Scripture would giue) but as much as the superstitious feare of emperours and kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it past all order, rule, and measure: and all because the superiour powers either would not, or durst not practise the authoritie giuen vnto them of the Lord, vpon those inferiours, but suffered them to be their masters.

But as touching Thomas Becket, whatsoeuer is to bee thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelats not to be so stubborne (in such matters not pertaining vnto them) against their prince, vnto whom God hath subiected them.

Herbertus de Bosham. Iam. Charnet. edunc abbas of Tuetchburie. Guliel. Cantuariens. Thomas Becket described.

Now to the storie, which if it be true that is set forth in Quadrilogo, by those foure, who take vpon them to expresse the life and processe of Thomas Becket, it appeareth by sundrie circumstances that he was a man of a stout nature, seuere, and inflexible. What perswasion or opinion he had once conceiued, from that he would in no wise be remoued, or very hardly. Threatnings and flatterings were to him both one; in this point singular, following no mans counsell so much as his owne. Great helps of nature there were in him (if hee could haue vsed them well) rather then of learning; albeit somewhat skilfull he was of the ciuill law, which hee studied at Bononie: in memorie excellent good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chast and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet archdeacon of Canturburie, and after lord chancellour) he was verie euill, courtly, pleasant, giuen much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly fauoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his sonne and heire to his institution and gouernance. But in this his first beginning, he was not so well beloued, but afterward he was against as much hated (and deseruedly) both of the king, and also of the most part of his subiects, saue only of certaine monkes and priests, and such others as were perswaded by them, who magnified him not a little for vpholding the liberties of the church (that is) the licentious life and excesse of churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of deuotion, but without all true religion; zealous, but cleane without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiffe and stubborne of nature, so (a blind conscience being ioyned withall) it turned to plaine rebellion. So superstitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his naturall and most beneficiall king: and in maintaining (so contentiously) the vaine constitutions and decrees of men, he neglected the commandements of God. But herein most of all to be reprehended, that not only (contrarie to the kings knowledge) he sought to conuey himselfe out of the realme (being in that place and calling) but also (being out of the realme) let matter of discord betweene the pope and his king, and also betweene the French king and him, contrarie to all honestie, good order, naturall subiection, and true christianitie. Whereupon followed no little disquietnesse after, both to the king, and damage of the realme, as heere (in processe and order following, by the grace of Christ) we will declare; first beginning with the first rising vp of him, and so consequently to prosecute in order his storie as followeth.

What commeth of blind zeale destitute of right knowledge.

And first heere to omit the progenie of him and of his mother named Rose, whom Polyd. Virgilius falsely nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed this came out of the parts bordering neere to Pomponiane; to omit also the fabulous vision of his mother, mentioned in Roberto Crikeladensi, of a burning torch issuing out of her bodie, and reaching vp to heauen: his first preferment was to the church of Stanfield, which hee had by the gift of S. Albans. After that, he entred in the seruice of the archbishop of Canturburie, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and after by the said Theobald was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to king Henrie to bridle the yong king, that he should not bee fierce against the clergie, whom in processe of time the king made lord chancellour, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellour. He fashioned his conditions like to the kings both in waighttie matters and trifles; hee would hunt with him, and watch the time when the king dined and slept. Furthermore, he began to loue the merrie iestings of the court, to delight himselfe with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may passe ouer his houshold stuffe, hee had his bridle of siluer, and the bolles of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table and other expences he passed any earle: that on the one side men would iudge him little to consider the office of an archdeacon; and on the other side would iudge him to vse wicked doings. Hee played also the good souldier vnder the king in Saxoigne, and both wan and kept townes. When the king sent Thomas being chancellour home into England (ambassadour with other nobles after the death of the archbishop) hee willed Richard Lucie (one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this Thomas to the couent of Canturburie, that they might chuse him archbishop; which thing he did diligently. The monkes said it was not meet to chuse a courtier and a souldier to be head of so holy a company; for he would spend (said they) all that they had. Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great fauour with the prince. The kings sonne, and was so suddenly dischanged of the chancellourship which he had some fiue yeares: in the soure and fortith yeare of his age (on the saturday in Whitsun weeke) he was made priest, and the next day consecrated bishop.

The life of Thomas Becket. Polydore misliketh the mother of Becket. Ex Roberto Crikeladensi. Ex Florilego.

As touching the priesthood of this man, I find the histories to vary in themselues: for if he were beneficed, and chaplaine to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon (as some say) it is no other like, but that he was priest before, and not (as our most English stories say) made priest in one day, and archbishop the next.

Differences in chronicles.

What holpe euer this matter passeth, heere is in the meane time to be seene, what great benefits the king had done for him, and what great loue hee had been betweene them both. Soone after that Becket was thus promoted, what variance and discord hapned betweene them, remaineth to be shewed: the causes of which variance were diuers and sundrie.

As first, when (according to the custome) the kings officers gathered of euerie one hide money through the realme, for the defence of their owne countrey; the king would haue taken it to his coffers. But the bishop said, that which euerie man gaue willingly, he should not count as his proper rent.

The causes of variance rested betweene the king and the archbishop.

Another cause was, that where a priest was accused of murder, and the kings officers and the friends of the dead accused the priest earnestlie afore the bishop of Salisburie his diocesan to whom he was sent, desiring iustice to be done on him, the priest was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himselfe, the bishop sent to the archbishop to aske what he should do. The archbishop commanded he should be deprised of all ecclesiasticall benefices, and shut vp in an abbie to doe perpetuall penance. After the same sort were diuers others handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost toynt, nor burned in the hand, or the like paine.

The third cause was, that where a canon of Buris did vrile the kings iustices, the king was offended with the whole clergie. For these and such like, the archbishop (to pacifie the kings anger) commanded the canon to be whipped and deprised of his benefices for certaine yeeres. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldnesse, and therefore he called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergie to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled together, the king earnestlie commanded that such wicked clerks should haue no priuiledge of their clergie, but be deliuered to the gaolers, because they passed iustice of the spirituall correction; and this he said also their olde canons and lawes had decreed. The archbishop counselling with his bishops and learned men, answered probablie: and in the end he desired hartilie the kings gentlenesse (for the quietnesse of himselfe and his realme) that vnder Christ our new king, and vnder the new law of Christ hee would bring in no new kind of punishment into his realme (vpon the new chosen people of the Lord) against the old decrees of the holie fathers; and oft he said, that he neither ought nor could suffer it. The king moued therewith (and not without cause) allegeth against and reproueth the old lawes and customes of his grandfather, obserued and agreed vpon by archbishops, bishops, prelats, and other priuileged persons, inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now (in his raigne) would condemne that which in the raigne of his grandfather was well allowed. To which lawes and customes the said Thomas did partlie grant, and partly not grant. The copie of the which foresaid lawes are contained in the number of eight and twentie or nine and twentie, whereof I thought here to recite certaine not vnworthie to be knowne.

## The copie of the old lawes and customes where-
*unto Thomas Becket did grant.*

The kings custome.

1 THat no order should be giuen to husbandmens children and bondmens children, without the assent or testimonie of them, which be the lords of the countrie where they were borne and brought vp: and if their sonnes become clerks, they shall not receiue the order of priesthood without licence of their lords.

Out of an English chronicle agreeth with the processe of Henrie the second, and Thomas Becket, lord Stokes.

2 And if a man of holy church hold any law fee in his hand, he shall do therefore the king the seruice that belongeth therefo, as vpon iuries, assise of lands and iudgements, sauing onlie at exception point of death.

3 If any man were the kings traitor, and had taken the church, that it should be lawfull to the king and his officers to take him out.

4 And if any fellons goods were brought to holie church, that there should none such keepe there, for euery fellons goods bee the kings.

5 That no land should be giuen to the church, or to any house of religion, without the kings licence.

## These articles following Thomas agreed not vnto.

1 IF that betweene a clerke and a lay man were any striuing for church goods, they would the plea should bee done in the kings court.

2 That there should neither bishop nor clerke goe out of the land without the kings licence, and then he should sweare vpon a booke he should procure no hurt against the king, nor none of his.

3 If any man were denounced accursed, and were come againe to amendment, the king would not that he should bee sworne, but only find suerties to stand to that that holy church should award.

4 The fourth that no man that held of the king in chiefe or in seruice, should be accursed without the kings licence.

5 That all the bishoprikes and abbies that were vacant, should be in the kings hands, vntill such time that he should chose a prelat thereto, and he should be chosen out of the kings chapels; and first before he were confirmed, he should doe his homage to the king.

6 If any plea were brought to a consistory, they shall appeale from thence to the archdeacon, and from thence to the bishops court, and from the bishops court to the archbishops, and from thence to the king, and no further. So that in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.



7 That all debts that were owing through trothplight, should not be pleaded in spirituall, but in temporall courts.

8 That the Peter-pence, which to the pope were gathered, should be taken to the king.

9 If any clerke for fellonie were taken and so prooued, he should bee first degraded, and then through iudgement to bee hanged, or if he were a traitor, to be drawne.

## Other lawes and constitutions made at Clarendon
*in Normandie and sent to England, whereunto Becket* and the pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the realme.

The lawes of Clarendon.

1 IF any person shall bee found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canturburie any writing containing any indict or cause against the realme of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done vpon the same.

2 That no monke nor any clerke shall be permitted to passe ouer into England without a passport from the king or his iustices; who for both the contrarie, that man to be tached and imprisoned.

3 No man to be so bold once to appeale to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canturburie out of England.

4 That no decree or commandement proceeding from the authoritie of the pope or the bishop of Canturburie, to be receiued in England, vnder paine of taking and imprisoning.

5 In generall, to forbid any man to carrie ouer any commandement or precept, either of clerke, or layman, to the pope or to the archbishop of Canturburie, vnder paine of imprisonment.

6 If any bishop, clerke, abbat, or layman shall doe contrarie to this inhibition, or will keepe the sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the land, with all their kinred, and to leaue all their goods behind them.

7 All the possessions, goods and chatels of such as fauour the pope or the archbishop of Canturburie, to be seized and confiscat for the king.

8 All such of the clergie as be out of the realme, hauing their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned (though euery three within three moneths to repaire home, or else their rents and goods to returne to the king.

9 That S. Peters pence should be no more paid to the apostolicall see, but to be reserued diligently in the kings coffers, and there to bee at his commandement. Atque hæc ex Quadrilogo.

10 That the bishops of Salisburie and Norwich be at the kings mercie, and be summoned by the shiriffe and bedels, that they before the kings iustices doe right to the king and his iustices, because (contrarie to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandement they interdicted the land of earle Hugh, and published the same in their diocesse without licence of the kings iustices.

¶ By these and such other lawes and decrees it may appeare, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realme of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driuen out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that antichrist should so fullie be reuealed; neither was his wickednes then so fullie ripe in those daies, as it hath been now in our time. Now these premised, let vs returne where we left, to the matter betweene the king and Thomas Becket.

## The communication and controuersie betweene
*the king and Thomas Becket with* his clergie.

THe king (as is afore said) consenting his nobles and clerks together, required to haue the punishment of certaine misdoers of the clergie; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his clergie, that the customs then set forth in the realme (meaning the first part of those decrees aboue specified) should be obserued. To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren, giueth answer against; that he was contented the kings ordinances should be obserued, adding this withall, Saluo ordine suo, that is; Sauing his order. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition, Saluo ordine suo. Dnelie Hilarius bishop of Chichester, perceiuing the king to be exasperat with that addition, in stead of Saluo ordine, agreed to obserue them Bona fide. The king hearing them not simplie to agree vnto him, but with an exception, was mightilie offended; whereupon turning to the archbishop and the prelates, said; that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, Saluo suo ordine, which he said was captious and deceitfull, hauing some manner of venom lurking vnder; and therefore required an absolute grant of them without any exception to agree to the kings ordinances. To this the archbishop answered againe, that they had sworne vnto him their fidelitie, both life, bodie, and earthlie honor, Saluo ordine suo; and that in the same earthlie honor also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the obseruing they would bind themselues after

Becketts addition, Saluo ordine suo.

The bishop of Chichester.

after no other forme, but as they had sworne before. The king with this was moued, and all his nobilitie not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easilie haue relented, had not the stoutnesse of the archbishop made them more constant then otherwise they would haue been. The day being well spent, the king (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giuing no word of salutation to the bishops, likewise the bishops euery one to his owne house departed. The bishop of Chichester (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his fellowes for changing the exception contrarie to the voice of all the others. The next day following the king tooke from the archbishop all such honors and liuings, as he had giuen him before, in the time that he was archbishop, as he had giuen him before, in the time that he was chancellor, all which did openlie appeared the great displeasure of the king against him and the clergie. Not long after this, the king removing from London vnto Woodstocke to the bishops sailed ouer to Normandy, whither the bishop of London called Gilbert (not long after) returned to craue the kings fauour, and gaue him counsell withall to ioyne some of the bishops on his side, lest if all were against him, peraduenture hee might sooner bee ouerthrowne. And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this meanes reconciled against to the king, only the archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutnes still. The king (thinking to trie all maner of waies) when he saw no feare nor threats could turne him, did assay him with gentlenesse; it would not serue. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the king; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of Yorke with diuers other bishops and abbats (especiallie the bishop of Chester) did the same. Neither this his owne houshold bande called vpon him, but no man could persuade him. At length vnderstanding partly by them that came to him, what danger might happen not only to himselfe, but to all the other clergie vpon the kings displeasure: partly considering the old loue and kindnesse of the king towards him in time past, was content to giue ouer to the kings request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himselfe about the addition, which displeased the king so much. Whereupon the king (being somewhat mitigated) receiued him with a more cheerefull countenance, but yet not all so familiar as before, saying; that hee would haue his ordinances and proceedings after the forme confirmed in the publike audience and open light of his bishops and all his nobles. After this the king (being at Clarendon, there called all his peeres and prelats before him, requiring to haue that performed, which they had promised, in consenting to the obseruing of his grandfathers ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop suspecting (I cannot tell what) in the kings promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before, at last with much adoe he was inforced to giue assent. First, came to him the bishop of Salisburie and of Norwich, who (for old matters indangered to the king long before, came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to haue some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacie to the king, lest if hee so continued (though his stoutnesse to eraspe at the kings displeasure) happily it might redound to no small danger, not onely of them which were in ieopardie already, but also of himselfe to be imprisoned, and the whole clergie to be indangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble peeres of the realme, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the kings desire: if not, they should be inforced to vse violence, as neither would stand with the kings fame, and much lesse with his quietnesse; but yet the stout stomach of the man would not giue ouer. After this came to him two rulers of the temple called Templares, one Richard de Hall, another Ossias de Iewrie with their companie, lamenting and bewailing their great perill which they declared vnto him to hang ouer his head: yet neither with their teares nor with their kneelings would he be remoued. At length came the last message from the king, signifying vnto him with expresse words (also with teares) what he should trust to, if he would not giue ouer to the kings request.

By reason of which message, he (either terrified or else perswaded) was content to submit himselfe. Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the states together, the archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise to the king obedience, and submission vnto his customs, and that Cumbona fide, leauing out his former addition, Saluo ordine, mentioned before in stead whereof he promised in Verbo veritatis, to obserue and keep the kings customes and sweare to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gaue the like oth, whereupon the king commanded incontinent certaine instruments obligatorie to be drawne of the which the king should haue the one, the archbishop of Canterburie another, the archbishop of Yorke the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand & seale. To the which the archbishop (although not denying but that he was readie so to doe, yet desired respit in the matter, while that he (being but newlie come to his bishoprike) might better perse with himselfe the foresaid customes and ordinances of the king. This request as it seemed not reasonable, so it was lightlie granted: and so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake vp.

Alanus, one of the seuere writers of the life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth; that the archbishop in his voiage towards Winchester, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the indignation of certaine about him, but chiefly of his crosbearer, who going before the archbishop, sharplie and earnestlie expostulated with him for giuing ouer to y^e kings request, against the priuiledge and liberties of the church, pulling not onlie his fame and conscience, but also giuing a pernicious example to them that should come after, with many like words. To make the matter short the archbishop was so touched vpon the same with such repentance, that keeping himselfe from all companie, lamenting with teares, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himselfe, did suspend himselfe from all diuine seruice, and would not receiue comfort, before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the pope) he should be assoiled of him, who rendering the teares of his deare chicken, directed to him letters againe by the same messenger which Thomas had sent vp to him before. In which letters not onlie he assoiled him from his trespasse, but also with words of great consolation did incourage him to be stout in the quarell he tooke in hand. The copie of which letters consolatorie sent from the pope to bishop Becket, heere followeth vnder written.

The stubborne vnfaithfulnesse of Tho. Becket.

Thomas Becket relenteth to the king.

Becket repenteth of his good deed.

A letter of pope Alexander to Thomas Becket.

ALexander bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been aduertised vs, how that vpon the occasion of a certaine transgression or excesse of yours, you haue determined to cease henceforth from saying of masse, & to abstaine from the consecration of the bodie & bloud of the Lord; which thing to doe, how dangerous it is (especially in such a person) and also what inconuenience may rise thereof, I will you aduisedly to consider, and discreetly also to ponder. Your wisdome ought not to forget what difference there is betweene them which aduisedly & willingly doe offend, & those which through ignorance & for necessitie fake do offend. For as you reade, so much the more greater is wilfull sinne, as the same not being voluntarie is lesser sinne. Therfore if you remember your selfe to haue done any thing that your owne conscience doth accuse you of, whatsoeuer it be, we counsell you (as a prudent and wise prelat) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the mercifull and pitifull God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer then to the thing done, will remit & forgiue you the same according to his accustomed great mercie. And we trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles S. Peter and Paul doe absolue you from the offence committed, and by the authoritie apostolicall wee release you vnto your fraternitie, counselling you & commanding you, that henceforth you abstaine not (for this cause) from the celebration of the masse.

The popes letter consolatorie and absolutorie vnto him.

This letter with others more after like sort the pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarell so nerely pertaining to the popes profit. By the occasion whereof, Becket tooke no small heart and consolation: in so much that therof seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his prince, as hereafter followeth to be seene by his doings. What the other letters were that the pope wrote vnto him, shortlie after (when we come to the appellations made to the pope shall appeare God willing. In the meane season (as he lai thus mourning at home) the king hearing of him, and how he deni d to set his seale to those sanctions, which he condescended to before, take no little displeasure against him: in so much that hee (threatning to him and his, banishment & death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burthen him with paiments, that all men might vnderstand that the kings mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the loue of the pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an escape out of the realme, and so went about in the night (with two or three) with him stealing out of his house, to take the sea pinnke. Now amongst others the kings ordinances and sanctions, this was one; that none of the prelate & nobilitie without the kings licence (or of his iustices) should depart out of the realme. So Becket twice attempted the sea to get to the see of Rome, but the weather not seruing, was driuen home againe, and his deuice so that time frustrated. After his departure began to be knowne and noised abrode, the kings officers came to Canturburie to seize vpon his goods in the kings behalfe. But as it chanced the night before their comming, Becket being returned & found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Becket requireth of the king.

Becket entereth with against the kings lawes to flie out of the realme.

Becket returned of the king.

Upon this, the archbishop (vnderstanding the king forbent against him, and the seas not to serue him) made hast to the court lying then at Woodstocke, where the king receiued him (after a certaine manner) but nothing so familiarlie as he was wont, taunting him iestingli & merilie, as though one realme were not able to hold them both. Becket (although hee was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court) yet could not obtaine the fauour that hee would, perceiuing both in himselfe, and counselling no lesse to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either hee should be constrained to giue ouer with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The archbishop of Yorke in the meane time (going betwixt the king & the archbishop) laboured to make a peace and loue betwixt them; but the king in no case would be reconciled, vnlesse the other would subscribe to his lawes.

So



So the while, neither the king would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foule discord; where the fault was, let the reader here iudge betweene them both. The king for his regall authoritie thought it much that any subiect of his should stand against him. The archbishop againe (bearing himselfe bold vpon the authoritie, and especially vpon the letters of the pope lately written to him) thought him strong inough against the king & all his realme. Againe, such was his quarrell for the maintenance of liberties and glorie of the church, that hee could lacke no letters or and fauourers in that behalfe, in so sweet a cause amongst the clergie. Wherefore the archbishop (trusting to these things) would giue no place, but by vertue of his apostolike authoritie gaue censure vpon these lawes and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and other some approuing for good and catholike, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the king Rotrodus archbishop of Rothomage (sent from the pope) to make peace betweene the king and Canturburie: wherevnto the king was well content, so that the pope would agree to ratifie his ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the popes hands, then the king being stopped and frustrat of his purpose by reason of Beckets apostolike legacie (being Legatus a latere) thought good to send vp to the pope, and so did, to obtaine of him, that the same authoritie of the apostolike legacie might bee conferred to another after his appointment, which was the archbishop of Yorke: but the pope denied.

Ex Rogero Houeden. in Annalibus partis posteriori Bedam.

The king to be the popes legat.

Notwithstanding at the request of the kings clergie, the pope was content that the king should be legat himselfe; whereat the king tooke great indignation (as Houeden writeth) so that he sent the pope his letters againe. Heere the pope was perplexed on both sides.

If he should haue denied the king, that was too hot for him: for the pope vseth alwaies to hold in with kings howsoeuer they would speedeth. Againe, if he should haue forsaken such a churchly chaplen, the cause being so sweet and so gamefull, that should haue been against himselfe. What did he then? Heere now commeth in the old practise of popish prelacie, to play with both hands: minde he conspireth with the one, and openly buffeteth with the other. First, he granted to the kings ambassadors their request, to haue the legat reuoked, and to place in that office the archbishop of Yorke, after his olde contentation; and yet notwithstanding (to render the cause of Thomas Becket) he addeth this promise withall, that the said Becket should receiue no harme or damage therby. Thus the pope craftely couering the matter betweene them both, glad to further the archbishop for his owne aduantage, and yet loth to denie the king for displeasure, writeth to the king openly, and also secretlie directeth another letter to Becket: the contents whereof heere follow.

The craftie dissimulation of the pope.

## Alexander the pope, to Thomas archbishop *of Canturburie.*

The popes secret letters to Becket.

ALthough wee condescending to the kings request, haue granted the gift of our legacie after his mind from you: yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despaire. For before that we had granted that, or gaue our consent thereunto; the kings ambassadors firmely promised in the word of truth (readie also to bee sworne vpon the same, if I would so haue required) that their letters also which hee had obtained, should not be deliuered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certaine, and so perswade your selfe boldly without any scruple, doubt or mistrust, that it was neuer my mind or purpose, nor euer shall be (God willing) to subdue you or your church vnder the obedience of any person, to be subiect, saue only to the bishop of Rome. And therfore we warne you & charge you, that if you shall perceiue the king to deliuer these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do; forthwith by some trustie messenger or by your letters you will giue vs knowledge thereof: whereby wee may prouide vpon the same both for your person, your church, and also your city committed to you, to be clearely exempt by our authority apostolicall, from all power and iurisdiction of any legacie.

Upon these letters and such others (as is said before) Becket seemed to take all his boldnesse to be so stout and sturdy against his prince as he was. The pope (besides these sent secretlie this chaplen of his, and directed another letter also vnto the king, granting and permitting at his request, to make the archbishop of Yorke legat apostolicall.

The king (after he had receiued his letters sent from the pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiors of the clergie, such as were offendors against his lawes: as fellons, robbers, quarellers, breakers of peace, & especially such as had committed homicide and murthers, whereof more then an hundred at that time were proued vpon the clergie (as witnesseth Guliel. Neuburgensis, in his booke De gestis Anglorum, lib. 2. cap. 16.) vsing and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the law temporall, and iudged to bee minished to them according to their deserts: as first to be depriued, and so

(More then an hundred murthers done by the clergie. Guliel. Neuburg. lib. 2. cap. 16.

to be committed to the secular hands. This seemed to Becket to derogat from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should passe in causes criminall, or sit in iudgement against any ecclesiasticall person. This law, the rotters (then of the clergie) had picked and forged out of Anacletus & Gratianus, by whose false alleaged and pretensed authoritie, they haue deduced this their constitution from the apostles, which giueth immunitie to all ecclesiasticall persons to be free from secular iurisdiction. Becket therefore like a valiant champion fighting for his liberties, and hauing the pope on his side, would not permit his clerks vnfamed, otherwise to be conuicted then before ecclesiasticall iudges, there to bee examined and deprined for their exercise, and no secular iudge to proceed against them: so that after their deprination, if they should incurre the like offence againe, then the temporall iudge to take hold vpon them, otherwise not. This obstinat and stubborne rebellion of the archbishop stirred vp much anger and vexation in their king, and not only in him, but also in the nobles and in all the bishops for the greater part; that almost he was alone a wanderinent to all the realme.

The kings wrath daily increased more and more against him, in so much as it was and caused him to be cited vp to appeare by a certaine day at the towne of Northhampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come, all the peeres and nobles with the prelats of the realme vpon the kings proclamation being assembled in the castell of Northhampton, great sute was found with the archbishop, for that hee (personally cited to appeare) came not himselfe, but sent another for him. The cause why he came not, Houeden alligateth to be this: for that the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the archbishops lodging (which was a house there of canons) whereunto he being offended, sent word againe that he would not appeare, vnlesse his lodging were voided of the kings horsemen, &c. Whereupon (by the publike sentence as well of all the nobles, as of the bishops) all his moueables were adiudged to be confiscat for the king, vnlesse the kings clemencie would remit the penaltie. The stubborne archbishop against (for his part) quarelling against the order and forme of the iudgement, complained: alleaging for himselfe (seeing he is their primat, and spirituall father) not onely of all other in the realme, but also of the king himselfe) not to be conuenient, the father so to be iudged of his children, nor the pastor of his flocke so to be condemned: saying moreouer, that the ages to come should know what iudgement was done, &c. But especially he complained of his fellow bishops (when they should rather haue taken his part) so to sit in iudgement against their metropolitane. And this was the first daies action.

Becket cites to Northampton.

The kings lodging voided by the kings officers.

The archbishop condemned in the councell of Northampton in the kings mouueables.

The next day following, the king laid an action against him in the behalfe of one that was his marshall (called John) for certaine iniuries done to him. And required of the said archbishop the repaying againe of certaine monie, which he (as is said) had lent vnto him being chancelor, the sum whereof came to 500. marks. This monie the archbishop denied not but hee had receiued of the king, howbeit, by the way and title of gift as he tooke it, though he could bring no probation therof. Whereupon the king required him to put in assurance for the paiment therof: where at the archbishop making delaies (not well contented at the matter) was so called vpon, that either he should be countable to the king for the monie, or else he should incurre present danger, the king being so bent against him. The archbishop being brought to such a strait, and deficiant of his owne suffragans, could heere by no means haue escaped, had not fiue persons of their owne accord stepped in being bound for him, euery man for 100. marks a peece. And this was vpon the second day concluded.

Becket required to giue an account.

The morow after (which was the third day of the councel, as the archbishop was sitting below in a certaine conclaue with his fellow bishops about him, consulting together, the doores fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded, it was propounded vnto him in the behalfe of the king, that he had diuers bishoprikes & abbaries in his hand which were vacant, with the fruits and reuenues therof due vnto the king for certaine yeres, whereof he had readered as yet no account to the king: wherfore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and a cleare reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the councell, great displeasure to be in the king, and no lesse danger toward the archbishop.

## The aduice of the bishops for Thomas Becket.

THus while the bishops and prelats were in counsell, aduising and deliberating what was to bee done, at length it came to voices, euery man to say his mind, and to giue sentence what were the best way for their archbishop to take. First began Henrie bishop of Winchester, who then tooke part with Becket so much as he durst for feare of the king, who said, hee remembred that the said archbishop first being archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the church of Canturburie, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporall court, as all the other bishops could not but beare record to the same.

The verdict of Winchester.

Next

The counsell of the bishop of London.

Nert spake Gilbert bishop of London, exhorting and mouing the archbishop that he should call with himselfe to mind from whence the king toke him, and set him vp; what and how great things he had don: for him; also that he should consider with himselfe the dangers and perils of the time, and what time he might hang vpon the whole church (and vpon them all there present) the refused the kings mind in the things he required. And if it were to render vp his archbishoprike (although it were ten times better then it is) yet he should not sticke with the king in the matter. In so doing it might happen, the king, seeing that submission and humilitie in him, would release him peraduenture of all the rest. To this the archbishop answering, Well, well (saith he; I perceiue well inough my Lord whither you tend, and whither about you go. Then spake Winchester, inferring vpon the same; This forme of counsell (saith he) seemeth to me very pernicious to the catholike church, leading to our subuersion, and to the confusion of vs all. For if our archbishop and primat of all England doe leaue to this example, that euery bishop should giue ouer his authoritie & the charge of the flocke committed to him, at commandement and threatning of the prince; to what state shall the church bee brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and abitrement, and nothing to stand certaine by any order of law, and so as the priest is, so shall the people be?

Winchester.

Hilarie the bishop of Chichester replieth against to this, saying: If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force vs, I would thinke this counsell here giuen were good to be followed. But now seeing the authoritie of our canon faileth, and cannot serue vs, I iudge it not best to go to strictie to worke, but to moderat our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which seuere execution may destroy. Therefore my counsell and reason is, to giue place to the kings purpose for a time, lest (by ouer hastie proceeding wee ercede so far) that both it may redound to our shame, and also cannot rid our selues out againe when we would.

Chichester.

Mathrat counsell.

Lincolne.

Such to the same end spake Robert the bishop of Lincolne after this maner: Seeing (saith he) it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his archbishoprike, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his bishoprike, his life being lost, I doe not greatly see.

Lincolne.

Exeter.

Nert followed Bartholomew bishop of Exceter with his aduice, who (inclining his counsell to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings before, affirming how the daies were euill and perillous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest vnder the couer of bearing & relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, he said, could not bee, except strict seueritie should giue place to tractabilitie; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no lesse, especially seeing that perfection was not generall, but perticuall & particular; and thought it more holy and conuenient, ore head to run into some part of danger, then the whole church of England to be subiect and exposed to incorrauenience inuitable.

Exeter.

The answer of Roger bishop of Worcester was deuised in a double sapence, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this: That he would giue no answer on neither part: for if I (saith he) shall say that the patroall function and cure of soules ought to be relinquished at the kings will or threatning, then my mouth shall speake against my conscience to the condemnation of mine owne head. And if I shall giue againe contrarie counsell to resist the kings sentence, here be they that will heare it, and report it to his grace, and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the synagogue, and for my part to bee accounted amongst the publike rebels (with them to be condemned); wherefore neither do I say this, nor counsell that.

Worcester.

And this was the consultation of the bishops in that place, assembled together by the kings commandement. Against these aduise and sentences of the bishops, Becket the archbishop replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukefull words. I perceiue (saith he) and vnderstand ye go about to maintaine and cherish but your owne cowardnesse, vnder the colorable shadow of sufferance: and vnder pretence of dissembling lothnesse to dyshe the libertie of Christs church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O vnstable bishops? What meane ye? Why do ye so vnder the vnprudent title of forbearing, beare a double heart, and cloke your manifest iniquitie? What call ye this bearing with time, the detriment of the church of Christ? Let termes serue the matter. Why peruert you the matter that is good with vocables and termes vnaptue? For that ye say we must beare with the malice of time, I grant with you: but yet we must not heape sinne to sinne. Is not God able to helpe the state and condition of his church, but with the sinfull dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Serues God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me (I pray you) whether should the gouernors of the church put themselues to dangers for the church in time of tranquillitie, or in time of distresse? We will be ashamed to deuise the contrarie, but in distresse. And now then (the church lying in so great distresse and decation) who should not the good pastor put himselfe into perill therefore? For neither doe I thinke it a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time, to lay the foundation of the church then (with the bloud, then now for vs to shed our bloud for the liberties of the same. And to tell you plaine, I thinke it not safe for you to learne from an example which you haue receiued of your holy elders. After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence a certaine space being locked in together. At length (to find a shift to cause the dore to be opened) I wil (saith the archbishop) speak with two earles which are about the king, and named them who they were. Who (being called) opened the doze and came in with hast, thinking to heare some thing which should appeale the kings mind. To whom the archbishop spake in this manner: As touching and concerning the matters betweene the king and vs, we haue here conferred together. And forsomuch as we haue them not present with vs now, which knew more in the matter then we doe (whose aduice we would be glad also to follow) therefore wee cease to vnsu respit as till the next day following, and then to giue our answer vnto the king. With this message two bishops were sent to the king, which was the bishop of London, and the bishop of Rochester.

A great difference in the church, because bishops may not be obnoxe kings and princes.

London (to helpe the matter, and to set quietnes, as I take it, adding something more to the message) said to the king, that the archbishop craued a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the kings desire, &c. Wherfore, two barons were sent to him from the king to grant him that spirit or stay; so that he would ratifie that which the messengers ban signified to the king. To the which the archbishop answereth, that he sent no message as was intimat in his name: but onelie, that the next day here would come and giue answer to the king in that which he had to say. And to the consecration of the bishops was disclosed and dissented home: so that the most part of them that came with the archbishop and accompanied him before (for feare of the kings displeasure) seuered themselues from him. The archbishop thus forsaken and destitute (as his owne faith sent about for the peace, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them hee might soner obtaine his purpose, then by the others which had so slipt from him.

Becket destitute and forsaken.

On the next day following, because it was sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, which was the second ferie, the archbishop was cited to appeare. But the night before (being taken with a disease called Passio iliaca, the colicke) as that day he kept his bed & was not able, as he said, to rise. Euery man supposing this to be but a faine sickenesse, as it seemed no lesse, certaine of the chiefe nobles were sent to trie the matter, and to cite him to the court: namely, Robert earle of Leicester, & Reginald earle of Deuonshire. To whom the archbishop answered, that as that day he was so diseased that he could not come, yea though he were brought in an horslitter. So that day passed ouer. The morow after, certaine that were about him, fearing no lesse but that some danger would happen to him, gaue him counsell in the morning to haue a masse in the honor of the holy martyr S. Steuen, to kepe him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morow was come (being tuesday) there came to him the bishops & prelats, counselling and perswading him couertly by instimation (for openly they durst not) that he would submit himselfe with all his goods (as also his archbishoprike) to the will of the king, if peraduenture his indignation by that meanes might asswage. Adding moreouer, that vnles he would so doe, periurie would be laid against him: for that hee being vnder the oth of fidelitie to keepe the kings lawes and ordinances, now would not obserue them.

Becket taken with sickenesse when he should appeare.

A masse of S. Steuen to saue him from his enemies.

Becket called traitor of the king & all the realme.

Bethren yee sit and perceiue well how the world is set against me, and how the enemie riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous & lamentable, yet the thing that grieueth me most of all, is this: The sonnes of mine owne mother be pickes and thornes against me. And albeit I doe hold my peace, yet the posteritie to come will know and report how cowardly you haue turned your backes, and haue left your archbishop and metropolitane alone in his conflict, and how you haue sitten in iudgement against me (although vngruilie of crime) now two daies together, and not onely in the ciuill and spirituall court, but also in the temporall court readie to do the same. But in generall this I charge and command (as the vertue of pure obedience, and in perill of your order) that ye be present personally in iudgement against me. And that yee shall not faile so to do, I here appeale to our mother (the refuge of all such as be oppressed) the church of Rome: and if any secular man shall lay hands vpon mee (as it is rumored they will) I straitly inioyne and charge you in the same vertue of obedience, that you exercise your censure ecclesiasticall vpon them, as it becommeth you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I doe yee to vnderstand, that though the world rage, and the enemie be fierce, and the bodie trembleth (for the flesh is weake) yet God so fauouring me, I will neither cowardlie shrinke, nor yet vilie forsake my flocke committed vnto my charge, &c.

Becket appeleth to Rome.

But the bishop of London, contrarie to this commandement of the archbishop, did incontinent appeale from him. And thus the bishops departed from him to the court; saue onelie two, Henrie of Winchester, and Jocelin of Salisburie, who returned

London appeleth from the archbishop.



returned with him secretly to his chamber and comforted him. This done, the archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sicke that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his masse of S. Stephan in all solemnitie, as though it had been an high festiuall day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not yet put vpon the holy day to be worne, &c. The office of his masse began, Sedeunt principes & aduersum me loquebantur: that is, Princes sat & spake against me, &c. (the kings seruants being also there and beholding the matter.) For this masse Gilbert bishop of London accused Becket afterward, both for that it was done Per artem magicam, & in contemptum regis (as the words of Houeden purport) that is, both by art magike, and in contempt of the king, &c.

Becket taketh occasion to absent himself from the parliament going to the king.

The masse being ended, the archbishop putting off his pal, his miter and other robes) proceedeth to the kings court: but yet not trusting peraduenture so greatly to the strength of his masse to make the matter more sure) he taketh also the sacrament of the aultar about him, thinking thereby himselfe sufficiently defensed against all bugs. In going to the kings chamber (there to attend the kings comming) as he was entring the doze, he taketh from Alexander his crosier, the crosse with the crosse staffe, in the sight of all that stood by, and earnestly in himselfe, the other bishops following him, and saying he did otherwise then became him. Amongst others Robert bishop of Hereford offered himselfe to beare his crosse rather then he should so do, for that it was not comelie, but the archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the bishop of London vnto him: If the king shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger then yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The archbishop answereth again; If the kings sword doe cut carnallie, yet my sword cutteth spirituallie, and striketh downe to hell.

Becket refuseth to bring to the bishop of London, but to the archbishop of Psyche.

But pen my lord, as you haue plaied the sole in this matter, so you will not yet leaue off your follie to any thing I can see; and so he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his coming and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himselfe with his other bishops about him. First, the crier called the prelats and all the lords of the temporalitie together. That being done (and euery one placed in his seat according to his degree) the king beginneth with a great complaint against the archbishop for his contempt of entring into the court not as (saith he) a subiect into a kings court; but as a traitor, shewing himselfe in such sort as hath not been seene before in any christian kings court, professing christian faith. To this all (there present) gaue witnesse with the king, affirming him alwaies to be a braine & a proud man, and that the shame of his fact did not only redound against the prince himselfe, but also against the whole realme. And moreouer, they said that this had so happened to the king, for that he had done so much for such a beast, aduancing him so highly in such a place and towne next vnder himselfe. And so all together with one crie called him traitor an cuery side, as one that refused to giue temporall right to the king, in keeping (as he had sworne) his lawes and ordinances, at whose hands also he had receiued such honor, and great preferments, and therfore was well worthie (said they) to be hanged like a periured traitor and rebell. Wherevpon great doubt and feare was that should befal vpon him. The archbishop of York comming downe to his inn, said he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canturburie was like to suffer. Likewise, the tipstaues and other ministers of the allsmittie comming downe with an outcrie against him, crossed them to see his hautie stubbornnesse, and the brusnesse there was about him. Certaine there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse vpon them. Others (contrarie) bidding him not to curse, but to pray and to forgiue them; and if he lost his life in the quarell of the church and the libertie thereof, he should be happie. Afterward, one of them, named Johannes Stephani, desired to speake something in his care; but could not be suffered by the kings marshal, who sayd that any man should haue any talke with him. Then he (because he could not otherwise speak to him) wrought by signes, making a crosse, & looking vp with his eies, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray and manfully stand to the crosse. In the meane time commeth to him Bartholomew bishop of Exceter, desiring him to haue regard and compassion of himselfe and also of them, or els they were all like to perish for the hatred of him: for there commeth out (saith he) a precept from the king that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebell that hereafter taketh your part. It is said moreouer that Jocelinus bishop of Salisburie, and Willelmus bishop of Norwich are to be had to the place of execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the bishop of Canturburie. When he had thus said, the archbishop (looking vpon the said bishop of Exceter) auoid hence from me, saith he, thou vnderstandest not, neither doest saiour those things that be of God.

A masse to obtaine aduantage of his aduersaries.

Becket cited to Rome vpon periurie by the bishops.

Becket taketh Becketes part, & counted a rebell.

The bishops and prelats then going aside by themselues from the other nobles (the king so permitting them to do) take counsell together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtfull perplexitie, for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else with the nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the archbishop for resisting the kings sanctions; which thing, neither they themselues did fauor. In this strict necessitie, they denuing what way to take) at length agreed vpon this: that they with a common assent should cite the archbishop to the see of Rome vpon periurie: and that they should oblige and binde themselues to the king with a sure promise, to worke their diligence in depesing the archbishop (vpon this condition) that the king should promise their safetie, and discharge them from the peril of that iudgement which was to haue ben them. So all the bishops obliging themselues thus to the king, went forth to the archbishop: of whom ore speaking for the rest (which was Hilarie bishop of Chichester) had these words: Once you haue been our archbishop, and so long wee were bound to your obedience: but now forsomuch as you (once sweuring your fidelitie to the king) doe resist him, neglecting his inunctions and ordinances concerning and appertaining to his terren honor and dignitie; wee here pronounce you periured, neither be we bound to giue obedience to an archbishop thus being periured; but putting our selues and all ours in the popes protection, doe cite you by to his presence. And vpon the same, assigned him his day and time to appeare. The archbishop answering againe, said he heard him well inough, and vpon this sendeth vp to Rome in all hast to the pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how and wherefore, and by whom he was cited. To whom the pope directed againe his letters of comfort (as he had done diuers before) the copie whereof here insueth.

Becket cited to Rome.

## Pope Alexander to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie.

YOur brotherly letters, which you directed to vs, and such other matters which your messenger by word of mouth hath signified vnto vs, we haue diligently heard the reading thereof: and thereby fully vnderstand the grieuous vexations and dolorous griefes wherewith your mind is daily incombred: by reason whereof, we hearing and vnderstanding, are not a little disquieted in our spirit for your sake: in whose prosperities we do both gladly reioyce, and no lesse do sorrow in your aduersities as for our most deare brother. You therefore (as a constant and wise man) remember with your selfe that which is written: The apostles departed away (reioycing) from the face of the councell, &c. With like patience doe you also sustaine that mans molestations, and let not your spirit bee troubled therein more then needeth, but receiue in your selfe consolation: that we also together with you may be comforted in the Lord, who hath preserued you to the corroboration of his catholike and christian veritie, in this distresse of necessitie: and from whom also it hath pleased him to wipe away the blot of such things which haue been vnorderly of you committed, and heere to punish the same through sundrie afflictions: whereby (in the strict iudgement of God) they might not be called to account hereafter. But not this much grieue you: neither let your heart be so deiect or timorous in the matter (for that you are cited vp to the apostolike see) which to vs is both gratefull & accepted. And this we will you, that if they which haue cited you shall chance to come: draw not you backe, but follow the appeale (if you please) and spare not (al doubt and delay set apart) for the authoritie of the church tending this your constancy, may not doe that which may put you either in feare, or doubt. But our diligence shall be with all labour & studie, to conserue the right and preheminence (God willing) of that church committed to you, so much as in vs lieth (hauing our iustice and equitie) as to one whom in working for the church, we find to be both a constant and a valiant champion. Further, this I brotherly require you, to repaire vnto the church of Canturburie: and retaining but a few clerks about you (such onlie as serue your necessitie) make no excurses out (as little as you can) in that countrie. But in this especially I thought to premonish you (that in no case) neither for feare or any aduersitie, whatsoeuer may happen, you be brought to renounce and giue vp the right and dignitie of your church. Written at Senise the seuenth before the kalends of November.

*Ex Rogero Houedene.*

As the archbishop was thus cited vp to Rome, sitting with his crosse waiting in the court, neither giuing place to the kings request, nor abashed with the clamor of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on euery side, neither following the abuertisement of his fellow bishops, at length the king by certaine earles and barons sent commandement to him, (Robert earle of Leicester doing the message) that he should without delay come & render a full account of all things that he had received, as the profits and reuenues of the realme, in the time he was chancellor, especially for the 2000. marks, for the which he was accountable to the king. To whom the archbishop answereth again; the king knew holo of the had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Henrie his sonne & heire of his realme, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucie chiefe iustice of England told him, that he was free and quit to God & holy church from all receits and computations, and from all feeiar eractions on the kings behalfe. And so hee taking thus his discharge at their hands, entred into his office, & therefore other

Becket called to a full account.

account

Becket judged to be laid in prison.

account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to do the law upon him, who so doing, iudged him to be apprehended & laid in prison. This done, the king sendeth to him Reginald earle of Cornewall and Dertonshire, and Robert earle of Leicester, to declare to him what was his iudgement. To whom the archbishop answereth: Heare, my sonne & good erle, what I say unto you: how much more pertious the soule is more then the body, so much more ought you to obay me in the Lord, rather then your terren king. Neither doth any law or reason permit the children to iudge or condemne their father. Therefore to auoid both the iudgement of the king, of you, & all others; I put my selfe onely to the arbitrement of the pope, under God alone to be iudged of him, and of no other, to whose presence here before you all I doe appeale, committing the ordering of the church of Canturburie, my dignitie, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God & him. And as for you my brethren and fellow bishops, which rather obay man then God, you also I call and cite to the audience and iudgement of the pope, and depart henceforth from you as from the enemies of the catholike church, & of the authoritie of the apostolike see.

Exi quadriparita hist. li. 1. cap. 18.

Becket apprehendeth the pope.

Becket thinketh it not sufficient the iudgement of God without the pope.

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop passing through the throng, taketh unto him his pallerie, holding his crosse in one hand, and his bible in the other, the courtiers following after, and crying, Traitor, traitor, tarrie and heare thy iudgement. But he passed on till he came to the vttermost gate of the court, which being fast locked there had been staied, had not one of his seruants called Peter, surnamed Dunmaxio, finding there a bunch of keies hanging by, first prooued one keie, then another, till at last finding the true keie, had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbishop went straight to ỹ house of canons, where he did lie, calling vnto him the prior, where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made, whilst two altars, priuilie while the king was at supper, prepareth his iournie secretly to escape awaie; and changing his garment and his name, being called Dereman, first went to Lincolne, from thence to Sandwich, where he tooke ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence iourned into France, as Houedenus saith. Albert Alanus differing some thing in the order of his flight, saith that he departed not that night; but at supper time came to him the bishops of London & Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender vp to the king his two manors of Otford & Wingham, there were hope to recouer the kings fauor, and to haue all remitted. But when the archbishop would not agree thereunto, for somuch as those manors were belonging to the church of Canturburie; the king hearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, insomuch that the next day Becket was faine to send to the king two bishops and his chaplaine for leaue to depart the realme. To the which message the king answered, that he would take pause thereof till the next day, and then he should haue an answer. But Becket not tarrying his answer, for fame day came word homefide straight secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludouicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert the bishop of London, and William the earle of Arundell, sent from the king of England to France, preuented him: requiring the said French king in the behalfe of the king of England, that he would not receiue, nor retaine in his dominion the archbishop of Canturburie. Moreouer, that at his instance, he would be a meanes to the pope, not to shew any familiaritie vnto him. But the king of England in this point seemed to haue more confidence in the French king, then knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French king would haue been a good neighbour to him, in trusting him so much, he was deceiued. Neither considered he with himselfe enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the realme of England, who then were glad to seeke and take all maner of occasions to doe some act against England.

Ludouicus differ some thing in the order of his flight.

The French king supporteth Becket against the king of England.

And therefore Ludouike the French king, vnderstanding the matter, and thinking (perase thereby to haue some vantage against the king and realme of England by the occasion hereof, contrarie to the kings letters and request, not onely harboureth and cherisheth this Dereman, but also writing to the pope by his almoner & brother) intreateth him (vpon all loues as euer he would haue his fauour) to tender the cause of the archbishop Becket. Thus the kings ambassadors repulsed of the French king returned; at what time he sent another ambassage (vpon the like cause) to Alexander the pope then being at Seine in France. The ambassadors sent in this message, were Roger archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, Bartholmew bishop of Exceter, with other doctors and clerks: also William earle of Arundell, with certaine more lords and barons, who comming to the popes court, were friendly accepted of certaine of the cardinals: amongst the which cardinals rose also diuerse about the same cause. Some iudging the bishop of Canturburie in the defence of the liberties of the church (as in a good cause) to be maintained. Some thinking againg, that he (being a perturber of peace and vnitie) was rather to be bridled for his presumption, then to be suffered & incouraged therein. But the pope partly bearing with his cause (which onely

Ambassadors sente to the pope.

tended to his exaltation and magnificence) partly againe inclined with the letters of the French king, and whole incline to Becket, as no maruel was. Wherfore the next day following, the pope sitting in consistorie with his cardinals, the ambassadors were called for, to the hearing of Beckets matter; and first begineth the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of Yorke; then Exceter; and the other bishops euery one in their order to speak. Whose oratiõs being not well accepted of the pope, and some of them also disdained; the earle of Arundell perceiuing that (and somewhat to qualifie and temper the matter to the popes eares) began after this maner.

The oration of the earle of Arundell to the pope.

Although to me it is vnknowne (saith he) which am both vnlettered and ignorant, what is that these bishops here haue said, neither am I in that tongue so able to expresse my mind as they haue done: yet being sent and charged thereunto of my prince, neither can nor ought I but to declare (as well as I may) what the cause is of our sending hither: not (truly) to contend or striue with any person, nor to offer any iniurie or harme vnto any man (especially in this place) and in the presence here of such an one, vnto whose beck and authoritie all the world doth stoope and yeeld. But for this time is our legacie hither directed, to present here before you and in the presence of the whole church of Rome, the deuotion and loue of our king and master, which euer he hath had, and yet hath still toward you. And that the same might the better appeare to your excellencie, he hath assigned and appointed to the furniture of this legacie, not the least, but the greatest: not the worst, but the best and chiefest of al his subiects: both archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, with other potentates more, of such worthinesse and parentage, that if he could haue found greater in all his realme, he would haue sent them, both for the reuerence of your person, and of the holy church of Rome. Ouer and besides this, I might adde to more (which your sanctitude hath sufficientlie tried and prooued alreadie) the true and heartie fidelitie of this our king and soueraigne toward you, who (in his first entrance to his kingdome) wholly submitted himselfe with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truely, to testifie of his maiestie he hath disposed to the vnitie of the catholike faith: we beleeue there is none more faithfull in Christ then he, nor more deuout to God, nor yet more moderat in keeping the vnitie of peace where vnto he is called. And as I may be bold this to protest for our king and master, so neither doe I denie the archbishop of Canturburie to be a man destitute or vnfinished with gifts and ornaments of learning and calling, but to haue a meet both sage and discreet in such things as to him appertaine, saue only that he seemeth to some more quicke & sharpe then needeth. This blot alone if it were not, and that the breach betweene our king and him had not so hapned, both the regiments together (of the temporaltie and spiritualtie) might quietly haue flourished one with the other in much peace and concord, both vnder a prince so worthie, and a pastor so vertuous. Wherefore (the case so standing as it doth) our message hither, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence is, that (through your fauour and wisdome) the necke of this dissension may be broken, and that reformation of vnitie and loue (by some good meanes) may be sought.

Becketes argument: The pope brought him not in but the kings. Nay, God brought him not in.

And why might he not (ỹ Becket) refuse it as well to his hands of whom he took it?

¶ This oration of his, although it was liked of them for the softnesse and moderation thereof, yet it could not so perswade the Romish bishop to condescend to their sute & request: which sute was, to haue two legats or arbitrers to be sent from his popish see into England, to examine & take vp the controuersie betweene the king and the archbishop. But the pope (in consist (as is said before) would not grant to their petition, for somuch as it should be (saith he) preiudiciall and tending to the oppression of the archbishop to grant vnto it, he being not present. And therefore he willed them to tarie his comming vp, or therwise (he being absent) he would not (he said in any case) proceed against him. But they (alleaging against their time to be spent, appointed vnto them of the king, hauing besides other lets and causes as they alleaged) said that they could not there wait for the comming of Becket, but returned backe (their cause frustrated) without the popes blessing to the king. Within foure daies after Becket commeth to the popes court, where he prostrating himselfe at his feet, brought out of his bosome a scroll containing the customs & ordinances of the king, before mentioned. The pope receiuing the foresaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said decrees of the king, which he called Consuetudines auitas, that is, his grandfathers ordinances. Besides this, the pope moreouer blameth Becket, for that he so much pedled to them at the beginning, as he did; yet notwithstanding the cause he was repentant for his vnaduised fact) he was content to absolue him for the same, and the rather because of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holie church did sustaine, and so with great fauour for that day dismissed him.

The pope wrongfully Becket cause against the king.

Becket complaineth of the king to the pope.

Repentance for his well doing.

The next day (Alexander the pope assembling his cardinals together in his secret chaber) appeareth before them archbishop Becket, hauing this oration to the pope & his popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue (translated out of Latine) to the intent that the posteritie hereafter may vnderstand, either the vaine superstition or vile flaunerie of the churchmen in those daies: this, being not content with their owne natural king giuen them of God, must seeke further to the pope: thinking no ecclesiasticall liuing to be giuen, which is not taken at his hands. The words of his oration be these as followeth.

## The oration of Becket resigning his bishoprike to the pope.

FAthers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much lesse before God, and in your presence here. Wherfore with much sighing and sorow of heart I grant and confesse, that these perturbations of the church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entred into the fold of Christ, but not by the doore of Christ, for that, not the canonicall election did call me lawfullie thereunto, but terrour of publike power droue me in. And albeit I against my will tooke this burden vpon me, yet not the will of God, but mans pleasure placed me in the roome. And therefore no maruell though all things haue gone contrarie and backward with me. And as for the resigning vp againe thereof, if I had so done, and giuen vp to their hands the priuiledge of my bishoplie authoritie, which I had granted to me at the commandement of the king (so as my fellow bishops did instantly call vpon me to do) then had I left a pernicious and dangerous example to the whole catholike church. By reason whereof I thought to defer that vnto your presence. And now therefore (recognising with my selfe my ingresse not to be canonicall, and therfore fearing it to haue the worse end; and againe pondering my strength and abilitie not to be sufficient for such a charge) left I should be found to sustaine that roome to the ruine of the flocke, to whom I was appointed a pastor vnworthie: I render vp to your fatherly hands the archbishoprike heere of Canturburie, &c. ¶ And so putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, desired a bishop for the church of Canturburie to be prouided: seeing he thought not himselfe meet to fulfill the same, and so (with teares, as the storie saith) ended his oration.

A consultation betweene the pope and the cardinals about Beckets matter.

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand apart. The pope conferring vpon this with his cardinals, about the resignation of Becket what was best to be done: some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the kings wrath might easilie be allaged. If the church of Canturburie were assigned to some other person, and yet the said Becket otherwise to be prouided for: notwithstanding. Contrarie, others againe thought otherwise, whose reason was: The (which for the liberties of the church had ventured not onely his goods, dignitie and authoritie, but also his life) should now at the kings pleasure be deprined: like as it might be a president hereafter to others in resisting their king in like case, if this cause were maintained; so contrariwise if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his prince in the like case. And so might it redound not onely to the weakening of the state of the catholike church, but also to the derogation of the popes authoritie. Briefly, this sentence at length preuailed: and so Becket receiueth his pastorall office of the popes hand againe, with commendation and much fauour. But for so much as he could not be well placed in England; in the meane while, the pope sendeth him (with a monkes habit) vnto the abbey of Pontinake in France, where he remained two yeares; from thence he remoued to Senon, where he abode fiue yeares. So the time of his exile continued a seuen yeares in all, &c.

Becket in banishment seuen yeares.

Vpon this, the king being certified by his ambassadours of the popes answere, how his fauour inclined more to Becket then to him, was moued (and worthily) with wrathfull displeasure. Who vpon the same sailing from England vnto Normandie directed ouer certaine iniunctions against the pope and the archbishop of Canturburie, as were reuiled afore. The contents whereof were declared to be these.

If any person should be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canturburie, &c.

Of these and such other iniunctions Becket specifieth partly in a certaine letter, writing to a friend of his in this maner.

The kings decrees.

THomas archbishop of Canturburie, to his well beloued friend, &c. be it knowne to your brotherly goodnesse, that we with all ours heere (by Gods grace) are safe and in good health. Hauing a good hope and trust to your faithfull amicie, I charge you and require you, that either by the bringer hereof, or by some other (whom ye know faithfull and trustie to our church of Canturburie, and to vs) you write with all speed what is done. As touching the kings decrees here set out, these they be: That all hauens and ports should be diligently kept: that no letters of the popes interdict or curse be brought in. And if religious men bring them in, they shal haue their feet cut off: if hee be a priest or clerke, he shall lose his priuie members: if he be a lay-man, let him be hanged: if he be a leper, let him be burned. And if any bishop, for feare of the popes interdict, wil depart, besides his staffe only in his hand, let him haue nothing else. Also the kings will is, that all scholars and students beyond the seas shall repaire home, or else lose their benefices. And if they yet shall remaine still, they shall lose the libertie of all returning. Further, if any such priests shall be found, that for the popes suspence or interdict will refuse to sing, they shall lose their priuie members. In summe, all such priests as shew themselues rebels to the king, let them be depriued of their benefices, &c.



Besides these and such like iniunctions, it was also set forth by the kings proclamation, An. 1166, that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoeuer were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where he was: which was no little vexation to Becket to behold them. Persecuted, for so much as he then was lying with Gwarine abbat of Pontiniake, to whom the pope, as is aforesaid, had committed him, therefore the king writing to the same abbat, required him not to retaine the archbishop of Canturburie in his house: for if he did, he would driue out of his realme all the monkes of his order. Whereupon Becket was inforced to remoue from thence, and went to Lewis the French king, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of fiue yeers, as is aboue mentioned.

Anno 1166

Becketts kindred banished.

These monkes were of the Cistertian order.

In the meane time, messengers went daily with letters betweene the king and the pope, betweene the pope again and him, and so betweene the archbishop and others. Whereof if the reader (peraduenture) shall be delirous to see the copies: I thought here to expresse certaine of them, to satisfie his desire: first beginning with the epistle of Becket, complaining of his prince to the pope, in maner and forme as followeth.

Becket complaineth of his prince to the pope.

## The copie of an epistle sent of Thomas Becket to pope Alexander.

TO your presence and audience I flie, most holy father, that you, who hath brought the libertie of the church with your so great danger, might the rather attend to the same (either being the only or chiefest cause of my persecution) vsing and following therein the example of you. It grieueth me that the state of the church should fall to any decay, and that the liberties thereof should be infringed through the auarice of princes. For the which cause I thought to resist betime that inconuenience beginning so to grow. And the more I thought my selfe obliged to the same my prince (vnto whom next vnder God I am most chieflie bound) the more boldnesse I tooke to me, to withstand his vnrighteous attempts; till such as were on the contrarie part, my aduersaries, preuailed, working my disquietnesse, and incensig him against me. Whereupon, as the manner is amongst princes, they raised vp against me citations and slanders, to the occasion of my persecution: but I had rather to be proscribed, then to subscribe. Besides this, I was also called to iudgement, and cited before the king to make answere there as a lay person, to secular accounts: whereas they vnto whom I most trusted did most forsake me. For I saw my fellow brethren the bishops, through the instigation of some, readie to my condemnation. Whereupon all being set against me, and I thus oppressed on euerie side, tooke my refuge to appeale vnto your goodnesse, which casteth off none in their extremities: being readie to make my declaration before you, that I ought neither to be iudged there in that place, nor yet of them. For what were that (father) but to vsurpe to themselues your right, and to bring the spiritualtie vnder the temporaltie? Which thing (once begun) may breed an example to many. And therefore so much the more I thought to bee in withstanding this matter, how much more prone and procliue I saw the way to hurt, if they might once see vs to bee faint and weake in the same. But they will saie to mee heere againe: Giue to Cæsar that which belongeth to Cæsar, &c. But to answere againe thereunto, albeit we are bound to obey our king in most things, yet not in such manner of things, whereby he is made to be no king: neither were they such things belonging to Cæsar, but to a tyrant. Concerning the which points, these bishops should, not for me onelie, but for themselues, haue resisted the king. For if the extreme iudgement be referred to him which is able to iudge both bodie and soule: is it not then extreme pride for men there to iudge, or to iudge but by themselues? If the cause of the bishops and of the clergie, which I maintaine, be right: why be they set against me? why do they reprehend me? For if that I appealed to him, before whom either it was not lawfull, or els not expedient for me to do: what seeme they by this, but either to blame me causelesse, or else to distrust your equitie? For me to be conuicted before your holinesse, it had been a double confusion. Or wherein haue I deserued to be persecuted of them, for whose cause I haue set my selfe to stand in their behalfe? And if they had willed, I had preuailed, but it is ill with the head, when he is left of his members and forsaken: as if the eies should take the tongue to speake against the head. If they had had eyes to haue foreseene the matter, they might vnderstand themselues to speake their owne destruction: and that the princes did vse their help but to their owne seruitude. And what so great cause of hatred had they against me, to procure their

To keepe vnder the pride of prelats is no cause sufficient to abridge a prince.

owne vndoing, in vndoing of me? So while they neglected spiritual things in stead of temporall, they haue lost them both. What should I speake more of this, that I repugning them and appealing to your audience (yet notwithstanding they durst presume to stand in iudgement and condemnation against me, as children against their father? Yea, and not against me only, but against the vniuersall church of God (conspiring together with the prince) being with me offended. And this suspection might also as well pertaine to you holy father. But to this they will say, that they owe their dutie and seruice vnto the king, as their lord: to whom they are bound, vpon their allegeance. To whom I answere, that to him they stand bound bodily, to me spiritually. But to whom ought they rather to stand bound, then to themselues? And were it not better to sustaine the losse of corporall, then of spirituall things? But heere they will say againe: At this time the prince was not tobe prouoked. How subtillie doe these men dispute for their owne bondage? Yea, they themselues prouoke him by their owne excesse, ministring wings vnto him to fight against them; for he would haue rested if they had resisted. And when is constancie more to be required, then in persecution? Be not a mans chiefe friends most tried in persecution? if they giue ouer still, how shall they obtain the victorie? Sometimes they must needs resist. Condescend therefore (holy father) to my exile and persecution. And remember, that I also once was a great man, in the time when it was, and now for your sake thus iniuriously I am intreated. Vse your rigour and restraine them, by whose instigation the name of this persecution began. And let none of these things be imputed to the king, who rather is to be counted the repairer then the author of this businesse.

Ye meane by spirituall things, such as pertaine to the spirituall part of man, & grees: but your liberties be not such as which pertaine to the humane or spirituall man, but rather are things into e conspirall. Persecution teeth a true friend. but euer it cause maketh not a true persecution.

**Besides this epistle sent vnto the pope, hee writeth also another letter, sent to the king in Latine: the tenour whereof hee that is disposed to reade, may peruse in our former edition, with the notes adioyned withall.**

**Besides which epistle to the king in Latine, he sent also one or two more to the said king Henrie the second, much after the like rate and sort: the one thus beginning:** *Loquis de Deo, liberamentis est & valde quiete. Inde est quod loquar ad dominum meum, & vtinam ad omnes pacificum,* &c. **Which epistle, for that I would not ouercharge the volume of these histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought heere to omit. Whether he sent afterwards, whereof the woords be these.**

## Another letter of Becket archbishop of Canturburie sent to the king.

TO his lord and friend Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitane, earle of Anion: Thomas by the same grace, humble minister of the church of Canturburie (sometime his temporally, but now more his in the Lord) health and true repentance with amendment. I haue long looked for, that the Lord would looke vpon you, and that you would conuert and repent, departing from your peruerse way: and cut off from you your wicked and peruerse counsellours, by whose instinction, as it is thought, you are fallen into that deepe, whereof the Psalme speaketh, A sinner when he cõmeth to the depth of mischiefes, is without care or feare. And albeit we haue hitherto quietlie suffered and borne; considering and earnestlie looking if there would anie messenger come that would say: Your soueraigne lord the king, which now a long time hath erred and been deceiued, and led euen to the destruction of the church, through Gods mercie with abundant humilitie doth now againe make speed for the deliuerance of the church, and to make satisfaction and amendment: Yet notwithstanding, we cease not, day by day continually to call vpon almightie God, with most humble deuotion: that that which we haue long desired for you and by you, we may speedily obtaine with abundant effect. And this is one point: that the care of the church of Canturburie, whereunto God hath presently appointed vs (albeit vnworthie) you being king, doth specially constraine me (in that as yet we are detained in exile) to write vnto your maiestie letters commonitorie, exhortatorie, and of correction. But I would to God they were fully able to correct, lest that I be too great a cloker of your outrages (if there be anie) as indeed there are: for the which we are not a little sorie. I meane specially of them which are done by you in euery place, about the church of God and the ecclesiasticall persons, without any reuerence either of dignitie or person; and left also that I appeare negligent to the great danger of my soule for without doubt he beareth the offence of him which doth commit anie offence, who neglecteth to correct that, which another ought to amend. For it is written, Not onely they which doe commit euill, but also they which consent thereunto are counted partakers of the same. For they verily do consent, which when they both might and ought, do not resist, or at the least reproue. For the errour which is not resisted is allowed, and the truth when it is not defended is oppressed: neither doth it lacke a priuie note of societie in him, which ceaseth to withstand a manifest mischiefe. (2) For like as, most noble prince, a small citie doth not minish the prerogatiue of so mightie a kingdome as yours is: so your royall power ought not to oppresse or change the measure of the religious dispensation. For it is prouided alwaies by the lawes, that all iudgements against priests should proceed by the determination of priests. For whatsoeuer bishops they are, albeit that they doe erre as other men doe (not exceeding in any point contrarie to the religion of faith) they (3) ought not, nor can in any case be iudged of the secular power. Truely, it is the part of a good and religious prince to repare the ruinous churches, to build new, to honor the priests, and with great reuerence to defend them, after the example of the godly prince of most happie memorie (4) Constantinus, which said, when a complaint of the clergie was brought to him: You (said he) can be iudged by no secular iudge, which are reserued to the only iudgement of God. And for so much as we do reade that the holy apostles and their soccessours, appointed by the testimonie of God, commanded that no persecution nor troubles ought to be made, nor to enuie those which labour in the field of the Lord: and that the stewards of the eternall king should not be expelled and put out of their seats: who then doubteth, but that the priests of Christ ought to be called the fathers and masters of all other faithfull princes? Is it not a miserable madnesse then, if the sonne should go about to bring the (5) father vnder obedience? or the scholar his master? and by (6) wicked bonds to bring him in subiection, by whom hee ought to beleeue that hee may bee bound and loosed, not onely in earth, but also in heauen? If you bee a good and a catholike king, and will be such a one as we hope, or that we rather desire you should be, (if it be spoken vnder your licence) you are the child of the church, and not the ruler of the church. You ought to learne of the priests, and not to teach them: you ought to (7) follow the priests in ecclesiasticall matters, and not to goe before them, hauing the priuiledge of your power giuen you of God to make publike lawes: that by his benefit you should not be vnthankfull against the dispensation of the heauenly order, and that you should vsurpe nothing, but vse them with a wholesome disposition.

Wherefore, in those things which contrarie vnto that, you haue, through your malicious counsell, rather then by your owne minde, wickedly vsurped; with all humilitie and satisfaction speedily giue place, that the hand of the most high be not stretched out against you, as an arrow against the marke. For the most high hath bended his bow openly to shoote against him, that will not confesse his offences. Be not ashamed (whatsoeuer wicked men say vnto you, or that traytours doe whisper in your eare) to humble your selfe vnder the mightie hand of God. For it is he which exalteth the humble, and throweth downe the proud, which also reuengeth himselfe vpon princes: he is terrible, and who shall resist him? You ought not to haue let slip out of your memorie, in what state God did find you: how he hath preferred, honoured, and exalted you: blessed you with children, inlarged your kindome, and established the same in despite of your enemies. In so much that hitherto, in a manner, all men haue said with great admiration, that this is he whom God hath chosen. And how will you reward, or can you reward him for all these things which he hath done vnto you? Will you, at the prouocation and instance of those which are about you, that (8) persecute the church and the ecclesiasticall ministers, and alwaies haue according to their power persecuted them, rendring euill for good, bringing oppressions, tribulations, iniuries, and afflictions vpon the church and churchmen, do the like? Are not these they of whom the Lord speaketh: He that heareth you heareth me, he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye? Verily forsaking all that thou hast, take vp thy crosse, that thou maiest follow thy God our Lord Iesus Christ. Yet will it scarcely be, or not at all, that thou shalt appeare a thankefull recompencer of the benefits receiued at his hand. Search the scriptures of such as are learned, and you shall vnderstand: that (9) Saul, albeit he was the elect of the Lord, perished with his whole house, because he departed from the waies of the Lord.

Ozias also king of Iuda, whose name is spoken of and spread ouer all, through the manifold victories giuen him of God, his heart was so puffed vp to his destruction, because the Lord did helpe and strengthen him in euery place, that the contemning the feare and reuerence of the Lord, would vsurpe vnto himselfe that which was not his office, that is to say, the priesthood, and to offer incense vpon the altar of the Lord, for the which he was stricken with a leprosie, and cast out of the house of the Lord. Many other kings and holy men of great substance, because they haue walked aboue their estate in the maners of the world, presuming to rebell against God in his ministeries, haue perished: and at the last, they haue found nothing of their substance in their power. Also king Achaz, because he did vsurpe the office of priesthood, was likewise stricken with a leprosie by God.

Oza also, albeit he was not king, yet for so much as he touched the arke and held it, when it would haue fallen by the vnrulinesse of the oxen, which thing pertained not vnto him, but vnto the ministers of the church, hee was stricken by the wrath



wrath of God and fell downe by the arke. O king, it is a famous prouerbe: that A man forewarned by another mans misfortune, will take the better heed vnto himselfe. For euery man hath his owne businesse in hand, when his neighbours house is on fire.

Dearelie beloued king, God would haue the disposing of those things which pertaine vnto the church, to belong onlie vnto the priests, and not vnto the secular power. Do not challenge vnto thy selfe therefore another mans right: neither striue against him, by whom all things are ordained, lest thou seeme to striue against his benefits, of whom thou hast receiued thy power. For by the common (10) lawes, and not by the secular power, and by the bishops and priests, almightie God would haue the clergie of the christian religion to be ordered and ruled. And christian kings ought to submit all their doings vnto ecclesiasticall rulers, and not to prefer themselues: for it is written, that none ought to iudge the bishops but only the church, neither doth it pertaine vnto mans law to giue sentence vpon any such. Christian princes are accustomed to be obedient vnto the statutes and ordinances of the church, and not to preferre their owne power. A prince ought to submit himselfe vnto the bishops, and not to iudge the bishops: for there are two things whereby the world is chiefly gouerned (that is to say) the sacred authoritie of bishops and roiall power. (11) In the which, the bishops charge is so much the more weightie, in that they shall at the latter iudgement render account euen of the kings themselues. Truely you ought to vnderstand, that you depend vpon their iudgement, and cannot reduce them vnto your owne will: for many bishops haue excommunicated both kings and emperours. And if you require an especiall example thereof, Innocentius the pope did excommunicate Arcadius the emperour, because he did consent that Iohn Chrysostom should be expulsed from his seat: and Saint Ambrose also did excommunicat (12) Theodosius the great emperour for a fault (which seemed not so weightie vnto other priests) and shut him out of the church: who afterwards by condigne satisfaction was absolued.

There are manie other like examples. For Dauid when he had committed adulterie and murther, the prophet Nathan was sent vnto him by God to reproue him, and he was soone corrected. And the king (laying aside his scepter and diadem, and setting apart all princelie maiestie) was not ashamed to humble himselfe before the face of the prophet, to confesse his fault, and to require forgiuenesse for his offence. What will you more? He being stricken with repentance asked mercie, and obtained forgiuenesse. So likewise you (most beloued king and reuerend lord) after the example of this good king Dauid, of whom it is said, I haue found a man after mine owne heart; with a contrite and humble heart turne to the Lord your God, and take hold of repentance for your transgressions. For you are fallen and erred in manie things, which yet I keepe in store still, if (peraduenture) God shall inspire you to say with the prophet: Haue mercie on me ô God, according to thy great mercie, for I haue sinned much against thee, and done ill in thy sight. Thus much I haue thought good to write to you my deare lord at this present, passing other things in silence, til I may see whether my words take place in you, and bring forth fruits worthie of repentance: and that I may heare & reioyce with them that shal bring me word and say: O king, thy son was dead, and is aliue againe, was lost and is found againe. But if you will not heare me, looke where I was wont before the maiestie of the bodie of Christ to pray for you in abundance of teares and sighes: there in the same place I will crie against you, and say: Rise vp Lord and iudge my cause, forget not the rebukes and iniuries which the king of England doth to thee and thine: forget not the ignominie of thy church, which thou hast builded in thy blood. Reuenge the blood of thy saints which is spilt: reuenge, ô Lord, the afflictions of thy seruants, of whom there is an infinit number. For the pride of them which hate and persecute thee is gone vp so high, that we are not able to beare them any longer. Whatsoeuer your seruants shall do, all those things shall be required at your hands: for he seemeth to haue done the harme, which hath giuen the cause thereof. Doubtlesse, the Sonne of the most high, except you amend and cease from the oppressing of the church and clergie, and keepe your hand from troubling of them, will come in the rod of his furie, at the voices of such as crie to him, and at the sighes of them that be in bands: when the time shall seeme for him to iudge the vnrighteousnesse of men in equitie and seueritie of the holy Ghost. For he knoweth how to take awaie the breath of princes, and is terrible among kings of the earth. Your deare and louing grace I wish well to fare. Thus fare ye well againe and euer.

* Note the fury & zeale of God against this Becket, who thus stirreth at his master reproouing the bodie of Christ.

## Certaine notes or clenchs vpon this epistle: which by the figures you may find out, *and their places.*

1 The scope of this epistle is this, to proue that bishops and priests ought not to come vnder the court and controlement of temporall power.

2 This similitude holdeth not. For though the smalnesse of a citie blemisheth not the prerogatiue of a kingdome, yet the enilnesse and rebellion of a citie doth worthily blemish his owne prerogatiue.

3 So saith the popes decree. Dist. 10: but the scripture of God imparteth otherwise. As that the priest was deposed of king Salomon, not for any heresie, but for other causes: 3. Reg. 2. Jonathas take his priesthood of king Alexander: and Simon of Demetrius, 1. Mach. 7. Christ offered tribute to Cesar for him and for Peter. Also Peter saith, Be ye subiect to euery humane creature: and it followeth, whether it be to the king as to the chiefe, &c. Item pope Leo submitted himselfe to Ludouicus the emperour with these woords: And if we do any thing incompetently, and do swerue from the path of righteousnesse, we will stand to your reformation, or of them whom you shall send. *Quest. 2. Ilos. 7.*

4 Notwithstanding the said Constantinus writing to the bishops congregated at Tirus, first chydeth them, then commaundeth them to refer it vnto his presence, to haue their cause iudged and decided. Trip. hist. lib. 2. cap. 7.

5 The father vnder obedience, &c. If fatherhood go by age, I suppose that king Henrie was elder then Becket. If fatherhood consist in authoritie, I iudge the authoritie of a king, to be aboue the authoritie of an archbishop. If the see of Canturburie make the fatherhood, yet had Becket no cause to claime fatherhood ouer the king, seeing the same obtained the father (that is) seeing the king made him his archbishop, and not he made him his king.

6 By wicked bonds. All is wicked with the papists, that bringeth them in subiection to their princes.

7 Ecclesiasticall matters be such, as properly belong to doctrine and diuine knowledge, for the institution of the soule, and information of conference. In which both princes and subiects ought to follow their pastor, so long as they go truly before them without error, or else not. But what maketh this for the lands and liberties of churchmen?

8 Punishment due to malefactors and rebels is not to be called persecution, but due correction.

9 Saul brake the commandement of God and was reiected. Dthis contrarie to the commandement of God take the office of a priest, and was thrusten. Dza against the expresse word of the law put his hand to the arke, and was punished. But what expresse word had king Henrie, why he should not correct and punish rebellious bishops, and wicked priests within his owne realme: wherefore these similitudes accord not. As for Achas he was not so much punished for taking the parths office, as for spoiling the temple of the Lord, and offering to idols.

10 Common lawes. S. Augustine writing to Boniface, saith thus: Whatsoeuer obeieth not the lawes of the emperour, being made for the veritie of God, procureth to himselfe great punishment. For in the time of the prophets, all the kings which did not forbid and subuert all such things as were vsed of the people against the law of God, are rebuked. And such as did withstand them, are commended aboue the rest. August.

11 Iustinus hath these woords: Let temporal princes know that they must render account to God for the church, which they haue at the hands of God to gouerne, &c.

12 The case of Arcadius Theodosius. Dauid, and of this king, as touching this matter, hath no similitude. In them was murther: this king doth nothing but claime that which is his due. And though by the spirituall sword those kings were reiected: yet it agreeth not therefore that the persons of them which haue the vse of the spirituall sword, are aboue the persons of them which haue the temporall sword.

**Besides these letters of the archbishop sent to the king, the pope also in the same cause writeth to the king, beginning after this sort:** *Alexander papa ad Henricum regem. Et naturali ratione, & formarum distante, prouidentium tum creditum est ecclesiam fuisse, quod quanto quis ab aliquo maiora suscepisse dignoscitur, tanto eidem deuotior & magis obligatus teneatur,* &c. **The whole tenour of the letter as he wrote it to the king I would here expresse, but for tracting of the time and straitnesse of roume, hauing so many things else in this storie (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect: to exhort and charge the king to shew fauour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the processe of the epistle, it followeth in these woords:** *Ea propter seueritatem tuam per apostolica scripta regimus, monemus, & exhortamur in Domino; vt non in remissionem peccatorum ex parte Dei omnipotentis, & beati Petri principis apostolorum auctoritate nostra innitentes, vt memoratum archiepiscopum pro Deo & ecclesia sua, & honore tuo, necnon & totius regni tui, in gratiam & fauorem tuum recipias,* &c. **That is: Therefore we do desire in mith, and exhort your highnes by these our apostolicall writings, and also in the name and boon the remission of your sinnes, in the behalfe of almightie God, and of S. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authoritie, that you will receiue againe the foresaid archbishop into your fauour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your owne realme, &c. Thus haue you heard the popes intreating letter. Now heere is another letter sent into the foresaid king, where in he doth menace him, as in the tenour thereof here followeth.**

W. fl. Bishop

Bishop Alexander, seruant of the seruants of God,
to king Henrie, king of England, health and bles-
*sing apostolicall.*

HOw fatherly and gently we haue oft times intreated and exhorted both by leagars and letters your princely honor, to be reconciled again with our reuerend brother Thomas archbishop of Canturbury, so that he and his may be restored againe to their churches and other possessions to them appertaining; your wisedome is not ignorant, seeing it is notified and spread almost throughout all christendome. For so much therfore, as hitherto we could not preuaile with you, neither moue nor stir your mind with faire and gentle words; it lamenteth vs not a little, so to be frustrat and deceiued of the hope and expectation which we had conceiued of you. Especiallie seeing we loue you so dearely, as our owne dearely beloued sonne in the Lord, and vnderstanding so great ieopardie to hang ouer you.

But for so much as it is written: Crie out and cease not, lift vp thy voice like a trumpe, and declare to my people their wickednesse, and their sinnes to the house of Iacob. Also for so much as it is in Salomon commanded, that the sluggish person should be stoned with the dung of oxen: we haue thought good therefore, not to forbeare or support your stubbornnesse anie longer against iustice and saluation. Neither that the mouth of the foresaid archbishop should be stopped from henceforth any more: but that he may freely prosecute the charge of his office and dittie, to reuenge with the sword of ecclesiastical discipline, the iniuries both of himselfe, and of his church committed to his charge.

And heere I haue sent vnto you two legats, Petrus de ponte Dei, and Bernardus de Corilio, to admonish you of the same. But if yee will neither by vs be aduertised, nor giue eare vnto them in obeying: it is to be feared (doubtlesse) lest such things as they shall declare to you from vs in our behalfe, may happen and fall vpon you. Dated at Beneuent, the ninth day before the kalends of June.

To answere the se letters againe, there was another certaine writing deuised out and deuoted to the pope, made by some of the clergie, as it seemeth: but not without consent of the king, as by the title may appeare, inueying and dispraising the inordinatiour of the archbishop. The tenour whereof here followeth, and beginneth thus.

## An answere to the pope.

TIme now requireth more to seeke helpe then to make complaints. For so it is now, that the holy mother church (our sinnes deserning the same) lieth in a dangerous case of great decay, which is like to insue, except the present mercie of the Lord support her.

Such is the wicked nesse now of schismatikes, that the father of fathers pope Alexander (for the defence of his faith, and for the loue of righteousnesse) is banished out of his countrie: not able to keepe free residence in his owne proper see, by reason of the indurat heart of Frederike the Pharao.

Further and besides, the church also of Canturburie is miserable impaired and blemished, as well in the spirituall as in the temporall estate: much like to the ship in the sea, being destitute of her guide, tossed in the floods, and wrestling with the winds, while the pastor being absent from his prouince dare not here remaine through the power of the king. Who being euer wise (to the ieopardie of himselfe, his church, and vs also) hath brought x intangled vs likewise with himselfe in the same partaking of his punishments and labours, not considering how we ought to forbeare, and not to resist superiour powers. And also the wetherwil himselfe to vs vnkind, which with all our affections beare the burden with him of his afflictions, not ceasing yet to persecute vs which stand in the same condemnation with him. For be it with him and our soueraigne prince, the king of England, arose a certaine matter of contention, whereupon they were both agreed, that a day should be appointed, to haue the controuersie discussed by equitie and iustice.

The day being come, the king commanded all the archbishops, bishops, and other prelats of the church to be called in a great solemne frequence: so that the greater and more general this councell was, the more manifest the detection of this stubborne malice should appeare and be espied.

At the day therefore aboue mentioned, this troubler of the realme and of the church, presently himselfe in the sight of our catholike king: who not trusting the qualitie and condition of his cause, armeth him with the armor of the crosse, as one which should be brought to the presence of a tyrant. By reason wherof, the kings maiestie being somewhat aggrieued (yet because he would be deliuered from all suspition) committeth the matter to the hearing of the bishops. This done, it rested in the bishops to decide and cease this contention, and to set agreement betweene them, removing all occasion of dissension. Which thing they going about, commeth in this foresaid archbishop, forbidding and commanding, that no man proceed in any sentence of him before the king.

This being signified to the kings hearing, his mind was grieuously prouoked thereby to anger: whose anger yet notwithstanding had been easily allaged, if the other would haue submitted himselfe, and acknowledged his default. But he adding stubbornnesse to his trespasse, through the quantitie and greatnesse of his excesse, was the author of his owne punishment, which now by the lawe ciuill he sustaineth, and yet shaueth to craue pardon for: his desert at the kings hand: whose anger he feared not to stir vp, in such a troublesome time of the persecution of the church, greatly against the profit of the same; augmenting and increasing thereby the perdition which now the church lieth vnder. Much better it had bin for him to haue tempered himselfe with the bridle of moderation, in the highest estate of his dignity, lest in exceeding so far, in straining the strict points of things by ouermuch presumption, peraduenture through his presumption being not in meane and tolerable things, might fall from higher. And if the detriments of the church would not mone him: yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honors ought to perswade him, not to be so stubborne against the king. But here peraduenture his friend and our aduersarie will obiect, that his bearing and submitting to the king in this behalfe, were preiudicial against the authoritie and see apostolicall. As though he did not or might not vnderstand, that although the dignitie of the church should suffer a little detriment in that iudgement: yet he might and ought to haue dissembled (for the time) to obtaine peace vnto the church. He will obiect againe, alleaging the name of father, that it soundeth like a point of arrogancie, for children to proceed in iudgement of condemnation against the father: which thing is not conuenient. But he must vnderstand againe, that it was necessary that the obedience and humility of the children should temper the pride of the father: lest afterward, the hatred of the father might redound vpon the children. Wherefore, of these premisses your fatherhood may vnderstand, that the action of this our aduersarie ought to fall votone. as void and of none effect, who only vpon the affection of malice hath proceeded thus against vs, hauing no iust cause nor reason to ground vpon.

And for so much as the care and charge of all churches (as ye know) lieth vpon vs, it standeth vs vpon, to prouide concerning the state of the church of Canturburie, by our diligence and circumspection: so that the said church of Canturburie, by the occasse of his pastor, be not driuen to ruine or decay.

¶ By this epistle it may appeare to the reader thereof, that Becket (being absent from England) inuent about to worke some trouble against certaine of the clergy and the laitie (belike) in excommunicating such as he toke to be his euill willers.

Now to vnderstand further what his working was, or who they were whom he did excommunicat, this letter, sent to William bishop of Norwich, shall better declare the matter.

## A letter of Becket to the bishop of Norwich.

HE bindeth himselfe to the penaltie of the crime, whosoeuer receiuing power and authoritie of God, vseth and exerciseth not the same with due seueritie, in punishing vice: but winking and dissembling, doth minister boldnesse to wicked doers, maintaining them in their sinne. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the priest, which is negligent or dissembleth. And as the Scripture saith, Thornes and brambles grow in the hands of the idle drunkard. Wherefore, lest (through our too much sufferance and dissembling) the transgressions of manifest euill doers should also be laid to our charge, and redound to the destruction of the church through our guiltie silence; we therefore following the authoritie of the popes commandement, haue laid our sentence of curse and excommunication vpon the earle Hugo: commanding you throughout all your diocesse publikelie to denounce the said earle as accursed, so that (according to the discipline of the church) he be sequestred from the fellowship of all faithfull people. Also, it is not vnknowne to your brotherhood, how long we haue borne with the transgressions of the bishop of London; who amongst other his facts, I would to God were not a great doer and fautour of this schisme, and subuerter of the rights and liberties of holie church. Wherefore we, being supported with the authoritie of the apostolike see, haue also excommunicated him, besides also the bishop of Salisburie, because of his disobedience and contempt: and others likewise, vpon diuers and sundrie causes, whosenames heere follow subscribed: Hugo Bernards sonne, Rodulph of Brock, Robert of Brock a clerke, Hugo de S. Cleare, and Leardus a clerke of Northfolke, Nigellus of Seacauill, and Richard Chapleine, William of Hasting, and the frier which possesseth my church of Monchot. Wee therefore charge and command you by the authoritie apostolicall and ours, and in the vertue of obedience, and in the perill of saluation; and of your order; that ye cause these openly to be proclamed excommunicat, throughout al your diocesse, and to command all the faithfull to auoid their companie. Fare ye well in the Lord. Let not your heart bee troubled, nor feare: for wee stand sure through the assistance of the apostolike see, God being our borow, against the pretensed shifts of the malignant sort, and against all their appellations. Furthermore, all such as haue been solemnelie cited of vs, shall sustaine the like sentence of excommunication, if God will, on the Ascension daie: vnlesse



vnlesse they shall otherwise agree with him. That is, to wit: Geffrey archdeacon of Canturburie, and Robert his vicar, Rice of Wilcester, Richard of Lucie, William Gifford, Adam of Cherings, with such others more: which either at the commandement of the king, or vpon their owne proper temeritie, haue inuaded the goods and possessions either appertaining to vs, or to our clerkes about vs. With these also we do excommunicat all such as be knowne either with aid or counsell, to haue incensed or set forward the proceeding of our king against the liberties of the church, and exiling of the innocents. And such also as be knowne to impeach or let by any maner of way the messengers (sent either from the pope, or from vs) for the necessities of the church. Fare you well againe and euer.

Hitherto hath thou seene (gentle reader) diuers and sundrie letters of Thomas Becket, whereby thou maist collect a sufficient historie of his doings and demeanor, though nothing else were said further of him, concerning his iustie and haultie stomacke, aboue that which deserued either his degree or cause which he take in hand. And here peraduenture I may seeme in the eyzie of this one man to tarie too long, hauing to write of so many others better then it: yet for the weaker sort, which haue counted him, and yet do count him for a saint, hauing in themselues little vnderstanding to iudge or discerne in the causes of men, I thought to adde this letter mine, wherein he complaineth of his king to a forren power; doing what in him did lie, to stir vp his owne cause mortall war to the destruction of many. For suppose wrong had been offered him of his prince, was it not enough for him to flie? What cause had he for his owne priuat reuenge, to set potentats in publike discord? Now hauing no iust cause but rather offering iniurie in a false quarell, so to complaine of his prince: what is to be said of this, let euery man iudge which heth this letter.

## An epistle of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie to the pope Alexander.

A *Mentissimo patri & D. Alexandro, Dei gratia summo pont. Thomas Cant. ecclesiæ humilis minister, debitam & deuotam obedientiam, &c.* In English thus.

To our most louing father and lord. Alexander by the grace of God bishop: Thomas the humble minister and seruant of the church of Canturburie due and reuerend obedience. Long enough and too long most louing father haue I forborne, still looking after the amendment of the king of England, but no fruit haue I reaped of this my long patience: may rather, whilest that vnwisely I do thus forbeare, I augment and procure the detriment and diminishing of mine authoritie, as also of the church of God. For oftentimes haue I by deuout and religious messengers inuited him to make condigne satisfaction, as also by my letters (the copies whereof I haue sent you) intimat and pronounced Gods feueritie and vengeance against him, vnlesse he repent and amend. But he (that notwithstanding) groweth from euill to worse, oppressing and conculcating the church and sanctuarie of God: persecuting both me and those which take part with me: in so much that with fearefull threatning words his purpose is to terrifie such, as (for Gods cause and mine owne) seeke any way to relieue and helpe me. He wrote also the letters vnto the abbat of the Cistercian order, that as he fauored the abbasie of that his order (which was in his power said he) he would not accept me into the fellowship thereof, nor do any thing else for me. What should I vse many words? So much hath the rigor and feueritie as well of the king as of his officers, vnder our patience and sufferance shewed it selfe: that if a great number of men, yea and that of the most religious sort, should shew vnto you the matter as it is in deed (and that vpon their oth taken) I partly doubt whether your holines would giue credit vnto them or not. With heauinesse of mind therfore I considering these things, and beholding as well the perill of the king as of our selfe, haue publikely condemned not onlie those pernicious customes: but all those peruersities and wicked doings whereby the church of England is disturbed and brought to confusion: as also the writing whereby they were confirmed: excommunicating generallie as well the obseruers and exactors thereof, as also the inuentors and patrons of the same, with their fauourers, counsellours, and coadiutors whatsoeuer, either of the clergie or laitie: absoluing also our bishops from their oth, whereby they were so strictly inioyned to the obseruation of the same. These are the articles which in that writing I haue principally condemned. First, that it is inhibited to appeale vnto the see apostolicall, for any cause but by the kings licence. That a bishop may not punish any man for periurie, or for breaking of his troth. That a bishop may not excommunicate any man that holdeth of the king *In capite*, or else to interdict either their lands or offices without the kings licence. That clerkes and religious men may be taken from vs to secular iudgement. That the king or any other iudge may heare and decide the causes of the church and tithes. That it shall not be lawfull for any archbishop or bishop to go out of the realme, and to come at the popes call without the kings licence: and diuers others such as these. Namely also I haue excommunicated Iohn of Oxenford, who hath communicated with the schisma-

A seditious complaint of Becket to the pope against his king.

tike and excommunicat person (Reginald Colonien sis) the which also contrarie to the commandement of the lord pope and ours, hath vsurped the deanrie of the church of Salisburie: and hath (to renew his schisme) taken an oth in the emperours court. Also I haue denounced and excommunicated Richard of Worcester, because he is fallen into the same damnable heresie, and communicated with that famous schismatike of Cullenden-using and forging all mischiefe possible, with the schismatikes and Flemings to the destruction of the church of God, and especiallie of the church of Rome, by composition made by the king of England and them. Also Richard de Lucie, and Ioceline de Baliol, which haue furthered the fauourers of the kings tyrannie and workers of their heresies. Also Randulph de Broc, and Hugo de Sancto Claro, and Thomas the sonne of Bernard, which haue vsurped the possessions and goods of the church of Canturburie without our licence and consent. We haue also excommunicated all those, which without our licence do stretch out their hands to the possessions and goods of the church of Canturburie. The king himselfe we haue not yet excommunicated perssonally, (till waiting for his amendment: whom (notwithstanding) we will not defer to excommunicat, vnlesse hee quickely amend and be warned by that he hath done. And therfore that the authoritie of the see apostolike, and the libertie of the church of God, which in these parts are almost vtterly lost, may be by some meanes restored; it is meet and verie necessarie that what wee haue herein done, the same be of your holinesse ratified, and by your letters confirmed. Thus I wish your holinesse long to prosper and flourish.

By this epistle he that listeth to vnderstand of the doings and quarels of Becket, may partly iudge what is to be thought thereof. Which his doings although in some part may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindnesse of zeale, or humane fragilitie: yet in this point, so direly to complaine of his naturall prince, for the zeale of the pope, he can by no wise be defended. But such was the blindnesse then of the prelats in those daies, who measured and esteemed the dignitie and liberties of Christs church by no other thing, then only by goods and possessions flowing and abounding in the clergie: and thought no greater point of religion to be in the church then to maintaine the same. For the which cause they did most abominable abuse christian discipline and excommunication of the church at that time: as by this foresaid epistle may appeare. And what marueil if the acts and doings of this archbishop seeme now to vs in these daies both fond and strange: seeing the suffragans of his owne church and clergie writing to him, could not but reprehend him, as in this their epistle translated out of Latine into English may be seene.

Becket reprehended for complaining of his king.

Excommunication abused in priuat reuenge about lands and possessions.

## An effectuall and pithie letter, full of reason and perswasion, sent from all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie to Thomas Becket their archbishop.

*Qua vestro (pater) in longinquo discessu inopinata rei ipsius nouitate turbata sunt: vestra super adsumus humilitate, &c.*
In English thus.

Such troubles and perturbations as happened through the strangenesse of your departure out of the realme, wee hoped by your humilitie and prudence should haue been reduced againe (Gods grace working withall) into a peaceable tranquillitie. And it was no little ioy to vs, to heare so of you in those parts where you are conuersant, how humblie you there behaued your selfe, nothing vanting your selfe against your prince and king, and to attempt no rimes or wrestlings against his kingdome, but that you bare with much patience the burthen of pouertie, and gaue your selfe to reading and prayer, and to redeeme the losse of your time spent, with fasting, watchings, and teares: and so being occupied with spirituall studies, to rend and rise vp to the perfection of vertue, &c. But now through the secret relation of certaine, wee heare (that wee are sorie of) that you haue sent vnto him a threatning letter, wherein there is no salutatiō premised. In the which also ye pretend no intreating nor prayers for the obtaining of fauour, neither do vse any friendly manner in declaring what you write, but manacing with much austeritie, threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the societie of the church. Which thing if you shall accomplish with like seueritie as in words ye threaten to do, you shall not only put vs out of all hope of any peace, but also put vs in feare of hatred and discord without measure, and without all redresse amongst vs. But wisedome will consider before the end of things, labouring and indeuouring to finish that which shee wiselie beginneth. Therfore your discretion shall do well, diligently to forecast and consider whereto yee tend, what end may insue thereof, and whereabout ye go. Certes we (for our parts) hearing that we doe heare, are discouraged from that we hoped for, which before hauing some good comfort of tranquillitie to come, are cast from hope to despaire: so that while one is drawen thus against another, almost there is no hope nor place left to make intreaty or supplication. Wherfore writing to your fatherhood, we exhort and counsell you by way of charity, that

you adde not trouble to trouble, and heape iniurie vpon iniurie: but so to behaue your selfe, that all menacies set aside, yee rather giue your selfe to patience and humilitie, and to yeeld your cause to the clemencie of God, and to the mercie of your prince: which in so doing you shall heape coles of charitie vpon the heads of many. Thus charitie shall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do (by Gods helpe and good mens counsell) pitie peraduenture and godlinesse shall obtaine. Better it were to sustaine pouertie with praise, then in great promotions to be a common note to al men. It is right well knowne vnto all men, how beneficiall the king hath been vnto you, from what baseneſſe to what dignitie hee hath aduanced you, and also into his owne familiaritie hath so much preferred you, that from the north ocean, to the mount Perineus he hath subdued all things to your authoritie: in so much that they were ashamed all other accounted for men right fortunat, whosoeuer could find any fauour with you.

And furthermore, lest that your estimation should bee ouermarched by any nobilitie, hee (against the mind of his mother, and of his realme) hath placed and ratified you substantially in ecclesiastical dignitie, and aduanced in this honor wherein ye stand: trusting through your helpe and counsell to raigne more safely and prosperously. Now, if he shall find disquietnesse, wherein hee trusted to haue quietnesse; what shall all men say or thinke of you? What recompence or retribution shall this be thought to be for so many and great benefits taken? Therefore (if it shall please you) yee shall do well to take your and spare your fame and estimation, and to ouercome your lord and soueraigne with humilitie and charitie. Whereunto if our aduertisement cannot moue you, yet the loue and fidelitie you beare to the bishop and holy church of Rome ought to incline you thereunto, and not to attempt any such thing, whereby the troubles of the church our mother may increase; or whereby her dolour may be augmented in the losse of them, whose disobedience now she doth bewaile. For what if it so happen through prouocation, that the king (whom all his subiects and kingdomes obey) should reliquish the pope, which Godforbid: and should denie all obedience to him, as he denieth to the king helpe or aid against you? what inconuenience would grow thereof? And thinke you, he hath not great instigations, supplications, gifts, and many faire promises to do? Yet he (notwithstanding) abideth firme hitherto in the rocke, deipiring with a valiant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing feareth vs, lest his mind (whom no worldly offers can affaile, no gleric, riches, nor treasure can ouerturne) onlie through indignation of vnkindneſſe be subuerted. Which thing if it chance to happen through you, then may you sit downe and sing the song of the lamentation of Ieremie, and weepe your bellie full.

Consider therefore, if it please you, and foresee well with your selfe, this purpose of yours, if it proceed, how hurtfull and perillous it will be: not only to the pope, and to the holy church of Rome, but also to your selfe most especially. But some peraduenture about you, of haughtie and high minded stomes, more stout perceiue then wise, will not suffer you to take this way: but will giue you contrarie counsell, to proue rather and declare what ye are able to do against your lord and prince, and to practise against him and all his, the vttermost of your power and authoritie; which power and authoritie of yours, to him that offendeth, is fearefull; and to him that will not amend, terrible. Such counsell as this, some peraduenture will whisper in your eare. But to these againe, this we say and answere for our king, whom notwithstanding to be without fault we doe not affirme: but yet alwaies, that hee is readie to amend and make satisfaction, that we speake confidently and protest in his behalfe.

The king appointed for the Lords annointed, prouideth for the peace of his subiects all that he is able: and therefore to the intent hee may conserue this peace in his churches and among st his subiects committed to him; he willeth and requireth such ordinances due to kings, and exhibited to them before time, also to be exhibited to him. Wherein if there hath any contradiction sprung betwixt him and vs, he being thereupon contented and admonished from the pope by the reuerend bishops of London and Hereford, hath not out into any defiance: but meekely and humblie answered, that wherein soeuer the church or any ecclesiasticall person can shew himselfe grieued, hee would therein stand to the iudgement of the church of his kingdome. Which also he is readie no lesse to performe in deed, thinking nothing more sweet vnto him then to be admonished of his fault, if he haue offended the Lord, and to reforme the same; and not only to reforme and amend his fault, but also to satisfie it to the vttermost, if the law shall so require him. Wherefore, seeing he is so willing to recompence & satisfie the iudgement of the church in all things appertaining to the church; refusing no order that shall be taken, but in all things submitting his necke to the yoke of Christ: with what right, by what canon or reason can you interdict him, or vse excommunication against him? It is a thing laudable and a vertue of great commendation in wisemen, wisely to goe with iudgement and reason, and not to be caried with puffes of hastie violence. Whereupon this is the only and common petition of vs all, that your fatherly care will diligently prouide for your flocke and sheepe committed to you, so that they miscarrie not, or runne to anie ruine through any inconsiderat or too much headie counsell in you: but rather through your softnesse and sufferance, they may obtaine life, peace and securitie. It doth moue vs all, that we heare of late to be done by you against the bishop of Salisburie, and the deane of the same church, prosperously, as some men suppose, against whom you haue giuen out the sentence of excommunication and condemnation, before any question of their crime was following therein, as seemeth, more the heat of hastinesse then the path of righteousnesse. This is a new order of iudgement, vnheard of yet to this day in our lawes and canons, first to condemne a man and after to inquire of the fact committed. Which order lest we should hereafter attempt to exercise in like manner against our soueraigne and king, or against vs and our churches and parishes committed to vs, to the detriment of the pope, and the holy church of Rome, and to the no little confusion of vs all: therefore we lay heere against you for our selues the remedie of appellation. And as before, openlie in the publike face of the church with liuely voice we appealed to the pope for certaine perils that might haue happened: so now againe in writing we appeale to the same, assigning the tearme of our appellation the day of the Lords ascension. Most humblie and reuerendly beseeching your goodnesse, that you, taking a better way with you in this matter, will let your cause fall: sparing herein both the labours and charges, as well of your selfe, as ours also. And thus we wish you right well to fare, reuerend in the Lord.

## The rescript or answere againe of Thomas Becket *to all his suffragans, not obeying but confuting* their counsell sent.

*Fraternitatis vestræ scriptum (quod tamen prudentiæ vestræ communi consilio non facile credimus emanasse) iuxtaper ex insperato suscepimus, &c.*

Your brotherly letters sent, albeit not by the whole assent of your wisedomes written, as I suppose, of late I received vpon a sudden, the contents whereof seeme to containe more sharpnesse then solace. And would to God they proceeded more of sincere zeale of godlinesse and affection of charitie, then of disobedience & froward wilfulnesse. For charitie seeketh not the things that be her owne, but which appertaine to Iesus Christ. It had been your dutie (if there be truth in the gospell, as most vndoubtedly there is) and if you would faithfully haue accomplished his businesse, whose person you represent, rather to haue feared him, which can cast both bodie and soule to hell; then him whose power extendeth no further then to the bodie, rather to haue obeyed God then man, rather your father then your master or lord, after the example of him who was to his father obedient vnto the death, which died for vs; leauing vs example to follow his steps. Let vs die therefore with him, and lay downe our liues for the deliuerance of his church out of the yoke of bondage and tribulation of the oppressor. Which church he hath founded, and whose libertie he hath procured with his owne proper blood: lest if we shall do otherwise, it may happilie fall vpon vs which is written in the gospell: Who so loueth his owne life more then me, is not worthie of me. This ye ought to know, that if it be right which your captaine commandeth, your dutie requireth to obey his will; if not, ye ought then rather to obey God then man.

Scriptures in words rightly alleaged, but falsilie applied.

One thing I will say (if I may be so bold to tell it vnto you) I haue now suffered and abstained a long space, waiting if the Lord had giuen you to take a better heart vnto you, which haue turned away cowardly your backes in the day of battell, or if any of you would haue returned against to stand like a wall for the house of Israel, at least if he had but shewed himselfe in the field, making but the countenance of a warriour against them, which cease not daily to infest the lambe of God. I waited and none came, I suffered and none rose vp, I held my peace and none would speake, I assembled and none would stand with me in like semblance: wherefore seeing I see no better towardnesse in you, this remaineth only, to enter action of complaint against you, and to cry against mine enemies. Rise vp O Lord, and iudge my cause, reuenge the blood of the church which is walled and oppressed. The pride of them which hate his libertie, riseth vp euer, neither is there any that doth good, no not one. Would God, brethren beloued, there were in you any mind or affection to defend the libertie of the church! for she is builded vpon a sure rocke, that although the be shaken, yet she cannot be ouerthrowne. And why then seeke ye to confound me? Say rather your selues in me, then me in you? A man which hath taken vpon me all the perill, haue sustained all the rebukes, haue sustained all the iniuries, haue suffered also for you all, to bene banishment.

I vnsie your mind O. Ro. lect.

The church of Christ cannot be ouerthrowne. Ergo, Becket ought not to be resisted.

And so it was expedient one to suffer for that church, that thereby it might be releast out of scruitude. These things discusse you simply with your selues and weigh the matter. Attend I say diligently in your minds for your parts, that God for his part remaining from your eies all maiestie of rule and imperie, as he is no accepter of persons, may take from your hearts the veile, that ye may vnderstand and see what ye haue done, what ye intend to doe, and what ye ought to doe. Tell me which of you all can say, I haue taken from him since the time of my promotion, either or by alse. If I haue defrauded him of any penie, if I haue misused the cause of any man wrongfully, or if by the detriment of any person I haue sought mine owne gaine, let him complaine, and I will restore him fourefold. And if I haue not offended you, what then is the cause that ye thus leane and for take me in the cause of God? Why bend yee so your selues against me in such a cause, that there is none more special belonging to the church?

Seruile and libertie of the Church wrongfully defined. The words of holy Scripture cleerely applied.

Brethren seeke not to confound your selues and the church of God (so much as in you is) but turne to me and you shall bee safe. For the Lord saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather he should conuert and liue. Stand with mee manfully in the warr, take your armor and your shield to defend mee. Take the sword of the word of the mightie God, that we all together may withstand more valiantlie the malignant enemies, such as go about to take away the soule of the church, which is her libertie: without which libertie she hath no power against them that seeke to inroch to their inheritance the possession of Gods sanctuarie. If ye will heare and follow mee, know ye that the Lord will be with you, and with vs all in the defence of the libertie of his church. Otherwise if yee will not, the Lord iudge betwixt me and you, and require the confusion of his church at your hands. Which church, whether the would will or no, standeth firmely in the word of the Lord, whereupon she is builded, and euer shall, till the houre come that she shall passe from this world to the father: for the Lord euer doth support her with his hand.

Turne to thee O Sion turne thou to the Lord and thy affliction shall be saued.

The soule of the church is the libertie of the church, saith Becket.

Wherefore to returne to the matter. Brethren remember well with your selues (which thing ye ought not to forget) what danger I was brought vnto, and the church of God also while I was in England, at my departing out of England, and after my departure from thence also; in what danger it standeth at this present day; but especially at that time, when as at Northampton Christ was iudged againe in my person, before the iudgement seat of the high president. Whose euer heard the archbishop of Canturburie (being troubled for iniuries done to him and to his church, and appealing to the pope of Rome) to be iudged, condemned, appealed, and put to his sureties, and that of his owne suffragans? Where is this law seene, or the authoritie (nay rather peruersitie) of this canon heard of? And why yet shame ye not at this your enormitie? Why are ye not confounded? Or why doth not this confusion worke in your repentance, and repentance driue you to due satisfaction before God and men? For these and such other iniuries done to God and to his church, and to me for Gods cause (which with a good conscience I ought to suffer, because that without danger of soule I ought not to dissemble them) I chose rather to absent my selfe for a season, and to diuell quietlie in the house of my Lord, then in the tabernacle of sinners, vntill the time that (their iniquity being complet) the harts of the wicked, and the cogitations of the same shall be opened. And these iniuries were the cause both of my appeale from the king and of my departure from thence, which yee doe terme to bee sudden. But if ye will speake the truth which ye know, it ought no lesse then to be sudden: lest (being foreknowne) it might haue been preuented and stopped. And as God turned the matter, it happed for the best, both for the honor of the king, and better safetie of them, which (seeking my harme) should haue brought slander to the king. If such troubles followed vpon my departing as ye say, let them bee imputed to him which gaue cause, the fault is in the worker, not in the departer, in him that pursueth, not in him that auoideth iniuries. What would ye more? I presented my selfe to the court, declaring both the causes of my comming and of my appeale, declaring also the wrongs and iniuries done to mee and to my church, and yet could haue no answer: neither was there any that laid any thing against mee, before we came to the king. Thus while wee stood waiting in the court, whether any would come against me or not, they sent to my officials: charging them not to obay mee in my temporalties, nor to owe any seruice to me or to any of mine. After my appellation made in the court, my church was spoiled; we and they about vs depriued of our goods, outlawed both of the clergie and of the laitie, men, women and infants: the goods of the church, that is, the patrimonie of the crucifix, confiscat, and part of the manie turned to the kings vse, part to your owne coffers. Bother bishop of London, if this be true that we heare of you, and that to the vse of your owne church ye conuert this mainie; we charge you and require you forthwith by vertue of obedience, that within fortie daies after the sight of these letters, all delay and excuse set aside, ye restore againe within the time aforesaid, all such goods and parcels as you haue taken away: for it is vnmeet and contrarie to all law, one church to be inriched with the spoile of another church. If ye stand vpon the authoritie that set you a worke, you must vnderstand, that in matters concerning the church goods, hee can giue no lawfull authoritie, which commiteth violent iniuries.

Becket seemeth here more skilfull of his matie booke then of

What authoritie and what scripture giueth this prerogatiue to princes vpon church goods, which you would attribute to them? What will they lay for them the remedie of appeale? God forbid. It were euill with the church of God, if when the sacrilegious extortioner hath violentlie inuaded other mens goods (especially the goods of the church) he should after defend him with the title of appeale, &c.

Do not brethren to confound altogether the right of the church and of the temporall regiment: for these two are much different, one boroowing his authoritie of the other. Read the scriptures, and yee shall find what and how many kings haue perished for taking vpon them the priestly office. Therefore let your discretion prouide, lest for this your doing, Gods punishment light vpon you: which if it come, it will bee hard for you very easily to escape. Prouide also and see to your king, whose fauour ye preser before the wealth and profit of the church, lest it happen (which God forbid) that he doth perish with all his house, after the example of them which for the like crime were plagued. And if ye cease not off from that ye begin, with what conscience can I dissemble or forbeare, but must needs punish you? Let him dissemble with you who list (hauing authoritie so to doe, truth I will not) there shall be no dissimulation found in mee. And where you write in your letters concerning my promotion, that it was against the voice of the whole realme, and that the church did reclaime against it; what should I say to you, but that yee know right well: The lie which the mouth doth willingly speake, killeth the soule: but especially the words of a priests mouth ought euer to go with veritie. As touching this matter, I appeale to your owne conscience, whether the fame of my election stood not fully with the consent of them all to whom the election belonged, hauing also the assent of the prince by his soune, and of them which were sent thereto. And if there were some that repugned the same, hee that was troubled and is guiltie, let him speake.

Conscience made where is none.

Clubfisted words of high presumption. Christ is not iudged in the person of any bishop.

Yet say moreouer, that I was exalted and promoted from a base and low degree to this dignitie by him. I grant that I came of no roiall or kinglie blood: yet notwithstanding I had rather be in the number of them, whom vertue of mind then of birth maketh noble. Peraduenture I was borne in a poore cottage, of poore parentage; and yet through Gods clemencie, which knoweth how to worke mercie with his seruants, I which cherisheth the humble and low things, to confound the high and mightie, in this my poore and low estate, before I came to the kings seruice, I had abundantlie and wealthilie to liue withall (as ye know) amongst my neighbours and friends. And Dauid euen from the sheepfold was taken vp and made a king, Peter of a fisher was made a prince of the church, who for his blond being shed for the name of Christ, deserued to haue in heauen a crowne, and in earth, name and renowme: would to God wee could do the like! We bee the successors of Peter, and not of kings and emperors.

They be the successors and sons of saints, not that hold the places of saints, but that doe the works of saints. Hieronim.

And where ye seeme to charge me (by insimination) with the blot of kingratitude: This I answer: There is no offence capitall or infamous, vnlesse it proceed from the heart and intention. As if a man commit a murther vnwillingly, although he be called a murtherer, yet he is not thereby punishable: and so, although I owe my duty and seruice with reuerence to my king, yet if I haue forborne him as my lord, if I haue warned him and talked with him fatherlie and gentlie as with a sonne, and in talking with him could not be heard: it therefore, I say, being inforced thereunto, against my will, I doe exercise vpon him the censure of due seueritie, in so doing I suppose I make rather with him then against him, and rather deserue at his hand thanks for my correction, then note or suspition of vnkindnesse or punishment for the fact. Sometimes a man against his will receiueth a benefit. As when necessitie causeth a man to be refrained from doing that which he ought not: he that doth to refraine him, though he stop him, doth not hurt him, but rather profiteth him for his soules health. Another thing that he fendeth vs from ingratitude, is our father and patron Christ; which in that he is our father, to whom we as children owe obedience, then are we bound as children by necessitie to obay his commandement, in warning the euil doer, in correcting the disobedient, and in bridling the obstinat: which if we doe not, we run into danger to haue his blood required at our hands. Yee fet forth likewise and shew, what losse we thereby may sustaine of our temporalties. But ye spake no word of the losse of our soules.

But he leaueth out here the manner of his comming to the court, and the slurdinesse of his behauior.

Moreouer, as concerning the departure of the king from the homage of the church of Rome, which in your letters yee seeme to pretend, or rather threaten: God forbid, I say, that the deuotion or faith of our king should euer swarue away from the obedience and reuerence of the church of Rome, for any temporall commodite or incommodite: which thing to doe is very damnable in any priuat subiect, much more in the prince which draweth many other with him: therefore God forbid, that euer any faithfull man should once thinke so heinous a deed. And you according to your discretion take heed, lest the words of your mouth infect any person or persons therein, occasioning them by your words to such dangerous and damnable matter, right was not to be obayed. Take heed, ye marre not and ye open that bore.

If the king had been an infidel, error or tyrant against the true doctrine preaching of Christ, they might in this reason stand, and God wills to be obayed then in vain. Now where did Becket learne that the king in his temporall right was not to be obayed?



The commendation of king Henrie the second, for his meeke ruling and moderation.

Scriptures in words rightly alleaged, but falsilie applied.

The bonke of holy scripture, wherunto he might referre no new thing in the old law for kings to depriue priests, and to place whom they would. Kings in the old law did not intermeddle with the priestly office in fining things that were dedicated to God: but yet kings were of them ouer priests to reprehend them when they did amisse. The penance of Achas and Ozie in the old testament was done vpon them.

This Iohn was called a Constantine, because he broke peace with the King and the Bishop of Salisbury and the executor of Gods iudgement by the Pope.

knowledge and processe had of the matter) to this I answer: that both these are iustice and contingible excommunicat, and if ye vnderstand perfectly the condition of the matter, and the right order of iudgements, ye will say no lesse. For this standeth with good authoritie (as ye know) that in manifest and notorious offences, this knowledge and order of proceeding is not requisit. Perpend with your selues diligentlie, what the bishop of Salisburie did concerning the deanerie, after that he was prohibited of the pope and of vs, vnder paine of excommunication: and then shall you better vnderstand vpon to manifest disobedience, suspension did rightlie follow, as yee read in the decree of S. Clement, saying: If they doe not obay their prelates, all maner of persons of what order so euer they be, whether they shall be princes of high or low degree, and all other people, shall not onely bee infamed, but also benished from the kingdome of God, and the fellowship of the faithfull. As concerning Iohn of Oxford, this we say, that excommunication conuincth diuers wayes. Some are excommunicat for the plaine breaking them excommunicat. Some by the sentence of the prelat. Some by communicating with them which are excommunicated. Now he that hath fallen into this damnable hereste, in participating with schismatikes, whom the pope hath excommunicat, he draweth to himselfe the spot and leprosie of like excommunication. Wherefore, seeing he (contrarie to the popes expresse commandement and ours, being charged vnder paine of excommunication to the contrarie) take vpon him the deanerie of Salisburie, we haue denounced him, and hold him excommunicat, and all his doings we disanull by the authoritie of the eight synod, saying; If any man either priuilie or appertlie shall speake, or communicat with him that is excommunicated, he draweth vnto himselfe the punishment of like excommunication. And now, for somuch as your brother (bishop of London) which ought to know that saying of Sergius the seuenth, if a man bishop shall consent to the consecration of priests, deacons, &c. without his precinct, for reward, fauor, or petition, or doth not by authoritie of his office correct the vice, let him bee suspended from his office. And against that saying of pope Leo, which is this: If any bishop shall institute or consecrat such a priest as shall be vnmeet and vncanonicall, if he scape vnpunished of his owne proper dignitie, yet he shall lose the power of instituting any more, &c.

Therefore, forsomuch, I say, as you, knowing this, haue double wise offended against the sentence of these canons, wee command you, and in the vertue of obedience inioyne you, that if it be so, within three monethes after the receipt hereof, you will submit and offer your selfe to due correction and satisfaction to the councell of our fellow bishops, for these your so great excesses: lest others through your example run into the like offence, and we shal be constrained to proceed against you with seuerer sentence.

Finallie, in the closing vp of your letter, where ye bring in for your appellation against me, a safegard for you, which rather indeed is an hinderance to you, that we should not proceed against the imaders of the church goods, nor against the king in like censure, as we haue done against the bishop of Salisburie (as ye say) and his deane. To this I answer: God forbid that we haue, or else should hereafter proceed or doe any thing against the king or his land, or against you or your churches, inordinatly or otherwise then is conuenient. But that if you shall erred in the same or like transgression, as the bishop of Salisburie hath done: Thinke ye then your appellation shall helpe you from the discipline of our seueritie, that ye shall not be suspended? Marke ye diligentlie whether this bee a lawfull appeale, and what is the forme thereof. We know that euery one that appealeth, either doth it in his owne name, or in the name of another: if in his owne, either it is for some greiuance inferred alreadie, or else for that he feareth after to be inferred against him. Now concerning the first, I am sure there is no greiuance that you can complaine of as yet (God be thanked) that you haue received at my hands, for the which you should appeale from me: neither haue you (I trust) any cause speciall against me to doe. If ye doe it for feare that it is to come, lest I should trouble you and your churches: consider whether this be the feare that ought to fall in constant men, or whether this bee the appeale which ought to suspend or stay our power and authoritie that wee haue vpon you and your churches. It is thought therefore of wise men (and we allso iudge no lesse) your appeale to be of no force.

Elements decree.

Diuers kinds of excommunication.

The councell of Chalcedon saith he is to be taken for excommunicated, that receiueth any benefice of any bishop without the consent of the bishop that ordeined him.

Pope Stephane ordered so that he which should receiue any benefice of any bishop without his consent, should be excommunicated.

Pope Leo the 4. ordeined that no bishop should receiue any benefice of another bishop without his consent, vpon paine of losing his owne benefice.

The forme of a true appellation.

Forsomuch as it is not conuenient to reason, and lacketh order and helpe of the law.

Furthermore, if your appellation bee in another mans name, either it is for the king (as most like it is) or for some other. If it be for the king, then you ought first to vnderstand, that appellations are wont to be made to repell, and not to inferr iniurie: or to release such as be oppressed, that they should not be oppressed any more.

Wherefore, if any man shall enter any appellation (not trusting to the surete of his cause, but to delay the time, that sentence be not giuen vpon him) that appellation is not to be receiued. For what state will there be of the church, if the liberty thereof bring taken away, the goods of the church spoiled, the bishops driuen from their places, or at least not receiued with full restitution of their goodes, the inuaders and spoilers thereof may defend themselues by appealing, thereby to saue themselues from the penaltie of their desert?

What answer of the church will this be? Sée what ye haue done, and what ye say. See you not the vicars of Christ representing him in earth? Is it not your office to correct and bridle ill doers, wherein they may cease to persecute the church? And is it not inough for them to be fierce and to rage against the church, but that you should take their part, setting your selues against vs, to the destruction of the church? Who euer heard of so monstrous doings? Thus it shall be heard and said of all nations and countries, that the suffragans of the church of Canturburie (which ought to stand with their metropolitan vnto death in defence of the church) now go about by the kings commandement so much as in them doth lie, to suspend his authoritie, lest he should exercise his discipline of correction vpon them that rebell against the church. This one thing I know, that you cannot sustaine two sorts of persons at once, both to be the appeale makers, and to be appealed vp your selues. You be they which haue made the appellation, and you be they against whom the appellation is made. Is there any more churches then one, and the bodie of the same? And how meet were it then, that you being the members of the church should hold together with the head thereof? I am afraid, lest it may be said of vs: These be the priests which haue said, Where is the Lord? and hauing the law do not know the law. Furthermore, this I suppose you (being discréet men) are not ignorant of, that such as enter any appellation there, are not wont to be heard, vnlesse the matter of their appellation either belonged to themselues, or except speciall commandement force them thereunto, or else vnlesse another mans cause vpon them. First, that it belongeth nothing vnto you, it is plaine: for so much as the contrarie rather pertaineth vnto your dutie; that is, to punish and to correct all such as rebel against the church. And if he which subuerteth the liberty of the church, and inuadeth the goods thereof (conuicting them to his owne vse) bee not heard appealing for his owne defence, much lesse is another to be heard appealing for him. Wherefore, as in this case neither he can appeale for himselfe, nor yet command you so to do, so neither may you receiue the commandement to appeale for him.

Thirdly, as touching the taking of another mans cause or businesse vpon you: to this I say and affirme: that ye ought in no manner of wise so to doe, specially seeing the matter pertaineth to the oppression of the church, and thereupon insueth great damage to the same.

Wherefore, seeing it neither appertaineth to you, neither ought ye to receiue any such commandement, nor yet to take vpon you any such cause as that is, your appeale is neither to be heard, nor standeth with any law. Is this the deuotion and consolation of brotherly loue which you exhibit to your metropolitan, being so you in exile? God forgiue you this clemencie. And holdeth? Will ye loke so your letters and messengers to be gentlie receiued here of vs? Neither doe I speake this, as though there were any thing in hand betwixt your part and ours; or that we haue done any thing inordinatly against the person of the king, or against his land, or against the persons of the church, or intend (by Gods mercie) so to doe. And therefore we say plainlie and affirme confantlie, that our lord the king cannot complaine of any wrong or iniurie to be done vnto him, if he (being often called vpon by letters and messengers to acknowledge his fault, neither will confesse his trespasse, nor yet come to any satisfaction for the same) haue the censure of seueritie by the pope and vs laid vpon him: for no man can say that he vniustlie is intreated, whom the law doth iustlie punish. And briefle to conclude, seeing you this for certain, that extortioners, inuaders, detainers of the church goods, and subuerters of the liberties thereof, neither haue any authoritie of the law to maintaine them, neither doth their appealing defend them, &c.

The pope cannot both bee the appreciater and the partie appealed.

Though the popes law will not defend them yet the law of the scripture will and doth.

## A briefe censure vpon the former rescript of Becket *to his suffragans, in the page before, with a generall* resolution of the reasons therein *contained.*

Becket reiecting vp the French king against the king of England.

IF the king of England had been an idolater, couetous, an adulterer, an incest, a murtherer, with such like: then the zeale of this archbishop (threatning the king & such as took his part) had deserued praise in this epistle, and the scripture would haue borne him out therein. For then all such causes should bishops prosecute the authoritie of the gospell against all persons. But the matter standing onlie vpon church goods, liberties (or rather licentiousnesse of priests) making of deanes, titles of churches, superioritie, of crowning the king, with such other: to stand so stiffe in these, is not to defend the church; but to rebell against the king. Againe, if the principles which he here groundeth vpon, were true, to wit that the pope were to be obeyed before princes, that the libertie of the church standeth vpon the immunitie of priests exempted from princes lawes, or vpon ample possessions of the church; or that the popes law ought to prevaile



preuaile in all forren countries, and to bind all princes in their owne dominions, or that the sentence of the pope and his popelings (how or by what affection soeuer it is pronounced) may stand by the vndoubted sentence of God: then all the arguments of this epistle doe proceed and conclude well. But if they stand not ratified vpon Gods word, but tottering vpon mans traditions: then whatsoeuer he inferreth or concludeth thereupon (his assumpt being false) cannot be true, according to the schoole saying: One inconuenience being granted in the beginning, innumerable follow therupō. So in this epistle it hapneth, as is aboue noted: that the maior of this man is true, but the minor is cleane false, and to be denied.

## The letter of Matild the empresse and mother of *the king, to Thomas Becket.*

The letter of the empresse to Becket.

MY lord the pope commanded mee, and vpon the forgiuenesse of my sinnes inioyned me, that I should be a mediator and meanes of peace and concord betweene my sonne and you, by reconciling of your selfe to him, whereunto (as you know) you requested mee. Wherefore, the earnester and with more affection (as well for the diuine honor as for holy church) I tooke the enterprise vpon mee. But this by the way I aduise you, that the king, his barons, and counsel, taketh it greiuously that you, whom he intirelie loued, honored, and made chiefest in all his realme, to the intent to haue more comfort and better trust in you, should thus (as the report is) rebel, and stir his people against him. Yea and further, that as much as in you lieth, you went about to disherit him, and depriue him of his crowne. Vpon the occasion whereof, I sent vnto you our trustie and familiar seruant Laurence archdeacon, by whom I pray you that I may vnderstand your mind herein, and good will toward my sonne and how you meane to behaue your selfe in my prayer and petition you may bee heard of him in your behalfe) toward his grace. But this one thing I assure you of, that vnlesse it bee through your great humilitie and moderation, euidently in you appearing, you cannot obtaine the fauour of the king. Herein what you meane to doe, I pray you send mee word by your proper letters and messengers.

5 Anno 1169

BUt to proceede further in the order of the historie. After these letters sent to and fro, the yeere of our Lord 1169. which was the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of king Henrie the second, the king mildoubting and fearing with himselfe, that the archbishop would proceed, or exceed rather in his excommunication against his owne person (to preuent the mischiefe) made this appeale to the presence of the pope, requiring to haue certaine legats sent downe from Rome from the popes side, to take vp the matter betweene the archbishop and him; requiring moreouer that they might also be absolued that were interdicted. Whereupon two cardinals, being sent from Alexander the pope with letters to the king, came to Normandie: where they appointed the archbishop to meet them before the king vpon saint Martins day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his comming till the eight day after, neither would any further goe then to Gisortium, where the two cardinals and the archbishop with other bishops conuenting together, had a certaine intreatie of peace and reconciliation, but came to no conclusion. The contents of which intreatie or action, because it is sufficientlie contained in the cardinals letters, who were called Guielmus and Otho, written to the pope, it shall require no further labour, but to shew out the words of the letter, where the summe of the whole may appeare. The words of the letter be these.

A communication between Becket and the cardinals.

Becketts ambition.

Becket would neither stand to iudgement nor triall.

## The copie of the epistle written and sent by *two cardinals to the pope, concerning the matter* of the archbishop Becket.

WIlliam and Otho, cardinals of the church of Rome, to Alexander the pope, &c. Comming to the land of the king of England, we found the contencion betweene him and the archbishop of Canturburie more sharpe and vehement then wee would. For the king and the greater part of them about him said, that the archbishop had stirred vp the French king greiuously against him, and also the earle of Flanders his kinsman (who bare no displeasure to him before) he made his open aduersarie, readie to war against him, as is by diuers euidences most certaine. Thus when we came to Tadomus first to the kings seate, we gaue the letters of your fatherhood to his hands: which after that he had receiued and considered, bringing forth withall other letters receiued from you before, some thing diuers and altering from these which hee receiued of vs) was mooued and stirred with no little indignation, saying: that the archbishop after our departure from you, had receiued of you other contrary letters, by the vertue whereof he was exempted from our iudgement, to that he should not be compelled to answer vs. Moreouer, the said king to vs added and affirmed, and so did the bishops there present, testifying the same, that concerning the old and ancient customs of his progenitors (whereof complaint was made to you) all that for the most part was false and vntrue which was intimat to you; offering further to vs, that if there were any such customs or lawes in his time, that seemed preiudicial or disagreeable to the statutes of the church, hee would willingly be content to reuoke and disanull the same. Whereupon we with other archbishops, bishops, and abbats of the land, hearing the king so reasonable, labored by all the meanes we might, that the king should not vtterlie breake from vs, but rather should incline to vs to haue the matter brought before vs betwixt him and the forenamed archbishop. By reason whereof, we directed out our owne chaplens with letters vnto him, appointing him both time and place where safelie he might meet with vs in the feast of S. Martine. Neuertheles, he pretending certaine excuses, made his dilatories, driuing off the time from the day of S. Martin to the octaues following, which thing stirred the kings heart more then is to be thought.

Thus, although wee offered to the archbishop safe comming, yet when hee refused to meet vs in the borders of the king: we to satisfie his mind, condescended to meet him within the land of the French king, in the place where he himselfe appointed, because there should bee no let in vs whereby to stop his profit. After we had entred communication, we began to exhort him all that wee could, to submit and humble himselfe to his soueraigne and king, who had heaped him with such benefits and dignities: whereby matter might bee giuen vs to further occasion of reconciling them together. Hee being thus mooued and exhorted by vs, departed aside to consult with his counsell vpon the matter. At length after counsell taken, hee commeth againe mildowting in this manner; that hee would submit and humble himselfe to the king, *Saluo honore Dei, & ecclesiæ libertate, salua etiam honestate personæ suæ & possessionibus ecclesiarum: & amplius, suæ & suorum in omnibus salua iustitia, &c.* That is: Sauing the honor of God, and libertie of the church, sauing also the honestie of his person, and possessions of churches: and moreouer, sauing the iustice of him and of all his in all things, &c. After which communication had betweene vs, we mooued and required him more instantly, that he would come to the specialties, when as yet he had brought nothing in, either which was certaine or particular. Likewise we demanded of him, if hee would in all such things contained and comprehended in our letters, stand and submit himselfe to our letters, so as the king and the bishops before were contented to doe. To the which he answering against, said that he had receiued from you a commandement, not to answer before he and all his were restored full to all their possessions; and then he would to proceed in the matter, according as hee should receiue commandement from the see apostolicall.

Thus we breaking off communication, seeing that he neither would stand to iudgement, nor come to conformitie, thought to make relation thereof to the king, and so bid declaring that which he had expressed to vs: yet not vttering all, but keeping backe a great part of that which we had heard and seene. Which when the king and his nobles had vnderstanding of, affirmed to vs againe: that hee therein was cleared so much the more, for that the archbishop would not stand to their iudgement, nor abide their triall. After much heauinesse and lamentation of the king, the archbishop, bishops, and abbats of the realme repining of vs, whether we had any such power by vertue of our commission, to withstand him and proceed against him; and perceiuing that our authoritie would not serue thereunto, and fearing lest the foresaid archbishop, refusing all order of iudgement, would worke againe disquietnesse to some noble personages of the realme, and seeing our authority could not extend so far to helpe them against him (taking a consultation among themselues) agreed together with one assent, to make their appellation to your audience, prefixing accordingly the terme of their appeale.

Becket fourth letter his bishoprike either the peace of the church for all his gaie talke.

¶ And this is the epistle of these two cardinals sent to the pope: wherein may sufficiently appeare all the discourse and manner of that assemblie (although particularlie euery thing not expressed) concerning the talke betwixt the cardinals and the archbishop. As when that William (who of the two cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other communication had, reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the church: which Becket said he preferred aboue all things. Well then (saith the cardinall) seeing all this contention betweene the king and you, riseth vpon certaine lawes and customs to be abrogated, and that you regard the peace of the church so much: then what say you? Will you renounce your bishoprike, and the king shall renounce his customs? The peace of the church now lieth in your hands, either to retaine or to let goe; what say you? To whom he answereth againe, that the proposition was not like. For I, saith he, (sauing the honour of my church and my person) cannot renounce my bishoprike. Contrarie, it standeth the king vpon, for his soules health and honour, to renounce these his ordinances and customs. Which thing he thus prooued; because the pope had condemned those customs, and he likewise with the church of Rome had done the same, &c.

The

## The talke betweene the French king, the king of England, and Becket.

AFter the cardinals were returned, the French king seeing the king of England vnquieted and vnlustous to haue peace (or at leastwise pretending to set an agreement betweene them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French king made humble as tompare betweene them. The king of England hearing that the archbishop would commit himselfe to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon may ing being there present, the archbishop prostrating himselfe at the kings feet, declared vnto him kneeling vpon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, wherein he stood in controuersie betweene them, vnto his wont arbitrement: adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*. That is, saving the honor of God. The king, who as is said before, being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffenesse of the man the king so much to this word *Salvo honore, &c.* was highlie the vnruly displeasure, rebuking him with many grieuous words as a man proud and stubborne, and also charging him with vnkindy and great benefits bestowed vpon him, as a person vnkind and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed vpon him.

And speaking to the French king there present: Sir (sir (if it please you) saith the king of England) what seeme displeasith this man, that hee saith to bee contrarie to the honour of God. And so by this meanes he will vendicat and challenge to himselfe both that is his and mine also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seeme to do any thing contrarie or preiudicall to Gods honor, this I offer him: There haue been kings in England before, both of greater and lesse puissance then I am, likewise there haue been bishops of Canturburie many, both great and holie men: What the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors before me, let him do the same to me and I am content. They that stood by, hearing these words of the king, cried all with one voice. The king hath debased himself enough to the bishop. The archbishop staying a little at this (with silence. What (saith the French king to him my lord archbishop) will you be better then these holy men? will ye be greater then Peter, who that hand yet doubting? Here now haue you peace and quietnesse put in your owne hands, if ye will take it. To this the archbishop answered again: Truth it is (saith he) my predecessors before me were much both better and greater then I, and of them euery one for his time (although he did not extirpe and cut off all) yet something they did pluck vp and correct, which seemed aduerse and repugnant against Gods honor.

For if they had taken all together alway, no such occasion there had been left for any men to raise vp this fire of temptation now against vs, as is here raised to vexe vs withall. Neither we being so moued with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as wee are of their labour and trauell. And though some of them haue been slacke, or exceeded in their dutie doing, in that wee are not bound to follow their example.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therfore rebuke him; but rather he resisted the rage of Nero, therein wee commend him. And therefore, because hee could not find in his conscience to consent vnto that he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he, by reason therof he lost his life. By such like oppressions the church hath alwaies grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honor of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to haue the fauour of one man, suffer the honor of Christ to be suppressed? The nobles standing by (hearing him thus speake) were greatly grieued with him, noting in him both arrogancie and wilfulnesse, in pertinacie and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But specialie one among the rest was most grieued, who there openlie protested: that seeing the archbishop so refused the counsell and request of both the kings doms, he was not worthy e to haue the helpe of either of them: but as the kingdome of England had receiued to the realme of France should not receiue him.

Alanus Herbertus and certain other of his chaplens that committed to shrive the doings of Becket, doe record (whether truly or no I cannot say) that the French king sending for him, as one much sorrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken at the comming of Becket do prostrat himselfe at his feet, confessing his fault, in giuing counsell to him in such cause pertaining to the honor of God: to relent therein and to yeild to the pleasure of man: wherefore declaring his repentance, hee desired to be absolued therof. So that af er this, the French king and Becket were great friends together. Insomuch that king Henrie sending to the king to intreat him and desire him that he would not support nor maintaine his enemy within his realme. The French king bitterly denied the kings request, taking part rather with the archbishop then with him.

Besides these quarels and grudges betwixt the king and the archbishop aboue mentioned, there followed yet moreouer another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited betweene the king and Becket, the king of England returning againe from Normandie into England (which was the yeare of our Lord 1170, and the seuenth yeare of his raigne) about Midsummer, kept his court of parliament at Westminster, in the which parliament he (through the assent both of the clergie, and the lords temporall) caused his sonne Henrie to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the hands of Robert archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of other bishops ministring to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joseline of Salisburie, Hugo of Durefme, and Walter of Rochester. By reason whereof Becket of Canturburie being therewithall mentioned not called for, take no little displeasure; and so did Roboulke the French king, hearing that Margaret his daughter was not also crowned with her husband: wherevpon he gathering a great armie, forthwith marched into Normandie. But the matter was soone compassed by the king of England, who sending his son vnto him in Normandie, intreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his sonne should be crowned againe, and then his daughter to be crowned also. But the archbishop not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent vnto the pope, complaining of these foure bishops, especiallie of the archbishop of Yorke, who durst be so bold in his absence and without his knowledge or his licence, to intermeddle to crowne the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his iurisdiction. At the instance of whom the pope sent downe the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. The other three bishops with the archbishop of Yorke he suspended, whose sentence and letters hereof, for auoiding prolixitie, I here omit.

Besides these foresaid bishops excommunicated, diuers other clerks also of the court he cited to appeare before him, by vertue of his large commission which he gat from the pope, to whom they were bound to obay, by reason of their benefices. And some he commanded in vertue of obedience to appeare, in paine of forfeiting their orders and benefices. Of which when neither but few would appeare, he curssed them openlie. And also some lay men of the court and the kings familiars, some as intruders, and violent withholders of church goods, hee denounced: as Richard Lucie, and Joseline Balliol, and Rafe Broke which broke his goods that belonged to the church of Canturburie, and Hugh Scentcleare, and Thomas the sonne of Barnard, and all that should hereafter take any church goods without his consent, so that almost all the court was accursed either by reason, or as partakers.

This being done, the archbishop of Yorke with the foresaid bishops resorted to the king with a grieuous complaint, declaring how miserable their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandement. The king hearing this, was highly moued, as no marvell was. But what remedie? The tune of the ruine of the pope was not yet come; and that prince then might withstand the iniurious violence of that Romish protestant.

In the meane season the French king for his part, his clergie and countrers slacke no occasion to incite and solicit Alexander the pope against the king of England, to excommunicat him also: seeking thereby and thinking to haue some bantage against the realme. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more readie to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came downe from the pope two legats (the archbishop of Rothomage and the bishop of Nauern) with direction and full commission either to driue the king to be reconciled, or to be interdised by the popes censures out of the church. The king vnderstanding himselfe to be in greater straits then he could auoid (at length through the mediation of the French king and of other prelats and great princes) was content to yeeld to peace & reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he receiued both to his fauour, and also permitted and granted him free returne to his church again. Concerning his possessions and lands of the church of Canturburie, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the king (being then in Normandie) would not grant him before he should repaire to England, to shew how he would there agree with his subiects.

Thus peace after a sort concluded betwixt the king & him, the archbishop after six years of his banishment returned to England, where he was right ioyfully receiued of the church of Canturburie, albeit of Henrie the young king he was not so greatlie welcomed. In so much that comming by to London to the king, he was returned backe to Canturburie, and there bid to his feast his house. Roger Houden maketh mention in his chronicle, that the archbishop (vpon Christmas day) did excommunicat Robert de Broke for cutting off the taile of a certaine horse of his the day before. In the meane time the foure bishops before mentioned, whom the archbishop had excommunicat, sent to him, humblie desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the archbishop would not grant cleerelie and simplie without cautels and exceptions, they went ouer to the king, declaring vnto him and complaining of their miserable state and vncourteous handling of the archbishop. Whereupon the king conceiued great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the partie. In so much that he lamented oft and sundrie times to them about him, that (among so many that he had done for) there was none that would reuenge him of his enemie. By occasion of which words, certaine that were about the king (to the number of foure) hearing him thus to complaine and lament, addressed themselues in great heat of hast to satisfie the greeued mind and quarell of their prince: who within foure daies after the said Christmasse day (laying ouer into England, and hauing a forward and a prosperous wind in their tournie, being in the deepe of winter) came to Canturburie, where Becket was commanded to keepe. After certaine admonitions and consultations had among themselues, they preased at length into the palace where the archbishop was sitting with his company about him: first to alsay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the things required to come to his speech: but now seeing that I am stopt from that, neither can find redresse of so great vexations and iniuries as I haue and doe daily sustaine, nor can haue the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law as an archbishop may haue that will exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them hurtling out in exclamation, cried, Hee threateneth, hee threateth. What: will he interdict the whole realme and vs al together: Nay that he shal not, saith another, he hath interdicted to many already. And drawing more neere to him, they protested and denounced him to haue spoken words to the ieopardie of his owne head. And so departing in great furie, and many high words, rushed out of the doores; who by the way returning to the monks, charged them in the kings name to keep him fast by comming, that he should not escape away. What, quoth the archbishop, think ye I will flie away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man aliue, will I flie one foot from you. No, say they, thou shalt not auoid, though thou wouldest. And so they departing with many words, the archbishop followeth them out of the chamber doore, crying after them, Here, here, here shall you find me; laying his hand vpon his crowne.

The names of these foure souldiers aboue mentioned were these, the first Reginald Foresoun, the second Hugh Mortevill, the third William Tracie, and the fourth Richard Britto who going to Saruelle themselues, returned the same day against: but finding the hall doore of the palace of Canturburie shut against them, they went to an inward backe doore leading into the orchard, there brake they vp a window and opened the doore, and so issued into the place. The monks (being about euensong time) had got the archbishop into the church; who being perswaded by them, caused his crosse to be borne before him, & so through the cloister, by a doore which was broken vp for him, proceeded into the quire. The harnesse men following after, at length came to the church doore, which doore the monks would haue shut against them: but as the storie saith, the archbishop would not suffer them. So they approching into the church, and the archbishop meeting them vpon the staires, there was slaine, euery one of the foure souldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, at length with much adoo obtaining their pardon of the pope by the kings procurement, as some hopes record, went to Jerusalem.

¶ Thus you haue heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be iudged, let this owne acts and facts declare. And albeit the scripture ought to bee onlie the rule to vs to iudge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimonie, partlie to satisfie their minds therein, yee shall heare the iudgements of certaine men, in yeares and times almost as ancient as himselfe, what they write & affirme of him.

And first to begin with the testimonie of one of his owne religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his owne time, who writing of his martyrdome and miracles, thus testifieth of the iudgement and sentence of diuers concerning his promotion and behauiour. The chronicle being written in Latine, and hauing the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: *Quoniam vero multi, &c.* And in the first booke and eight chapter it followeth in this maner: *Nonnullis tamen iderco promotionem eius, visum est minus canonicâ, quod ad eam magis operata est regis insatia, quâ cleri vel populi vota. Presumptionis quoque vel indiscretionis fuisse notatum est, quod quis tantæ cepere vix idoneus videbatur, primus gubernandi locum susceperit, &c.* Et mox: *Magis etiam secularia tum sapiens, tum sinthum tantæ dignitatis fastigium non horrens temuisse sed extroneus ascendisse creditus. Aliter Dei amicus Moses, &c.* With much more as in Latine is to be seene, which for the English reader here followeth translated. Diuers notwithstanding there be, which as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be canonicall. For that it was wrought rather by the instance of the king of him king him to bee a man readie and inclinable to his vtilitie) then by the assent either of the clergie or of the people. Further it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lacke of discretion, for that he being scarse worthie to take the ore in hand and play the boteswane, would take vpon him to sit at ỹ helme, and guide the ship: namely in that church, where the couent being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to haue their prelat taken out of the same profession. Where as he, scant bearing the habit of a clerke, and going in his changes and soft apparell, is more conuersant among the delicat rufflers in the court, labouring rather of worldly things, not refusing moreouer without any dread, to clime vp to the high preferment of such an holie dignitie, but rather willingly of his owne accord to aspire it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said: Who am I Lord, that I should go to Pharao, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt? And againe, I pray thee (saith he) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent, send him whom thou wilt send. Likewise Ieremias also being sent of the Lord to prophesie against Ierusalem, was abashed to take the office vpon him, answering againe with much dread of heart; A, a, a, Lord, I cannot vtter my mind, for I am a child.

After like manner we read of the saints of the new testament, whereof many were preferred oftentimes to their bishoprikes and functions of the church by mere forcement and compulsion rather of others, then by their owne wils. Likewise S. Gregorie after his flight & going away, brought backe against his mind, who also of purpose accusing & confessing his owne defects, because he would be repealed: yet by the commandement of Valentinian the emperour was inforced to take the burthen vpon him, which he could by no wise shake off. S. Martin in like sort vnknowing of any such matter, was circumuented by a certaine godly traine and wile of the citizens, before hee could be brought to his consecration, ter, was circumuented by a certaine godly traine and wile of the citizens, before hee could be brought to his consecration, ther examples this chancello likewise should haue rather erred himselfe as vnworthie and vnmeet for that roome, then

ing

ting himselfe more willing to refuse them to take it. To the which this archbishop is iudged to doe cleane contrary, &c. Hæc ex chronico, cui titulus, De passione & miraculis beati Thomæ.

And although scarslie any testimony is to be taken of that age (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition) yet let vs heare what Neuburgensis an ancient historiographer saith, who in the daies of the sonne of this king Henrie the second, prosecuting his historie vnto king Richard the first, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket: *Sane clamplerique extant ex his quos amat & laudant affectu quodam propensiori, sed prudentis parcat quisquid ab eis geritur, approbare: plane ego in vniuersis venerabile ea quæ ita ab ipso alta sunt, quis nulla existat probrorum vitiligatio, sed feruor zelotypus accenderetur regnis, ex quo tot mala postmodum pullulasse nosuntur, laudanda negotiagam consecrim, licet ex laudabili zelo processerint: sicut in beatissimo apostolorum principe quid gentes sito exemplo iudaizare coegit in quo eum doctor gentium reprehensibilem declarat fuisse, licet eum confiet laudabili hoc pietate feciisse, &c.* That is in English.

Ex chronico Neuburgensi.

Acta Becketi improbata.

Whereas many be wont, in them whom they loue or praise (iudging them more by affection then prudence) to allow and approoue whatsoeuer they do, yet for me to iudge vpon this reuerend man, verely I thinke not his doings and acts to be praise worthie, or to be allowed; forsomuch as thereof came no vtilitie but onely the anger and stirring vp of the king: whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefes (although the thing that he did, might proceed of a certaine laudable zeale) like as in the blessed prince of the apostles, in that he taught the gentils by his example to play the Iewes, Paul the doctour of the gentils did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection, &c.

And in the same author, in another place it followeth to the like effect, in these words: *Literas has in Anglicam ad suspensionem ejus, quam præmisserat ejus sequebatur, celo istius feruidus; verum ample secundum scientia non erat Dei. Nostræ enim patrinati negligunam concedimus, de tanti viri actibus temere indicare. Puto enim quod in molli adhuc teneritudine regis concordia minus prouide egisset, & ea que sine fidei christianæ periculo tolerari potuissent, ratione temporis & comperatione pacis dissimulanda diuisset, tract. illud propheticum: Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum erit. Itaque, quod a venerabili pontifice tunc actum est, nec laudare illum esse indico, nec vituperare presumo: sed dico, si vel modice in his modis a sancto cetro per zeli immoderationem ingressus est excessum, hoc vel ipsum est sacre, quæ confessionis esse passionis excellit. Ita quippe simili in viri vel amarulent laudacis sunt audacia, qui nos illis longe impares esse cognoscimus, vt ea, in quibus homines fuerunt, vel fuisse nos minus negligamus vel amemus vel laudemus: sed ea tantum, in quibus eos sine scrupulo imitari debemus. Quis enim eos dicit in omnibus, qua ab ipsis sunt, esse imitabiles? Non igitur in omnibus, que facilit. sed sapienter & caute debet laudari, ne sit a Deo prærogatiua seruetur, in cuius utique laudibus nemo potest esse nimis, quantumcunq; laudare conetur, &c.* That is in English.

The letters which were sent before for the suspending of the bishops, he pursued with burning zeale of iustice; but whether according to knowledge God knoweth it. It is not for my rude and slender wit to iudge of the doings of such a person. But yet this I suppose: that he did not behaue himselfe so circumspectlie as he ought (considering the time;) and that the concord betweene him and the king as yet was but soft and tender. Who for the consideration of the time, and for the recompence of peace, might haue forborne or dissembled such things, which without any perill of christian religion might be tolerat well enough, according to the prophetical saying: A wiseman in his time will keepe silence, because the time will not serue him. Wherefore, as the doings of that reuerend prelat I iudge in that behalfe not to be commended, so neither doe I presume to discommend them. But this I say, that if that holy man through immoderat violence of zeale, did exceed in a part therein, the same was excocted againe and purged by the fire of his suffring, which afterward insued. And so far holie men are to be loued or praised of vs, which know our selues much inferior to their vertues; that in such things wherein they haue been men, and also know ye to bee men, therein wee neither hold with them nor commend them: but onely such things wherin without al danger or scruple we ought to imitate them. For who is able to say, that they are to be imitated in all that they doe? and therefore are not to be esteemed and praised in all things generallie whatsoeuer they doe, but considerateliie and with aduisement, wherein they deserue praise, so that the onelie prerogatiue in this behalfe be reserued to God, in whose praise no man can exceed, how feruent soeuer hee bee in his praising, &c.

And heare yet more what the said author writeth in the same cause of the kings wrath and Beckets faults: *Plusquam centum homicidia a clericis commissa sub Henrico secundo dicuntur. In quibus pleriosq; rex aliquanto clementior. Sed hanc mansuetudinem regia, vultrinecessorie episcopos tantum respicit culpa, quantum absit processe & causa. Cum enim sacri præcipiunt canones, clericos non solum sacrum ordinis, sed & grauioribus arreis criminibus, verum etiam leuioris criminum reos degradari, & ex valle talium, tanquā immundas inter pares grauipalatia ecclesia Anglicana continat, tamē quamplures a multis retrō annis clericos in Anglia contigit officio primari. Nempe episcopi deum defendendis magis clericorū libertatibus vel dignitatibus, quam eorum vitijs corrigēdis vel scandisque insigniam; arbitrantur obsequiū se præstare Deo & ecclesiæ, si facinorosos clericos, quos pro officij debito canonica vigore censura coercere debeant, extra publicam tuentur disciplinā. Vnde clerici qui in sortem Domini vocati, tanquā stelle in firmamento celi positi, vita & verbo lucere deberent super terram, habentes pro impunitate agendi quodcunque libuerit, licentiam & libertatem, nec Deum, cuius iudicium verdare videtur, neque homines potestatem habentes reuerentur, cum & episcopalis circa eos solicitudo sit languida, & seculari eos iurisdictione sacri eximat ordinis prærogatiua.* In English.

More then an hundred murthers are said to be committed by the clergie vnder king Henrie the second: in punishing of whom the king was somewhat too vehement. But the fault, saith he, of this immoderat dealing of the king resteth most in the bishops of our time, forsomuch as the cause thereof proceedeth of them. For where it is decreed and commanded by the canon law (concerning the spiritual men of the clergy) that not onely such as bee notorious, but such as be spotted with lighter crimes should be degraded, whereof haue wee so many thousands and whole swarmes of such now in England, as innumerable chaffe among the little good graine; and yet how few do we see these many yeeres in England deprived of their office? For why? the bishops while they labour more to maintaine the liberties and dignities of churchmen, then to correct their vices, thinke they do God and the church great seruice, if they rescue and defend the enormities of the churchmen against publik discipline, whom they ought rather to punish by the vertue of the censure ecclesiasticall. Whereupon the churchmen, such as be sorted peculiarly to the Lord, and ought like stars to shine in earth by word and example, taking licence and libertie to doe what they list, neither reuerence God (whose iudgement seemeth to tarrie) neither men set in authoritie: when as both the bishops are slacke in their charge doing, and also the prerogatiue of their order exempteth them from the secular iurisdiction, &c. And thus much out of Neuburgensis.

*Aqua Cantuariensis.*

*Ex Cæsario monach. lib. 8. dialo. cap. 69.*

To this matter also pertaine the words of Cæsarius the monke in his eight booke of dialogues and sixty ninth chapter, about the eight and forte yeere after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the yeere of God 1220. whose words in sum come to this effect: *Quæsito Parisijs inter magistros ventilata fuit, vtrum damnatus in saluatus esset ille Thomas. Dixerat Regerius tunc Normanus, fuisse illum morte ac damnatione dignum, quod contumax esset in Dominum regem. Protulit contra Petrus Cantor Parisiensis, quod signa salutaris & magnæ sanctitatis essent eius miracula: & quod martyrium probasset ecclesiæ causa, pro qua mortem subierat, &c.* In English.

Whether Thomas Becket be saued or damned.

There was a question mooued among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saued or damned. To this question answereth Roger a Norman, that hee was worthie death and damnation, for that he was so obstinat against Gods ministers his king. Contrary, Peter Cantor a Parisian disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signes and tokens of saluation, and also of great holinesse in that man: affirming moreouer, that the cause of the church did loue and confirme his martyrdome, for the which church he died, &c.

*Ex historia monachi Cant. de miraculis b. Thomæ.*

The iudgement and censure of the schole of Paris touching this question, for the sancting of Thomas Becket. In which iudgement for so much as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death; let vs therefore paule a little vpon the same, to trie and examin these his miracles. In the triall whereof we shall find one of these two to be true, that either if they were true, that they were wrought not by God, but by a contrarie spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giueth vs warning in his gospell, saying: Whose comming shall be with lying signes and wonders, to deceiue if it were possible the elect, Matth. 24. or else wee shall find that no such were euer wrought at all, but fained and fayned of idle monks and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, & profit of their pouches, which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no lesse may appeare by the miracles themselues, set forth by one of his owne monks, and of his owne time, who in fine seuenne bookes hath comprehended all the reuelations, vertues and miracles of the archbishop, the which bookes (as yet remaining in the handes of William Stephanton citizen of London) I haue seene and perused, wherein is contained the whole sum of all his miracles, to the number of 270. being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, some vaine, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not onelie they deserue no credit, (altogether sauoring of meere forgerie) but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them. First, if miracles serue for necessitie and so infidels, what cause or necessitie was there (in a christian realme hauing the word of God) for God to worke such miracles after his death, who neuer wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these miracles, whither doe they tend, but only to bring men to Canturburg, with their bowes and offrings to inrich the conent?

Liber de miraculis b. Thomæ autore monacho quodam Cantuar.

Besides the number of these miracles, which he said to be so many that they lose their owne credit; what disease is there belonging to man or woman, in the curing wherof some miracle hath not been wrought by this [illegible] as feuers, fistula, the gout, toothach, palsie, consumption, falling sicknesse, lepsie, headach, broken armes, maimed legs, swelling thotes, the raising vp of the dead which haue been two daies departed, with infinite others. And as all these haue been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salue (as a certaine Panacea) which was, with the water onely of Canturburie, like as a cunning smith which would open with one key all maner of locks; so again in reading of the storie of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conuied, that the power of this dead saint was neuer twice shewed on any one disease, but euery diuers disease to haue a diuers miracle.

A blasphemous diuision.

A false and impudent miracle.

Miracles of S. Thomas Becket confuted.

To recite in other all these prodigious reuelations and fantasticall miracles, falslie imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing else but to write a legend of lies, and to occupie the people with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers, that haue nothing else to maintaine that religion withall: I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vaine and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angrie saint (three daies after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the quire not to sing, but to say this office of his masse: Exurge, quare obdormis Domine, &c. Which vision the author himselfe of the booke doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in an other vision the said archbishop should say, that his blood did cric out of the earth to God, more then the blood of iust Abel. Item, in another vision it was shewed a monke of Lewis, how S. Thomas had his place in heauen appointed with the apostles, aboue Stephan, Laurence, Vincent, and all the other martyrs. Wherof this cause is rendred, for that S. Stephan, Laurence, and such others, suffered onelie for their owne cause, but this Thomas suffred for the vniuersall church. Item, how it was shewed to a certaine young man (Dimus by name) that twelue yeares before the death of this Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heauen there was a vacant place left for a certaine priest, as he said, of England, which was credible supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certaine knights sonne being two daies dead, was restored againe to life as he had the water of Canturburie put in his mouth, and had by his parents foure pieces of siluer bended, to be offered in Canturburie in the childs behalfe. All these, I say, with such other like to omit (the number whereof commeth to an infinite nūber) onely this one storie of an other shall followeth shall suffice to reprehende the vanitie & impudent forgery of all the rest.

Singing at the masse for Thomas Becket after his death.

A blasphemous lie.

Becket aboue the martyrs in heauen.

A place prepared in heauen for Becket aboue martyrs before his death.

In the fourth booke of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certaine countriman of Bedfordshire in kings Weston, whose name was Gilwardus, which Gilwardus in his drunkennes busshing into another mans house which was his debter, take out of his house a great whetstone, & a paire of hedging gloues. The other partie seing this value not sufficient for his condemnation (by the counsell of the towne clerke) entred an action of felonie against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wiuits, his garnet, and other clothes. Wherupon Gilwardus being had to the gaole of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was iudged to haue both his eyes put out, and also those members cut off which nature with secret shame hath couered. Which punishment by the malice of his aduersarie being executed vpon him, hee lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canturburie. Which done, (saith the miracle) there appeared one to him by night, in white apparell, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our ladie, and holy S. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: The next day and euening the man rubbing his eye lids, began to feele his eyes to be restored againe: first in a little, after in a greater measure, so that one syne of a gray colour, the other was of blacke; and here was one miracle rung. After this followed an other miracle also vpon the same person: for going but the space of foure miles, when his eyes were restored, hee chanced (in like maner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediatly on the same his Pendenda (to vse the words of my storie) were to him restored. Principio parua quidem valde, sed in maius proficientia, which he permitted euery one to feele that would, and thanked not to deuie. In so much that hee comming vp to S. Thomas, first at London was received with ioy of the bishop of Durham, who then sending to the burgers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, received from them againe letters testimoniall, wherein the citizens there, saith this fabulous testimoniall confirmed sicke to the bishop, then to the count of Canturbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle (gentle reader) so shamelesse and impudent, I thought here to expresse, that by this one thou might est iudge of all the residue of all his miracles (and by the residue thereof might est iudge moreouer of all the filthie wicked nesse of all these lying monks and cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudentlie to deceiue the simple soules of Christs church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherfore (as I said) if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth vpon no other thing but vpon his miracles, what credit is to be giuen thereto? and vpon what a weake ground his shine so long hath stood, by this may easilie be seene. Furthermore, an other fable as notable as this, and no lesse worthie of the whetstone, we reade in the storie of Gerualius: That Thom as Becket appearing to a certaine priest, named Thomas, declared to him that hee had so brought to passe, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canturburie with the names of the priests and clerks, and with the families belonging to that citie and church of Canturburie, were written in the booke of life. Ex Cornatol. 6.

A lying miracle.

Ex libro annalium Historiarum manuscripto I. Skeyn.

But what so euer is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoeuer the testimony of the schole of Paris, or of these ancient times went with him or against him: certaine it is, that this authente or collect lately collected and printed in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of him to whom all praise only and honor is due, where it is said:

*Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit,*
*Fac nos Christe scandere, quo Thomas ascendit.*

That is:
For the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Grant vs (Christ) to clime, where Thomas did ascend.

The blasphemous author of Thomas Becket.

Therein is a double lie contained: first, that hee died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase heauen. Which thing neither Paul nor any of the apostles durst euer challenge to themselues: for if any mans blood could bring vs to heauen, then the blood of Christ was shed in vaine.

And thus much touching the testimonie or censure of certaine ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whose historie I haue stood now the longer (exceeding peraduenture in ouermuch prolixitie) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, & duely weighed on euery part, mens minds (thereby long deceiued by ignorance) might come vnto the more perfect certainetie of y truth therof, & therby to iudge more surely what is to be receiued, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to bee noted out of the testimonie of Rob. Crikeladensis, which in him I find: that among the peeres & nobles of this land neere about the king, gaue out in strait charge vpon paine of death and confiscating of all their goods, no man to be so hardie to name Thomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles, &c. Ex Crikeladensi.

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king fearing the popes wrath and curse to be laid vpon him (whereunto Lubouike y French king also helped what he could to set the matter forward) sent to Rome the archbishop of Rothomage, with certaine other bishops and archdeacons vnto the pope with his excuse; which the pope would in no wise heare. And after other messengers being sent (whom some of the cardinals receiued) it was shewed to them that on Good friday (being then neere at hand) the pope of custome was wont to assoile or to curse, and that it was noised how the king of England with his bishops should be cursed and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison. After this, certaine of the cardinals shewed the pope, that the messengers had power to sweare to the pope that the king should obey his punishment and penance: which was taken both for the king and the archbishop of Yorke. So that in the same day the pope cursed the bed doers with such as were of their consent, either that aided or harboured them. Concerning these bed doers it is touched briefle before, how they fled vnto Yorkeshire lying in Snarlborough, who after hauing in penance to go in their linnen clothes barefoot (in kissing and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to die in few yeares after.

The king of England assoiled lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor fauor a long time at the popes hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two cardinals should be sent downe to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to Beckets death. The king perceiuing what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certain vnto the intent of the pope and comming downe of the cardinals would tend: in the meane time addressed himselfe with a great power to enter into Ireland, giuing in charge and commandement, as Houeden writeth, that no bringer of any briefe or letter should come ouer into England or passe out of the realme (of what degree or condition soeuer he were) without speciall licence and allowance, so bring nothing that should bee preiudicial to to the realme.

The king of England assoiled lying.

The king sendeth to Rome.

The penance of the foure knights.

Heresies.

This order being set and ordained, the king with 400 great ships taketh his iourney to Ireland, where he abode in short time the whole land vnto him, which at that time was governed vnder diuers kings to the number of fiue: of whom foure submitted themselues vnto the said king Henrie, onely the fift, who was the king of Conaata, denied to bee subdued, keeping him in woods and marishes.

Ireland first subdued to England.

In the meane season while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals that were sent from the pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normandie. Vnto whom the king the next peere following resorted about the moneth of October, in the yeare 1172. But before, during the time of the kings being in Ireland, the bishop of London, and Joselme bishop of Salisbury had sent to Rome and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland by Wales into England, from thence to Normandy, there made

§ Anno 1172 §

his purgation before the popes legats, as touching the death of the foresaid Becket, to the which he sware hee was neither aiding or consenting, but onely that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not auenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was inioyned him vnder his oth.

The kings penance for the death of Becket.

Firſt, that hee ſhould ſend ſo much into the holy land, as would find two hundred knights & ſoudiers for the defence of that land.

Alſo that from Chriſtmas day next following he ſhould ſet forth his owne perſon to fight for the holy land, the ſpace of three yeares together, vnleſſe he ſhould bee otherwiſe diſpenſed withall by the pope.

Item, that if he would make his iourney into Spaine (as his preſent neceſſitie did require) there he to fight againſt the Saracens, and as long time as hee ſhould there abide, ſo long ſpace might he take in prolonging his iourney toward Ieruſalem.

Item, that he ſhould not hinder nor cauſe to be hindred by him any appellations made to the pope of Rome.

Item, that neither hee nor his ſonne ſhould depart or diſſeuer from pope Alexander, or from his catholike ſucceſſors, ſo long as they ſhould recount him or his ſonne for kings catholike.

Item, that the goods and poſſeſſion taken from the church of Canturburie ſhould be reſtored againe fully and amplie (as they ſtood the yere before Thomas Becket departed the realme, and that free liberties ſhould be granted to all ſuch as were outlawed for Beckets cauſe to returne againe.

Item, that the foreſaid cuſtoms and decrees by him eſtabliſhed againſt the church, ſhould be extinct and repealed, ſaue only except that concerned his owne perſon, &c.) beſides other ſecret ſtallings and aliances inioyned him.

All theſe former conditions the king with his ſon did both agree vnto, behaling himſelfe in ſuch ſort of ſubmiſſion before the two cardinals by the occaſion whereof, the cardinall tooke no little glorie, vſing this verſe of the pſalme; *Qui reſpicit terram, & facit eam tremere: qui tangit montes & fumigant:* That is: (Which) ſaieth vpon the earth, and maketh it to tremble; (which) toucheth the hils, and they ſmoke, &c. Moreouer, it is mentioned in hiſtories of the ſaid king, that a little after William king of Scots with his armie had made a rode into the realme, he returning out of Normandie into England, came firſt to Canturburie, who by the waies ſide ſone as hee came to the ſight of Beckets church, lighting off his horſe and putting off his ſhoes went barefoot to his tombe, whoſe ſteps were found bloudy through the roughneſſe of the ſtones. And not only that, but alſo receiued further penance by euery monke of the cloiſter certaine diſcipline of a rod. By which ſo great deiection of the king (if it were true) thou maieſt ſee the blind and lamentable ſuperſtition and ignorance of thoſe dates. If it were pretended (as might ſo bee in time of warre) to get the hearts of the people) yet maieſt thou learned reader ſee what flaurie kings and princes were brought into at that time vnder the popes clergie. The ſame yeare (as Houeden writeth) which was 1174, the whole citie of Canturburie was almoſt all conſumed with fire, and the ſaid miniſter church cleane burnt.

Ex Quadrilogo.

King Henrie the ſecond paieth on pilgrimage with bloudie ſteps to Thomas Beckets tombe.

Ex Rogero Houedeno, Radulfo de Diceto, & alijs.

The citie of Canturburie almoſt conſumed with fire.

The next yeare inſuing, which was 1175, a conuocation of biſhops was holden at Weſtminſter by Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie. In which conuenticle all the biſhops and abbats of the prouince of Canturburie and of Yorke being preſent, determined (as it had done a little before in the daies of king Henrie the firſt. Anno 1123.) about the obedience that Yorke ſhould do to Canturburie: that is, whether the archbiſhop of Yorke might beare his croſſe in the dioceſſe of Canturburie or not, whereof ſome thing was touched before in the former proceſſe of this hiſtorie. Alſo about the biſhoprike of Lincolne, of Chicheſter, of Worceſter, and of Herford, whether theſe churches were vnder the iuriſdiction of the ſee of Yorke or not, &c. Vpon theſe and other like matters roſe ſuch controuerſie betweene theſe two ſees, that the one appealed the other to the preſence of the biſhop of Rome.

Anno 1174.

Anno 1175. Controuerſie betweene the ſee of Canturburie and the ſee of Yorke.

Archbiſhop of Yorke appealeth the archbiſhop of Canturburie immediately to the biſhop of Rome.

In theſe and ſuch like cauſes, how much better had it been if the ſupremacie had remained more intire in the kings hands at home, whereby not only much labor and trauell had been ſaued, but alſo the great and vnaſſful expenſes beſtowed at Rome might with much more fruit and thanke haue been conuerted to the reares and ſtocks committed vnto them, and alſo perceaſe their cauſe no leſſe indifferently heard, at leaſt more ſpeedilie might haue been decided. But to the purpoſe againe. In this controuerſie diuers of the biſhop of Yorks clergie, ſuch as were of Gloceſter, belonging to the church of S. Oſwald, were excommunicate by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, becauſe they being ſummoned, refuſed to appeare before him, &c. At length the ſame yere, which was 1175, there was a cardinall ſent downe from Rome by the kings procurement, who trauailed to ſet a peace betweene the two archbiſhops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the meanes of the king) at Wincheſter, that as touching the church of S. Oſwald at Gloceſter, the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſhould ceaſe off his claime thereof, inaſmuch as the ſee of Yorke no more therein ſhould abſolute againe the clerkes thereof whom hee had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the croſſe and all other matters, it was referred to the archbiſhop of Rothomage, and of other biſhops in France: ſo that for fiue yeares a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they ſhould haue a full determination of their cauſe.

The clerks of S. Oſwalds in Gloceſter excommunicated.

A conuocation holden at Weſtminſter.

Anno 1176.

Matters of ſtate diuided into 60 ſix circuites.

The next yeare following, the foreſaid king Henrie the ſecond (diuiding the realme of England into ſix parts) ordeined vpon euery part three iuſtices of aſſiſe. The circuit or limitation of which iuſtices was thus diſpoſed. The firſt vpon Northfolke, Suffolke, Cantebrigſhire, Huntingdonſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire. Two vpon Lincolneſhire, Notinghamſhire, Darbiſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwikeſhire, Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire. Three vpon Kent, Surrey, Southamptonſhire, Southſax, Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire. Foure vpon Herefordſhire, Glocetterſhire, Worceſterſhire, Saloppſhire. Five vpon Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Deuonſhire, Cornewall. Six vpon Euerwichſhire, Richmondſhire, Lancaſter, Copland, Weſtmerland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

Houedenus, Gisburgenſis.

Anno 1177.

In the which yeare alſo Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie made three archdeacons in his dioceſſe, whereas before there was but one. About which time alſo it was granted by the king to the popes legat, that a clerke ſhould not bee called before a temporall iudge, except for offence in the foreſt, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Ex epiſtolis Matth. Paris, & aliarum hiſtoriarum.

A ſeditious contention betweene the archbiſhop and the abbat of Canturburie. Whereof was here the place of the goſpell: for that with be reaſon ariſen amongſt ſouldes him to be an vnderling to others?

Item, that no archbiſhoprike, biſhoprike, or abbey ſhould remaine in the kings hands aboue one yeare without great cauſe. It chanced the ſame yeare that this was done, there was at Canturburie one elected to be abbat in the houſe of S. Auſtin named Albert, who made great labor and ſute vnto the archbiſhop that hee would come to his church, and there conſecrate him abbat of S. Auſtins. To whom the archbiſhop ſent word againe, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other ſhould repaire to the metropolitan church of Canturburie, there to receiue his conſecration. Whereupon (controuerſie riſing betweene them) the foreſaid new elect appealed vp to the audience of the pope, and ſo laboured vp himſelfe to Rome. Where he ſo handled the matter (by what meanes I cannot tell, vnleſſe with his golden bottell, wherewith he quenched the popes thirſtie ſoule, for abbats neuer trauell lightly without fat purſes to Rome) that with ſhort diſpatch hee procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger biſhop of Worceſter, ſignifying to him, that he had giuen in charge and commandement to the archbiſhop of Canturburie (in the behalfe of his deare ſonne Albert) that hee ſhould conſecrate him within his owne monaſterie (which monaſterie properly and ſoly without mediation belonged to the iuriſdiction of Rome, and ſo likewiſe ſhould doe to his ſucceſſors after him, without any creation of obedience of them. Which thing further hee had, if the archbiſhop would refuſe to doe, within the terme appointed, that then he the foreſaid biſhop of Worceſter ſhould (by the authoritie committed vnto him) execute the ſame, all maner of appellation or other decree whatſoeuer ſhould come, notwithſtanding. This letter being obtained, the abbat that would be, returneth home, ſuppoſing with himſelfe all things to be ſure. The archbiſhop vnderſtanding the cauſe, and ſeeing himſelfe ſo ſtraitly charged, and yet loth to yeeld and ſtoope to the abbat, take to him police where authoritie would not ſerue: and both to ſaue himſelfe, and yet to diſappoint the abbat, he watcheth a time when the abbat was about buſineſſe of his houſe. And comming the ſame time to the monaſterie, as hee was commanded to doe, with all things appointed, that to ſuch a buſineſſe appertained, called for the abbat, pretending no leſſe but to giue him his conſecration. The abbat being called for, was not at home: the archbiſhop fayning himſelfe not a little grieued at his labor and good will to him, departed; as one in whom no readie diligence was lacking, if in caſe that the abbat had been at home. Whereupon the abbat being thus diſappointed, taas faine to fill his filthie flagons afreſh, and make a new courſe to Rome to his father the pope, of whom hee receiued his conſecration, and ſo came home againe, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with ſo much money peraduenture as he went withall.

The letter of pope Alexander, ſent to Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, and to the biſhop of Dureſme.

ALexander ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, to his reuerend brethren Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, and Hugh biſhop of Dureſme greeting, and apoſtolicall bleſſing. The obſequie and ſeruice of your kind deuotion, which hitherto you are knowne to

We haue declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this pope Alexander the third, how hee had brought the emperors head vnder his foot in S. Parks church at Venice: at which time and place peace was concluded, and a compoſition made betweene the pope and the ſaid Frederike the emperor. Which pacification Rogerus Houedenus, and Cauſarius Gisbergenſis, referre to this time, being the yeare of our Lord 1177, bringing in two ſeuerall letters ſent from the ſaid pope to Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, and Hugh biſhop of Dureſme. Out of the which letters, ſo much as ſerueth to our purpoſe, I haue taken and here inſerted.

Anno 1177.



to haue giuen both deuoutly and laudablie to vs and to the church, requireth that we ſhould deſcribe to you as to our ſpeciall friends, the proſperous ſucceſſe of the church, and to let you know as ſpirituall children of the church what hath happened to the ſame. For meet it is, conuenient, and alſo honeſt, that you whom we haue had ſo firme and ſure in our deuotion, ſhould now be cheriſhed and made ioyous in the proſperitie of vs and of the church. And about the end of the epiſtle it followeth thus:

The next day following, which was the feaſt of S. Iames (the ſaid emperor ſo requelting) we came to the foreſaid church of S. Marke, there to celebrate our ſolemne maſſe; where (as we were comming in the way) the ſaid emperor met vs without the church, and placing vs againe on his right hand, hee brought vs ſo into the ſaid church. After the maſſe was done placing vs againe on his right hand, hee brought vs to the church dore. And moreouer, when we ſhould take our paſſage, he held our ſtirrup, exhibiting to vs ſuch honour and reuerence as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predeceſſors. Wherefore thefe ſhal be to incite your diligence and ſtudie towards vs, that you reioyce with vs and the church in theſe our proſperous ſucceſſes, and alſo that you ſhall open the ſame effect of peace to other deuout children of the church: that ſuch as be touched with the zeale of the houſe of the Lord, may congratulate and reioyce alſo in the Lord for the great working of peace which hee hath giuen. Giuen at Veniſce in the deepe riuer, the ſix and twentith of Iulie.

A merie entertainment and a gland pope.

The emperor holdeth the popes ſtirrup.

This yere the contention reuiued againe ſpoken of a little before, betweene the two archbiſhops of Yorke and Canturburie, the occaſion whereof was this: The maner and practiſe of the pope is, when he beginneth to lacke money, he ſendeth ſome limiting cardinall abyde to fetch his harueſt in. So there came this yeare into England (as lightly few peers were without them) a certaine cardinall from Rome, called Hugo, or as Houedenus nameth him, Hugezim, who would needs keepe a counſell at Weſtminſter. To this counſell reſorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of biſhops, abbats, priors, doctors, and ſuch others of the clergie. As euery one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, firſt commeth the archbiſhop of Yorke named Roger, who (thinking to preuent the other archbiſhop) came ſomething ſooner, and ſtraightway placed himſelfe on the right hand of the cardinall. Richard the archbiſhop of Canturburie following ſhortly after, and ſeeing the firſt place taken by, refuſeth to take the ſecond, complaining of the archbiſhop of Yorke, as one prejudicial to his ſee. So while the one would not riſe, and the other part not ſit downe, roſe no ſmall contention betweene them two. The archbiſhop of Canturburie claimed the vpper ſeat by the preheminence of his church. Contrarie, the archbiſhop of Yorke alleaged for him the old decree of Gregorie, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken betweene the two metropolitans of Canturburie and Yorke, that which of them two ſhould bee firſt in election, hee ſhould haue the preheminence in dignitie, to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed ſo warme in words, that at laſt they turned to hote blowes. How ſtrong the archbiſhop of Yorke was in reaſon and argument I cannot tell, but the archbiſhop of Canturburie was ſtronger at the armes end: whoſe ſeruants being more in number, like valiant men) not ſuffering their maſter to take ſuch a foile, ſo preuailed againſt Yorke, ſitting on the right hand of the cardinall) that they pluckt him downe from the hand to the ſeat of the cardinal vpon the ground, treading and trampling vpon him with their feet, that narrowlie it was hee eſcaped with life. His calle, chimer, and rochet were all to bee rent and ſome from his backe. Here no reaſon would take place, no debating would ſerue, no praying could bee heard, ſuch clamor and tumult was there in the houſe among them, much like to the tumult which Virgil deſcribeth.

Contention betweene two archbiſhops who ſhould ſit on the right hand of the cardinall.

The tenor of the popes letter to the biſhop of Worceſter.

Ac veluti in magno populo, cùm ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, fæuſque animis ignobile vulgus,
Iamque faces & ſaxa volant, furor arma miniſtrat:

Now as the firſt part of this deſcription doth well agree, ſo ſome peraduenture will take againe, that according to the latter part alſo of the ſame, my lord cardinall with ſagenelle and grauitie (after the maner of the old Romans ſtanding by) ſhould haue ceaſed and allaied the diſturbance, according to that which followeth in the poet:

Tum pietate grauem meritis ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus aſtant:
Ille regit menes dictis, & pectora mulcet, &c.

But what did the noble Roman cardinal? Like a pretty man of his hands (but a prettier man of his feet) ſtanding vp in the midſt, and ſeeing the houſe in ſuch a broile, committed himſelfe to flight, and (as Houedenus writeth) Abſcondit ſe à facie illorum. The next day after, the archbiſhop of Yorke bringeth to the cardinall his rochet, to beare witneſſe what inturie and violence he had ſuſtained, appealing and citing vp the archbiſhop of Canturburie with certaine of his men to the biſhop of Rome. And thus the holy counſell (the ſame day it was begun) brake vp and was diſſolued.

Vnder the reigne of this king Henrie the ſecond, the dominion and crowne of England extended ſo far as hath not been ſeene in this realme before him, whom hiſtories record to poſſeſſe vnder his rule and iuriſdiction: firſt, Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, with all the lords temporall and ſpirituall did homage both for them and for their ſucceſſors (the ſcale thereof remaineth in the kings treaſurie) as alſo Ireland, England, Normandie, Aquitan, Gant, &c. to the mountaines of Pirenee, which be in the vttermoſt part of the great ocean in the Weſtrill ſea, being alſo protector of France, to whom Philip the French king yeelded both himſelfe and his realme wholly to his gouernance, in the yeare of our Lord 1181. Moreouer, he was offered alſo to be the king of Ieruſalem by the parte arch and maiſter of the hoſpitall there: who then being diſtreſſed by the Soldan, brought him the keyes of their citie deſiring his aide againſt the infidels: which offer he then refuſed, alleaging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his ſonnes, which might happen in his abſence.

The large dominion of king Henrie the ſecond.

Homage of Scotland in part of inheritance.

King Henrie the ſecond protector of France.

King Henrie refuſeth the kingdome of Ieruſalem and refuſed it.

¶ And here the old hiſtories find a great fault with the king for his refuſall, declaring that to bee the cauſe of Gods plagues, which after inſued vpon him by his children, as the patriarch (in his oration, being offended with the king) prophecied ſhould ſo happen to him for the ſame cauſe. Which ſtorie if it be true, it may be a leſſon to good princes, not to denie their neceſſarie helpe to their diſtreſſed neighbors, eſpecially the cauſe appertaining vnto God.

Ad not to be denied to one neighbour, the cauſe being godly.

Ex Polychro. Ex Geraldo Cambrenſi.

The wiſdome, diſcretion, manhood, and riches of this prince was ſo ſpread and renowned from all quarters, that meſſages came fro Emmanuel emperor of Conſtantinople, Frederike emperor of Rome, and William archbiſhop of Treuers in Almaine, the duke of Saxon, and from the earle of Flanders, and alſo from the French king, vpon determination of great queſtions and ſtrifes, to alle counſell and determination thereof of this king Henrie, as of one of moſt wiſe and ſcholemaiſter of all wiſedome and iuſtice, to haue ſolution of their queſtions and doubts. Moreouer, Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and Sancius king of Nauerne, being in ſtrife for certaine caſtles and other poſſeſſions, ſubmitted them (of their free accord) and by their oth to abide the award of this king Henrie, who made award and pleaſed them both: whereby it is to bee preſuppoſed that this king, to whom other princes did ſo reſort, as to their arbiter and deciſer, did not attend either to ſwar oth or bleſions ſtuing. Wherefore it may ſeeme the acts of this prince not to be ſo vicious as ſome monſtilly writers doe deſcribe.

King Henrie choſen arbiters by two kings.

Among many other things in this king memorable, this one is to be noted, follow it who can, that he reigning fiue and thirtie yeares, and hauing ſuch wars with his enemies, yet neuer vpon his ſubiects put any tribute or tar, nor yet vpon the ſpirituaſtie, firſt fruits and appropriations of benefices. Beſides they were not knowne, or elſe not vſed. And yet his treaſure after his death (weighed by king Richard his ſonne) amounted to aboue nine hundred thouſand pounds, beſides iewels, pretious ſtones, and houſhold furniture. Of the which ſubſtance eleuen thouſand pounds came to him by the death of Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any prieſt died within his prouince without teſtament, then he ſhould haue all his goods. And ſhortly after the archbiſhop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended (as is ſaid) to eleuen thouſand pounds beſides plate, in the yeare of our Lord God 1181.

The treaſure of king Henrie the ſecond.

A courteous archbiſhop.

But as there is no felicitie or wealth in this mortall world ſo perfect, which is not darkened with ſome cloud of incumbrance and diſcurſie: ſo it happened to this king, that among his other princely ſucceſſors, this incommoditie followed him withall, that his ſonnes rebelled and ſtod in armour againſt him, taking the part of the French king, againſt their father. Firſt, at the coronation of Henrie his ſonne, whom the father toyned with him as king, he being both father and king, take vpon him (that notwithſtanding) as but a ſeruant, and ſet downe the firſt diſh as ſeiner vnto his ſonne, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the foreſaid archbiſhop of Yorke, ſitting on the right hand of the yong king, ſaid: Sir, yee haue great cauſe this day to toy, for there is no prince in the world that hath ſuch an officer this day, &c. And the yong king diſdaining his words, ſaid: My father is not diſhonoured in this doing, for I am a king and a quenes ſonne, and ſo is not he: and not onely this, but after he alſo perſecuted his father; and ſo in his youth when he had raigned but a few yeares, died: teaching vs what is the price and reward of breaking the truſt commandement of God.

Ouid. de Metamorph.

After him likewiſe Richard his ſonne (who was called Richard coeur de lion) rebelled againſt his father, and alſo John his yongeſt ſonne did not much degenerate from the ſteps of his brethren. Inſomuch that this foreſaid Richard (like an vnkind child, perſecuting and taking part againſt his father) brought him to ſuch diſtreſſe of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague, and within foure daies departed, after he had reigned fiue and thirtie yeares: whoſe corps as it was caried to be buried, Richard his ſonne comming by the way and meeting it, and beginning to compaſſion to weepe,

King Henrie the ſecond preuented by his ſonnes.

The death of king Henrie the ſecond.

How the king being deade, lyed at the comming of his sonne.

the blood ryall incontinent out of the nose of the king at the comming of his sonne; giuing thereby a certaine demonstration how he was the onely author of his death.

After the death and reigne of which king, his children after him worthily rewarded for their vnnaturalnesse against their father, lacking the successe which their father had, lost all beyond the sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reigne of Henrie the second, and the death of Thomas Becket, whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the daies of pope Alexander the third, which pope blurping the keyes of ecclesiasticall regiment one and twentie yeares, or as Gisburnensis writeth, three and twentie yeares, gouerned the church with much tumult: striuing and contending with Frederike the emperor, not shaming like a most proud Lucifer to tread with his foot vpon the necke of the said emperor, as is aboue described.

This pope among many other his acts had certaine councels (as is partly before touched) some in France, some at Rome in Lateran, by whom it was decreed, that no archbishop should receiue the pall, vnlesse he should first sweare. Concerning the solemnitie of which pall, for the order and maner of giuing and taking the same with obedience to the pope, as it is contained in their owne words: I thought it good to set it forth vnto thee, that thou maiest well consider and vnderstand their doings therein.

{Anno 1179}

## The forme and maner how and by what words the *pope is wont to giue the pall vnto the archbishop.*

Giuing of the pall.

AD honorem omnipotentis Dei, & beate Marie virginis, & beatorum Petri & Pauli, & domini nostri N. pape, & sancte Romane ecclesie, necnon N. ecclesie tibi commisse, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, plenitudinem pontificalis officij, vt vsuris eo infra ecclesiam tuam certis diebus, qui exprimuntur in priuilegijs tibi ab apostolica sede concessis.

That is in English.

To the honor of almightie God, and of blessed Marie the virgin, and of blessed S. Peter and Paul, and of our lord pope N. and of the holy church of Rome, and also of the church of N. committed to your charge, we giue to you the pall taken from the body of S. Peter, as a fulnesse of the office pontificall, which you may weare within your owne church vpon certaine daies, which bee expressed in the priuiledges of the said church, granted by the see apostolike.

## Notes vpon the same.

¶ To the honor, &c. With what confidence durst the pope couple the honor of almightie God, and the honor of Mary, of S. Peter, and of the pope, and of the Romish church all togither, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himselfe not only with such saints, but also euen with him which is God alone, to be blessed for euer?

Taken from the bodie, &c. If S. Peters bodie be not all consumed, let him shew it if he can. If he cannot shew it, how then is this pall taken from the bodie of S. Peter? Or if he meane it to be of S. Peters owne wearing, then belike S. Peter had a goodly wardrope of palls, when euery archbishop in all christendome receiueth from the pope a diuers pall.

As a fulnesse of the office, &c. Rather he might say, the fulnesse of his owne purse, when as archbishops paid so sweetly for it. Insomuch that Iacobus the archbishop of Mentz, as is about touched a little before in the councell of Basil, where the price was wont to be but a thousand florens, could not obtaine it without six and twentie thousand florens.

*Ex libro gravaminum nationis Germanicæ.*

Vpon certaine daies, &c. This difference there was between the pope and other archbishops: for the pope might were the pall at all times and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not weare it but vpon certaine daies, and in their church onely within their prouince. Moreouer this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months, without which pall he is not to be named archbishop, but may be deposed, hauing it not after three monethes and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is giuen, some priuiledge must be giuen withall, or the old reuoked.

## In like maner proceedeth the oth of euery bishop *swearing obedience to the pope, in like words* as followeth.

The solemne oth of bishops made to the pope.

FIo. N. episcopus N. ab hac hora in antea fidelis & obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, & domino meo D.N. pape, sanctæque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, vel facto, aut vllo auxilio, consensu, vel facto, aut vitam perdent, aut membrum, seu capiantur mala captione. Consilium vero quod mihi credendum fuerit per se aut per nuncium, seu literas eorum, me sciente nemini prodam. Papatum Romanum & regalia S. Petri adiutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo & redeundo honorifice tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adiuuabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi prapeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis triennijs visitabo,

Saluo meo ord. it is as the archbishop of Mentz & Treuer did when they were to be depriued and to be slain.

*aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolutus licentia. Possessiones verò ad mensam mei episcopatus pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque oppignorabo, neque de nouo infeudabo, nec aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto Romano pontifice: sic me Deus adiuuet, & sancta Dei euangelia.*

That is in english.

I N. bishop of N. from this houre hence forth, will be faithfull and obedient to blessed S. Peter, and to the holy apostolike church of Rome, and to my lord N. the pope. I shall bee in no counsell, no; helpe either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or hurt: by them may be taken with any euill taking. The counsell which they shall commit to me either by themselues or by my messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall vtter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacie of Rome, and the regalities of S. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saued) against all persons. The legat of the apostolike see both in going and comming I shall honourablie intreate and helpe in all necessities. Being called to a synod I shall be readie to come, vnlesse I bee let by some lawfull and canonicall impeachment. The palace of the apostles euery third yeare I shall visit either by my selfe or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the see apostolike. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishoprike, I shall neither sell, nor giue, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, or remoue away by any maner of meanes without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome: so God helpe me and the holy gospels of God.

And how he vseth those that pertured, which at the death of M. Marie, sit and see out a great part of their possessions taken from them successe.

## A note vpon the same.

¶ Hereby thou hast by the way (gentle reader) to note and consider, among other things which here may bee vnderstood, that since the time the oth began to be laid and thrust vpon bishops, all generall councels began to lose their liberte. For how could any freedome remaine for men to speake their knowledge in redresse of things, being by their oth so bound to the pope to speake nothing but on his side, to maintaine the papacie and the church of Rome in all times and places? Coniecture by thy selfe (christian reader) what is more hereby to bee considered.

BEsides this it was also decreed in the said councell at Rome of 210 bishops by pope Alexander, that no man should haue any spirituall promotion, except hee were of lawfull age, and borne in wedlocke. That no parish church should be void aboue six moneths. That none within orders should meddle with temporall businesse. That priests should haue but one benefice, and that the bishop should be charged to find the priest a liuing till he be promoted.

That open diuers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the church-yard.

That nothing should be taken for; ministring sacraments, or burying.

Item, that euery cathedrall church should haue a maister to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

The bishopt of Waldenses or Albingenses.

In this councell the vow of chastitie was abrogated and laid vpon priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were canonized for saints.

The vow of chastitie laid vpon priests.

During the reigne and time of this king Henry the second, the citie of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the towne of Leicester. Nottingham walled and the burgesses slaine by the earle of Ferrers. The towne of Warwicke destroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in war by Englishmen in the yeer of our Lord 1174. The towne of Huntington taken and burned. The towne of Canturburie by casualtie of fire burnt with all the churches, specially with the Trinitie church where Becket was worshipped. An. cod. The yeare of our Lord 1170. William king of Scots with Dauid his brother and all the barons of the realme did homage to the king of England. Ireland made subiect to England. Decreed in a councell in Normandie, that no popes or children should possesse any benefice. A councell of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirtie articles concluded. An. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Tho. Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way. An. 1184. After the death of Richard archbishop of Canturburie, who followed after Tho. Becket, succeeded Baldwinus, who of a Cistercian monke being made a bishop, is said neuer to eate flesh in his life. To whom a certaine poore woman, bare & leane, meeting him in Ffrance, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he neuer did eate flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true: Nay (saith she) that is false, for you haue eaten my flesh vnto the bone: for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, & that haue your deanes taken from me. True, true, said the bishop, and then shalt haue another cow as good as that, &c. Iornalensi.

Baldwinus archbishop of Canturburie.

Moreouer, in the reigne of the said king Henrie, about the yeare of our Lord 1178. I find in the storie of Roger Houeden and others, that in the citie of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women whom the popes commissioners, to wit, Peter cardinall of saint Chrysogon, and the popes legat, with

The true nature of antichrist, in what humilitie to further the worke, vnto the ouerthrow of others.



with the archbishops of Narbon and Biturience, Reginald bishop of Bathe, John bishop of Pitcania, Henrie abbat Clarevallensis, &c. did persecute and condemne for heretikes; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abiure. Concerning whose articles and opinions I haue no sirme ground to make any certaine relation, for so much as I see the papists many times so false in their quarelling accusations, intrusely collecting mens sayings not as they ment, and meaning not as they said: but working and deprauing simple mens affections after such a subtill sort as they list themselues to take them. But this I find, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors (Henrie the abbat) in a certaine letter of his wrote thus of them: Nam & panem sanctum vitæ æternæ facerdotis ministerio in verbo Domini consecratum non esse corpus Domini, nouo dogmate contendebat asserere. That is: after a new opinion hee affirmed, that the holy bread of eternall life, consecrated by the ministerie of the priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c.

In the time of this Alexander sprang vp the doctrine and name of them which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno, which of one Waldus a chiefe senator in Lions, were named Waldenses; Item Leonistæ & Insabbatati: about the yeare of our Lord 1109. or (as Lazarus writeth) An. 1170.

*Waldenses seu pauperes de Lugduno, Leonistæ, insabbatati.*

Not long before this time (as is expressed aboue) rose vp Gratianus master of the decrees, and Petrus Lombardus master of the sentences, both archpillers of al papistrie; after whom followed also two as euill, or lw se then they, Franciscus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisie no lesse then the other maintained proud pelacie. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly aduancement to corrupt the sincerity of christian religion: so it pleased Christ the contrarie way labouring against these, to raise vp therefore the said Waldenses, against the pride and hypocrisie of the others.

*Foure arch pillers of proud papistrie.*

Thus we neuer see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and cleare light of the gospell set by Gods prouidence doth remaine, whatsoeuer doctor Augustinus, Remerius, Syluius, Cranzius, with others in their popish histories do write of them (defaming them through misreport) and accusing them to magistrats, as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholike church, and contemners of the virgin Mary: yet they that carie iudgement indifferent, rather trusting truth then wauering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise: that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrarie, but as they did with the articles of Wickliffe and Hus, so the papists did in like maner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise then they were ment.

## The historie of the Waldenses, concerning their ori- *ginall and doctrine, with their persecutions.*

The bishopt of Waldenses or Albingenses.

THe first originall of these Waldenses came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no lesse calling in the citie of Lions: the occasion whereof is declared of diuers writers thus to come: About the yeare of our Lord 1160, it chanced that diuers of the best and chiefest heads of the citie of Lions, talking and walking in a certaine place after their old accustomed maner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted togither vpon matters, either to passe ouer time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking vpon) to fall downe by hidden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Waldus there being amongst them was one, who beholding the matter more earnestly then the other, and terrified with so heauie an example, being (as is said) a rich man, and Gods holy spirit working withall, was stricken with a deepe and inward repentance, whereupon followed a new alteration with a carefull studie to reforme his former life. In so much that first hee began to minister large almes of his goods to such as neded. Secondly, to instruct himselfe and his familie with the true knowledge of Gods word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion, to repentance and vertuous amendment of life. Whereby partly through his large giuing to the poore, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him, whom when he did see readie and diligent to learne, began to giue out to them certaine rudiments of the scripture, which he had translated himselfe into the French tongue: for as he was a man wealthie in riches, so he was also not vnlearned.

Although Lazarus, Molaterannis, with others, note him vtterly vnlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him: by others that haue seene his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the bookes of scripture, and also did collect the doctors mind vpon the same.

But what soeuer he was (lettered or vnlettered) the bishops and prelats seeing him so to intermeddle with scriptures, and to haue such resort about him, albeit it was but in his owne house vnder priuate conference, could not abide, either that the scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the paines to declare it themselues. So being moued with great malice against the man, threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leaue so to doe. Waldus seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred vp vpon no iust no; godly cause, neglecting the threatnings and frettings of the wicked, said that God must be obeyed more then man. To be briefe, the more diligent hee was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fiercenesse increased. In so much that when they did see their excommunication to be despised and would not serue, they ceased not with prison, with sword and banishment to persecute, till at length they had driuen both Waldus and all the fauourers of his true preaching out of the citie.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, not because they would haue all things common amongst them, or that they professing any wilfull pouertie, would imitate to liue as the apostles did (as Syluius did salsly belie them) but because they being thrust out both of countrie and goods, were compelled to liue poorly whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christs gospell, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these.

*Thomas Aquinas first finder of Purgatorie. Ex Orobianæ Gratia.*

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be shewed and worshipped: for a memoriall, not for a sacrifice; to serue for the present ministration, and not for reseruation; to be receiued at the table, not to be caried out of the doores: according to the ancient vse of the primitiue church, when they vsed to communicate sitting. And this they prone both by an old chronicle called Chronica gestorum, as also by ancient Origen vpon the third booke of Moses, bringing in his words, which be these, proouing that this sacramentall bread ought not to be reserued: *Quicunque hunc panem cœna Christi, secunda vel tertia die sumpserit, non benedicitur anima eius, sed inquinabitur. Propterea Gabaonite, quia antiquos panes, &c.* i. Whosoeuer receiueth this bread of supper

*Chronicæ gestorum. Origen. super terium libium Mosi.*

The Sacrament of the bread ought to be kept in a decent place.

Order of the distribution of the Sacrament.

That the Sacrament is to be received fasting.

The Sacrament of the VValdenses.

What it is to receive Christ in the sacrament.

Sacramentall. Naturall.

An other Dilemma against transubstantiation.

of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soule shall not be pleased, but polluted. Therefore the Sabaonits because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was unsauery them to taste wood and water, &c.

Doctor Austin (of whom mention is made before) disputing against them about this matter of the holy Eucharist, giueth them such interrogation; whether it be the same Christ present in the sacrament, which is present at the right hand of the father? If it be not the same Christ, hold is it true in the scripture, Viam fides, venus Dominus noster Iesus Christus. One faith, one Lord Iesus Christ? If it be the same Christ, then how is hee not to bee honoured and worshipped here as well as there?

To this the Waldenses answere againe, and grant that Christ is one, and the same with his naturall bodie in the sacrament, which he is at the right hand of his father, but not after the same ordinance of his body. For the ordinance of his bodie in heauen is not personall and locall, to bee apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament the ordinance of his bodie is not personall or locall, to be apprehended or received of any bodily, after a personall or corporall manner, but after a sacramentall manner: that is, where our bodies receive the signe, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreouer, in heauen the ordinance of his bodie is dimensiue, and complet with the full proportion and quantitie of the same body wherewith bee ascended. Here perfidence of his complete body with the full proportion, measure, and stature thereof, both not, neither can stand in the sacrament. Briefly, the ordinance of his body in heauen is naturall, not sacramentall: that is, to be seene, and not remembred. Here it is sacramentall, not naturall: that is, to be remembred, not to be seene.

That answere being made to the captious proposition of D. Austin, the Waldenses (retorting the like interrogation to him againe) demand of him to answere them in the like obiection: whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally, which sitteth in heauen, and which is vnder the formes of bread and wine, and in the receiuers of the sacrament? If hee graunt to both: then bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the sacrament as in heauen, and as well in the receiuer as in the sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature; why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiuer to bee worshipped, as vnder the formes of bread and wine in the sacrament: seeing he is there after a more perfect manner in man, then in the sacrament: for in the sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the sacraments sake, but for the mans cause. In man he is not for the sacraments cause, but for his owne, and that not for a season, but for euer, as it is written: Qui manducat hunc panem viuet in æternum, that is: Hee that eateth this bread shall liue for euer, &c.

Moreouer and besides, seeing transubstantiation is the going of one substance into an other; they question against him, whether the formes of bread and wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Iesus: that is, both into his body, soule, and diuinitie, or not into the whole Christ? If the grant the whole, then say they, that is impossible concerning the diuinitie, both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the creator. If he say the bread is changed into the body and soule of Christ, not to his diuinitie, then he separateth the natures in Christ. If he say into the body alone and not the soule, then hee separateth the natures of the true manhood, &c: and so cannot bee the same Christ that was betrayed for vs, for that hee had both body and soule. To conclude, to what part soeuer hee would answere, this doctrine of transubstantiation cannot bee defended without great inconuenience of all sides.

Other and besides, Genesius Sepulueda writing of their doctrine and affections (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them then they taught or ment) reporteth them after this maner, which I thought here to set out as it is in the Latine.

*Omnium præsulem religiosis episcopis parem esse. Inter sacerdotes nullam discrimen. Presbyterum non dignitatem sed vitæ meritum efficere episcopum.*

In English.

The bishop of Rome to be equall with other bishops. Amongst priests to be no difference of degree. No priest to be reputed for any dignitie of his order, but for the worthinesse of his life.

The soules of men departed, either to enter into paine euerlasting, or euerlasting ioy. No fire of purgatorie to bee found. To pray for the dead to be vaine, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

The images of Gods as of the trinitie and of saints to bee abolished. The hallowing of water and palmes to bee a mere ridicle. The religion of begging friers to bee found out by the diuell. That priests should not inrech riches in this world, but rather follow pouertie, being content with their tithes, and meere deuotion. The preaching of the word to be free to al men called thereunto.

That no deadly sinne is to be tollerated, for whatsoeuer respect of a greater commoditie to insue thereupon. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oyle, and extreme vnction, are not to be counted amongst the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession to be but a toy; to suffice for euery man to confesse himselfe in his chamber to God. Baptisme ought to be ministred onely with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oyle. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The maiestie of God not to be restrained more within the walls of temples, monasteries and chapels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place then in another.

The temple of the Lord, that is, the proper habitation wherein God must properly dwell and worship. That to the place made by the ministration of holy things either more or lesse holy.

Priests apparell, ornaments of the high altar, vestiments, corporaces, chalices, patins, and other church plate, to serue in no stead. For the difference & respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the priest doth consecrate, or doth minister to them which doe require. To be sufficient to vse onely the sacramentall words without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of saints reigning with Christ in heauen, to be craued in vaine, being not able to helpe vs. In laying or singing the houres and matins of the day, the time to bee but lost. A man ought to cease from his labor, no day, but only vpon the sunday.

The feasts and festiuals of saints ought to be reiected. Item, such fasts as be coacted and inioyned by the church, haue no merit in them.

These assertions of the Waldenses being thus articuled out by Genes Sepulue, I thought to giue them abrode in English as they are in Latine: to the intent that as they are the lesse to be doubted, being set out of a popes pen; so wee may the better know both them hereby what they were, and also vnderstand how this doctrine now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost 400 yeares agoe. And as I haue spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine; so now we will briefly somewhat touch of the order of their life and conuersation, as wee find it registred in a certaine old written booke of inquisition.

## Ex inquisitorio quodam libello.

*Modus autem Waldensium talis est, &c.* The whole processe commeth to this effect in English. The maner of the Waldenses is this. They kneeling vpon their knees, leaning to some banke or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirtie or fortie times Pater noster. And this they doe euery day with great reuerence, being amongst themselues, and such as be of their owne religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after, also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certaine other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they vse no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Aue Maria, and the creed, which they affirme not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but onely by the church of Rome. Albeit they haue and vse the seuen articles of faith concerning the diuinitie, and seuen articles concerning the humanitie, and the ten commandements, and seuen works of mercy, which they haue compiled together in a compendious booke, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselues ready to answere any man for their faith.

*De moribus & conuersatione Waldensium.*

Before they goe to meat they haue their grace, Benedicite, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their owne tongue: God which blessed the fiue barlie loues and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, blesse this table and that is set vpon it, as shall be set vpon it. In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost. Amen. And likewise againe when they rise from meate, the seruice giueth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse: Blessing, and worship, and wisedome, and thanksgiuing, honor, vertue, and strength to God alone for euer and euer. Amen. And addeth moreouer, God reward them in their bosomes, and bee beneficiall to all them that be beneficiall to vs, and blesse vs. And the God which hath giuen vs corporall feeding, grant vs his spirituall life, and God be with vs, and wee alwaies with him. To which they answere againe, Amen. And thus saying grace, they bold their hands vpward, looking vp to heauen. After their meate and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselues, conferring together vpon their doctrine, &c.

Their manner of grace before meat.

Their grace after meat.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painefull, that Reinerius a writer about their time (an extreme enimie against them in a long processe, wherein hee describeth their doctrine and teaching; testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the partie, that a certaine heretike (latly he) onely to nurse a certaine person away from our faith, and to bring him to his: in the night and in the winter time) swam ouer the riuer called Ysis, to come to him and to teach him. Moreouer, to perfect the more them in the scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith, he did heare and see a man of the countrie whetted, which could recite ouer the whole booke of Iob word by word, without booke, with diuers others which had the whole new testament perfectly by heart.

Reinerius an old Inquisitor against Waldenses.

And although some of them rather merily then vnskilfully expounded the words of 1. Ioan. Sui non receperunt eum, Sibaite did not receiue him: yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily

*Plus vidimus loqui in Inquisitionum facer dotes.*



mightily preuaile, in so much that Reinerius hath these words; Non erat qui eos impedire auderet propter potentiam & multitudinem fautorum suorum. Inquisitioni & examinationi sæpe interfui, & computatæ sunt 40 ecclesiæ, quæ hæresi infectæ fuerunt, ac in vna parœcia Cammach fuerunt decem eorum scholæ, &c. That is, There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their fauourers. I haue often beene at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbred fortie churches infected with their heresie, in so much that in one parish of Cammach, were ten open schooles of them, &c. Hæc ille.

The ordinance and multitude of Waldenses.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in depraying and impugning them, yet is driuen to confesse this of them, where he doth distinct their sect from other sects, and hath these words: Hæc verò Leonistarum secta magnam habet speciem pietatis, eò quòd coram hominibus iustè viuant, & bene omnia de Deo credant, & omnes articulos, qui in symbolo continentur, solam Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant, & odeunt. That is: This sect of Leonists hath a great shew of holinesse, in that both they liue iustly before men, and beleeue all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the creed; onely they doe blaspheme the Romish church and hate it, &c.

VValdenses sic all other points found, but only for holding against the church of Rome. *Ex Ordinario Gratia.*

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions. After they were driuen out of Lions, they were scattered into diuers and sundry places (the prouidence of God so disposing) that the sound of their doctrine might bee heard abrode in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their prouinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, &c. But as the crosse commonly followeth the veritie and sincere preaching of Gods word, so neither could these be suffered to liue in rest. There are yet to be seene the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, deuised amongst themselues, and yet remaine in writing, for the abolishing and extirping of these Waldenses, written aboue three hundred yeres ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

The crosse commonly followeth the word.

Besides, there was a whole councell kept in Tholouse about three hundred fifty and fiue yeres before, and all against these Waldenses, the which also were condemned in another councell at Rome before that.

Waldenses persecuted more then 300 yeres ago, by antichrist.

What great persecutions were raised vp against them in France by these foure archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings, whereof I will recite some of their words, which toward the end be these; Quis enim est solus ille peregrinus, qui condemnationem harreticorum Waldensium ignoret à longe retrò annis factam, tam famosam, tam publicam, tot & tantis laboribus, expensis & sudoribus fidelium inscutam, & tot mortibus ipsorum infidelium solemniter terminatorum, publicè? punitorum tam fortiter figillatam? &c. That is, Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenses the heretikes, done and past so many yeres agoe, so famous, so publike, followed vpon with so great labors, expences, and trauell of the faithfull, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby wee may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (euen 300 yeres) began to rage against these Waldenses.

Antichrist with whom he first began his persecution.

In Bohemia likewise after that, the same called by the name of Thaborites (as Sylnius recordeth) suffered no little trouble. But neuer persecution was stirred vp against them, or any other people more terrible, then was in these latter yeres in France by the French king, in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fourty fiue, which lamentable storie is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the processe of his book, as we come to the order of yeres, shall bee set forth (by the grace of Christ) more at large. In the which persecution is declared in one towne Cabriera, to bee slaine by the captaine of Saphan Sincerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age, of whom fourty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barne, and the windowes kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a caue not far from the towne Mussium, to the number of fiue and twenty persons, with smoke and fire were the same time destroied. At Merindolum the same tyrant (seeing all the rest were fled away) finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive tree, and to be destroied with torments most cruelly: with much other persecution, as may appeare hereafter, in the historie translated out of Sleidane into English.

An horrible murther of Christs holy martyrs.

Minerius an horrible persecutor.

But to returne againe to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius aboue mentioned speaketh of one in the towne of Cheron, a glouer, which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of processe, wherein appeareth foure hundred fourty and three, brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and one.

A glouer suffered martyrdom in Cheron.

443 brought to examination.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and the lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses: who, as is declared, first began about the time of this king Henry the second of that name.

## Other incidences happening in the raigne of this Henry the second.

Incidences in the raigne of king Henry the second.

COncerning the first origin of the Waldenses, springing in Dolues of this king, is sufficiently hitherto declared. Now remaineth in the like order of time, to stay also such other incidences as chanced vnder the raigne of the said king, not vnworthy to be obserued, keeping the order of the time so neere as we may, and as authors doe giue vnto vs.

Becket a diuellish Romish martyr.

Mary, the daughter of king Stephan, being the abbesse of Ramsie, was maried in this kings daies to Matthew earle of Bullen, which marriage Thomas Becket did vnsute against, and did dissolue; by reason whereof he procured himselfe great displeasure with the said earle, &c. An. 1161. Ex chronico bibliotheca Cariensis.

The same yere a certaine child was crucified of the Iews in the towne of Glocester, An. 1161. Iornalens. After the same manner the wicked Iewes had crucified another child before in the citie of Norwich, in the daies of king Stephan, in the yere of our Lord 1145.

Two children crucified by the Iewes.

A collection was gathered through all England & France, two pence of euery pound, for the succour of the east christians against the Turkes, in the yere of our Lord 1167. Ex eodem.

Babylon taken and destroied.

Babylon was taken and destroied, and neuer since repared, by Almaricus king of Hierusalem, An. 1170. Ex vetusto manuscripto exemplari historiæ Cariensis.

The holy crosse taken with the citie of Hierusalem by the Sarazens.

In the yere 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough: Ex vetusto chron. acephalo. About which yere also, William king of Scots was taken in battell and imprisoned in England.

Great warre happened in Palestina, wherein the citie of Jerusalem with the crosse and king of the citie, and others of the temple, was taken of the Sarazens, and most part of the christians there either slaine or taken. Cruell murther and slaughter there was vsed by the Turke, who caused all the chiefe of the christians to be brought forth, and beheaded before his face. In so much, that pope Vrbanus the third so sorrowed and grieued, that Gregory the eighth, next pope after him, lined not two moneths. Then in the daies of pope Clement the third, newes and sorrow growing daily for the losse of Palestina and destruction of the christians, king Henry of England, & Philip the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Campania, with diuers other christian princes with a generall consent, vpon Saint Georges day, take the marke of the crosse vpon them, promising together to take their voyage into the holy land. At which time, the stories say the king of England receiued first the red crosse, the French king tooke the white crosse, the earle of Flanders take the Greene crosse, and so likewise other princes diuersly diuers colours, thereby to be discerned euery one by his proper crosse. But king Henry (after the three yeres were expired, in which he promised to performe his voyage) sent to the pope to further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three monasteries. Which thing he thus performed. In the church of Waltham he thrust out the secular priests, and set in monks for them. Secondly, he repaired againe and brought in the nuns of Amesbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the pope, An. 1173.

A voyage against the Turkes.

How the difference of the crosses first came in among christian princes.

The kings promises fulfilled to the pope.

The king of Scots doing homage to the king of England.

The king of Scots did his homage and allegiance to the king of England, and to his sonne, and to his chiefe lords, promising that all the earles and barons of Scotland should doe the like with their posterity. Item all the shops and debates of the church of Scotland, promised subiection and submission vnto the archbishop of Yorke, in the yere of our Lord 1175. Nicol. Triuet.

The church of Scotland subiected by the church of Yorke.

The customs was in this realme, that if any had killed any clerke or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporall sword, but onely excommunicated and sent to Rome for the popes grace and absolution. Which custome in the daies of this king began first to bee altered by the procurement of Richard archbishop of Canturburg, in the yere of our Lord 1176. Triuet.

Murtherers could not be punished by the popes decrees.

London bridge first of stone.

London bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, in the yere 1176. Ex chron. culus initium: In diebus sanctissimi regis Edouardi, &c. Ex Biblioth. Cariensi.

S. Williams of Paris.

Saint William of Paris was slaine of the Iewes on Maundy thursday, whereupon the Iewes were burned, and he counted a saint, An. 1177.

Ireland subdued to England.

Ireland subdued to the crowne of England by this king: An. 1177. Ex variis chron.

Pilgrimage to Canturbury ceased by a flying vision.

Vnder the raigne of the said king Henry, about the fiue and twentith yere of his raigne, Ludouicus the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing vnto him in his dreame, and promising to him the recouery of his sonne, if he would resort vnto him at Canturbury, made his iourny into England to visit Saint Thomas at Canturbury with Philip earle of Flanders: where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other pretious iewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearely

12

to be giuen to the conuent of the church of Canterbury, notwithstanding the said Philip in his returne from England, taking his iourny to Paris to visit S. Denis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a palsie, and was brammed of the right side of his body, An. 1178. Iornalensis & alij.

If staff reserued for an ideall voiage.

Stephanus episcopus Redomonsis was wont to make many pretie iests and gaudish prase to delight the eares of the multitude; to whom a little before his death this verse was founded in his care: *Desine iudere temere, nitere propere siergere de pulvere*: An. 1178. Nic. Triuet.

Albingenses denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of Christs body and blood, about the citie of Tholouse; also that matrimony was not a sacrament, &c. in the yere of our Lord 1178. Ibidem.

Prouident Eleonor to preuent.

King Henry separated himselfe from his wife Eleonor, and held her many yeres in prison, as some thinke for the loue of Rosamund. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his sonnes vp to war against him, and to worke him much sorrow, in the yere 1179. Nic. Triuet. Notwithstanding the said Eleonor was shortly after reconciled to him.

Saint Frideswide was translated vnto Oxford, in the yere 1179.

Expositions vpon the holy Gospell one booke of the old and new Testament.

In the yere 1180, there came to the councell of pope Alexander one Pilanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greeke and Latine, which brought and presented to the councell the homilies of Chrysostome vpon the Gospell of S. John, translated out of Greeke into Latine, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his exposition vpon Genesis; saying moreouer, that the said Chrysostome had made expositions in Greeke vpon the whole old testament and also the new, in the yere 1180.

The Charterhouse in London. The priorie of Charterhouse first erected into this land.

The monks of Charterhouse first entred into this land, in the yere 1180.

S. Hugh of Lincolne.

In the yere 1181, Richard Pech bishop of Couentry, before his death renounced his bishopricke, and became a canon in the church of S. Thomas by Stafford. Ex chronico peruetusto, cui initium, In diebus sanctii regis, &c.

About the latter time of this king Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call S. Hugh of Lincolne, borne in Burgundy, and prior of the monks of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishoppricke of Lincolne, who after his death is said to do great miracles, and therefore was counted a saint: An. 1186. Flores hist.

Lambeth first begun to be built.

Baldwinus archbishop of Canturbury, began the building of his new house and church of Lambeth, but by the letters of Clement the third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof: An. 1187. Triuet.

I do finde likewise in the foresaid written chronicle remaining in the hands of one William Carie citizen of London, that this forenamed king Henry the second, gaue to the court and church of Rome for the death of T. Becket, forty thousand marks of siuer, and fiue thousand marks of gold, in the yere of our Lord 1187.

A worthy seruice of Sibylla and Guido in Ierusalem.

Mention was made a little aboue of Almarike king of Hierusalem, which destroied Babylon, so that it was neuer after to this day restored, but lieth waste and desolate, wherein was fulfilled that, which in the prophets in so many places was threatned to Babylon before. This Almarike had a sonne named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin from the beginning of his raigne was a leper, and had the falling sickenesse, being not able for feblenesse of body (although valiant in heart and stomacke) to satisfie that function.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one Willermus, marquesse of mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son called also Baldwinus. After him she was married to another husband, named Guido de Lisimaco earle of Ioppe and of Ascalon. Vpon this befell, that the foresaid Baldwin the leper, sonne of Almaricus, being thus feeble and infirme, as is said, called his nobles together, with his mother the patriarche, declaring to them his inability, and by the consent of them committed the vnder-gouernment of the citie vnto Guido the husband of Sibylla his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not lucke in the gouernement thereof: the office was translated to another named Raimundus earle of Tripolis. In the meane time, the Soldan with his Saracens mightily preuailed against the christians, and ouerran the country of Palestina, in which meane time, Baldwin the king departed. Whereby the kingdome fell next to Baldwinus, the sonne of Sibylla by her first husband Willermus; the which Baldwinus being but fiue yeres old, was put to the custody of Raimundus aforesaid. Who also in his minority, before he came to his crowne, died: whereby the next succession by descent fell to Sibylla the wife of Guido aboue mentioned. To whom the peres and nobles hauing together in counsell offred vnto the said Sibylla, as to the lawfull heire to the crowne, to be their queene, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn diuorcement the foresaid Guido her husband: but she refused the kingdome offered to her on that condition, all at last the magistrats with the nobles in general, granted vnto her, and by their oths confirmed the same, that whomsoeuer shee would chuse to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido her husband with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdom not for his false, or for his priuat lasse, might be destitute of gouernment. At length shee with teares consenting to their intreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queene, who after the maner again receiued their fidelity by their oth. Wherupon Guido without all hope both of wife and kingdome, departed home quietly to his owne. This done, the queene assembling her states and prelats together, entred talke with them about the chusing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworne vnto her, and to obey him as their king, whom she would name to be her husband. Thus, whilest they were all in great expectation, waiting euery man whom she would nominat, the queene with a loud voice said to Guido that stood amongst them: Guido my lord, I chuse thee for my husband, and yeelding my selfe and my kingdome vnto you, openly I protest you to be the king. At these words all the assembly being amazed, wondred that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular vertue, both of faithfull chastitie and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her husband the kingdome, and retained to her selfe against her husband, whom she so faithfully loued: An. 1186. Ex historia manuscripta, cui initium, Rex Pictorum; ex bibliotheca Carierani mutuata.

A worthy example in Guido of a true subiect to the common-wealth.

The kings victory was falsly imputed to the cause of his pilgrimage.

A singular example of patience in a princesse, and fidelitie in a wife.

The death of K. Henry the second.

As I haue hitherto described the publike acts of king Henry, so now I meane to touch something of his priuat conditions. He was of meane stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chiualry, fearefull of the mutabilitie and chance of warre, more lamenting the death of his souldiers dead, then louing them aliue; none more courteous and liberall for the obtaining of his purpose; in peace a tranquillity none more tough, stubborne against the stubborne, sometimes mercifull to those whom he had vanquished, strict to his household seruants, but liberall to strangers; publisher of publike things liberall, sparing of his owne, whom once he take a displeasure against, hardly or neuer would he receiue againe to fauo, somewhat lauish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a louer of his ease, but an oppressor of his nobilitie, a seuere reuenger and furtherer of iustice, variable of mind, and craftie in his talke, an open aduoutrer, a nourisher of discord amongst his children: moreouer, the papists bearing him, for Thomas Becket's quarrell, and such like, as may be gathered) no good will, terme him to be an aduersary of the faith, the mall and beetle of the church.

Also in the chronicle intituled Scala mundi, I finde of him, that he followeth the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry the first his grandfather, in euery point. He preferred firme peace, and executed strict iustice through all his dominions. He loued marcellous well his forrests: and against, those that were transgressors either to his crowne or person, he most seuerely punished.

A Iew through feare was baptised.

Moreouer, in a certaine history intituled De regibus Anglie, I find that this king was sundry times admonished to reforme and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the castell of Cardif in Wales, at that time of the yere called Dominica in albis, the eighth day after Easter: where also after that he had heard masse, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certaine man by him, somewhat pellofthy (his haire being rounded, leane and illfauored) hauing on a white roie, and being barefoot, looked vpon the king, and spake on this wise: God aid king: (that done, thus he proceeded:) the king saluteth you and his blessed mother, Iohn Baptist, and Peter, straitly charging you, that vpon the sundaies throughout all your dominions there be no buying and selling or other seruile businesse (those only except which appertaine to the preparation of meat and drinke: which thing if thou shalt obserue, whatsoeuer thou shalt take in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to pass. Then spake the king in French vnto the knight that held his horse by the bridle: Alke of this churle whether he beareth this or not. And in the meane while that the knight should haue interpreted the kings words and message, he spake before and said: Whether this be a dreame or not, marke well what day this is, for vnlesse that thou do these things and amend thy life, such newes shalt thou heare within these twelue months, that will make thee lament and mourne till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight: and within one yeere next after, Henry, Geffrey, and Richard his sonnes, forsooke him their father, and take part with the French king. The king also Geffrey, the earle of Chester, and earle of Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were giuen also to the king, but all these did he little esteeme. The second which did admonish him, was a certaine Irishman, giuing him certaine secret signes. And thirdly, a certaine knight of Fridesele, named Philip de Sakerbie, sailing with him ouer into France, declared vnto the king in Normandy seuen articles, which he should amend. Which thing if he would doe, hee should raigne seuen yeres most honorably, and should take the holy crosse from his enemies: or else he, in the fourth yeere should dies a great ignominie. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation sware

The king admonished to amend his life.

Sundays to be free from buying and selling.

The small regard of nobility had in tumults and insurrections.

The third admonition vnto the king to reforme his life.

A new christian reuolteth to an old Iew.

sware to obserue, that is, to defend the church, to maintain good lawes, and to condemne no man to death without iudgement. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken: the fifth was in doing iustice without reward: the sixth was of ministers and officers wages and stipends: the seuenth was of expelling the Iewes, leauing them some money to depart withall. But the king not amending his life, there rose vp against him three strong enemies; that is to say, his three sons with the French king. But after that, the king following had gone on pilgrimage to the martyrs tombe barefoot, William king of Scots, and the earles of Chester and Leicester were taken at Alnewike.

In the fine and thirtith yere of his raigne, being in the castell of Chinon in Normandy, he died; at whose death those that were present were so greedy of the spoile, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to couer it, till that a page comming in, and seeing the king so ignominiously to lie, threw his cloke vpon his nether parts: whereupon (saith the author) was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court mantill.

## King Richard.

Anno 1189. King Richard crowned.

IN this yere of the Lord aboue recited, which was 1189, king Richard the eldest sonne of Henry the second succeeding his father, entred his crowne: at which time pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the losse of the holy crosse.

The kings receiuing of his treasure.

During the time of whole coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king the day before his coronation, and by publike edict commanded both the Iewes and their wiues not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation amongst his nobles and bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, of Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

Sleights to get mony.

A tenth gathered through all England.

King Philip and king Richard confederate.

The Iewes in London ransacked, and their houses set on fire.

The king admonished to amend his life.

Sundays to be free from buying and selling.

The small regard of nobility had in tumults and insurrections.

The third admonition vnto the king to reforme his life.

A new christian reuolteth to an old Iew.

The seconde admonition.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of seuery country, to inquire for the authors and firrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was their the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yere which the Iewes tooke to be their while, was to them a yere of confusion: in so much, as in the citie of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be banquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut another's throte, vnlesse by a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vnderserued; for euery yere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Good friday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Wellm.

Exchron. Westm. cuiinitium, Anno 1190. &c.

A miserable end of the cruell destruction of the Iewes.

King Richard after the death of his father comming into remembrance of himselfe, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king about Easter next ensuing, to take his voiage with him for the recouery of Christ his patrimony, which they called the holy land.

The courteous gentlenesse of king Richard before noted in buying great lordships.

Whereupon the said king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourny, set to sale diuers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergraue and Dolenge. The abbat of Burg bought another for a thousand marks, called Widdesley. High Iustice bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

Anno 1190. A Northern braule in the cathedrall church of Yorke, betweene the new archbishop and the deane.

Henry deane of Yorke and Richard Begin treat not carrying for their archbishop.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of seuery country, to inquire for the authors and firrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was their the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yere which the Iewes tooke to be their while, was to them a yere of confusion: in so much, as in the citie of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be banquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut another's throte, vnlesse by a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vnderserued; for euery yere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Good friday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Wellm.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of seuery country, to inquire for the authors and firrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was their the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yere which the Iewes tooke to be their while, was to them a yere of confusion: in so much, as in the citie of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be banquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut another's throte, vnlesse by a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vnderserued; for euery yere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Good friday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Wellm.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of seuery country, to inquire for the authors and firrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was their the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yere which the Iewes tooke to be their while, was to them a yere of confusion: in so much, as in the citie of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be banquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut another's throte, vnlesse by a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vnderserued; for euery yere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Good friday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Wellm.

King Richard after the death of his father comming into remembrance of himselfe, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king about Easter next ensuing, to take his voiage with him for the recouery of Christ his patrimony, which they called the holy land.

Whereupon the said king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourny, set to sale diuers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergraue and Dolenge. The abbat of Burg bought another for a thousand marks, called Widdesley. High Iustice bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

King Richard.

IN this yere of the Lord aboue recited, which was 1189, king Richard the eldest sonne of Henry the second succeeding his father, entred his crowne: at which time pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the losse of the holy crosse.

Anno 1189. King Richard crowned.

The kings receiuing of his treasure.

During the time of whole coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king the day before his coronation, and by publike edict commanded both the Iewes and their wiues not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation amongst his nobles and bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

The coueteous gentlenesse of king Richard before noted in buying great lordships.

Whereupon the said king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourny, set to sale diuers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergraue and Dolenge. The abbat of Burg bought another for a thousand marks, called Widdesley. High Iustice bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

Sleights to get mony.

A tenth gathered through all England.

King Philip and king Richard confederate.

The Iewes in London ransacked, and their houses set on fire.

The king admonished to amend his life.

Sundays to be free from buying and selling.

The small regard of nobility had in tumults and insurrections.

The third admonition vnto the king to reforme his life.

A new christian reuolteth to an old Iew.

The seconde admonition.

Then the king sent his writs to the shiriffes of seuery country, to inquire for the authors and firrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, diuers were imprisoned. So great was their the hatred of Englishmen against the Iewes, that as soone as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners taking example thereof, fell vpon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country againe, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the yere which the Iewes tooke to be their while, was to them a yere of confusion: in so much, as in the citie of Yorke, the Iewes obtaining the occupying of a certaine castell for their preseruation, and afterward not willing to restore it vnto the christians againe, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be banquished, first they offered much mony for their liues; when that would not be taken, by the counsell of an old Iew amongst them, euery one with a sharpe rasor cut another's throte, vnlesse by a thousand and fiue hundred of them were at that present destroied. Neither was this plague of theirs vnderserued; for euery yere commonly their custome was to get some christian mans child from the parents, and on Good friday to crucifie him in despite of our religion. Ex chron. Wellm.

Anno 1190. A Northern braule in the cathedrall church of Yorke, betweene the new archbishop and the deane.

Henry deane of Yorke and Richard Begin treat not carrying for their archbishop.

King Richard after the death of his father comming into remembrance of himselfe, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king about Easter next ensuing, to take his voiage with him for the recouery of Christ his patrimony, which they called the holy land.

Whereupon the said king Richard immediatly after his coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourny, set to sale diuers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy then bishop of Winchester bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergraue and Dolenge. The abbat of Burg bought another for a thousand marks, called Widdesley. High Iustice bishop of Durham bought the lordship of Seggefield, or Sedberge with the wapentake, and all the appurtenance thereto belonging: he bought also the earldome of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c. whom when the king should solemnize after the maner of secular earles, merily with a mocking iest. I (said he) of an old bishop I haue made a young earle. And because the said bishop had profered before by a solemne vow to visit the holy land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of mony therefore, and moreouer gaue to the king a thousand marks to remaine at home, as the chiefe iustice of England: diuers he displaced, the king set out all that he had to sale, bestowing castels, townships, lordships, earledoms, baronages, &c.

The deane and the officer would not cease ringe at the archbishops commaunde-ment.

The archbishop enjoyneth excommunication vpon the deane and the officer.

The officer purgeth out the canons of Lambeth.

The popes church can not be without candle light.

The deane and church of Poules suspended by the archbishop from diuine seruice.

The deane and officer of Poules and his canons.

Excerpta ex annalibus, cui initium, Anno gratiæ.

King Richard prepareth to goe into his countrie.

William bishop of Ely the kinges chancellor, and Hugh bishop of Durham made chiefe gouernors of the realme in the kinges absence. Ely made ye popes legate in Englande and Scotland.

Ex chron. Iornal.

Canterbury and Yorke out of the kinges fauour appointed.

The king commaundement betweene Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury and the monkes of Christs church.

Archbishops of Canturbury commonly in trouble with the kings of England much time.

Kings of England were oft-times troubled about the chusing of the archbishop, and whereof.

Ex chron. Iornal.



Dyo priors of Canturbury.

Richard prior of Douer. Geruase archbishops of Canturbury. An. 1173.

Anno Christi 1184. Dyo priors and two conuents in Canturbury at variance about the election of their archbishop.

Roger Abbat of S. Austens. maketh his complaint vnto the king. Ex chron. Iornal.

Roger the abbat excommunicateth him-self. Ex chron. Iornal.

Appellation of the archbishop.

Concilium Lateranense sub Alexandro papa.

Roger abbat of saint Austens trauelleth vp again to Rome.

Roger abbat excommunicated at Rome by the pope.

The house of the Austen monks in Canturbury go about to haue them to proue by writings of antiquity.

Ex hist. Gernasij.

Richard the archbishop go-eth towards Rome to complaine of the abbat, but staied by the king.

A catholicke speech of the Romish court to excommunicate at pleasure that they might get their many.

Troubles in chusing the archbishop of Canturbury after the death of Richard.

Monks of Canturbury sent for by king Henry the second about chusing of their archbishop.

Monks of Canturbury partiall in chusing their archbishop.

Monks of Canturbury againe sent for to the king about their election.

Alanus privy of the king. The king offended with the prior and monks of Canturbury. The stubbornesse of the monks against the king.

The king sendeth to Rome against the monkes.

The kinges gentle words to the monkes.

Bishops of England claim to haue interest in the election of the archbishop of Canturbury.

The popes letter, communanding the bishops of the realme with the prior and couent, to chuse the archbishop.

The king separateth the bishops from the monks.

The monks will take no preheminence of their church.

The deane and the officer would not cease ringe at the archbishops commaunde-ment.

The archbishop enjoyneth excommunication vpon the deane and the officer.

The officer purgeth out the canons of Lambeth.

The popes church can not be without candle light.

The deane and church of Poules suspended by the archbishop from diuine seruice.

The deane and officer of Poules and his canons

The forme of election of the archbishop of Canturbury by the bishops and the monks of Canturbury.

such a person to be archbishop, &c. Or else thus; that the prior should pronounce forth the election in these words, saying: The bishops of England, and I prior, and the couent of Canturburie, with the assent of our lord and king, doe chuse such a person, &c.

Upon this, the prior said hee would consent with his couent. Who with much adoo were content to grant to the kings desire; but afterward being required to put downe the same in writing, that they refused to doe: yet notwithstanding relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, to the matter for that time stood in peace, deferred that businesse to a further day, which was till the first day of December; commanding the prior with his fellowes the same day not to faile, but to be at London about the chusing of the archbishop.

The bishops & monks could not agree about the forme of election.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his companie were also present, who giuing attendance all that day and the next day also following, so were driuen off till the third day after. At length the lord Steward, with other nobles of the realme, were sent vnto them from the king, to declare, that whereas the king before had diuided the bishops from the monkes, that they both might haue their election by themselues, after the forme of a bill which was put downe in writting: now the mind of the king was, that the monkes taking another way, should ioyne with the bishops, and so hauing the matter in talke together, should proceed iointly in the election.

The kings message to the monks of Canturbury to agree and ioine with the bishops.

Against this, many things were alleaged by the prior and his mates, complaining much vpon the bishops, which said that the bishops had euer holden with the kings against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As first they stood against Anselme for king William; then Theobald for king Stephan; after that, against Thomas Becket for king Henry, and after him, did supplant the election of Richard their archbishop; and now againe went about to practise and worke against their election present, &c. At last the prior with his fellowes concluding, desired they might speake with the king himselfe. Who eftsoones comming vnto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and goe talke with the bishops about the election, promising that whom they agreed vpon, he also would grant his assent vnto the same. To whom when the prior againe had obiected the writings that before were made: Truth it is (said the king) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will goe against the counsell of my realme; and therefore agree, said he, with my bishops and abbats, and remember that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

The kings words to the monks of Canturbury.

Upon this the prior with his monks, seeing no other remedie, went to the bishops to consier, according to the king his request, about the election, who then were willed by the bishops to nominat whom they would, and the bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the prior with his complices had named three after their chusing, the bishops said they would nominat but one, and so did, which was the bishop of Worcester, willing the prior to goe home, and to conferr with his couent about the same. To whom shortly after, the bishops sent certaine priests to signifie to the couent, that they according to the popes letters, should repaire to the bishops concerning the election of the archbishop: also to declare moreouer to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men: but he whom they had nominated was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monks marueiling hereat, sent two monks with the archdeacon of Canturbury to the king.

The monks of Canturbury compelled against their wils to ioine with the bishops touching the election of the archbishop.

This done, immediatly after the returne of the priests, the bishops caused all the bels of the city to be rung, and Te Deum to be sung for the archbishop new elect. Whereof when the two monks brought tidings to the couent at Canturbury what was done at London, they were all in a maruellous bumpe. The king hearing this, perceiuing the stirres of the monks, in all hast sent messengers to Canturbury with gentle words, to will the prior to come to the king, and certifie him of the purpose of his monks. Vnto whom the prior eftsoones being come, declareth in the name of the whole couent, that in no case he nor the monks would euer while the world stood agree to that election of the bishops, vnlesse the king in his owne person would come to Canturbury, and there openly before the whole couent, protest by his owne mouth the forsaid election to be nought and void, and to returning to London againe, openly likewise before the clergy and the people would repudiat and reiect the same: and furthermore, that the partie also elected, should openly in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function vpon him, vnlesse he entred by the consent of the prior and couent of Canturbury: and all this to be done in the same place where the bishops had made their election before: and so peraduenture (said they) at the kings so earnest suit and request, they would gratifie his will, and ratifie the said election with the voices of their consent. To make the story short, after great hold betweene the secular clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the kings indignation against the prior, and the vsounding of the prior before the king, at length the king to take vp the matter, and to saue the priors life, was faine to performe in his owne person all those conditions aboue prescribed by the monks. Ex Gerualt. fol. 1100.

The monks put themselues and their house in the popes protection.

Appellation against the archbish. op.

Conditions prescribed to the king by the monks of Canturburie, for the ratification of the election of their archbishop.

The bishops of the realme make their election of their archbishop without the monks of Canturbury.

And thus haue ye heard the tragicall election of the bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made archbishop of Canturbury. Now what a troublesome time the said Baldwin had with the monks in gouerning the church of Canturbury, here followeth likewise not vnworthy to be considered.

## The troubles betweene Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury, and the monks of the *same Church.*

IN the first yere the archbishop shewed himselfe friendly and louing to the monks, the next yere following he began to appeare somewhat rough vnto them. The maner then was of the house of Christs church towards the time of the Nativity and of Easter, to receiue certaine presents of gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay vp. Those presents the archbishop began first to intercept from the monks, and to bestow them vpon his secular clerks. After this he take those churches or benefices (which the monks claimed as proper to themselues) and placed in them three of his chaplens. After this, hee incroched to his hands certaine tenements, reuenewes, and victuals, belonging before to the monks (as they said) and committed the custody thereof to certaine of his owne clerks and houshold seruants.

The great trouble and contention betwixt Baldwin archbishop and the monks of Canturburie.

Businesse betweene the monks and the archbishop for placing secular clerks in the church of S. Stephans in Canturburie.

The prior of Canturburie suspended.

The monks which had borne so much with the archbishop before, seeing this, could forbeare him no longer, but needs would make their appeale against him. The archbishop not much regarding that, waxed therby more fierce against them, in so much that such fiercenes and tenements as he before had let alone, now he recouered to his own occupying, with many other grieuances wherewith hee greatly vexed the monks, so that three abbats were faine to come and reconcile the archbishop and the monks: which reconciliation was this, that the monks should let fall their appeale, and the archbishop should restore againe to them their farmes and tenements. But as touching the benefices and the priests, the archbishop still kept them in his hands for a further triall of their obedience and patience. Neuertheless, some there were of the ancient monks, which in no case would giue ouer the forsaid appeale, before the archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

The monks of Canturbury appeale to the pope against their archbishop.

Another grieuance betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop.

Reconciliation betwixt the archbishop and the monks, which lasted not long both.

After this agreement, such as it was, betweene the monks and him, the archbishop gone after sent by to Rome one of his chaplens (vnto whom he had giuen one of the benefices aforementioned) partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtaine licence for the archbishop to build a church, which he intented to erect of secular priests there vnto the town of Canturbury. Which being obtained of the pope, the archbishop not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to wax fierce against the monks, not onely in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggrauating the whole estate of their house, which he intended either to subuert, or greatly to diminish to pluckе downe the pride & stubbornes of the monks. Wherefore taking with him certaine other bishops (them he knew bare no good will to that monkish generation) he went to the king, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemne church in the honor of S. Thomas of Canturbury, of secular priests or canons; and therefore desired of the king to haue his fauorable licence to the same. The king right well perceiuing the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stiffnecked monks, was the more willing to giue assent, if he were not also the chiefe worker of that matter himselfe.

The king kindly entreth into the church of Canturburie.

*Petrus Blesens.* a great doer against the monks.

The king intreateth peace betweene the monks and the archbishop.

The archbishop goeth about to pluckе downe the pride of the monks of Canturbury.

Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury about to build a new church on the north side of Canturbury.

The purpose of the archbishop in building his new church at Canturbury.

The intent of the archbishop in planting of that new church, was to found there diuers prebends, 4 to make both the king and euery bishop being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that euery one of them should confer one prebendship to the same foundation, minding there to consecrat bishops, to make his chrismatory, to celebrat his synods, and to administer all other things belonging vnto the function of his see, and the same to be called Hakington church. The monks not ignorant how the archbishop priuily intended the desolation and subuersion of their house and liberties, consulting vpon the matter, determined at length among themselues to appeale to the see of Rome, namely for these three causes against the archbishop. First, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations: secondly, for denying them of their churches and benefices: and thirdly, for creating a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and ouerthrow of their religious order, giuing admonition to the archbishop before by their monks sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the archbishop answered, that the foundation which hee went about, was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honor of their house. Who answered again, that it was, 5 could not otherwise be, but to their subuersion. And what should let me then (said the archbishop) but I may builde in mine owne ground what I will? Yes (said they) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you haue by right are ours, so

Hakington church.

The monks denie to put their matter from the pope to the king's pleasing.

The monks resort to the king.

The monks of Canturbury make their appeale against Baldwin their archbishop.

Three causes alleaged against the archbishop by the monks.

The false letters of pope Clebun sent to Baldwin archbishop of Canturbury.

The monks of Canturbury craue all the goods of the archbishop to be sequestred.



so much as you haue them not of your selfe, but of the church and for the churches cause. All which things hau ben giuen neither to you, nor to the archbishops, but vnto the church of Christ: and therefore (said they) all such as apperteine vnto vs inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church we submit vnder the popes protection: and now here make our appeale to the see apostolike, assigning also the terme when to prosecute the same.

The archbishop receiuing this appellation, and saying that he would answere to the same either by himselfe, or by his proctors, to within three daies after, which was the fifteenth of December, he came to Canturburie: where the monks vnderstanding how he was in mind to place new secular priests in the church of S. Stephan, where the monks had serued before, came to the church to stop the proceeding of the archbishop by way of appeale. Whereof the archbishop hauing warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the monks againe being sent by Honorius the prior into the church, charged the archbishop in the name of almightie God, and by vertue of their appeale made to the apostolike see, to surceasse those his doings, forbidding also the parson of the church in no wise to suffer those secular clerks to bee admitted into the church. All which yet notwithstanding the archbishop proceedeth in his businesse. And first placing in his clerks hee suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he aduiseth the posters of the gate vpon their oth to let none of the monks passe out of the house without his licence. The monks likewise be commanded by vertue of obedience, not to stray any where abrode without his leaue. And furthermore, one of the foresaid monks, which serued the appeale against him, bee vtterly banished from that couent. Vpon this, the day next following, Honorius the prior trusting (saith the storie) on God, and S. Thomas, take his way to Rome, sent in commission by the couent, to prosecute the appeale against the archbishop.

The archbishop appealed vpon the three abbats to Rome.

The archbishop new churcheth made of wood.

A letter of pope Clebun against the archbishop.

In this meane season a new iar began betweene the said archbishop and the monks, about their rents and reuenues, which the archbishop would haue committed to the receiuing and keeping of three monks; but the suppriour Geffrey, with the couent, in no case would suffer that: whereabout there was a soule ado. The archbishop taking the aid of the king, first had the bishops send downe to him, of Couentrie, Norwich and Worcester. Who being instant with the monks to submit their cause into the kings hands, like as the archbishop had done, they vtterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolicall see. The king seeing no other remedie came himselfe with the archbishop into the chapter house, where hee commanded first the dores to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. Amongst whom were two bishops, to wit, of Norwich, and Durham, and one Petrus Blesensis a learned man, whose epistles be yet extant in libraries) a chiefe worker in this matter against the monks. Then was called in Geffrey the suppriour, with a few other monks whom he brought with him. The king then first talking with the archbishop, and his companie, and afterwards with the monks, laboured to intreate them that they would let fall their appeale, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the bishops, concerning the cause which was betweene the archbishop and them in trauerse.

Another grieuance betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop.

Letters of the king, the archbishop and of the bishops to the pope.

To this he monks answered, that these were good words, but fenced not for that time, for so much as their cause was already translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the popes holinesse: and therefore they could not, ne would do that iniurie to their lord pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter vnto the iudgement of any other. Then was it required of the monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto; vpon this intent, that if the prior consented and the monks not, then should they run in contempt and disobedience: or if the monks would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realme. The wise monks being not vnpossessed of this subtilitie, made their answere, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honestie to giue any determinate consent, without the knowledge and before the returne of the said prior, vnlesse the archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfullie wrested from them. When the king could get no other answer of the monks, neither could moue the archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, vnlesse they would confesse and knowledge their fault, hee so parting from them passed ouer into France.

Petrus Blesensis agent for the archbishop of Canturburie.

The pope holdeth on the monks side against the king, the archbishop, and the bishops of the realme.

The pope excommunicated by R. Glanuile in the kings name not to proceed against the archbishop.

But not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from pope Vrban to the archbishop, wherein the pope condemning and tendering (as hee said) the enorme greuances done against the monks, straitly inioined and commanded him, within ten daies after the receiuing thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said couent, and also to retract and reuoke againe to the monks what soeuer he plucked from them since the time of their appeale first made. Who in case he should denie, or forslacke the doing hereof, commission was giuen to three abbats, of Battell, of Feuersham, and of S. Aulkins, with ample authoritie to performe the same, &c. The archbishop receiuing these letters brought to him by a monke of the forsaid house, first made his excuse, that the pope was misinformed. But the monks not contented with that excuse, when they would needs know what answere he would make to the popes Nuncio: his answere was, that he had yet ten daies giuen him of the pope. In which meane time the archbishop went to London, and there in the church of S. Paul consecrated his holy oyle and creame (making one of the popes seuen sacraments) which was graciously taken in the church of Canturburie. At last the ten daies being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that was in the popes letter inioyned him, the three abbats aforesaid to execute the popes commandement, came at their day assigned, to Canturburie, and there assoiled all such as the archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified pope Vrban by letters what they had done.

The answere of the archbishop to the popes letter.

Three abbats assoile the monks of their suspension.

The archbishop hearing this, within foure dayes after sent two of his clerks, which appealed the three abbats aforesaid up to Rome, and hee himselfe in the meane time prepared busilie for the building vp of his church, sending to all churches in England, vpon releasement of their sinnes, to confer vnto the same: and to make the more haste, for lacke of free stone hee made vp his building with timber, and such other stuffe as hee could get.

Businesse betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop.

The prior Honorius all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giuing attendance vpon the pope, who hauing intelligence of the archbishops doings, procured another letter of pope Vrban to the whole clergie of England straitly inioyning them, that none should confer to the new fraternitie of Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie. To these letters the archbishop shewed such reuerence, that where before hee had planted his chapell of wood and bords, now hee prouided the same to be builded of lime and stone.

By this time Petrus Blesensis, with other messengers of the archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court of France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the archbishop, and also from other bishops of the realme: but the pope reading onely the kings letters and the archbishops, the residue he cast into a window by, saying hee would reade them at further leisure. Then the pope giuing audience in his consistorie to heare their cause: first came in Petrus Blesensis with the agents of the archbishop, exhibiting their letters and propounding their requests to the pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the archbishop, wherein they had iniuried him. Item, that the things which had beene granted before to the prior in that court, might bee called in againe. Thirdly, that the archbishop might haue licence to proceed in building his college of monks at Arc: After this was called in M. Pilleus, the attorney for the monks of Canturburie. Who alleging many great things against the archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the popes precepts, required that hee should make restitution to the monks for his iniuries done to them: and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the ouerthrow of the conuentuall church of Canturbury, should bee vtterly raced and throwne downe to the ground. Thus betweene these parties pleading & replieing one against the other, much hard bold there was, but in conclusion for all could not, the matter went on the monks side. So that there was no remedie, but the pope would needs haue the archbishops new building come downe, and the monks to be restored againe to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three abbats aforesaid, to wit, of Battell, of Feuersham, of S. Aulkins in Canturburie, and to Geffrey suppriour of Canturburie.

Letters of the king, the archbishop and of the bishops to the pope.

M. Pilleus attorney in the popes court for the monks of Canturburie.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Glanuile lord Iusticiar of England writing to the said abbat of Battell, and to the suppriour and couent of Canturbrie, commanded it in the kings name, and vpon their oth and fealtie giuen vnto him, that they not any of them doe proceed in this controuersie betweene the monks and the archbishop of Canturburie, before they come and talke with him, there to know further of the kings pleasure: and further more charging the couent of Canturburie not to enter further in any examinations as concerning the archbishops matters, and also citing the suppriour of the said house, to appeare before him at London, at the feast of S. Iames the same yeare, which was 1187. Notwithstanding hee creating himselfe so sicknesse, sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himselfe at home. To whom commandement was giuen, that the monks of Canturburie within fiftene daies should saile ouer to Normandie to the king, and there to shew the tenor and euidences of their priuiledges: and also that such stewards and bailiffes whom they had placed in their farmes and lordships, contrarie to the will of the archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three abbats in the kings name were commanded, in no wise to execute the popes commandement against the archbishop. Not long after this the archbishop tooke shipping at Douer, and went ouer to the king, where hee obtained three principall offices ouer the monks of Christs church; the sacrill, the cellarer, and the chamberlaine, contrarie to the

The monks of Canturbury ordered by the king to send ouer to him.

Certaine offices got vp in the house of Christs church against the monks will.

till of the conuent, with other grieuances more, whereby the monkes were not a little offended; so that vpon the same they made a new appellation to the pope. Whereupon pope Vrban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come againe to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

Another appellation of the monks against the archbishop.

## The tenor of pope Vrbans letters to Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie.

*Vrbanus episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, Baldwino Cantuar. archiepiscopo & apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem, &c.*

The copie of pope Vrbans letter to the archbishop of Canturburie.

In that we haue borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and haue not proceeded in such grieuous maner against you, as wee might, although being thereto greatly prouoked: the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would haue relented from the presumption of the conuentuall church of Canturburie committed vnto you; if not for our reuerence, which you seeme to haue contemned more then became you, yet at least for feare of Gods iudgement. For well wee hoped, our conscience perswading vs to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignitie in the church of England, you would haue been an example to others of obedience and reuerence to be giuen to the see apostolike, of all ecclesiasticall persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to aduance and honor you as wee haue done few others besides, thinking no lesse, but that we had found a faithfull friend of the church, for our honour. Wherein we perceiue now (which maketh vs not a little to maruell) our expectation greatly deceiued. And whom we will trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against vs in our members.

Note how the popes stand all vp in their bones.

For whereas we sundrie times haue written to you in the behalfe of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not to vex or disturbe their liberties, at least for reuerence of vs: you not onely in this, but in other things more (as commonly is reported of you in all places) setting at light our letters and appellations made vnto the apostolicall see, what you haue wrought against them after their so manifold appellations laid vnto vs, and our inhibitions againe vnto you, we are ashamed to vtter. But reuolue and consider in your mind, if ye haue well done, and aduise in your owne conscience what you haue done. We for our part because we may not ought not with deafe eares to passe ouer the clamors of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolike see, although our biddings and warnings giuen to you seeme to be all in vaine: yet notwithstanding we send our mandates againe vnto your brotherhood, in their apostolicall writings, districtly and in vertue of obedience commanding you, that whether you bee present in your church, or absent; all that notwithstanding, whatsoeuer you haue done in building of your chapell (which you to the destruction of the monasterie of Canturburie haue erected) after the time of their appeale made to vs, or our inhibition sent to you, you faile not of your proper costs and charges to remooue, vndoing againe, and making voide, whatsoeuer ye haue begun and innouated concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chapell: accounting moreouer and reputing the place where the chapell was, to bee accursed and prophane: and also that all such whosoeuer haue celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appeare before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those monks, whom you haue presumed to remoue from their office or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeale made, you shall restore and absolue againe, rendering also and restoring all such farmes, manors, tenements, and oblations, as you after their appeale made, haue inueagled from them; and finally, that you innouate nothing touching the state of that monasterie, during the time of this controuersie depending before vs. Giuing you to vnderstand, that in case you shall continue in your stubbornesse and rebellion vpon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirtie daies after the receiuing hereof, wee shall appoint others to execute the same; inioyning also your suffragans, that as you shall shew your selfe disobedient and rebelling to vs, so they all shall resiste likewise to giue any obedience or reuerence vnto you, &c.

The archbishop commanded by the pope to build vp againe the chapell he had pulled downe, & to restore the monks to their former state and charge.

Giuen at Ferrara, 5. non. Octob.

The archbishop excommunicated by the pope.

Another letter besides this the pope also sent to the three abbats aforesaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise an other letter was sent to king Henrie the second, wherein the poor innocents and requireth him vpon remission of his sinnes not to dissemble and beare with the archbishop in his oppression of his monks, but to helpe these things to bee amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

The pope writeth to the abbats and also to the king.

These pontificall letters were written An. 1187: the third day of October, & in the nineteenth day after, the same moneth, the said pope Vrban died. In the which yeare, and about the which moneth, Baldwin king of Jerusalem was taken with many noble men of Solaan the Saracen: and Jerusalem

Pope Vrbane died. & Hierusalem taken by Saladine.

lost, after that it had been in the possession of the christians, and so continued the space of eightie eight yeres, and eightie daies, from the time that Godfridus Boloinus did first win it from the infidels.

Jerusalem lost.

After the receiuing of those letters of pope Vrban aboue specified, both the king and archbishop, with all the bishops of the realme were maruellous quaint, glad now to please, and speake faire to the monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the king now and archbishop so submisse; but the monkes on the other side were as brag and vncant, being fully assured that all now was their owne. In the narration of which historie (as it is set in Gernasius at large) this we haue to note by the way, in what feare and thraldome kings in those daies were vnder the pope, who could not be maisters ouer their owne subiects, but that a verie pild monke, or pelting priest, vpon vertue of their appeale to the court of Rome, and making their house tributarie to the pope, was able not onely to match, but to giue checkemats vnto the best king christened, as not in this story onely may appeare.

The king and archbishop glad to agree with the monks.

The monks got the vpper hand ouer the archbishop.

The miserable subiection of kings vnder the pope to be noted.

It followeth then in the storie of these monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their ioy and iollity, suddenly commeth newes of the death of pope Vrban their great Caliphe, and also how that Gregory the eight was placed in his rome, who was a speciall friend and fauourer of the archbishop; which as it did greatly incourage the king and the archbishop, so the monks on the other side were as much discomforted, to that now all was turned vpside downe. For whereas the king and the archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monks, and to seeke their fauour: now were the monks on the contrarie side faine to crouch to the king, and glad to haue a good countenance; who then reioyting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirme and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered againe by the king, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlaine, and their cellerar, they should haue no more restored of him: neither would he suffer the liberties and priuiledges of the archbishop to be impaired or take any wrong. And touching the new chapell of S. Thomas (said he) wherearbout pe striue so long, with the canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receiue into my hands, so that none shall haue any thing to doe therein but my selfe, &c. In like maner of the archbishop such an other like answere they receiued, and of bishops little better. So the monks sent away with a flea in their care, went home againe out of Normandie to their cell.

Caliphe is the high priest of the Saracens dwelling in Babylon, vnto whom all the Sultans here subiect, as our princes now are to the pope.

Three things to be obserued in this storie of Canturburie monks about rehearsed.

The kinges answere to the monks of Canturburie.

Hypocrisie in monkerie.

Kings made slaues vnder the pope.

No concord nor vnitie in popish churches.

And to the archbishop hauing the monks here as he would, wrought them much grieuance, but that continued not verie long. For within two moneths after, and lesse, died pope Gregorie the eight, about the sixteenth day of December following. After whom succeeded pope Clement the third, who following the steps of Vrban sent all his power with the monks against the archbishop, sending diuers precepts and mandats in the next yeare following, which was the yeare 1188: with an imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monks, and to throw downe his new chapell. Whereupon the archbishop made his appeale and minded to go to Rome, but was called backe of the king being readie to saile ouer. In the which yeare Honorius the prior died at Rome of the plague, which was some helpe and comfort to the archbishop, for whom the archbishop made Roger Norris prior, against the wils of the conuent. After this, about the latter end of the same yeare, pope Clement sent downe his legat called Radulphus a cardinall, to Canturburie with another letter more sharpely written to the same effect into the archbishop. Ex histr. Gerual.

Pope Gregorie the eight died.

Pope Clement the third.

Pope Clements letters to the archbishop.

Honorius prior of Canturburie died at Rome.

The second letter of pope Clement to the archbishop.

Furthermore, in the yeare next after, which was 1189: he wrote also the third letter to him. In the which yeare also died king Henrie the second, after whom succeeded king Richard his sonne, who ioyning likewise with the archbishop, take his part strongly against the said monks. At last, after much adoe on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning diuers of the monks, king Richard preparing his voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace betweene them, conuicted and agreed with the bishops and abbats about a finall concord in this matter, betweene the archbishop and monkes of Canturburie, which at length on both parts was made, vpon these conuentions as follow.

K. Henrie the seconds death.

King Richard the first ioyned with the archbishop.

Agreement betweene the archbishop and monks of Canturburie vpon what conditions.

1 First, that Roger Norris should bee deposed, whom the archbishop had made prior against their wils: whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to bee abbat of Sudham. 2 Item, that the archbishop should plucke downe his chappell, which he builded in the suburbs of Canturburie, against the minds of the monks. 3 Item, that the foresaid monks should make profession of their obedience and subiection to the archbishop, as they had done to his other predecessors before him. 4 Item, as touching all other complaints and iniuries, except onely the chapell, and deposition of Roger Norris the prior; the monks should stand to the arbitrement of the king, of the archbishop, and the prelate. 5 Item, that the monks kneeling downe before the king in the chapter house, should aske the archbishop forgiuenesse. Which being done, they

Ex Matth. Paris.



Ex libr. anonym., & ex hist. Gerualy tonacti Cantuarien.

Archbishop of Canturburie purchaseth of the bishop of Rochester land in Lambeth to build his house vpon.

Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie hath his house at Lambeth.

they went all together to the church, and sang Te Deum for this reformation of peace. Ex veteri chronico manuscripto, & ex Gerualio.

The next day after the archbishop comming into the chapter, restored to the conuent their manors and farmes againe: also discharged the prior (with he had made before) desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made betweene the archbishop and the conuent, then the archbishop going about to dissolue the building of his new church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent, and therfore making exchange of lands with the bishop and monks of Rochester, purchased of them their ground in Lambeth. An. 1191. Which done, he came to his clerks whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Dalington, and also willed them to remoue all their goods and furniture to Lambeth ouer against Westminster, where hee erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which colledge of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said monks of Canturburie, in the time of Hubert the archbishop in the reigne of the said king Richard, and in the peare of our Lord 1196. Further more, after the deposing of Roger Norris prior of Canturburie aforesaid, Baldwin the archbishop inforced to grant them another prior by the assent of the king and of the conuent, aligned Osbernus to bee their prior, who had taken part before with the archbishop; but the monks not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the archbishop removed him againe.

And thus haue you the tedious discourse of this catholike tragedie, betweene the monks of Canturburie and their archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsall: notwithstanding, this I thought to giue the reader to vnderstand, of purpose, first to shew forth vnto the world the blockishnesse of this monkish generation, who professing profound humilitie in their cote, what little humilitie they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancie in their conuersation, and what hypocrisie in their religion, this one example among a thousand others may giue some experience. Secondly, that the politicke note may see, how little kings could then doe in their owne realmes for the pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appeare to all readers, what little trifle and debate, what dissolute causes, what little vnitie and concord hath alwaies followed the popes catholike church, wherefoeuer the corrupt religion and vsurped ambition of the pope preuailed. For, not to speake onely of this monkish house of Canturburie, what church cathedrall, collegiat, or conuentuall; what see, church, monasterie or chapell was vnder all the popes gouernment, but euer there happened some variance, either betweene the king and the archbishop, as betweene king William and Lanfranke, king Henrie the first and Anselme, king Stephan and Becket, king Henrie the second and Becket, king John and Stephan Langton, king Henrie the third and Boniface, &c. or else betweene archbishop and archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the crosse, for sitting on the right hand of the popes legat, &c. or else betweene archbishops and their suffragans, or betweene archbishops and their counts, or betweene bishops and monks, betweene deane and chapter, betweene monks and secular priests, monks of one sort against another, friers of one order against another, students against friers, to omit many men against scholers, &c. As for example: What discord was betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and Richard archbishop of Roüe, betweene Lanckfrancus and archbishop Thomas, betweene Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and Siluester abbat of S. Austins, betweene Walter of Ophilis church and Siluester abbat aforesaid, betweene William archbishop of Canturburie, and Jeremias prior of Canturburie, Anno 1244. betweene the monks of Canturburie and Odo their prior for translating the reliues of Dunstan, betweene king Stephan and Roger bishop of Salisburie, the bishop of Lincolne and Roger bishop of Elie his sonne, Anno 1138. betweene pope Innocent and Anacletus the space of seuen yeares, the cardinals for money (saith Gernasius) sometime holding with the one, sometime with the other; at last the election was determined by a sore battell betweene Lotharius emperor and Rogerius duke of Apulia, Anno 1137. also betweene pope Innocent the fourth and Frederike emperor the second, betweene king Henrie the third and William Raimbard bishop of Winchester, when the king had the gates of Winchester towne to be shut against him, An. 1250. betweene Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, and canons of S. Paul; item betweene the said Boniface and monks of S. Bartholomew, who sat there in harnesse in his visitation, Anno 1250. betweene the abbat of Westminster and monks of the same house, Anno 1251. Item, betweene the foresaid William Rale bishop of Winchester and Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, for a priest of the hospitall in Southwarke, Anno 1252. betweene the said Boniface and canons of Lincolne after the death of Robert Grosshead, for giuing of prebends, Anno 1253. betweene the monks of Couentrie and canons of Lichfield, for chusing their bishop in the time of king Henrie the third.

Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 167.

Conclusions of the friers condemned for heresie by the prelates of Paris.

Contention betweene friers about the conception of our lady.

Continuall variance in the popes church.

Anno 1190

King Richard taketh his iourney toward the land of Palestina.

The oth and fidelitie betweene Philip French king, and king Richard the 1. going to the holy land.

And what should I speake of the discords, which ceased so much money betweene Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, and the monks of Rochester, for chusing Richard Wendor to bee their bishop. An. 1328. betweene Robert Grosshead bishop of Lincolne and canons of the same house, for which both here and there were driuen to trauell to Rome, An. 1244. betweene Gilbert bishop of Rochester, delegat to archbishop Baldwin, and Robert the popes legat for sitting on the right hand of the legat in his councell at Westminster, An. 1190. betweene the abbat of Bardeneie and the said Grosshead about the visitation of their abbey, An. 1243. item betweene the conent of Canturburie and the said Robert bishop of Lincolne, Anno 1243. betweene Hugo bishop of Durham and Hubert bishop of Saterum and Geffrete archbishop of Roüe, Anno 1189. betweene William bishop of Elie the kings chancellor and the canons of Roüe, for not receiuing him with procession, Anno 1190. betweene the abbat of Westminster and his conuent of blacke monks, whom king Henrie the third had much adoe to still and agree, Anno 1249. item betweene the foresaid bishop of Lincolne and the abbat of Westminster; likewise betweene Nicolas bishop of Durham and John abbat of S. Albons, Anno 1246. also betweene Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and the monks there for the house of Lambeth, An. 1146. And what a stir was betweene the preaching friers and the gray friers mentioned in Matthew Paris for superioritie, An. 1243. Also betweene the said grey friers, and the prelats and doctors of Paris about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelats to be erroneous:

1 Concerning the diuine essence, that it cannot be seene of the angels or men glorified.

2 Concerning the essence of the holy Ghost.

3 Touching the preceding of holy Ghost, as he is one.

4 Whether men glorified shall be In coelo empyreo, or In coelo crystallino.

5 That the euill angell at his first creation was euill and neuer good.

6 That there haue been many verities from the beginning which were not of God.

7 That an angell in one instant may be in diuers places.

8 That the euill angell neuer had iuserby he might stand, no more had Adam in his state of innocencie.

9 Which hath Mehora naturalis, that is to say, More perfect strength of nature working in him, shall haue more full measure of necessitie to obtein grace and glorie. To the which article the prelats answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming that grace and glorie shall bee giuen according to that God hath elected and predestinate, &c. Ex Matth. Paris. fol. 167.

In like maner betweene the said Dominike friers, and the grey friers, what a brall and tumult was about the conception of our lady, whether she was without originall sin conceiued or not, in the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth and king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of our Lord 1509. Adde moreouer to these the 24 haynous scismes, I not so few, which happened betweene pope and pope in the church & see of Rome. But what doe I stand to recite the diuisions and dissentions of the popes church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the sea? For what church, chapter, or conuent was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselues or with others? Vpon which continuall strife & variance among them, the readers hereof may iudge of them and their religion as pleaseth them: in the meane time, my iudgement is this: that where such dissention dwelleth, there dwelleth not the spirit of Christ.

These things thus discoursed touching the tragicall dissension betweene Baldwin the archbishop, and the monks of Canturburie; now let vs proceed, by the Lords assistance, in continuing of our storie. After king Richard had thus, as is declared, set the monks and the archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to bee redressed within the realme, he aduanced forward his iourney, and came into Turon, to meet with Philip the French king: and so after that went to Vizeliace, where the French king and he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselues by solemne oth, swearing fidelitie one vnto the other; the forme of whose oth was this: That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him of life, members, and worldly honour, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French king should aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as hee would himselfe defend his owne citie of Paris, if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise then hee would defend his owne citie of Rone, if it were besieged, &c. But holy Aedelbert by this oth did hold betweene these two kings, and by whose edicte accain in firft it fell asunder. the sequell of the historie (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Discipline and orders set by king Richard for malefactors.

Furthermore, touching the lawes and ordinances appointed by this king Richard for his nauie, the forme thereof was this.

T.y. 1 That

1 That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwne into the sea.

2 And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the parte slaine, and bee buried with him in the earth.

3 He that shall be convicted by lawfull witnesse to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blod, shall lose his hand.

4 Also, he that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blod, shall be plunged thre times in the sea.

5 Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes, in reuiling or earling one an other, for so oftentimes as he hath so reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6 Item, a theefe, or felon that hath stolne, being lawfully conuicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boiling pich powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe strowed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowne, and so the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast by, &c.

These things thus set in a readinesse, king Richard seruing his nauie by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Iubaltaric betweene Spaine and Africa, to met him at Marsilia, he himselfe went (as is said) to Vizeliace, to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the floud Rhodanus for presse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned. The reason whereof the two kings (by the ordinances of their traines) were constrained to desseuer themselues for the time of their iourney, appointing both to met together in Sicilia, and so Philip the French king take his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight daies, appointing there his nauie to met him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua, where the French king was, he passed forward by the coast of Italie, and entred into Tyber not far from Rome, where meeting with Octomannus the cardinall and bishop of Hostia, hee did complaine greatly of the filthie simonie of the pope and the popes court, for receiuing seuen hundred markes for consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis: also a thousand and fiue hundred markes of William the bishop of Elie for his office legantine: and likewise an infinite summe of money of gratie, &c.

The seuenth day of August, in the yeare aforesaid, king Richard departed out of Marsilia, after he had there waited seuen daies for his nauie, which came not, and so hiring diuerse gallies, and ten great barkes, to ship ouer his men, sailed by the sea coast of Italie, and came to Naples, and so partly by horsse and waggon, partly by the sea sailing to Falernum, he came to Calabria, where after that hee had heard his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicilia, hee made the more speed; and so the three and twentith of September sent to Messana, with such a noise of trumpets and thalms, with such a rout and shew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and all others that did heare and behold the sight.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the fifteenth day of the same moneth of September, and had taken vp the palace of Tancredus king of Sicilia for his lodging. To whom king Richard after his arriuall citizenes resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the same day the French king tooke shipping and entred the seas, thinking to saile toward the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the hauen, the wind arising contrarie against him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the citie, after he had resorted againe, and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicilia for deliuerance of Joane his sister (who had ben sometimes queen of Sicilia) and had obteined her to be sent vnto him, the last day of September passed ouer the floud of Delfar, and there getting a strong hold called de la Bagmare, or le Bamre, and placing therein his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned home againe to Messana. The second of October king Richard wan an other certaine strong hold called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the riuer of Delfar, betweene Messana and Catalgirone: the inhabitants of the monks being expulsed, hee repoled there all his store and prouision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The citizens of Messana, fearing that the king of England had won the castle and iland in de la Bagmare, and also the monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to inuade their citie, and if he could all the whole ile of Sicilia, began to shew a fire against the kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and keepe their wals against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, in so much that the king riding among them with his staffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not allwage their fiercenesse: such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messana. The king seeing the furie of the people to bee such as he could not stay them, tooke bote, and went to the palace of king Tancred to talke of the matter with the French king. In which time the matter was so taken vp by the wise handling of the ancient of the citie, that both parties laying downe their armour went home in peace.

The fourth day of the said moneth of October came to king Richard the archbishop of Messana, with two other archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other earles, barons, and bishops, for intreatance of peace. Who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded vpon the peace, the citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went vp vpon the mountaines, some with open force inuaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Bun an English captaine. The noise whereof comming to the eares of the king, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them; and comming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselues; who then with certaine of his souldiers making vp to the top of a mountaine (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the citizens to flight, chasing them downe the mountaine, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings seruants pursued within the citie, of whom fiue valiant souldiers, and fiuerttie of the kings seruants were slaine, the French king looking vpon, and not once willing to relieue them, contrarie vnto his oth and leagne before made with the king of England. For the said French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harme, to and fro, and might well haue eased the kings partie, more then hee, if it had liked him.

This being knowne to the English host, how their fellowes there slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themselues in armes, brast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set vp their flags with the English armes vpon the wals. Which when the French king did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the king of England, that the armes of France might also bee set vp and ioyned with his: But king Richard to that would in no case agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfie his mind, hee was well contented to take downe his armes, and commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitalaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicilia and hee should agree together vpon conditions.

This thing being done, the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the same moneth of October, that peace among the kings was concluded. In which peace first king Richard and Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made concerning their mutuall aid and societie during all the time of their peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicilia aforesaid with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred (in case king Richard should die without issue) should marrie to Arthur duke of Britaine the kings nephue and next heire to his crowne, &c: whereof a formall chart was drawen and letters sent thereof to pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of Nouember.

At this meane time as these two kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messana, Frederike emperor first of that name (the same on whose necke pope Alexander did tread in the church of Uenice, saying the verse of the psal. Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, &c: whereof read he fore) and his sonne Conradus, with a mightie armie of Almans and others, were comming vp Hungarie towards the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Acon: where by the way the good emperour through a great mischance falling off his horse into a riuer called Salef, was therein droiwned. After whose decease Conradus his sonne taking the gouernment of his armie, came to the siege of Acon, in which siege also hee died. Vpon whose comming such a dearth followed in the campe which lasted two moneths, that a lese of bread, which before their comming was sold for one pennie, was afterward sold for three pounds: by reason whereof many christian souldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed vpon was horse flesh. This famine being so terrable, some god bishops there were in the campe, namely Hubert bishop of Salisburie, with certaine other god bishops, who making a generall collection through the whole campe for the poore, made such a prouision, that in this penurie of all things, yet no man was to be destitute and needie, but somewhat he had for his relefe, till within a few daies after by the merciful prouidence of God (who is the feder of all creatures) ships came into them with abundance of corne, wine, and oyle.

The siege of this towne of Acharon indured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the helpe of wild fire, which the Latins call Greeum ignem, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many noble personages & also bishops died, among whom was

Communication about peace among the kings.

A skirmish betweene the citizens of Messana and the Englishmen.

The French king abearre with them selues against the Englishmen.

Englishmen winn the citie of Messana in Sicilia.

English armes set vp at Messana.

The league renewed betweene king Richard and the French king.

Peace concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicilia.

Frederike the first emperor with his sonne Conrad come by vnward the siege of Acharon.

Frederike the emperor drowned in a riuer going to the siege of Acharon.

A miserable famine in the siege of Acharon.

Gods prouidence in time of need.

The siege of Acharon.

Iesus Graecus, much vsed of the Saracens.



From that same time king Richard moued in stomache against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marualling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, was told that king Richard and king Philip of France, still kept at Messana in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till April, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophecie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom hee and his bishops had much conference about the comming and time of antichrist. This Joachim balke in his bokes and reuelations uttered some things against the se and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemie to their se, and so by pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bokes for an heretike, in his idolatrous generall councell of Lateran, An. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

King Richard conferreth with Joachim abbat about the comming of antichrist.

Abbas Ioachim condemned in the councell of Lateran, by Innocent the third.

After this Henricus king of Almans, sonne of Frederike the emperor hearing of the decease of his father, (leauing nothing to the emperor, first reshopeth to Henrie duke of Saxonie, and to others, what soeuer his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent vnto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their allent to bee emperor. Whereupon pope Clement by aduice of the Romans assigned him the teasme of Easter in Tuert peare following for his coronation. But before the Easter came, pope Clement died, after he had sit thre peares, and about foure moneths: after whom succeeded Celestinus the third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Henricus sonne of Frederike flambith to the emperor.

Pope Clement dieth. Celestinus the third pope.

{Anno 1191}

The time thus passing ouer in the moneth of Februarie, the next yeare following, which was of the Lord 1191, king Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to met his mother Elenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauar, whom he was purposed to marrie. Who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ships, wherein they sailed to Messana. In this meane space king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall vnto all men. For the French king first hee gaue seuen ships: vpon others likewise hee bestowed rich rewards, and of his goods and treasure hee distributed largely vnto his souldiers and seruants about him. Of whom it was reported that hee distributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predecessors did in a whole yeare: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauor, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profit, as the sequell afterward prooued.

Messana and Tancred king of Sicilia.

The bounteful liberalitie of king Richard.

To proceed then in the progresse of king Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the moneth of March, he leauing the citie of Messana, where the French king was, went to Cathinentium, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicilia then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus fiue daies and fiue nights. On the sixth day when hee should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and pyecious silks, wherof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will. For the which king Richard againe gaue him a rich sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would giue him fourteene gallies, and fiftene galliss: and furthermore, hee himselfe would needs accompanie him the space of two daies iourney to a place called Taurentium.

King Richard goeth from Messana, and commeth to Cathinentium.

The honourable entertainment of king Richard by Tancredus.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French king a little before had sent vnto him by the duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would not keepe couenant that was betweene them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, hee with all his power would assist him, and ioyne with him to the destruction of him and all his armie, &c. To whom Richard the king protested againe, that he was no traitor, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begun betweene them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue, that the French king, beeing his good lord and his sworne compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, hee bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trie with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters and reuiling not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king commeth to Tauernimn to speake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messana againe.

Philip the French king traitorouslie seeketh the destruction of king Richard by secret letters sent to the king of Sicilia.

From that time king Richard moued in stomache against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marualling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, was told that king Richard and king Philip of France, still kept at Messana in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till April, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophecie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom hee and his bishops had much conference about the comming and time of antichrist. This Joachim balke in his bokes and reuelations uttered some things against the se and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemie to their se, and so by pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bokes for an heretike, in his idolatrous generall councell of Lateran, An. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

The French king quarrelleth with king Richard about marrying his sister.

Causes alleaged why king Richard could not marrie with the French kings sister.

Agreement betweene the two kings, with the conditions touching the same.

After this Henricus king of Almans, sonne of Frederike the emperor hearing of the decease of his father, (leauing nothing to the emperor, first reshopeth to Henrie duke of Saxonie, and to others, what soeuer his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent vnto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their allent to bee emperor. Whereupon pope Clement by aduice of the Romans assigned him the teasme of Easter in Tuert peare following for his coronation. But before the Easter came, pope Clement died, after he had sit thre peares, and about foure moneths: after whom succeeded Celestinus the third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

The French king commeth to Achon.

Berengaria, or as some do call her Berengera daughter to the king of Nauar bought to be married to king Richard by his mother Elenor.

Pope Celestinus the third.

The time thus passing ouer in the moneth of Februarie, the next yeare following, which was of the Lord 1191, king Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to met his mother Elenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauar, whom he was purposed to marrie. Who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ships, wherein they sailed to Messana. In this meane space king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall vnto all men. For the French king first hee gaue seuen ships: vpon others likewise hee bestowed rich rewards, and of his goods and treasure hee distributed largely vnto his souldiers and seruants about him. Of whom it was reported that hee distributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predecessors did in a whole yeare: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauor, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profit, as the sequell afterward prooued.

Conditions required of Henricus king of Almans, before he should be made emperor by the pope.

To proceed then in the progresse of king Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the moneth of March, he leauing the citie of Messana, where the French king was, went to Cathinentium, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicilia then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus fiue daies and fiue nights. On the sixth day when hee should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and pyecious silks, wherof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will. For the which king Richard againe gaue him a rich sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would giue him fourteene gallies, and fiftene galliss: and furthermore, hee himselfe would needs accompanie him the space of two daies iourney to a place called Taurentium.

The pope of Rome in the full top of his pride.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French king a little before had sent vnto him by the duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would not keepe couenant that was betweene them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, hee with all his power would assist him, and ioyne with him to the destruction of him and all his armie, &c. To whom Richard the king protested againe, that he was no traitor, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begun betweene them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue, that the French king, beeing his good lord and his sworne compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, hee bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trie with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters and reuiling not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king commeth to Tauernimn to speake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messana againe.

Pope Celestine crowneth Henricus the emperor with his foot.

The pope ariseth off the emperors crowne with his foot. King Richards mockery from Messana to Achon.

From that time king Richard moued in stomache against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marualling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, was told that king Richard and king Philip of France, still kept at Messana in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till April, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophecie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom hee and his bishops had much conference about the comming and time of antichrist. This Joachim balke in his bokes and reuelations uttered some things against the se and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemie to their se, and so by pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bokes for an heretike, in his idolatrous generall councell of Lateran, An. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

King Richard bountifull, honorablie entertained of king Tancred. The pope in the top of his pride. 221

From that same time king Richard moued in stomache against king Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace and amitie, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marualling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, was told that king Richard and king Philip of France, still kept at Messana in Sicilia, from the moneth of September till April, for lacke (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessitie of repairing their ships. In which meane time king Richard hearing of Joachim abbat of Curacio a learned man in Calabria (who was then thought to haue the spirit of prophecie, and told many things of a people that should come) sent for him, with whom hee and his bishops had much conference about the comming and time of antichrist. This Joachim balke in his bokes and reuelations uttered some things against the se and pride of Rome: for the which he was lesse fauoured of the popes, and iudged an enemie to their se, and so by pope Innocent the third was condemned with his bokes for an heretike, in his idolatrous generall councell of Lateran, An. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

King Richard conferreth with Joachim abbat about the comming of antichrist.

Abbas Ioachim condemned in the councell of Lateran, by Innocent the third.

Henricus sonne of Frederike flambith to the emperor.

After this Henricus king of Almans, sonne of Frederike the emperor hearing of the decease of his father, (leauing nothing to the emperor, first reshopeth to Henrie duke of Saxonie, and to others, what soeuer his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent vnto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirme the lawes and dignities of the church of Rome, if they would grant him their allent to bee emperor. Whereupon pope Clement by aduice of the Romans assigned him the teasme of Easter in Tuert peare following for his coronation. But before the Easter came, pope Clement died, after he had sit thre peares, and about foure moneths: after whom succeeded Celestinus the third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

Pope Clement dieth. Celestinus the third pope.

{Anno 1191}

The time thus passing ouer in the moneth of Februarie, the next yeare following, which was of the Lord 1191, king Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to met his mother Elenor, and Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius king of Nauar, whom he was purposed to marrie. Who by that time were come to Brundusium, vnder the conduct of Philip earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, there found the kings ships, wherein they sailed to Messana. In this meane space king Richard shewed himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall vnto all men. For the French king first hee gaue seuen ships: vpon others likewise hee bestowed rich rewards, and of his goods and treasure hee distributed largely vnto his souldiers and seruants about him. Of whom it was reported that hee distributed more in one moneth, then euer any of his predecessors did in a whole yeare: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauor, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vse and profit, as the sequell afterward prooued.

The bounteful liberalitie of king Richard.

To proceed then in the progresse of king Richard, it followeth: In the first day of the moneth of March, he leauing the citie of Messana, where the French king was, went to Cathinentium, a citie where Tancredus king of Sicilia then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus fiue daies and fiue nights. On the sixth day when hee should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and pyecious silks, wherof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will. For the which king Richard againe gaue him a rich sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would giue him fourteene gallies, and fiftene galliss: and furthermore, hee himselfe would needs accompanie him the space of two daies iourney to a place called Taurentium.

King Richard goeth from Messana, and commeth to Cathinentium.

The honourable entertainment of king Richard by Tancredus.

Philip the French king traitorouslie seeketh the destruction of king Richard by secret letters sent to the king of Sicilia.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French king a little before had sent vnto him by the duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would not keepe couenant that was betweene them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, hee with all his power would assist him, and ioyne with him to the destruction of him and all his armie, &c. To whom Richard the king protested againe, that he was no traitor, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begun betweene them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue, that the French king, beeing his good lord and his sworne compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, hee bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trie with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters and reuiling not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that king Richard departed, the French king commeth to Tauernimn to speake with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messana againe.

Pope Celestine crowneth Henricus the emperor with his foot.

The pope ariseth off the emperors crowne with his foot. King Richards mockery from Messana to Achon.

whom he should marrie, who at length were found safe and merrie at the port of Limsem in the ile of Cyprus. Notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company before in the same haven, were drowned, with diuers of the kings seruants and men of worthy, amongst whom was S. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the kings vicechancellor, who was found hauing the kings seale hanging about his necke. The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the emperor of the Griffons) who tooke and imprisoned all Englishmen which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land: also inueigled into his hands the goods and prises of them which were found drowned about his coasts, neither would suffer the ship where in the two ladies were to enter within the port.

Isakius king of Cyprus a cruell enemie to Englishmen.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, hee in his great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boarded the land of Cyprus, where hee first in gentle wise signified to king Isakius, how hee with his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the suppotation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let goe such prisoners of his which he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them which were drowned, &c. And this the king once, twice, and thrice, desired of the emperor. But he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that hee would neither let the captiues goe, nor render the goods of them which were drowned, &c.

King Richard mindeth to make warre against the king of Cyprus for his soldiers in captiuitie.

The disdainfull and proud answer of Isakius to king Richard.

When king Richard heard this, how little the emperor Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force, assembled guiltie commandement through all his fleet, to put themselues in armour and to follow him, to reuenge such iniuries receiued of that proud and crouell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to mistrust but the Lord would stand with them, and giue them the full victorie. The emperor in the meane time with his people stood warding the sea coasts, where the Englishmen should arriue, with swords, bils, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting bands, rowles, and chests before them in stead of a wall. How beit but few of them were harnessed, and so the most part all vnexpert, and vnskilfull in the feats of war. Then king Richard with his soldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely pressed vpon the Griffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the emperor was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere also to haue had the emperor, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much toile and great victorie returning to the port towne of Limsem, which the townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle, and victuals.

King Richard setteth vpon Isakius king of Cyprus.

The battell betweene the emperor of Cyprus and king Richard.

Isakius emperor of the Griffons put to flight.

The towne of Limsem taken by king Richard.

The same day after the victorie got, Ioane the kings sister, and Berengera the maiden, entered the port and towne of Limsem, with fiftie great ships, and fourteene galliots, so that all the whole nauie there meeting together, were two hundred fiftie foure tall ships, and aboue threescore galliots. Then Isakius the emperor seeing no way for him to escape by the sea, the same night pitched his tents fiue miles off from the English armie, swearing that the third day after hee would sure giue battell to king Richard. But hee preuenting him before, suddenly the same morning before the day of battell should bee, setteth vpon the tents of the Griffons early, they being vnwares and asleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, in so much that the emperor was faine naked to run away, leaning his tents and pauilions to the Englishmen, full of vasles and rich treasure, also with the imperiall standard, the lower part whereof with a coslly scraunce was couered and wrought all with gold. King Richard then returning with victorie and triumph to his sister, and Berengera, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the twelfth day of the same moneth, married the said Berengera daughter of Rancon king of Nauar, in the ile of Cyprus, at Limsem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeeld himselfe with conditions, to giue king Richard twentie thousand marks in gold, for amends of such spoiles as hee had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all his captiues againe to the king, and furthermore in his owne person to attend vpon the king to the land of Ierusalem, in Gods seruice and his, with foure hundred horsemen, and fiue hundred footmen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him. This done, and the emperor swearing fidelitie to king Richard, before Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioch (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius was committed to the ward of certaine keepers. Notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the king. Whereupon king Richard besetting the iland of Cyprus round about with ships and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subiects of the land were constrained to yeeld themselues to the king, and at length the daughter also of the emperour, and at last the emperor himselfe, whom king Richard caused to bee kept in fetters of siluer and gold, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

The king of Cyprus taken prisoner by king Richard.

King Richard maketh sute to the king of Cyprus for his soldiers in captiuitie.

The king of Cyprus yeeldeth himselfe to king Richard.

King Richard bestoweth his sister Ioane in marriage.

King Richard marrieth Berengera daughter of the king of Nauar in the ile of Cyprus.

The king of Cyprus againe put to flight.

King Richard bestoweth the kingdome of Cyprus vpon Guy of Lusignan.

The king of Cyprus breaketh conditions with king Richard.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof hee committed vnto Raduiph sonne of Godfrey lord chamberlaine, being then the first day of Iune; vpon the fifth of the said moneth king Richard departed from the ile of Cyprus with his ships and gallies towards the siege of Achon, and on the next morrow came vnto Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was constrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of Iune, crossing the seas he met with a great barke fraught with souldiers and men of war, to the number of one thousand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the French armes, were indeed Sarazens, secretly sent with fresh fire and certaine barrels of inhumaine serpents, to the defence of the towne of Achon. Which king Richard at length perceiuing, et sonnes set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned, and some taken aliue. Which being once knowne in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort vnto them, so it was a great helpe vnto the christians for winning the citie. The next day after, which was the seuenth of Iune, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had been long besieged of the christians; after whose comming it was not long, but the pagans within the citie seeing their hope taken to be vndermined, and towers ouerthrowne, were driuen by compolition to escape with life and linn, to surrender the citie vnto the two kings. Another great helpe to the christians in winning the citie was this: In the said citie of Achon where was a secret christian among the Sarazens, who in time of the siege there bled at sundrie times to call ouer the wals into the campe of the christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greke, and Latine, wherein hee disclosed vnto the christians from time to time the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and by what way they should worke, and what to beware: and also by his letters began thus, In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen. By reason whereof the christians were much aduantaged in their procedings. But this was a great heauinesse vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, or when the citie was got they could euer vnderstand who he was. Ex chronico manuscripto, de gestis Richardi.

King Richard taketh his iourney to Achon.

A thousand and fiue hundred Sarazens sent to therescue of Achon, vanquished on the sea by king Richard.

The citie of Achon yeelded to the christians.

An honest part of a secret christian in the citie of Achon.

To make of a long siege a short narration, vpon the twelfth day of Iulie in the yeare aforesaid, the princes and captaines of the pagans vpon agreement reforted vnto the tent of the templarics, to common with the two kings touching peace and giuing vp of their citie; the some of which peace was thus: That the kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was within, and fiue hundred captiues of the christians should bee restored vnto them, which were in Achon; also the holy crosse should bee to them rendred, and a thousand christian captiues, with two hundred horsemen, wholesome: they themselues would cause out of all them which were in the power of Saladine; and and besides they should giue to the kings two hundred thousand Bilants, so that they themselues would remaine as pledges in the kings hands for the performance hereof, that if in forme daies these foresaid couenants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings mercie touching life and linn. These couenants being agreed vpon, the kings sent their soldiers and seruants into the citie, to take one hundred of the richest of the best of the citie, and to bring them vp to the tents vnder strong keeping, and the residue they permitted to be kept in houses as pleasers, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would bee baptised and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the pagans, which for feare of death pretended to bee baptised; but afterward so same as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should bee baptised against their liuste.

The some of peace concluded betweene the kings and the princes of Achon.

Couenants made ingiuing vp the citie of Achon.

Religion would be taught and not coacted.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iulie, king Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obteined the possession of Achon, diuided betweene them all things therein conteined, as well the people as gold and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in dividing the spoile, were so gods caruers vnto themselues, that many knights and barrons with other souldiers, who had there suffered the whole trauell two yeares together, about the siege, seeing the kings to take all into themselues, and their part to be but little, retreated themselues without the vtter most trench, and there after consultation had together, sent word to the kings that they would leaue and forsake them, vnlesse they were made partakers also of the gaines for the which they had so long trauelled. To whom answere was sent againe by the kings, that their wils should be satisfied. Howbeit because

The two kings diuide the citie of Achon, with all the spoile thereof betweene them selues.

Commonly seene, whole rakehell most pitteth their part to bee the lesse.

Complaints of the christian soudiers for euery were constrained to depart from Achon.



cause of long deferring of their promise, many constrained by pouerty, depart from them.

King Richard requireth of the French king to remaine three yeeres with his army, but he would not.

The twentieth day of July king Richard speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies would bind themselues by oth to remaine there full in the land of Hierusalem the space of three yeres, for the winning & recouering againe of those countries. But he would sweare (he said) no such oth: and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entreth into the city of Achon, and placed there himselfe in the kings palace, the French king remaining in the houses of the templaries, where he continued till the end of the month. So about the beginning of the month of August, Philip the French king, after that he & king Richard had made agreement between Guido and Conradus the marques, about the kingdom of Hierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard and all the princes of the christian army with great intreaty desired him to tary, shewing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came; and on the third of August from Tyrus departed, leauing his halfe part of the city of Achon in the hands of the foresaid Conradus marquis. After whose departure the pagans refused to keepe their couenants made, who neither would reliuer the holy crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would chop off the heads of such captiues of the christians, which were in their hands. Shortly after this, the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the times limitted for beheading of the captiues to be prorogued: but the king refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request. Whereupon the Saladine caused all the christian captiues within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of August. Which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would not hee preuent the time afore limitted for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentith of August. Upon which day hee caused the prisoners of the Sarazens, openly in the sight of the Saladines army to lose their heads: the number of whom came to 2500, saue only that certaine of the principall of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy crosse, and certaine others of the christian captiues.

Christian captiues slaine by the Saladine.

The Sarazen captiues slaine by K. Richard.

After this, king Richard purposed to besiege the citie of Ioppe, where, by the way betweene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Sarazens came fiercely against the kings rearward: but through Gods mercifull grace, in the same battell the kings warriors acquitted them so well, that the Saladine was put to flight (whom the christians pursued the space of three miles) and left the same day many of his nobles and captaines in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion forty yeres before: and but one christian captaine, called Iames Auernus, in that conflict was ouerthrowne. From thence, king Richard proceeding further, went to Ioppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Sarazens, who durst not abide the kings comming. Ascalon the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Sarazen prince encounter after he met with king Richard. Of all which his architenances the said king Richard sent his letters of certificat as well into England, as also to the abbat of Clara Valle in France, well hoping that he (God willing) should bee able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

The Saladine put to flight.

A noble victorie by Gods power gotten by king Richard against the Sarazens.

The Saladine threw downe Ascalon.

King Richard in possession of Syria.

## A briefe story of William bishop of Ely the kings chancellor.

The story of William the proud bishop of Ely.

William Longchampe bishop of Ely, lord chancellor and the popes legat.

The church and bels of Poyke suspended, because the lord legat was not set in with procession.

Bishop of Ely setteth the castell of Lincolne for him the bishop of Durham.

Hugo bishop of Durham vexed by William bishop of Ely.

And now to leaue king Richard a while in the field, let vs make a step into England, and take a little what is done at home while the king was abrode, and so returne to the king againe. For heard before how king Richard at his setting forth, committed the gouernment of the realme to Hugo bishop of Durham, and to William bishop of Ely; so that to the bishop of Durham was committed the keeping of the castell of Windsor. The other, which was the bishop of Ely, had the keeping of the tower of London, about which hee caused a great ditch with a rampire to be cast. Which is yet remaining. Furthermore, to these two bishops the king assigned foure other chiefe iustices, which iointly with them should haue the hearing and ouerlight of all causes, as well to the clergy as the laitie appertaining: to wit, Hugh Bardolfe, William Marshall, Geffrey Peterson, and William Brwer. But the bishop of Ely was the principall, or at least he that tooke most vpon him, who both was the kings chancellor, and bought with his money to be the popes legat through England, Ireland and Scotland, as is before specified. Touching the excessiue pride and pompe of which bishop, his ruslings outragious, and all most shamefull, it would make a long tragedy to discourse the whole circumstances at full: onely to demonstrate certaine specialties thereof for our present purpole, it may suffice.

Vi iusti indicauerunt clerum & populum, verba Isa.

Foure chiefe iustices with two bishops appointed ouerseers of the realme in the kings absence.

First, this William called Longchampe, being thus aduanced by the king to be his high chancellor, and chiefe iustice of the realme, and also the popes legat, to shew abode the authority of his legatship, began to suspend the canons, clerks, and vicars of the church of S. Peter in Yorke, because they receiued him not with procession: vnder which interdiction hee held them, till they were faine at last both canons, clerks and vicars to fall downe at his feet, causing all their bels to be let downe out of the steeple. After this commeth Hugo bishop of Durham, whom the king sent home out of Normandy with his letters, who meeting with the foresaid William bishop of Ely in the towne of Yorke, shewed him the kings letters, wherein was granted to him the keeping of Windsor castell, & to be the kings iustice for the riuer of Humber, to the borders of Scotland. To the which letters the chancellor answered, that the Kings commandement should be done, and so brought him with him to Sudwell, where he take him and kept him fast, till he was forced at last to surrender to him the castell of Windsor, and other things which the king had committed to his custody: and moreouer was constrained to leaue with the said chancellor, Henry de Puteaco his own sonne, and Gilbert Lacie for pledges and hostages of his fidelity, to be true to the king and the realme. And thus the bishop of Durham being set at liberty, went to his towne of Houeden, where after he had made his abode a few daies, commeth thither Hubert Longchampe the chancellors brother, and William Stutuill, with a great company of armed men sent by the chancellor to apprehend him. But the said bishop of Durham putting in sureties not to depart that towne without licence of the king and of the chancellor, there still remained till hee got letters to be sent to the king, signifying how he was vsed. Whereupon the king writing his letters from Marsilia to the bishop of Ely, for the said bishop of Durham free, and confirmed to him all the possessions and grants that he before had giuen him.

William bishop of Ely granteth with Frenchmen and Flemmings.

It is almost incredible to thinke how intemperatly this bishop and chancellor misused himselfe, after the kings departure into Syria, in excesse of pride, and in cruel exactions and oppressions of the kings subiects. First his fellow iustices whom the king ioined with him for gouernment of the realme, he vtterly reiected and refused to heare their counsell, reputing none to be equall with him in all the realme. Neither was he contented with the authority of a prelat, but plaied both king and priest in the realme. All castels, lo: ships, abbies, churches, and all other appropriations belonging to the right of the king, he claimed to himselfe. And by vertue of his legatship when he came to any bishops house, abby, priory, or any other religious house, he brought with him such a superfluity of men, horses, dogs, and hawkes, that the house was worse for it three yeres after. For commonly he vsed euer vnder 1500 horses, of chaplens, pricks, and other seruing men waiting vpon him. From the clergy and laity he take away their churches, their bowsons, their linings and lands, to bestow vpon his nephewes and other waiting chaplens to serue his vain glory, or else conuerted them to his own vse, to maintaine his pompe and vanity. In getting and gathering of treasures hee had no measure, in misspending the same he kept no order. And that no vice should be wanting where such auarice taketh root, the money which he wrongfully got, he committed to the banke to be increased by vsury. What wantonnesse and lasciuiousnesse was vsed in that so riotous life, the stories doe shame to declare it. All craftsmen runnagates, idle bellies, and light persons where soeuer hee went, hanged vpon his court. To increase the vaine iollity of this roiall prelat, there was lacking no kind of musical instruments and melodious noise, to refresh belike his wearied senses, to much beaten and macerated with continuall labor and study of hunting, hawking, and gaming; of preaching and reading I should haue said.

Bishop of Ely neuer rode vnder 1500 horse.

His vanity.

His vsury.

His colorous and vnlitterall life.

Whereby, this foresaid prelat, bearing the authority both of the king and of the pope, kept such a fire in England, that the whole realme was at his beeke with cap and knee crouching to him: neither durst any man rich or poore displease him, yea none in all the realme so noble or worshipfull, but was glad to please him, accounting themselues happy if they might stand in his fauor. At his table all noblemens children did serue and wait vpon him, with whom hee coupled in marriages his neeces and kinswomen. And when any that stood waiting before him durst once call by his eies, or bid not demurely make downeward lyth & gent, he had a staffe in his hand with a pricke sharpe set with siluer bled to pricke them; learning to like by the carter his father, which bled at the plough or cart to driue his oxen. Furthermore, as kings vse to haue their gard about them, so he because he would not also be vngarded, refusing men of the English nation, had his waiters and warders most of Frenchmen and Flemmings.

The bishop of Ely granteth a generall commission to the king of Scots.

It happened after this, in the yere 1191, that a great discord rose between Iohn earle of Morton the kings brother, with other states of the realme, and the said William bishop of Ely; so that vniuersally they all wrote once to the king concerning the misgouernment and enormities of the said bishop. Who vnderstanding of the cale, sent from Pesiana into England, Walter archbishop of Rone, & William Marshall earle, vnto the bishop of Ely with letters, commanding him that in all his doings he should associat vnto him the said archbishop of Rone, William Sparhall, Geffrey Peterson, William Brwer,

Anno 1191.

A generall complaint to the king of Scots.

Buer, and Hugo Bardolse above mentioned. Who when they came into England, durst not deliuer their letters, dreading the displeasure of the chancellor; for he despised all the commandements of the king, nor would suffer any fellow to come with him in his kingdome.

Another difference betweene Iohn the kings brother, and Longchamp bishop of Ely.

Hitherto haue you heard of the glorious vanity of this lordly legat and chancellor of the realme: now yee shall heare of his shamefull fall, after his chancellerie exaltation. For shortly after this following another breach betweene the said earle Iohn the kings brother and him, about the besieging of the castell of Lincolne. Concerning the which castell the said Iohn sent him word, that vnlesse he raised his siege the sooner from thence, he would send him away by force of sword. The bishop either not able to make his party good, or not daring to resist, thought best to fall to some composition with the earle, and so did. In which composition, he was contented against his will, by mediation of diuers bishops and others, to make surrender not only of the castell of Lincolne, but also of Nottingham, of Tickhill, Wallingford, and many more, which were then committed to the custody of sundry men of worship and honour. And thus was that controuersie agreed, wherein the bishop of Ely began a little to be cut shorter.

It followed then not long after in the same yere, that another like businesse began to kindle betweene Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke the kings brother, and the forsaid glorious bishop of Ely vpon this occasion. He heard before how the king at his setting out, left order that earle Iohn and Geffrey his brethren should not enter into the realme the space of three yeres after his departure; howbeit his brother Iohn was shortly after released of that bond: and also after that, how king Richard being at Messana, sent his mother Elenor to the pope for his brother Geffrey (elected before to the sea of Yorke) to be consecrated archbishop. Whereupon the said Geffrey being consecrated through licence of pope Celestine, by the archbishop of Turon, the said Geffrey ensuing after his consecration desired rest time, but would needs come into England. Whereof the bishop of Ely hauing intelligence, sent him word being at Willand in Flanders, not to presume to aduenture into the realme, contrary to his oth made to king Richard before; commanding moreouer, that if he came, he should be apprehended. All which notwithstanding, the archbishop letted not for all that, but needs would repaire to his sea, and so arriued at Douer in the month of September, where the chancellors men stood on the sea side to apprehend him; but he by changing his apparel, & fashiues of his horse, escaped their hands, & came to the monks house of Douer. But the chancellors men whom he sent to take him, beset the church of the monks round about; so that in no wise he could auoid their hands.

Another battle betweene the chancellor and Geffrey archbishop of Yorke the kings brother.

To make the story short: As the archbishop on a day, when he had said masse, was standing at the alter with his garments vpon him, the rude souldiers hauing little god manners, & lesse deuotion, feared not boldly to rush into the church, and there laid hands vpon the archbishop as hee stood; take him, bound him, and dragged him through dirt and mire, and as we vse to say) through thicke and thin, and so committed him to Matthew Clerke their constable to be kept: whereat the people greatly disdained, seeing him that was a kings sonne, and the brother of a king so to be intreated. The hearing thereof, when it came to the eares of earle Iohn his brother, hee being not a little offended therewith, sent to know of the chancellor, whether this was his doing or not. To whom when the chancellor sent answer againe, and flatly confessed the fact to be his; then the earle sent commandement that his brother should be deliuered, and so he was. Which then comming to London, made his complaint to the earle his brother, and to other nobles of the realm, of the iniuries done to him by the chancellor. Whereupon the earle sent for the said chancellor, and appointed a day peremptory for him to appeare before the whole body of the counsell, to make answere to such iniuries as he had done, both to the archbishop of Yorke, and also to the bishop of Durham aboue mentioned. But the chancellor driuing off the time with delaies, would neither come nor send. Then the earle with the bishops about him, made their iourny towards London, to haue the matter there handled in great audience.

This cruell handling of Geffrey archbishop of Yorke, by the bishop of Ely the popes legat and chancellor of England.

Geffrey archbishop of Yorke deliuered out of prison by commandement of earle Iohn his brother.

The chancellor seeing that, withdrew himselfe from Windsor to the city of London, where by the way it happened that the seruants of the earle and of the chancellor meeting, did skirmish together. In which scrap one of the earles family was slain; but yet his men had the better, and the chancellor with his men were put to flight, and so fled to the tower, where they did hide themselues. The next day after (which was about the twelfth day of October) earle Iohn the kings brother, and the archbishop of Rone, with all the bishops, earles and barons, and citizens of London assembled together in Pauls church; where many and great accusations were laid against the said chancellor: so that in fine it was agreed in that assembly, that the said chancellor should be deposed, and in his place was substituted the archbishop of Rone, according to the tenor of the kings letters sent from Messana; which was, that certaine other persons should be associated with the chancellor for the gouernment of the realme; by whose counsell if he would not be directed, the archbishop of Rone should be set in his place, and he to be deposed. The third day after this, the chancellor finding promised not to depart out of the realme before hee had deliuered out of his hands all such castels, the keeping whereof he committed to certaine fozreners and strangers: and for assurance thereof, he gaue his two brethren and chamberlain for pledges, and so went to Canturbury, where he said he would take the crosse of a pilgrim, and leaue the crosse of his legatship.

The bishop of Ely resigneth his castels.

Now when he was come to the castell of Douer, and there had remained a few daies, contrary to his promise made, his purpose was to take ship, and to passe ouer the seas. And because he durst not doe it openly, he deuised a new kind of disguising, decking himselfe in the apparel of a woman, and so as goodly as he was, went to the sea side in his womans weed, hauing in his hand a metyard, and on his arme a piece of linnen cloth. And thus as he was sitting vpon a rocke waiting for his ship to come and conuey him ouer, a certaine fisherman espying him, and supposing him to be an harlot, came to him, and so with struggling with him, found him as hee was indeed to be a man in likenes of a woman: wherat he wondered and began to make an outcry vpon him. But the bishops seruants being not far off, came running and dilled him as well as they could.

The bishop of Ely disclosed himselfe in womans apparell.

A fisherman taketh the bishop of Ely to be a woman.

The fisherman then going to the next village, and there belike declaring what he had seene, to try out the matter further, came out certaine women, who seeing the linnen cloth hanging at his arme, began to question with him of the price of his cloth, and what he would take for it: but to this he would answer neuer a word, but smiled vpon them. Whereat they mouing with themselues, and whispering one with another, at last with their hands were so bold as to plucke downe his muffler, and then by his beard new found him indeed to be a man, and so with a loud exclamation, raised the village vpon him, and would haue fallen vpon him with stones. Then came running a great multitude both of men and women, who wondering at him as birds are wont at an owle, laid hands vpon him, and pluckt him downe to the ground, haling and drawing him by the sleeues and collar of his gowne through stones and rocks, whereby he was shrewdly hurt. His seruants once or twice made out to rescue their old maister, or new mistris, but could not for the preasse of the people, who beating him with their fists, and spitting at him, dyed him through the whole towne, and so with shame enough at length laid him in a darke cellar in stead of a prison, at whom all the country about wondered and cried out. In conclusion, earle Iohn hearing thereof, within eight daies after sent word, that they should deliuer him and let him goe.

Put into a darke cellar in stead of a prison.

Set at liberty by Iohn earle of Morton.

The bishop of Ely hauing intelligence, sailed ouer as he could to Flanders, where he had but cold welcomming: from thence he went to Paris, where he gaue Pantrinus their bishop three score marks of siluer to be receiued in with procession, & so he was. Then returned he into Normandie. But the archbishop of Rone there gaue commandement y the church doores should be locked, and no seruice said so long as he there remained. The bishop seeing that, directed his letters and messengers to pope Celestine, and also to king Richard into Syria, signifying to them how Iohn the earle of Morton and his complices had handled him, and expulsed him out of the realme, requiring that he might be restored againe to that was taken from him, and also offering himselfe to be tried by the law for that he had done; so that if he bring thould be found in any thing that he had done, he was readie to satisfie the kings contentation in all things wherein vnsitly he could be charged.

The bishop of Ely complaineth to the king and the pope.

Vpon this pope Celestine inflamed with an apostolicall zeale in the behalfe of the said bishop of Elie his legat, wrote a sharp and thundering letter to the archbishops, bishops, and priats of England, commanding them by his authozitie apostolicall, that for so much as the iniuries done to his legat, did redound to the contumelie of the whole mother church of Rome, they thould not faile therefore, but with seuere censures of the church, that is, with booke, bell, & candle, proceed as well against the said Iohn earle of Morton, as also all other by him to euer had, or should attempt any violence or iniurie against the said his legat bishop of Elie, with no lesse seueritie then if the said iniurie should be offered to the person of the pope himselfe, or any other of his brethren the cardinals, &c.

The letter of pope Celestine in the behalfe of the bishop of Elie his legat.

The bishop of Elie bold vpon the popes fauour.

The bishop of Elie proceedeth boldly vpon the fauour and letters of the pope, which toke his part, writeth to Henry bishop of Lincolne, charging and requiring, that he in vertue of obedience thould execute the popes sentence and mandat in excommunicating all such as were offenders in the behalfe, and then recited the names of diuers against whom he thould proceed, as the archbishop of Rone, the bishop of Winchester, W. Sparcshall, Geffrey Peterson, Buer, and Bardolfe, the earle of Salisburie, the earle of Pelent, Gilbert Ballet, the archdeacon of Orford, and especiallie Hugh bishop of Conentrie, also M. Benet and Steuen Ridle chancellor to earle Iohn the kings brother, to which earle he referred a further day of respit before he thould be excommunicat, with a number of other more beside these. Howbeit the said bishop of Elie could find none to execute this commandement of the pope. Then they with a generall consent incote againe to king Richard, complaining of the intollerable abuses of the said

The names of many which stood against the bishop of Elie, appointed to be excommunicate.



The bishop of Elie complaineth to the king of the earle of Morton his brother.

§ Anno § 1192 §

said bishop his chancellor. In like sort the said chancellor also complaining of them, wrote his letters to the king, signifying how earle Iohn his brother went about to vsurpe his kingdome, and would also shortly set the crowne vpon his owne head, vnlesse he made the more speed homeward. By hearing then was hasse in repulsing the Saladine, and prepared to lay siege against Hierusalem, and got Sclauonia, with diuers other townes from the Saracens, which was in the yere 1192, hauing diuers conflicts in the meane space with the Saladine, & euer put him to the worse. As the king was thus preparing to lay his siege against Hierusalem, the Saladine glad to fall to some composition with § king, sent vnto him, that if he would restore to him againe Sclauonia in as good state as it was when he tooke it, he would grant to him § to all christians in the land of Hierusalem truce for three yeres, and offered himselfe thereunto to be sworne. The king seeing the duke of Burgundie and the Frenchmen to shrinke from him, and his own men to decay, and also his money and health to diminish, but especiallie for that he vnderstood by the bishop of Elie his chancellor, the French king to set vp Iohn his brother to possesse his kingdome, being counselled thereto by the Templaries, take the truce offered of the Saracens, & so began to draw homeward.

Earle Iohn besieged at Lincolne.

In this meane while much grudge and strife increased more and more betweene the bishop of Elie and the archbishop of Rone aboue specified, insomuch that the archbishop being excommunicate, sent vp his clerks to pope Celestine to complaine of the bishop: but the pope euer fed the bishop in purgation. At last he sent two of his cardinals, to wit, Octauianus bishop of Hostia, and Iordanus de Fossa noua, to breake the strife betweene the bishop of Elie, and the archbishop of Rone.

Strife betweene the bishop of Elie and the archbishop of Rone.

Pope Celestine sendeth two cardinals to end the strife betweene the bishop of Elie.

After this, king Richard being taken, and in the custodie of Henry the emperor, the bishop of Elie resorting to him, was sent by him into England to Elenor his mother and other nobles. Who then returning into England againe, not as chancellor, nor as legat (as he said) but as a simple plaine bishop, so that meanes was receiued. Ex Math. Paris. Et ex aliis incerti nominis manuscriptis codicibus.

The bishop of Elie with the kings letters commeth againe into England.

§

But of this vainegloious prelat inough and too much. Now to returne again to Richard: concerning whose worthie acts done abroade in getting of Cyprus, Achon and Ptolemaida, in pacifying Ioppe, &c. partlie is spoken of before. Many other valiant & famous acts were by him and the French king atchieued, and more should haue been, had not those two kings falling into discord disseuered themselues: by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within short space. Who being returned againe ek sones inuaded the country of Normandy, exciting also Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers absence. Who then made league (vpon the same) with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yere of king Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three yeres. And not long after king Richard the next spring following returned also. Who in his returne driuen by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Limpold duke of the same country, and so sold to the emperor for 60000 marks, who for no small ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king these letters following.

Vsed of women by the sea shore.

What discord betw.

The French king returned from Palestina.

§ Anno § 1193 § King Richard returneth from Palestina.

### The letter of the emperor to Philip the French king concerning the taking of king Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilecto & speciali amico suo Philippo illustri Francorum regi salutem, & sincere dilectionis affectu. Quoniam imperatoria excellencia non dubitat regalem magnificentiam tuam letiorem effici, de successibus quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos & Romanum imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitatis tue tenore presentibus declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperij nostri & turbator regni tui rex Anglie, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuertendi, accidit vt ventis rapta nauis sua in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histrie, ad locu qui est inter Aquileiam & Venetias. Vbirex Dei permissione passus naufragii, cum pancis euasit. Quidam itaq; fidelis noster comes Salmardus de Goorce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerata diligentius qualem nominatus rex in terra promissionis proditionem & traditionem, & proditionis sue cumulu exercuerat, infecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipso autem rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites. Postmodum processit rex ad Burgu in archiepiscopatu Salzeburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fredericus de Betesow rege cum tribus tantu versus Austriam properante, nocte sex milites de suis cepit. Dilectus autem consanguineus noster Limpoldus dux Austrie, obseruata strata, fecit dictum regem in xta Denam in villa vicinior in domo de stella capi tenuit. Cum itaq; in nostra nunc habeatur potestate, & ipse sempter sue molestauit & turbationis operam prestiterit, ea que premissimus nobilitati tue insinuare curauimus, scientes ea dilectioni tue beneplacita existere, animo tuo vberrimam importare letitiam. Datum apud Ritheomtum 5. calendas Ianuar.

King Richard thus being traiterously taken and sold to the emperour by the duke of Austrige for 60000 markes, was there kept in captiuity a yere and three months. In some stories it is affirmed, that king Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous wind, where he desired of the pope to bee absolued from an oth made against his will, and could not obtain it. And so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the country of Conradus the marques, whose death (he being slaine a little before) was fainly imputed by the French king to the king of England, and there traiterously was taken, as is before said, by Limpolous duke of Austrige. Albert in another story I find the matter more credible set forth, which saith thus: That king Richard heing the brother of this Limpolous, playing with him at cheese in the French kings court. And Limpolous taking his aduantage, was more cruell against him, and deliuered him, as is said, to the emperor, in whose custody he was detained during the time aboue mentioned, a yere and three months. During the which time of the kings indurance, the French king in the meane season stirred war in Normandy. And earle Iohn the kings brother made stir and inuaded England; but the barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the castell of Windsor, where they tooke from him all the castels and munitions which before he had got. Thus the earle seeing no hope to preuaile in England, and suspecting the deliuerance of the king his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king: at length it was so agreed & concluded with the emperor, that king Richard should be released for an hundred thousand pounds, of the which mony part should remaine to the duke of Austrige, the rest should be the emperors. The sum of which mony was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlesticks, and other church plate, also with publike contribution of friers, abbies, and other subiects of the realme. Whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fifth yere of his raigne. And then it was obtained of the pope, that priests might celebrate with chalices of latin and tin, and so was granted and continued long after, which mine author in his chronicle intituled Eulogium, doth testifie himselfe to haue seene. At what time this foresaid mony was paid, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of this king. I haue an old scrap that saith, how the foresaid duke of Austrige shortly after was plagued by God with sine sundry plagues: first, with burning of his chiefe townes: secondly, with the destroying of ten thousand of his men in a great flouid, happening no man could tell how: thirdly, by turning all the eares of his corne-field into worines: fourthly, by taking away almost all the nobles of his land by death: fifthly, by breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, whicheg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died vpon the same: who then is said at his death to forgiue king Richard fifte thousand marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. Ex variis locis. The book intituled Eulogium before mentioned, saieth thus: that the said Limpolous duke of Austrige fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicat the next yere after, being the yere one thousand one hundred ninety six.

Another difference betweene Iohn the kings brother, and Longchamp bishop of Ely.

Confederacy of the French king and earle Iohn against K. Richard.

Earle Iohn besieged at Lincolne.

Anno 1195 Excerptum ex libello Eulogij.

The iust punishment of God vpon the duke of Austrige.

Thus the said king Richard being ransomed, as hath been declared, from the couetous captiuity of the emperor, was restored againe, and made his repaire into England. At whose turne, earle Iohn his brother resorting vnto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned of his trangressions. To whom king Richard answering againe; Would God (saith he) this your trespasse as it dieth with me in obliuion, so it may rest remaine with you in remembrance, and so gently forgaue him. And after he had again recouered his holds and castles, caused himselfe to be crowned again. Which done, he made his power against the French king, and draue him out of Normandy. After that, he turned his voiage against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

The cruell dealing of God vpon the duke of Austrige.

Anno 1196

The nert yere following, which was the yere 1197, Philip the French king brake the truce made betweene him and king Richard, whereupon the king was compelled to saile ouer againe to Normandy to withstand the malice of his enemie. About which time, my story recordeth of one called of some Fulco; some say he was the archbishop of Rone called Gualter. This Fulco being then in England, and comming to the kings presence, said vnto him with great courage and boldnesse, Thou hast, O mighty king, three daughters very vicious and of euil disposition; take good heed of them, and bestowe them vnto for them good husbands, lest by vntimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not onely incur great hurt and damage, but also vtter ruine and destruction to thy selfe. To whom the king in a rage said: Thou lying and mocking hypocrit, thou knowest not where thou art: so what thou saiest: I thanke thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I haue neuer a daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore thou open lier get thee out of our presence. To whom Fulco answered, No, and like your grace, I lie not, but say truth: for you haue three daughters which continually frequent your court, and wholly possesse your person, and such three whores and naughty packs as neuer the like hath been heard of: I meane, mischieuous pride, greedy couetousnesse, and filthy luxurity; and therfore againe I say, O king, beware of them, and out of hand prouide mar-

Three daughters of the king named.

riages

riages for them, lest in not so doing, they vtterly vndo both thy selfe and all the whole realme.

The which his words the King take in good part, with confession of himselfe, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently hee calleth his lords and barons before him, vnto whom hee declared the communing and monition of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters, pride, auarice, and luxurity, with counsell out of hand to marry them, least further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realme; whose god counsell, my lords, I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore here before you all, I giue my daughter Sicelling pride to wife vnto the proud Templars; my greedy daughter auarice to the couetous order of the Cistercian monks; and last of all, my filthy daughter luxurity to the riotous prelates of the church, whom I thinke to be very meete men for her; and so seuerally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realme are not to bee found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.

Not long after this, it befell that a certaine noble personage (lord of Limosine in little Britaine, Widomarus by name) found a great substance of treasure both of gold and siluer hid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King Richard, as their lord and prince ouer the whole country. Which the King refused, saying; he would either haue all, or none, for that he was the principal chieftain ouer the land. But the finder would not condiscend to that. Wherefore the King laid siege to a castell of his called Galuz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the castell, seeing themselues not sufficient to withstand the King, offered to him the castell, desiring to depart with life and armor. To this the King would in no wise grant, but bid them to auenter the castell against, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It to befell, that as the King with the duke of Babant went about the castel, viewing the places thereof, a soudiar within, named Bertandus Gordoun, shrouche the King with an arrow in the arme, whereupon the yron remaining and festering in the wound, the King within nine daies after died; who because he was not content with the halfe of the treasure that another man found, lost all his owne treasure that he had. The King being thus wounded, caused the man that stroke him to be brought vnto him, and alled the cause of him why he so wounded him. Who answered him again, as the story saith, that he thought to kill rather then to be killed: and what punishment soeuer he should sustaine, he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his father and brethren. The King hearing his words, freely forgaue him, and caused an hundred shillings to be giuen him. Albricus (as the story addeth) after the death of the King, the duke of Babant, after great torments, caused him to bee hanged. Ex hist. Albrici Trium Fontium.

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburne partly doth testifie the same, that a little before the death of king Richard, three abbats of the order Cisterciam came to him, to whom he was confessed. And when he saw them come what they at his absolution, had these words: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth to be eaten of wormes, and his soule to the fire of purgatorie, there to be tormented till the iudgement, in the hope of God his mercy. Ex Iornalensi, Gisburn. & alijs.

About the raigne of this King, the said Ioualensis maketh mention of Roger archbishop of Yorke, which put out of his church the monks, and placed for them secular priests, saying, that he would rather vse such clericall shauelings to be guiders to women in beds, then to abominable monks; and that Thurstinus did fiue times worse in all his life, then in building that house for monks, &c. Another story I haue which saith, that this was the bishop not of Yorke, but of Couentrie.

The King not long after departed without issue, and John his brother raigned after him: in whom, although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he farre from that deseruing, for the which hee hath been so ill reported of diuers writers: who being led more with affection of popery, then with true iudgement and due consideration, depraued his doings more then the sincere truth of the history will beare them. Concerning which history, after so many writers, we thought also to bestow a little labor, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

## King John.

King Iohn.

After the death of king Richard, called Cœur de lion, raigned his brother John earle of Morton. Afterward the archbishop put the crowne on his head, and sware him to defend the church, and to maintaine the same in her good lawes, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought not in his mind to doe this, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on S. Iohn Baptists day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rone, where he was royally receiued, and truce concluded betweene him and the French King for a time. And thither came to him the earle of Flanders, and all other lords of France that were of King Richards band and friendship, and were sworne vnto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French King made Arthur knight, and tooke his homage for Normandy, Britaine, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him helpe against King John. After this, King John and the French King talked together with their lords about one houres space, and the French King asked so much land for himselfe and knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none; and so departed in wrath.

The same yere a legat came into France, and commanded the King in paine of interdiction to deliuer one Peter out of prison, that was elected a bishoppicke, and thereupon he was deliuered.

And after that the legat came into England, and commanded King John vnder paine of interdiction, to deliuer the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two yeres; which the king denied to do, till he had paid him fiue thousand marks, because he tooke him in harnesse in a field against him, and sware him vpon his deliuerance, that hee should neuer weare harnesse against any christian man.

This time diuorce was made betweene King John and his wife, daughter of the earle of Glocester, because they were in the third degree of kinred. And after, by the counsell of the French King, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the earle of Angoulisme: and then Arthur of Britaine did homage to King John for Britaine and others.

At this time fell strife betweene King John and Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke for diuers causes: first, because he would not suffer a permit the shiriffe of Yorke in such affaires as hee had to do for the King within his diocesse: secondly, because he did also excommunicat the said shriffe: thirdly, because he would not saile with him into Normandy, to make the marriage betweene Lewis the French Kings sonne, and his niece, &c.

After this, in the yere of our Lord 1202, Philip the French King (in a communication betweene King John and him) required that the said King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Britaine which he had beyond the sea, vnto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would war against him, and so did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following the French King with the said Arthur set vpon certain of his townes and castels in Normandie, and put him to much disquietnesse. But he the Lord so prouiding, which is the giuer of all victory, had such repulse at the Englishmens hands, that they pursuing the Frenchmen in their flight, did so follow them to their hold, and so inforced vpon them, that not only they lost the said Arthur prisoner with many other of the Frenchmen, but also gaue such an ouerthrow to the rest, that none was there left to beare tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geffrey which was the elder son to John. For King Henry the second (to make the matter more euident) had eight children, one William, which died in his childhood: the second, Henry, which died also his father being yet aliue: the third Geffrey earle of Britaine, which likewise deceased in his fathers daies, leauing behind him two children, Arthur and Becca: the fourth, Richard Cœur de lion: the fift John now raigning, and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur being thus taken in war, was brought before the King at the castell of Falaise in Normandy, who being erhorted with many gentle words to leaue the French King, and to incline to his vncle, answered againe stoutly and with great indignation, requiring the kingdome of England with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawfull heire of the crowne. By reason whereof, he (prouoking the Kings displeasure against him) was put to the tower of Rone, where at length (whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other prouy hand, or by what chance, it is not yet agreed vpon in stories) hee finished his life. By occasion whereof, the foresaid King John was had after in great suspition, whether iustly or iniustly, the Lord knoweth.

The yere following, histriographers write, that King John for lacke of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French King.

After these losses, came other troubles vpon him, with other as great or more great enemies (that is, with the pope and his popelings) by occasion of chusing of the archbishop of Canturbury, as in this history following by Gods grace is to be declared.

The yere of our Lord 1205, about the month of July, Hubert the archbishop of Canturbury deceased: whose decease after it was in Canturbury to the monks knowne, and afore his body was yet committed to the earth: the younger sort of the monks there gathered themselues togither at midnight, and elected their superior Reignold, without the kings licence, or yet knowledge priuily placed him in the metropolitical seat, singing Te Deū at midnight. And because the king should not make their election void, they charged him by vertue of his oth to kepe all secret by the way, and to shew nothing what was done before he came to the pope: but he contrary to his oth, so soone as he came into Flanders opened al abrode all the matter, and vttered their counsell: thereupon the monks being not a little grieued with him, sent him priuily vnto the court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder monks sent to the king, desiring him of his gracious licence canonically to chuse their archbishop. The king most gently and fauourably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would chuse Iauoz to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich, as they did indeed, erecting him into that seat of their high primacy. Moreouer, because the authority of kings and princes was then but small in their owne dominion, without the popes consent and confirmation to the same: he sent also to Rome of his owne charges to haue the foresaid election ratified by the pope. The suffragans of Canturbury then (being not a little offended at these two elections) sent speedily to Rome to haue them both stopped, for that they had not been of counsell with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

* In this yere the clergy grew so vnruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incensed the kings displeasure so sore against them, that he take order about their goods of such as in that case were faulty: as shall appeare more manifestly by that which followeth.

## A letter of king John touching the lands and goods of such clerks as refuse to celebrat diuine seruice.

R *Ex omnibus de episcopatu Lincolnie clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis quod a die festa proxime ante Floridum pascha tis commisimus, &c.*

In English.

The king to all clerks and lay people within the bishoprick of Lincolne, greeting. Know ye that from monday next before the feast of Easter, we haue committed to William of Cornehill archdeacon of Huntington, & to Ioseline of Canuil all the lands and goods of the abbats and priors, and of all the religious persons, and also of all clerks within the bishoprick of Lincolne, which will not from that time celebrat diuine seruice. And we command you, that from thence you assist them in our bailiffes, and beleiue them in those things which they shall tell you priuately on our behalfe. Witnesse our selfe at Clarendon the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of our raigne.

The like was written to all within the bishoprick of Ely. So that hereby we see the dissolutenes and wilfulnes of those popish churchmen, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little moue, as that they thought vpon nothing lesse, sith the king was driuen to vse such assaults and baynes against them. But to proceed in this troublesome election: you shall vnderstand, that the next yeere after, the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburyon the one side, and the monks of Canturbury on the other side, came afore the pope with their brawling matter. First the monks presenting Reginald their superiod, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monks would presume to chuse the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired by diuers reasons the first election to be of none effect. The pope deeding the matter betweene both, pronounced with the monks, charging the suffragans and bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monks alone. The monks of Canturbury now hauing the whole election in their owne hands, sell also at square among themselues, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort which had chosen Reginald their superiod, would that election to stand. The elder sort of the monks replied againe, saying: That the first election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsell of other monks. Duer and besides, it was done without the kings licence or appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

And as concerning our election (said they) it was done in the cleere light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our liege lord the king, and his counsell being willing to the same.

This allegation thus proponed, the suffragans procter or man of law stood forth, and proued the former election to be good, and this latter to be void and of no value, for this cast. Wherefore the first election (saith he) were it of vnlaw, ye ought first by the law to haue condemned it afore ye should haue presumed to the second; but thus ye did not: therefore is this your latter doing no election at al, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified then yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many friuolous allegations a long time, and could not agree vpon one person, pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to chuse Stephan Langton, then cardinall of S. Chrysogon for their archbishop. The monks then answered, that they durst not so doe without consent of their king, and for that it was preiudiciall to their ancient liberties. The pope by and by (saith the text) as one in a furie, taking the words out of their mouthes, said thus vnto them: We will ye to know, that we haue full power and authority ouer the church of Canturbury; neither are we wont to take the consent of princes: therfore we command you in paine of our great curse, that ye chuse him only whom we haue appointed.

The monks at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all vt one, and thereupon sang Te Deum. Only doctor Helias Brantfield withdrew himselfe from that election, whom the king had sent for the admission of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephan Langton (in the high church of Vlcester, by the popes hand) made archbishop of Canturbury. * This election thus past with the popes grace & fauor, the said Stephan had in England, amongst others that solicited his cause to the king, a brother named Master Simon Langton, who in tract of time also became archbishop of Yorke, as appereth in the course of this story, in the raigne of Henry the third, An. 1228. In this behalfe the king seemed tractable, so he might haue his soueraignty entire. Against the which, because the said Stephan had vowed to oppose himselfe, and the king mislliking of such demeanor, he sent abrode his letters certificatory about the realme, therein giuing intimation to all people of proud Stephan Langtons contumacie: the forme of the said letters followeth.

## Letters certificatory of king John, touching the contumacie of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturbury by the popes election.

R *Ex omnibus hominibus, &c. Sciatis quod magister Simon de Langton venit ad nos apud Winton die Mercurij proxime ante medium quadragesime, &c.*

In English.

The king to all men, &c. Know ye that Master Simon Langton came to vs at Winchester, on the wednesday next before midlent, and in presence of our bishops besought vs that we would receiue his brother Master Stephan Langton to be archbishop of Canturbury. And when we spake vnto him touching the reseruation & fauing of our dignity vnto vs, he told vs that he would do no such thing for vs, vnlesse we would wholly relieue our bishops his courtesie and gentlenes. This therefore we command, that you know euill and wrong to be done vnto vs in this behalf: and we charge you, that you beleiue those things which Reginald of Cornhill shall tel you on our part, touching the foresaid deed betweene vs and the bishops aboue named, &c. Witnesse the king at Winchester the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth yeere of his raigne.

Now, albeit the king take indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephan, yet from thence forth (saith Matthew Paris) the pope could do no lesse but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger, considering that hee was his owne deare darling, and a child of his owne creation.

Furthermore, vpon this occasion king John conceiued an exceeding displeasure against the clergy and monks of Canturbury (as he had good cause) they doing so many cuils against his princely prerogatiue. Without his licence they elected their archbishop, and put by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure by the seas, and to tying all to the diuell they made Stephan Langton their high metropolitan, whom he take for a grieuous enemy to the whole realme, being alwaies so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the land, to the number of three score and foure, for this their contumacie and contempt of his regall power.

The monks of Canturbury thus being expulsed, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and expedly expostulat with the pope, that whereas he (vncertainly) he repulsed the election of the bishop of Norwich, and set vp one Stephan Langton, a man vnknowne to him, and brought vp amongst his enemies a long time in the kingdome of France, consecrating him archbishop of Canturbury, and letting the other goe. Also (which is more) it redoundeth to the subuersion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crowne: for notwithstanding his consent past (being before of the monks not made priuie, which should so haue done) yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marueil (he saith) enough, that neither the said pope nor the court of Rome doth consider and reuolue with themselues, how necessary his loue and fauor hath been alwaies hitherto to the sea of Rome, and that they consider not what great profit and reuenewes haue proceeded hitherto to them out of the realme of England: the like whereof hath not been receiued out of any other country besides on this side the Alps. He addeth moreouer and saith, that for his liberties he will stand (if need be) vnto death, neither can he be so remoued and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he saith to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, hee thus concludeth, saying: that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so prouide by the seas, that there shall be no such gadding and coursing any more ouer to Rome, suffering the riches of the land no more to be transported ouer, whereby he should be himselfe the lesse able to resist his enemies. And seeing he hath of his owne at home, archbi-

archbishops, bishops, and other prelats of the church (both of Englishmen and of others) sufficiently prouided and instructed in all kind of knowledge: therefore he shall not need greatly to seke for iudgement and iustice further abrode.

When these came to the popes intelligence, he directly letters against the king in this sorte.

The popes letters against king Iohn.

INocentius pope, seruant of the seruants of God, to our well beloued sonne in Christ the king of England, health, and apostolical blessing. Whereas we haue written to you heretofore, exhorting and intreating you after an humble, diligent, & gentle sort (concerning the Church of Canturbury) you haue written to vs against after a threatning sort and vp braiding manner: both spitefully and also rowardly. And whereas we more and about that our right and duty required, haue borne and giuen to you you against for your part haue giuen to vs not so much as by right & duty you are bound to do. And though your deuotion, as you say, hath bin to vs very necessary, yet consider against that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such like cases haue not shewed at any time the like honour to any prince as we haue vsed to you, against haue so much derogated our honor, as no prince else hath redimed to doe besides you alone, pretending certaine friuolous causes & occasions I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephan Langton, cardinall of S. Chrysogono, chosen by the monks of Canturbury, for that the said Stephan (as you say) hath been conuersant and brought vp amongst your enemies, and his person to you vnknown. But you know what is the meruell of Salomon: The nest is cast, but in vaine in the sight of the flying birdes, &c.

This is plaine but fals paper-ch. with hollow sin. of kings & princes.

A spitefull cause that a king cannot constitute an archbishop without his own consent, after it be made knowen.

With much other matter in the same epistle, wherein he talketh into the conniendation of Stephan Langton his cardinall, declaring how learned he was in the liberall arts; and in diuinity, insomuch that he was preferred to a part also in canon of all honest sorte, and an Englishman borne, and not vnknowne to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had sacrificed to him another cause; which was, for that the monks of Canturbury which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreouer in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king had excated in the kings behalfe, that forsomuch as the popes letters (wherein the king was commanded to send his procters to Rome for the same matter) came not to the kings hand, neither did the monks direct any such letters or message to the king to haue his consent: therfore the pope considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the kings honor, that the monks of Canturbury should not proceed without the kings assent therein. And forsomuch as that hath not bin done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be graunted, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, that he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the maner of the sea apostolike (who had the fulnesse of power ouer the church of Canturbury) to wait for princes consents in such elections, who there could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore in knitting vp his letter, he thus concludeth in these words.

And therefore seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tary for the kings fauour or consent any more therin, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the canonicall ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct vs, that is, (that all impediments and delaies set aside) so to prouide that the church of Canturbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephan Langton hath orderly & concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, vpō a person meet for the same; therefore we will not for no mans pleasure, neither may we, without danger of same and of conscience differ or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore my welbeloued sonne, seeing we haue had respect to your honour, aboue that our right and duty required: study to honor vs so much as your duty requireth againe, so that you may the more plentifully deserue fauor, both at Gods hand and ours, left that by doing the contrary, you bring your selfe into such a peck of troubles, as neither you shall, nor all earth vpon your selfe of againe. For this know for a certaine, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shal haue the better, vnto who euery knee (of heauenly, earthly, and infernall creatures) doth bow, whose turne I serue in earth, though I be vnworthy. Therefore settle not your selfe to obey their perswasions, which alwaies desire your vnquietnesse, whereby they may fish the better in the water: which it is troubled: but commit your selfe to our pleasure, which vndoubtedly shall turne to your praise, glory, and honor. For it should not be much for your safetie in this cause to resist God and the church, in whose quarrel that blessed martyr and glorious bishop Thomas hath of late shed his bloud, especially seeing your father and your brother of famous memory, then kings of England, did giue ouer those three wicked customes into the hands of the legats of the sea apostolike. But if you yeeld your selfe humbly into our hands, wee will looke that you and yours shall bee sufficiently prouided for, that no preiudice may arise hereupon to you ward. Giuen at Lateran the tenth yeere of our popedome.

Princes must be subiect to the pope.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the glorious letter of the proud pope; I beseech the marke it well. Now to the storp.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandement sent into England into certaine bishops there, requiring them by authority apostolicall, that if the said king would not receiue the said prior of Canturbury, and his monks, then they should interdict him throughout all his realme. For the executing whereof, foure bishops were appointed by the usurped power of the popes bulls: namely, William bishop of London, Gustace bishop of Ely, Walter bishop of Winchester, and Giles bishop of Hereford. Which said foure bishops went vnto the king, and shewed their commission from the pope as is aforesaid, willing him to content thereto, &c. But the said king refused the same, and would by no meanes grant to their requeste. Whereupon they departing from his grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our lady, and pronounced the said general interdiction throughout all England, so that the church doores were shut vp with keies, and other fastenings, and with wals, &c.

Foure bishops appointed to interdict the realme.

England interdicted by the pope.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moued against them, and tooke all the possessions of the foure bishops into his hands, appointing certaine men to keep the liuings of the clergy throughout the realme, and that they should intop no part thereof. Which being done, the bishops (seeing the same) cursed all them that kept, or should meddle with church goods, against the will of them that ought them: and vnderstanding for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went ouer sea to the bishop of Canturbury, and informed him what had happened: who hearing the same, willed them againe to returne to Canturbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certaine persons thither in his stead that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned againe to England, to Canturbury, which tidings came shortly to the king that they were come againe thither. And he caused the night himselfe trauell to them, he sent thither bishops, earles and abbots to intreat them. But the archbishop Stephan, whom he had chosen, might be admitted; promising the prior and all the monks of Canturbury in his behalfe, that he should neuer take any thing of the church goods against the will of them that owe them; but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such goods, and that the church should haue all her franchises in as ample maner as in S. Edwards time the Confessor it had.

Diuersitie of the popes curse pronounces against the king.

Sentence of the popes curse pronounces against the king.

When the forme of agreement was thus concluded, it was ingrossed in a paire of indentures, which the foresaid foure bishops to the one part thereof set their seales, and the other part the said bishops, earles, & abbats caried to shew the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he liked it well; sauing he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the foure bishops againe that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop by the foure bishops, that he should come to Canturbury to speake with him, and for his safe conduct to come and go againe at his will, he sent his writtes as pledges. Gilbert Peiteuin, William de la Wereuar, and John Letsly. Which thing thus done, the archbishop Stephan came to Canturbury, and the king (hearing thereof) came to Chilham: from whence he sent his treasurer the bishop of Winchester to him, to haue him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid: who demanding to alter any word of the same, moued the king in such sort, that immediatly it was proclained throughout England at the kings commandement, that all those that had any church liuings, and went ouer sea, should come againe into England by a certaine day, or else lose their liuings for euer more. And further in that proclamation, hee charged all shirriffes within the realme, to inquire if any bishops, abbats, priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) receiued any commandement that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body and bring it before him: and also that they should take into their hands for the kings vse, all the church lands that were giuen to any man throughout the archbishop Stephens, or by the priors of Canturbury from the time of the election of the archbishop: and further charged that al the woods that were the archbishops, should be cut downe and sold.

The inconsiderate stoutnesse of the prelats against the king.

Stephan Langton stout against his king.

The king moued against the archbishop Langton.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moued thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legats (the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant) to warne him in the popes name that he should cease his doings to the holy church, and amend the wrong hee had done to the archbishop of Canturbury, to the priors and the monks of Canturbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods againe that hee had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name: and to doe this, the pope toke them his letters in bulls patent. These two legats comming into England, resorted to

Two legats sent from the pope.



Reconcilation required of the king.

to the king to Northampton, where he held his parliament, and saluting him, said they came from the pope of Rome, to reforme the peace of holy church. And first, said they, we admonish you in the popes behalfe, that ye make full restitution of the goods and of the lands that ye haue rauished holy church of: and that ye receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturbirie into his dignitie, and the prior of Canturburie and his monks; and that ye yeeld againe vnto the archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding. And sir, yet moreouer that ye shall make such restitution to them, as the church shall thinke sufficient.

Then answered the king: As touching the prior and his monkes of Canturburie, all that ye haue said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would o2daine; but as touching the archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the archbishop leaue his bishoprike, and if the pope then shall intreat for him, peraduenture I may like to giue him some other bishoprike in England: and vpon this condition I will receiue and admit him.

Then said Pandulph vnto the king; Holy church was wont neuer to disgrade archbishop without cause reasonable: but euer the woes was wont to correct princes that were disobedient to her.

What? How now, quoth the king, threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but ye haue now openly told vs as it standeth in your heart: and now we will tell you that is the popes will, and thus it standeth: He hath wholy interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you haue done vnto the holy church and vnto the clergie. And for so much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you shall vnderstand, that from this time forward the sentences vpon you giuen haue force and strength. And all those that with you haue continued before this time, whether that they be earles, barons, or knights, or any other what soeuer they be) we assoile them safely from their sinnes vnto this day. And from this time forwards (of what condition soeuer they be) we accurse them openly: and specially by this our sentence that we do commune with you. And we assoile moreouer earles, barons, knights, and all other manner of men of their homages, seruices, and fealties that they should do vnto you. And this thing to confirme, we giue plaine power vnto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich, and the same power we giue against Scotland vnto the bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury: and in Wales we giue the same power to the bishops of Saint Dauid and of Landaffe, and of S. Asse.

The pope authoriseth rebellion and disobedience of subiects towards their prince.

Also sir king (quoth Pandulph) all the kings, princes, and the great dukes christened, haue laboured to the pope to haue licence to crosse themselues, and to warre against thee, as vpon Gods enemie, and winne thy land, and to make king whom it pleaseth the pope. And we here now assoile all those of their sinnes, that will rise against the here in thine owne land.

Then the king hearing this, answered: What shame may ye do more to me then this?

Pandulph againe: We say to you in Verbo Dei, that neither you nor any here that you haue, after this day shall be crowned. So the king said; By him that is almightie God, if I had knowne of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such newes, I should haue made you tarrie out these twelue moneths.

Then answered Pandulph; Full well we thought, at our first comming, that ye would haue been obedient to God and to holy church, and haue fulfilled the popes commandement, which we haue shewed and pronounced to you, as we were charged therewith. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our comming, ye would haue made vs tarrie out a whole yeare: who might as well say, that ye would haue taken a whole yeares respit without the popes leaue: but for to suffer what death that ye can o2daine, we shall not spare to tell you all the popes message and will that he giue vs in charge.

Like matter, Likeman.

In another chronicle I find the words betweene the king and Pandulph something otherwise described, as though the king should first threaten him with hanging if he had foreknowne of his comming. To whom Pandulph againe should answere, that he asked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the churches right. Whereupon the king being mightily inensed, he said: The king the same time being at Northampton willed the shirriffes and bailiffes to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had deserued should be put to death: to the intent (as some thinke) to make Pandulphus afraid. Among whom was a certaine clerke, who for counterfeiting the kings coine, was also condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered; and moreouer, by the king was commanded (that by to anger Pandulphus the more, as may be thought) to be hanged himselfe yet with such courage as he had, he went to the church to set out booke, bell, and candle, charging that no man vnder paine of accursing, should lay hands vpon the clerke. Upon this the king and the cardinall departed in no little anger. And Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had been done.

Pandulph made afraid vpon him.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbats, and clerkes of England to come and repaire vnto Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This councell began the first day of October. In the which councel it was decreed by the pope and his assembly, that John king of England should be accursed with all such as held with him, euery day so long as that councell endured. Albeit this was not yet granted, that the people should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said pope Innocent, seeing that king John by no meanes would stoope vnder his subiection, nor vnder the rule of his popish see, he sent into the French king, vpon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, that he should take with him all the power he might, and so to inuade the realme of England to destroy king John.

The popes great curse.

This occasion giuen, pope Innocent yet once againe commanded in paine of his great curse, that no man should obey king John, neither yet keepe company with him: he forbad all persons to eat and drinke with him, to talke with him, to commune o2 counsell with him; yea, his owne familiar houshold to do him any kind of seruice, either at bed o2 at boord, in church, hall o2 stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them, which after such sort fled from him (by the ordinance of God) of diuers and sundrie diseases the same yeare died. And betweene both nations (English and French) fell that yeare great amitie; but secret, subtill, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content only with this, but moreouer the said pope Innocent gaue sentence definitiue (by counsell of his cardinals) that king John should be put from his seat regall and deposed, and another put in his roome. And to the speedie execution thereof he appointed the French king Philip, promising to giue him full remission of all his sins, and the cleare possession of all the realme of England, to him and his heires, if he did either kill him o2 expell him.

The full pursuit of God vpon disobedient subiects.

The pope feigneth a miracle.

The next yeare the French king began his attempt in hope of the crowne of England; being well manned with bishops, monkes, priests, and priests, and their seruants to maintaine the same; bragging of the letters which he had received from the great men there. But behold the worke of God; the English haule tooke three hundred of the French kings ships well laden with wheat, wine, meale, flesh, armour, and such other like, meet for the war: and one hundred they burnt within the hauen, taking the spoiles with them. In the meane time the priests within England had pounded them a certain false counterfeit prophet called Peter of Wakefield of Pois; who was an idle good for nought, and a pratling merchant. This Peter they made to prophecy lies, rumoring his prophecies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the commons of the realme, that Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a child betweene the priests hands, once at Poyse, another time at Pomfret; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying: Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty liuing. Being rapt also in spirit (they said) he beheld the ioyes of heauen, and sorrowes of hell. For sometimes there three (saith the chronicle) among a thousand that liued christianly. This counterfet soothsaier prophesied of king John, that he should raigne no longer then the Ascension day, within the yeare of our Lord 1213, which was the fourteenth from his coronation; and this (he said) he had by reuelation. Then was it of him demanded whether he should be slaine o2 expelled, o2 should of himselfe giue ouer the crowne? He answered, that he could not tell. But of this he was sure (he said) that neither he, nor any of his stocke o2 linage should raigne, that day once finished. The king hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoffe thereof. Well (saith he) it is but an idiot knaue, and such a one as luckily his right vnto. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the kings displeasure, and that he made no moze of it, he gat him abroad and prated thereof at large (as he was a verie idle vagabond) and vsed to tattle and talke more then enough; so that they which loued the king, caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into prison, the king not knowing thereof.

Peter the false prophet.

The false prophet found a liar.

Anon after, the fame of this phantasticall prophet went all the realme ouer, and his name was knowne euery where (as foolishnesse is much regarded of people, where wisedome is not in place) specially because he was then imprisoned for the matter, the rumor was the larger, their wondrings were the wantoner, their practising the swifter, their base talkes and other idle occuppings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old gossips tales went abroad, new tales were inuented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew vpon lies: so that euerie day new slanders were raised on the king, and not one of them true; rumors arose blasphemies were spread, the enemies reioyced, and treasons by the priests were maintained, and that likewise was surmised, o2 other subtilties practised, all was then fathered vpon this foolish prophet. As thus saith Peter Wakefield, Thus hath he prophecied, and This shall come to passe: yea many times when he thought no bodie paine of accursing, should lay hands vpon the clerke. thing lesse. When the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied of before, king John commanded his regall tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his

The false prophet praised & liked by K. John.

noble counsell and men of honor, in the greatest solemnitie that euer he did afore, solacing himselfe with musicall instruments and songs, most in sight amongst his truelie friends. When that day was past in all prosperitie and mirth, his enemies being confounded, turned all to an allegoricall vnderstanding, to make the prophecie good, and said; He is no longer king, for the pope raigneth, and not he: yet raigned he still and bin sume after hun, to proue that prophet a liar. Then was the king by his counsell perswaded that this false prophet had troubled all the realme, peruerted the hearts of the people, and raised the commons against him. For his words went ouer the sea by the helpe of his prelats, and came to the French kings care, and gaue vnto him a great incouragement to inuade the land, he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceiued, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such darke browsie dreames of hypocrites. The king therefore commanded that he should be drawne and hanged like a traytor.

The false prophet hanged.

After that the wicked prelats, monkes, canons, priests, &c. saw this their craft e inuyling by their sained prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harme thereby; to helpe the matter more forward, they began to trauell and practise with pope Innocent of the one side, and also with the French king on the other side, besides subtill treasons which they wrought within the realme, and by their confessions in the eare, whereby they both blinded the nobilitie and commons.

King John submitteth himselfe to the pope.

The king thus compassed about on euery side with enemies, and fearing the sequell thereof, hnolving the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the pope (in all that euer he might) as also by Philip the French king by his procurement: and moreouer his owne people, specially his lords and barons being rebellionsly incited against him, as by the popes curses and interdictions against such as tooke his part, and by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebell against him, commanding them to detaine from him such homage, seruice, duties, debts, and all other allegeance that godly subiects owe and are bound to yeeld and giue to their liege lord and prince. All which things considered, the king in the thirteenth yeare of his raigne, for that the French king began to make sharpe inuasion vpon him within his owne realme, sent speedie ambassadors to the pope (as to the fountaine of all this his mischiefe pretended) to worke and intreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to do whatsoeuer the pope should will him, and commaund him in the reformation of himselfe, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church and to make due satisfaction therefore vnto all men that could complaine.

King John intreateth for peace with the pope.

Then sent the pope againe into England his legat Pandulph with other ambassadors: the king also at Canturburie (by letters, as it should seeme, certified from his owne ambassadors) waited their comming. Where the thirteenth day of May the king receiued them, making vnto them an oth, that of and for all things wherein he stod accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Vnto them also all the lords and barons of England (many of them there were with the king attending the legats comming) sware in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in euery thing the oth which he had taken, that then they would cause him to hold and confirme the same whether he would or not (or by strength) to vse the authors words.

King John submitteth himselfe and resigneth his crowne.

Then submitted the king himselfe vnto the court of Rome, and to the pope, and resigning gaue vp his dominions and realmes of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for euermore that should come of him. With this condition, that the king and his heires should take again these two dominions of the pope to farme, paying yearely therefore to the court of Rome 1000 markes of siluer. Then take the king the crowne from his head, kneeling vpon his knees in the presence of all his lords and barons of England, to Pandulph the popes chiefe legat, saying in this wise: Here I resigne vp the crowne of the realme of England to the popes hands, Innocent the third, and put me wholly in his mercie and ordinance. Then tooke Pandulph the crowne of king John, and kept it fine daies as a possession and seisen taking of these two realmes of England and Ireland: confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatorie as followeth.

## The copie of the letter obligatorie that king John made to the pope, concerning the yeelding vp of the *crowne and the realme of England into the popes* hands, for a certaine summe of money yearely *to be paid.*

The tenure of an instrument of bonds wherewith king John bound himselfe and his heires to the popes hand.

TO all christian people throughout the world dwelling, John by the grace of God king of England, greeting. To your vniuersities know ye be it, that for so much as we haue grieued and offended God and our mother church of Rome, and for so much as we haue need of the mercie of our Lord Iesus Christ: and vs e may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make to God and to holy church (but if it were our owne body) as with our realms of England and of Ireland, then by the grace of the holy Ghost we desire for to meeke vs for the loue of him, that meeked him to the death vpon the crosse. And through counsell of the nobles, earles, and barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the Apostles S. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father pope Innocent the third, and to all the popes that come after him, all the realme, patronages of churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and helpe and health of our kings soules, and of all christian soules. So that from this time afterward, we will receiue and hold of our mother church of Rome as in farme, doing fealtie to our holy father the pope, Innocent the third, and to all the popes that come after him, in the maner aboue said. And in the presence of the wiseman Pandulph the popes subdeacon, we make liege homage, as it were in the popes presence and we before him were, and that he himselfe should haue done all manner of things aboue said, and thereto we bind vs, and all that come after vs, and our heires for euermore, without any gain-saying to the pope, and eke the ward of the church vacant. And in token of this thing euer for to last, we will, confirme, and ordaine, that he be our special renter of the foresaid realmes (sauing S. Peter pence) in all things. To the mother church of Rome paying by a yeare 1000 marks of siluer at two times of the yeare for all maner customes that we should do for the said realmes that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter, that is, for England 700 markes, and 300 marks for Ireland: sauing to vs and to our heires, our iustices and our other franchises. And all these things that before been said, we will that it be firme and stable without end: and to that obligation, we and all our successors, and our heires in this manner, been bound, that if we or any of our heires through any presumption fall in any point against these things aboue said (and hee been warned and will not right amend him) he shall then leese the foresaid realmes for euermore: and this charter of obligation and our warrant for euermore be firme and stable without gain-saying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God and to the mother church of Rome, and to thee Innocent the third, and to all that commen after thee, and the realmes of England and of Ireland we shall maintaine truelich in all maner points, against al maner me by our power through Gods helpe.

Upon this obligation the king was discharged the second day of July, from that tyrannical interdiction, vnder which he continued fiue yeares and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to giue ouer both his crowne and scepter to that antichrist of Rome for the space of fiue daies, and as his client, vassall, feudary, and tenant to receiue it againe of him at the hands of another cardinall, being bound obligatorie, both for himselfe and for his successors to pay yearely (for a knowledge thereof) 1000 marks for England and Ireland. Thencame they thither from all parts of the realme, so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind idiots, and there they were absolued, euery one of his owne bishop, except the spirituall fathers and ecclesiasticall soudiers, for they were compelled to seeke to Rome, as captiues restored to the popes owne fatherhood. In this new rustling the king easily granted, that abbats, deanes, and curats should be elected freely euerie where, so that the iudges of the realme were truly obserued. But against that were the bishops, alleaging their canonicall decrees and rules synodall, determining the king therein to haue nothing to do, but only to giue his consent after they had once elected. But among this shamen rabble, some there were which consented not to this wicked error: a sect also there were of the prelats at that time, which were not pleased that the lands in verdition should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergie in all quarters of the realme had demanded, without reason: yea, that euery saucie sir John for his part demanded, euen to the very breaking of their hedges, the stealing of their apples, and their other occasionall damages, which grew to an intolerable summe, and impossible to be answered. Such was the outragious cruell noise of that mischieuous progenie antichrist, against their naturall king.

The vnreasonable diligence of the clergie against their naturall prince.

Notwithstanding that which is vttered afore, concerning the bitter malice of the clergie against their prince, yet did the popes legat and cardinall Nicolaus Tusculanus much further his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him that he was ouerdeep partiall, and regarded not their matters ecclesiasticall, as he should haue done. For leauing the account of their restitutions, he went with the kings officers, as the kings pleasure was, to the cathedrall minsters, abbeyes, priories, deanries and great churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent alwaies he appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But vpon him only whom the king nominated, he compelled most commonly the election to passe: which vered them wonderfully. Vpon this therefore they raised a new conspiracie against the kings person by helpe of their bishops, seditious prelats, and such noble men as they had drawne to their parties. Wherebeld (saith Houeden) about the same time many noble houses and assemblies diuided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stod vpon the kings part, but the yonger sort contrarie. And some there were that for the loue of their kindred, and in other sundrie respects forsooke the king againe. Yea the same went that time, saith he, that they were confederated with Alexander the



the Scotish king and Lewlin the prince of Wales to worke himan vtter mischiefe. A councell at Orford the archbishop called; whereat some would not tarrie, considering the contention thereof: the other sort hauing verie obstinat hearts, reuiled the king most spitefully behind his backe, and said that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no gouernour of theirs. Their outragious and frantike clamours so much preuailed in those daies, that it grew to a grieuous tumult, and a most perilous commotion.

{Anno 1215}

In the yeare of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth Paulus Aemilius and other histories, pope Innocent the third held a generall synod at Rome, called the councell Lateran. The chiefe causes of that councell were these: In the daies of this Innocent, heresie (as he called the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sinne) began to rise vp verie high, and to spread with his branches abroad, by reason whereof many princes were excommunicated, as also the emperour, John the king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Raimund the earle of Tholouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is aforsaid. So that it could be no otherwise, saith Houeden, but with the sharpe arre of the Gospell (so called the pope his excommunications) they ought of necessitie to haue been cut off from the church. Therefore it was this councell prouided, proclamed, and prelats from all nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefes which he then went about, he caused it by his legats and cardinals (verie craftie merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to haue the church wisely reformed, and the holie land from the Turkes hands recouered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequell thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all princes, and to make himselfe rich and wealthie. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by publike decree, that the pope should haue from thenceforth the correction of all christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted, except he were sworne before, and were also crowned of him. He obtained moreouer, that whosoeuer he were that should speake euill of the pope, he should be punished in hell with eternall damnation: Conradus, Vespergensis, Hieronymus, Marius. He prouided confession to helpe these matters, he allowed their bread a pit to couer him, and a bell when he goeth abroad, and made the masse equall with Christs Gospell.

The councell of Lateran holden by pope Innocent.

The pope to haue the correction of all christians.

In this councell was first inuented and brought in transubstantiation, of which Ioannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth booke, writing in these words: The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easilie and more plainly without transubstantiation. But the church did chuse this sense, which is more hard; being moued thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the sacraments, men ought to hold as the holy church of Rome holdeth, &c. And in the same place maketh mention of Innocentius the third.

Ioannes Scotus.

Transubstantiation first brought in.

Moreouer, in the said councell was established and ratified the wretched and impious act, compelling priests to abiure lawfull matrimonie. Wherevpon these meeters or verses were made the same time against him which here follow vnder written.

*Non est Innocentius, imò nocens vere,*
*Qui, quod facto docuit, verbo vult delere:*
*Et quod olim iuuenis voluit habere,*
*Modo vetus pontifex studet prohibere.*
*Zacharias habuit prolem & vxorem,*
*Per verum quem genuit adeptus honorem;*
*Baptizauit etenim modo falsa errorem:*
*Peccat quitenet vanum hunc errorem.*
*Paulus eatos rapuit ad superiores,*
*Vbi multa didicit nec secretiores;*
*Ad nos tandem rediens instruensque mores,*
*Suas, inquit, habeant quilibet vxores.*
*Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,*
*Reor esse meliùs & magis decorum,*
*Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,*
*Ne incurrat odium vel iram eorum.*
*Proximorum feminas, filias, & neptes,*
*Violare nefas est, quare nil deceptes:*
*Vere tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,*
*Diem vt sic vltimum tutius expectes.*

Much better and more comely eke it seemed vnto me,
That each should haue his own alone, & not his neighbors wife,
Lest with his neighbour he doe fall in hate and wrathfull strife.
Thy neighbours daughters or their wiues, or neece to defile,
Vnlaw full is, therefore beware do not thy selfe begile.
Haue thou thine own true wedded wife, delite in her alway,
With faser mind that thou maist looke to see the latter day.

Now let vs returne to king John againe, and marke how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his maiesties will. In the foresaid councell of Lateran, and the same yeare, was Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie excommunicated of pope Innocent, with all those bishops, prelats, priests, barons, and commons, which had bin of counsell with him in the former rebellion. And when the said archbishop had made instant sute of him to be absolued, anon he made him this answere with great indignation: I sware thee mine, I sweare by saint Peter thou shalt not so come at my hand obtaine the benefit of absolution: for why? thou hast not only done harme to the king of England, but also thou hast in a great many of things intured the church of Rome here, and therefore thou shalt tarie my leasure. The archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the church, and commanded to say no masse at all, neither yet to execute any other ecclesiasticall office, because he would not at time conuenient execute the popes curse vpon the rebellious barons. With them the said pope had bin so deepely offended and angred a little before, that the great charter of the liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroied, by sentence definitiue condemning it for euer; and by and by thereupon cursed all the other rebels, with bake, bell, and candle. The greater captaines of them (with the citizens of London) for that allay were pronounced excommunicat by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the councell generall.

Stephan Langton disherited out of the church.

Appeale to the generall councell.

In the same yeare 1215, were those great men also summoned to appeare at Rome in that generall synod: which would not consent to their kings expulsion, nor yet tyrannicall deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the archbishop of Canturburie and others, and required by oth to subscribe vnto the same: yet could they not of their conscience doe it, because he had humbled himselfe, and also granted to haue peace with all men. Thus was the whole realme miserable then diuided into two factions through malice of the clergie, so theires increased in the land euery where. Yet were there of the lords and gentlemen a great number at that time, that followed the king and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side (not a little suspecting the state that they were in) fled speedily to the French king Philip: desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest son Ludouike, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tarriance. They beseught him moreouer, that he would send with him a strong and mightie power, as were able to subdue him vtterly, that the realme might (they said) be deliuered of such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked papists gaue their christian gouernour, appointed to them of God: whom they ought to haue obeyed, though he had been cruell, euen for verie conscience sake: Rom. 13. And as certeine of the lords and barons were busie to chuse the said Ludouike for their king, the pope sent thither one Gualo the cardinall of S. Martin to stay those rash and cruell attempts; charging the French king vpon his allegeance, that he with all power possible should succour, maintaine, and defend king John of England, his seruant, and tenant. The French king therto made answere, as one not content with that arrogant precept: The realme of England, said he, was neuer yet any part of S. Peters patrimonie, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtaine it for his sonne by treason of the barons.

The discord betweene the nobles and the king.

Gualo cardinall sent into England.

No prince or potentat (said Philip the French king) may pledge or giue away his kingdome, which is beside the realme) the gouernment of his whole common wealth, without the lawfull consent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the pope (he vil introduce or set vp such a president in christendome, he shall at his pleasure bring all christian kings, and their kingdomes to nought. I like not this example in these daies begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of king John of England: though he be my vtter aduersarie, yet I much lament that he hath so endamaged his realme, and hath brought that noble ground and queene of prouinces vnder miserable tribute. The chiefe lords and men of his nobilitie standing by, when he vttered these words (bring as it were in a furie) cried with one voice: By the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saued, we will sticke in this article to the losing of our heads. Let the king of England do therein what him liketh: no king may put his land vnder tribute, and so make his nobilitie captiue seruants. With that came in Ludouike the kings eldest sonne, and so said vnto them all there present: I beseech you, let not my purposed iourney: the barons of England haue elected me for their lord and king, and I will not sure lie lose my right, but I will fight for it euen to the verie death, yea so long as heart shall stirre within my breast: and I doubt

The French king and his sonne reasoning about England.



Forbidding of priests forbidden by pope Innocent.

not but I shall well obtaine it, so: I haue friends among them. His father the king stood dull as if he had been in a dumpe, and answered neuer a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter. Belike he mistrusted something therein, as hee might well enough, for all was procured by the priests, that they might liue licentiously in all wealth and freedome from the kings yoke.

Dictate and pur to confusion a saint the king.

About the same time were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the bishops, priests, and monkes, throughout all the realme, that the king knew not where to become: for euen those friends; he was then compelled by the uncertaintie of his subiects to trauell from place to place, but not without a great armie of men, looking euery day when his barons and their confederats would cruelly set vpon him. At last he came to Douer, and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loued him better then did his owne people. And thither to him resorted from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on the one side, and from Guian, Gascoine, and Poitiers on the other side, and from other countries more, a wonderfull number of men. The report then went, that the pope had written vnto those countries mightily to assist him for diuers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himselfe and his dominions vnto his protection; another was, because he had taken vpon him a little before, the liuery of the crosse, to win againe Hierusalem; the third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three moneths he remained in the ile of Wight, abroad in the aire to quiet himselfe for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitarie life among feares and waterrunnes, whereas he rather counted to die then to liue, being so traytorously handled of his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be iustly auenged of them. Vpon the Purification day of our ladie therefore, he take vp on him the crosse of voyage against the Turkes, for recouerie of Hierusalem, moued thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, then for any other deuotion else. And thus he said to his familiar seruants: Since I submitted my selfe and my lands (England and Ireland) to the church of Rome (sorow come to it) neuer thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

§ Anno § 1216

In the next yeare after 1216, was Simon Langton chosen archbishop of Yorke; but that election anon after was dissolued, for information was giuen to the pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephan Langton the archbishop of Canterburie, which had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. And the pope had the more hate vnto him, for that he had brought him vp of nought, and did find him at that time so stubborne: wherefore he placed in his bishoprike Walter Gray, the bishop of Winchester.

Walter Gray archbishop of Yorke. Simil. the popes legat.

In the same yeare Simil the popes legat renued his great curse vpon Lewis the French kings sonne, for usurping vpon king John; likewise vpon Simon Langton, and Seruais Hobruge, for prouoking him to the same, and that with a wonderfull solemnitie: for in that doing he made all the bels to be rung, the candles to be light, the doores to be opened, and the booke of excommunications or interdictions publikely to be read, committing them wholly to the diuell for their contumacie and contempt. He also commanded the bishops and curats to publish it abroad ouer all the whole realme, to the terrour of all his subiects. The said Simon and Seruais laughed him to scorne, and derided much his doings in that behalfe, saying, that for the iuft title of Ludouike, they had appealed to the generall councell at Rome.

*Ex Matth. Nigr. cap. 43. 44.*

The magistrates of London and citizens of the same did likewise vilipend and disdainfullie mocke all that the pope had there commanded and done. And in spight both of him and his legat, they kept companie with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church, shewing themselues thereby as open contemners both of him and his latines. Ludouike at London taking himselfe for king, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellour, and Seruais Hobruge for his chiefe preacher; by whose daily preachings, as well the barons and the citizens themselues being both excommunicated, caused all the church doores to be opened, and the seruice to be sung, and the said Ludouike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulphus (then cardinall) collecting the Peter pence, an old pillage of the pope, taking great paines therein. And for his great labours in those the affaires of holy church, and for other great miracles he shewed, he was then made bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignitie and expences.

The popes cruell dealing to reape.

Pandulph. bys the popes collection made by the of holy church.

*Mat. Paris. Rad. Niger. cap. 47.*

It chanced about this time, that the vicount of Melun (a verie noble man of the realme of France, which came thither with the prince Ludouike to fall deadly sicke at London, and also moued in conscience to call certaine of the English barons vnto him, such as were there appointed to the custodie of that citie, said vnto them: I lament your sorowfull case, and pitie with my heart the destruction that is comming towards you and your countrie. The dangerous snares which are prepared for your vtter confusion are hidden from you, you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Ludouike hath sworne a great oth, and sixteene of his

The great prouidence of God for the safetie of England.

earles and noble men are of counsell with him, that if he obtaine the crowne of England, hee will banish all them from seruice, and depriue them of lands and goods, as manie as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traytors to his noble person. And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercie of God, that I was one of them which was sworne to the same. I haue great conscience thereof, and therefore I giue you this warning. I pitie poore England which hath been so noble a region, that now it is come to so extreame miserie. And when he with teares had lamented it a space, he returned againe vnto them and said: My friends I counsell you earnestly to looke to your selues, and to prouide the remedie in time, lest it come vpon you vnwares. Your king for a season hath kept you vnder, but if Ludouike preuaile, he will put you from all; of two extreame euils chuse the more easie, and keepe that secret which I haue told you of good will. With that he gaue ouer and departed this life.

When this was once noised among the barons, they were in great heauinesse, for they saw themselues betrapped euerie way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that feare which then came vpon the barons. They were extreamely hated of the pope and his legats, and euery weeke came vpon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, come and cattell, wiues and children: so that some of them were driuen to such need, that they were inforced to seeke prayes and bootes for sustaining their miserable liues. For loke what soeuer prince Ludouike obtained by his wars, either territories or castles, he gaue them all to his Frenchmen in spight of their heads, and said that they were but traptours, like as they had warning afore, which grieued them woorse of all. At the last they perceiuing that they in seking to auoid one mischiefe, were readie to fall into another much woorse: they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselues wholly with all humilitie vnto the mercie of their late souereigne and naturall liege lord king John. And so for that they were sumwhat in doubt of their liues for the treason afore committed; manie of the friends of them which were of most credit with him, made suite for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great suite made for them. I here omit his recouerie of Rochester castle and citie, with many other dangerous aduentures against the foresaid Ludouike, both at London, Yorke, Lincolne, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I returne to my matter againe.

Into Suffolke and Norfolke he consequently iourneyed, with a verie strong armie of men, and there with great mischiefe he afflicted them, because they had giuen place and were sworne to his enemies. After that, he destroyed the abbeyes of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

In this yeare, about the seuenteenth day of Iulie, died pope Innocent the third, and was buried in a citie called Perusium in Italie: whereas he had trauelled to make a peace betweene the Guelphonates and Gibins, for his owne commoditie and aduantage. After him anon succeeded one Cintius, otherwise called Honorius tertius, a man of very great age: yet liued he in the papacie ten yeares and an halfe, and more. When this was once knowne in England, greatly reioyced all they which were king Johns enemies, specially the priests; yet had they small cause, as will appeare hereafter. They noised it all the realme ouer, that this new pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other pope did; thinking thereby that he would haue done all things to their commoditie: but they found it otherwise. For he made all them which were excommunicat, to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored againe to their former liuings.

Pope Innocent the third dieth.

And in the selfe same yeare, as king John was come to Swinstead abbey, not far from Lincolne, he rested there two daies: where (as most writers testifie) he was most traytorouslie poysoned by a monke of that abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians or S. Bernards brethren, called Simon of Swinstead. As concerning the noble personage of this prince, this witnesse giueth Roger Houeden therein: Princeps quidem magnus erat, sed minus felix, atque vt Marius vtraque fortuna expertus. Doubtlesse (saith he) king John was a mightie prince, but not so fortunat as many were; not altogether vnlike to Marius the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both waies, bountifull in mercie: in warres sometime he wan, sometime againe he loft. Munificus ac liberalis in exteros fuit, sed proditionis causa suorum depraedator, plus aduenis quam suis confidens. Hee was also verie bounteous and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their daily treasons sake) he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to forreners then to them.

King John poysoned by a monke.

*Ex chronico & titulis Eulogium.*

Among other diuers and sundrie conditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended but commended rather: for that being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subiect to, he regarded



regarded not the popish masse, as in certaine chronicles writing of him may be collected: for so I find testified of him by Matth. Parisien. that the king vpon a time in his hunting, comming where a weet fat stag was cut vp and opened (or how the hunters termde it I cannot tell) the king beholding the fat, neese and the lifting of the stag: See, saith hee, how easily and happily he hath liued, and yet for all that he neuer heard anie masse.

*Ex Matth. Paris. fine.*

The saying of king John deriding the masse.

It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxton called Fructus temporum, and in the seuenth booke. The foresaid monke Simon being much offended with certaine talke that the king had at his table, concerning Ludouike the French kings sonne (which then had entred and vsurped vpon him) did call in his wicked heart how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And first of all he counselled with his abbat, shewing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He alleaged for himselfe the prophecie of Caiphas, Joh. 11. saying: It is better that one man die, then all the people should perish. I am well contented (saith he) to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may vtterly destroy this tyrant. With that the abbat did weepe for gladnesse, and much commended his feruent zeale, as he tolde it. The monke then being absolued of his abbat for doing this act (aforehand) went secretly into a garden vpon the backeside, and finding there a most venemous tode, he so pricked him and pressed him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poyson that was within him. This done, he conueyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he laid thus to the king: If it shall like your princely maiestie, here is such a cup of wine as ye neuer dranke a better before in all your life time, I trust this vassall shall make all England glad: and with that he pranke a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monke anon after went to the sacrarie, and there died (his guts gushing out of his belly) and had continually from thenceforth thee monkes to sing masse for his soule, confirmed by their generall chapter. What became after that of king John, ye shall know right well in the processe following. I would ye did marke well the wholesome proceedings of these

*Ex Caxtono lib. 7.*

We be to you that call good euil, and euill good. Simon the monke abhorred of his abbat for poysoning his king.

The monke dieth of his owne poison.

holy votaries, how vertuously they obey their kings, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions and masses.

The king within a short space after (feeling great griefe in his bodie) asked for Simon the monke, and answere was made that he was departed this life. Then God haue mercie vpon me (said he) I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he ment now I perceiue then of his owne generation. With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Slaford castle, and from thence to Newarke on Trent, and there within lesse then three daies he died. Vpon his death bed he much repented his former life, forgaue all them with a pitifull heart that had done him iniurie, desiring that his elder son Henrie might be admonished by his example, and to learne by his misfortunes to be naturall, fauourable, gentle, and louing to his naturall people. When his bodie was imbalmed and spiced (as the maner is of kings) his bowels or intrails were buried at Croxton abbey, which was of the sect of Premonstratenses or canons of S. Norbert. His hired souldiers both Englishmen and strangers were still about him, and followed his corps triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the cathedrall church of Worcester, and there honorablie was he buried by Siluester the bishop, betwixt S. Oswald and S. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. Hee died in the yeare of our Lord 1216, the nineteenth day of October, after he had reigned in such calamitie, by the subtill conuiance of his clergie, eighteene yeares and fiue moneths and odde daies. Now so soone as king John was dead and buried (as is said before) the princes, lords and barons, so many as were of his part (as well of strangers as of them that were borne here) by counsell of the legat Gualo, gathered themselues together, and all with one consent proclamed Henrie his sonne for their king. Of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

The death of king John.

A prince to be louing to his subiects.

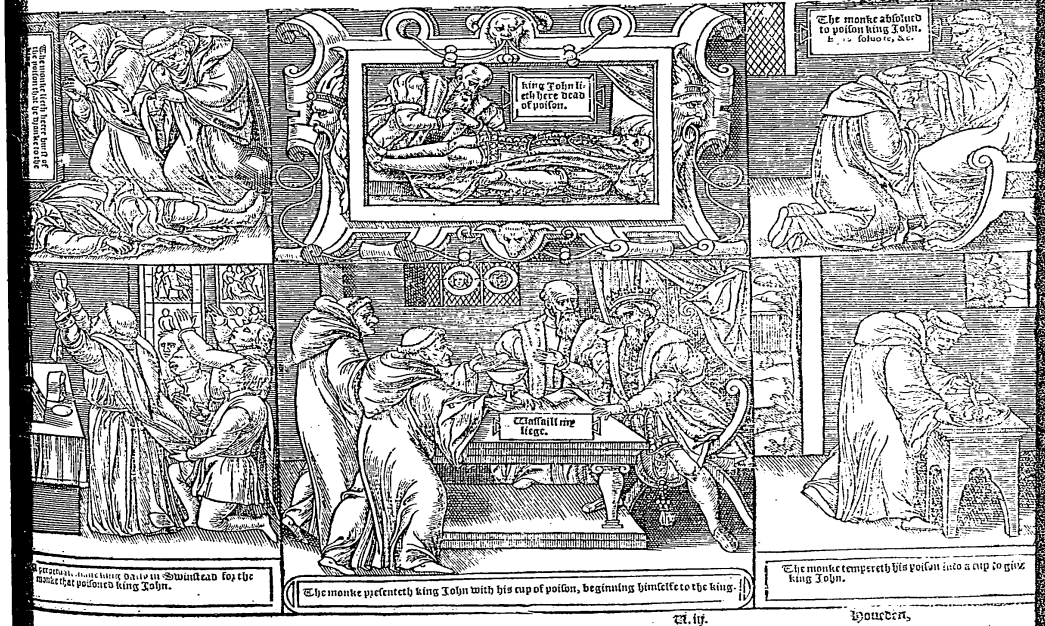
King John buried at Glocester.

§ Anno § 1216

Many opinions are among the chronielers of the death of king John. Some of them do write that he died of sorow and heauinesse of heart, as Polydorus: some of surfetting in the night, as Radulphus Niger: some of a bloudie flix, as Roger

The death of king John.

## The description of the poisoning of king John by a monke of *Swinstead abbey in Lincolnshire.*




M. iij. Houeden,

Houeden, some of a burning ague, some of a cold sweat, some of eating apples, some of eating peares, some plums, &c.

This you see what variete is among the writers concerning the death of this king John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monke aboue named, yet Matthew Paris (something differing from the others) writeth thus concerning his death, that he going from Lin to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the losse of his carriage and of his treasures vpon the washes, fell in great heauinesse of mind, in so much that he fell thereby into a feruent feuer, being at the abbey of Swinsted. This ague he also increased through euill forbearing and naughtie diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new cider, or as we call it sider. Thus being sicke, he was caried from thence to the castle of Lafford, and from thence to the castle of Newarke, where calling for Henrie his sonne, gaue to him the succession of his crowne and kingdome, writing to all his lords and nobles to receiue him for their king, and shortly after vpon S. Lucies euen departed this life, being buried at Worcester, &c.

*Death. Paris in vita Iohannis regis.*

In Gilbertie I find otherwise, who dissenting from others, saith; that he was poysoned with a dish of peares, which the monke had prepared for the king therwith to poison him. Who hearing the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in: according to the kings bidding, so did. At the bringing in whereof (saith the storie) the pretious stones about the king began to sweat, in so much that the king misdoubting same poison, demanded of the monke what he had brought. He said, of his fruit, and that were good, the best that euer he did taste. Sat, said the king. And he take one of the peares which he did bring, and did eat. Also being bid to take another, did eate likewise thereof, and so likewise the third. Then the king reframing no longer, take one of the poisoned peares, and was therewith poisoned, as is before, &c.

*Gualter the discription of king Johns death. Ex Will. Guall. Hema. & I. Gulsmanef.*

The first maior of London.

In the raigne of this king John, the citizens of London first obtained of the king to chuse yerely a maior. In whose time also the bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of wood. Rastall.

## King Henrie the third.

King Henrie the third.

AFter this king John had raigned (as some say) fourteene yeares, or as some say, though falsely, nineteene yeares, was (as is aboue said) poisoned and died. This king left behind him foure sons and three daughters, first Henrie, second Richard, and he was earle of Cornwall, third William of Valentia, fourth Guido Oisenate: he had also another sonne who after ward was made bishop. Of his daughters first was Isabell, married afterward to Frederike the emperour; the second named Elenor, married to William earle marshall; the third to Mountfort the earle of Leicester, &c. Another storie saith that he had but two daughters, Isabell and Elenor, or as another calleth her Ione, which was after queene of Scotland. Ex chronico vetusto Angliæ.

The issue of king Iohn.

This king John being deceased, which had many enemies both of earles, barons, and especially of the popish clergie, Henrie his eldest sonne was then of the age of nine yeares, at what time the most of the lords of England did adhere to Lodouike or Lewis the French kings son, whom they had sent for before in displeasure of king John to be their king, and had swone to him their allegeance. Then William earle marshall a noble man, and of great authoritie, and a graue and sound counsellor, friendly & quietly called vnto him diuers earles and barons, and taking this Henrie the yong prince, son of king John, setteth him before them, vttring these words. Behold (saith he) right honorable and well beloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yong prince for his euill demeanour, and working; yet this yong child whom here ye see before you, as he is in yeares tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his fathers doings: wherefore in as much as euery man is charged only with the burthen of his owne workes and transgressions, neither shall the child as the scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as ye se. And now for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our soueraigne and king, and successor of this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king and gouernour, and let vs remoue from vs this Lewis the French kings sonne, and suppresse his people, which is a contusion and a disease to our nation, and the yoke of our seruitude let vs cast off from our shoulders. To these words spake and answered the earle of Glocester; And by what reason or right (said he) can we so do, seeing we haue called him hither, and haue swone to him our fealtie?

*An example of a wordie and faithfull counsellour. The oration of the earle marshall for king Henrie.*

Whereunto the earle marshall inferred againe and said: God right and reason we haue, and ought of duty to do no lesse, for that he contrarie to our mind and calling hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our chieftaine and gouernour; but he estsones purposed in pride, hath contemned and despised vs: and if we shall so suffer him, he will subuert and ouerthrow both vs and our nation, and so shall we remaine a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world.

At these words all they, as inspired from aboue, cried all together with one voice, We it so, he shall be our king. And so the day was appointed for his coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This coronation was kept, not at Westminster, for so much as Westminster the same time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Glocester, the safest place (as was thought) at that time in the realme, An. 1216, by Gwalo the popes legat, through counsell of all the lords and barons that held with his father king John, to wit, the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Bathe, bishop of Chester, bishop of Worcester, the earle Randulph of Chester, William earle marshall, William earle of Denbroke, William Dren earle of Feres, William de Bues, Serle or Samarike de Mal baron. These were at the crowning of the king at Glocester. Many other lords and barons there were, which as yet held with Lewis the French kings sonne, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediatly after the crowning of this king he held his counsell at Bittolu at S. Martins seast, where were assembled eleuen bishops of England and Wales, with diuers earles and barons and knights of England, all which did sware fealtie to the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legat Gwalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Lewis, and also the barons and all others as many as gaue helpe or counsell to Lewis, or any other that moued or stirred any warre against king Henrie the new king, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Lewis did not cease, but first laid siege to the castle of Douer fifteene daies. When he could not preuaile there, he take the castle of Berkhamsted, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harme in the countries, in spoiling & robbing the people where they went: by reason whereof the lords and commons which held with the king, assembled themselues together to driue Lewis and his men out of the land. But some of the barons with the Frenchmen in the mean season went to Lincolne and take the citie, and held it to the vse of Lewis. Which being knowne, it comes a great power of the kings part made thither, as earle Randulph of Chester, William earle marshall, and William de Bues earle of Feres, with many other lords, and gaue battell vnto Lewis and his partie, so that in conclusion Lewis left the field, and of his side were slaine the earle of Parchis, Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, Henrie de la Bohan earle of Hertford, and sir Robert le Fitzwater, with diuers others more. Whereupon Lewis for succor fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succour out of France. Which as soone as the king had knowledge of, immediatly sent to the maior and burgesse of the citie, willing them to render them and their citie to him as their chiefe lord and king, promising to grant to them against all their franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirme the same by his great charter and seale. In this meane time one Bartholomew Iuen, Eustace a French lord accompanied with many other lords and nobles of France, came with a great power, to the number of 100 ships to aid and assist the said Lewis, who before they arriued, were encountred vpon the seas by Richard, king Johns bastard sonne, who hauing no more but eighteene ships to keep the cinque ports, set eagerly vpon them, and through Gods grace ouercame them, where presently he smote off the head of Eustace: the rest of the French lords to the number of ten, he brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Douer, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunke their ships in the sea, only fifteene ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. Ludouike or Lewis hearing this losse of his ships and men, and misdoubting his owne life for the great mischiefe he had done to the realme, sought means by Gwalo and the archbishop of Canturburie, and by other lords, to be at accord with the king. With whom at length it was fore concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses, he to haue a thousand pounds of siluer giuen. Parisiensis speaketh of fifteene thousand markes (which he borrowed of the Londoners) that he should depart the realme neuer to returne into England againe, neither he nor none of his.

*Ex chron. mag. Guisan.*

*King Henrie the third succeed.*

*An admonition to Englishmen not to admit forreiners into the realme.*

*Lincolne taken by Lewis.*

*Berkhamsted and Hertford taken by Lewis.*

*This Eustace some day he was a Spaniard.*

*A noble victorie by Gods grace giuen to king Johns sonne.*

*Ex Math. Parisiens.*

*Lewis the French kings sonne quitteth out of England.*

This done and vpon the same, he with all the other barons that toke his part was absolued of Gwalo the legat. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Lewis toke his leaue, and being brought honorable to the sea with the bishop of Canturburie and other bishops, earles and barons, returned home into France.

And here, saith Gilburne, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French king father of Lewis. At what time the said Lewis was in England, his father the French king demanded of his messengers comming into France, where his sonne was. And they said at Stamford. And he asking againe whether he had got the castle of Douer? And they said, no. Then the father swearing by the arme of S. James: My sonne (quoth he) hath not one foot in England, as afterwards well proued true. Ex Gisburn.

*The answere of the French king concerning his sonne Lewis.*

But the chiefest helpe that repelled Lewis and the French men out of the realme, and that most preserred king Johns sonne to the crowne, was the singular working of Gods hand, whereof mention was made before: which was through the confession



confession of a certaine gentleman of the French host (as Florilegus doth testifie, who lying sore sicke at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience for danger of his soules health, openly to confesse and vtter to the barons of England, what was the purpole of the Frenchmen to doe; who were conspired and swone together among themselues, with a priuie compaction, that so soone as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chiefe and nobles thereof into perpetuall exile out of the realme, wherevot they should neuer returne againe. This comming to the eares of the barons, as is said, gaue them to consider more with themselues, whereby many of them were the more willing to leaue Lewis, and applie to their naturall king and prince. Which no lesse may also bee an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heed, not to admit or to place forren rulers vnto the realme, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselues.

After the happie departure of this Lewis and his Frenchmen out of the land, whereby the state of this realme long vexed before, was now somwhat more quieted; immediatly Gwalo the legat looking to his harnell, directly forth inquisitors through euery shire, to search out all such bishops, abbats, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soeuer they were, that with any succour or counsell did either helpe, or els consented to Lewis. For all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, betweene the king and Lewis. By reason whereof no small gaine grew to the pope and the cardinall; for all such were either put out of their liuings and sent vp to the pope; or else were faine to fine sweetly for them. Among whom, besides a great number of other clerks, both religious and secular, was Hugo bishop of Lincolne, who for the recouerie of his bishoprike, disbursed 1000. marks to the pope, and 100. marks to the foresaid Gwalo the legat, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a faire crop of that which he did neuer sow. Ex Mat. Paris, &c.

*Ex historia D. Scales.*

*William Marshall dieth and is buried at the Temple.*

*Manie coming into the pope and cardinall.*

*Hugo bishop of Lincolne redeemeth his bishoprike for 1000. marks. Ex Math. Paris in vita reg. Henr. 3. Pope Innocent the third.*

About this season, or not much before, died pope Innocent the third, in the nineteenth yeere of his popedome, to whose custodie, Fredericus the nephue of Frederike Barbarolla, being yet young was committed by the empresse his mother, of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded pope Honorius the third, who writing to young King Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the loue of vertue, and to the feare of God, namely to be circumspect with what familiars and retort he acquainted himself; but principally aboue all others to minde him to reuerence the church which is the spouse of Christ, and to honor the ministers there of, in whom Christ himselfe (saith hee) is both honored or despised. And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writing to him.

*Pope Honorius the third. The effect of the letter of pope Honorius the third to king Henrie the third. Ex Parisiens.*

Of this pope Honorius, Abbas Vrspergensis (who liued in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peraduenture then credible, which is this. Honorius being priest in Rome (whose name was then Centius) and procurator to Iacinthus a cardinall: so it befell, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure monie for him against his iourney into Spaine: for pope Clement then intended to send the said Iacinthus his legat into Spaine. As this Centius was walking by himselfe all sad and sollicitous to speed his masters message, commeth to him a certaine aged and reuerend father, and asketh him what cause he had to walke so heauie and carefull. To whom he answered againe, and signified the occasion of his businesse that then he had to do. Then the old father said to him: Go and returne home againe, for thy master (saith he) shall not at this time go to Spaine. How so (quoth the other) how is that true? As true (saith he) as it is certaine that the pope shall die, and thy said master shall be pope after him. Centius thinking that to be vnlikely, said he could not be: for then Math. Paris reporteth being sicke of a spirituall hope, thought this Gwalo (hauing so large occupying in England) to be able enough for to cure his disease. And so that legat returned with all his bags well stuffed, leauing Pandulph behind him to supplie that bailiwike of his great grandfather the pope.

*A strange tale of pope Honorius, as it is ment.*

*Ex Abbate Vrsperg. in chronico.*

The life and acts of pope Innocentius the third are partly described before, how he intruded Stephan Langton against the kings will into the archbishopzike of Canturburie, stirring vp also sittie and foure monks of the same church of Canturburie partlie to withstand against the king. Moreover how he did excommunicat the said king as a publike enemie of the church, so long as the said king withstood his tyrannicall doings, putting him and his whole kingdome vnder interdiction, for the space of fiue yeres and three moneths; and at length depoled & deprined him from his scepter, keeping it in his owne hands for fiue daies. How he absolued his subiects from their one obedience and subiection vnto him. How he gaue away his kingdoms and possessions to Lewis the French kings sonne, commanding the said Lewis to spoile him both of lands and life. Whereupon the king (being forsaken of his nobles, prelats and commons) was inforced against his will to submit himselfe, and sware obedience vnto the pope, paying vnto him a perelle tribute of 1000. marks by yeere, for receiuing his kingdome againe,

*Pope Innocentius.*

*The deeds and decrees of pope Innocent the third.*

Almericus condemned. Joachim Abbas condemned. Priuat tithes brought in.

Bel and candel brought in by a councel.

Carnall eating of the maskes flesh, and milke. Transubstantiation.

Mariage in the 4th degree forbidden.

The pope letteth kinges and emperors fight one by the eares.

Philip the emperour deposed. Otho the emperor deposed.

The councell of Lateran.

Diuersis of Alsatia to the number of one hundred burnt both in one day.

Ex Hermanno Altah.

Collects sent from the bishop of Mentz to them of Alsatia.

Obseruants friers began.

Dominike.

against, wherebi both he and his successors after him were bassales afterwards vnto the pope. And thus were the apostolicall seas of this holy vicar in the realme of England. Moreouer, he condemned Almericus a worthie learned man and a bishop, for an heretike, for teaching and holding against images. Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim Abbas (whom we spake of before) for heresie all. This pope brought first into the church the paying of priuat tithes. He obteined the receiuing once a yere at Easter. Vnto the pryall decreetals he added the decree, Omnes vtriusque sexus, &c. Also the reseruation of the sacrament, and the going with the bel and light before the sacrament was by him appointed. In the said councell of Lateran he also ordained that the canon of the masse should be receiued with equall authoritie as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselues. He brought in transubstantiation. Loke in the decretals, Titulo 1. De summa Trinit. & fide catholica, cap. firmiter credimus.

Item, the said Innocentius the third ordained that none should marrie in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so vnder.

The said pope stirred vp Otho against Philip the emperor, because the said Philip was elected emperor against his will; vpon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in Germany. And afterward against the said Otho, whom he had made emperor, he set vp Frederike king of Cicile, and caused the archbishop of Maience to pronounce him excommunicat in all his titles, and to bee deposed of his empire. For the which cause the princes of Germanie did vnnaile his bishoprike, spoiling and burning his possessions. Therewith vp the pope so did accurse and depose him, was, for that the said Otho did take and occupie cities, townes, and castels, which the pope said appertained to him.

Item, the said pope ordained, that if any prince offended one another, the correction thou appertaine vnto the pope. In this councell of Lateran were archbishops and primats 61. Bishops 400. abbats 12. priors and conuentuals 800. besides other ambassadors, legats, doctors, and lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

In the historie of Hermanus Mutius, we read how in the yere of our Lord 1212. in this popes time diuers noble men, and others in the countrie of Alsatia, contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, did hold that euery day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. Also that they did wickedlie, which restrained priests and ministers from their lawful wiues, for the which cause, as is in the forsaid author, by this pope Innocentius the third and his bishops, an hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Some other historie (as Naucleras) recordeth also, that at the same time many were in the citie of Millaine of the said countrie, which vsed to send collects vnto the forsaid saints of Alsatia. Ex Nauclero.

In the chronicle of Gualter Heminsford, otherwise called Gisburnensis, it is recorded that in the daies of this king John, and pope Innocent, began the two seas and orders of friers, one called the preachers order, or blacke friers of S. Dominike: the other called the minorites of S. Francis. The preachers or blacke friers order began of one Dominike a Spaniard, about the parts of Thelouse, who after he had laboured ten yeres in preaching against the Albingenses, and such other as did hold against the church of Rome, afterward comming vp to the councell of Lateran with Fulco bishop of Thelouse, desired of the forsaid Innocent the third, to haue his order of preaching friers confirmed, which the pope a great while refused to graunt: at length he had a dreame, that the church of Lateran was readie to fal. Which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing therat, commeth in this Dominik, who with his shoulders vnderpropped the church, and so preserued the building therefrom falling, &c. And right well this dreame may seeme verified, for the friers haue been alwaies the chiefe pillers and vpholders of the popes church. Vpon this the pope (waking out of his dreame) called Dominike to him, and granted his petition: and so came vp this wolfish order of the Dominikes. I call it wolfish, for that his mother when she was great with this Dominike, dreamed that she had in her woombe a wolfe, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dreame, the preachers of that order doe greatlie aduance, and expound to their orders glorie, as well as they can. Neuertheless, howsoeuer they expound it, they can make a wolfe but a wolfe, and this a wolfish order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of S. Augustine, as who should say, that Christs rule were not enough to make a christian man. Their profession standeth vpon these principall points, as thus described: *Charitatem habentes, humilitatem seruantes, & paupertatem voluntariam possidentes.* That is: Hauing charitie, holding humilitie, and possessing wilfull pouertie. Their habit and clothing is blacke.

Friers vpholders of the popes church.

The order of the minors or minosit friers descended from one Francis an Italian of the citie of Assisium. This Assisian alle, whom I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing vpon a time how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, thought to imitat the same in himselfe and his disciples, and so left off his shoes (he had but one cote, and that of course cloth. In stead of a latchet to his shoe, and of a girdle, he tooke about him an hempen cord, and so he apparelled his disciples, teaching them to fulfill (so he speaketh) the perfectio. Gospel, to apprehend pouertie, and to walke in the way o. simplicitie. He left in writing to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called *Regulam euangelicam*, The rule of the gospel. As though the gospell of Christ were not sufficient rule to all christian men, but it must take his perfection of humilitie Francis. And yet for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to y derogation of Christs gospell, he was confirmed by this pope Innocent. Pea and such soules this Francis found abroad, that not onelie hee had followers of his vnlith religion (both of the nobles and wincles of Rome) but also some there were, which builded mansions for him and his friers. This Francis, as he was superstitious in calling all things from him, as his girdle, giuing a cord about him, so in outward chastising of himselfe, so feare he was to his flesh (leauing the ordinarie remedie appointed by God) that in winter season, he couered his bodie with ice and snow. He called pouertie his ladie, he kept nothing ouer night. So desirous he was of martyrdome, that he went to Syria, to the Soldan, which received him honorable. Wherby it may be thought, that (surely) he told not the truth, as S. Joan Baptist did in Herods house. For truth is seldome welcome in courts and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him which is no true confessor. I will here passe ouer the fable, how Christ and his saints did marie him with fiue wounds. These Franciscan or begging friers, although they were all vnder one rule and clothing of S. Francis, yet they be diuided into many sects and orders, some go on tréen shoes or pattins, some barefooted, some regular Franciscans or obseruants, some minors or minosits, others bee called Minimi, others of the gospell, others De caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisie. And for somuch as we haue heere entred into the matter of these two orders of friers, by the occasion hereof, I thought a title by the way to digresse from our storie, in reciting the whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friers and nuns of all sects, rules and orders, set vp and confirmed by the pope. The names of whom heere in order of the alphabet follow vnder written.

The minosit friers descended from S. Francis.

Diuers sects of Franciscans.

## The rabblement of religious orders.

The rabble of all religious sects.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A Vgustinians, the first order. | | Charterhouse order. | 1086 | Gerundinensis order. | |
| Ambrosians two sorts. | 490 | Cisterciensis order. | 1098 | Galilei or Galieans. | |
| Antonies heremits. | 324 | Crossebearers or crossed friers. | 1216 | | |
| Austins heremits. | 498 | Carmelits or white friers. | 1212 | Heremits. | |
| Austins obseruants. | 490 | Clares order. | 1225 | Helens brethren. Humiliati. | 1166 |
| Armonians sect. | | Celestines order. | 1297 | Hospitall brethren. | |
| Ammonits and Moabits. | | Camaldulensis order. | 950 | Holy ghost order. | |
| Basilius order. | 384 | Crosse starred brethren. | | | |
| Benets order. | 524 | Constantinopolitanish order. | | Ieroms orders two sorts. | 1412 |
| Bernardus order. | 1120 | Crosse bearers. | | Johns heremits. | |
| Barefooted friers. | 1222 | Chapter monks. | | Iustins order. | 1432 |
| Brigits order. | 1370 | | | Johns order Ioannits. | 380 |
| Beghearts or white spirits. | 1399 | Duch order. | 2216 | otherwise knights of the Rhodes. | |
| Brethren of Hierusalem. | 1103 | Dominike blacke friers. | 1220 | | 1308 |
| Brethren of S. Iohn De ciuitate blacke Friers. | 1220 | Franciscans. | 1224 | Iniesuati. | 1365 |
| Brethren of wilfull pouertie. | | | | Ieroms heremits. | 490 |
| | | Grandmontensis order. | 1076 | Iosephs order. | |
| Cluniacensis order. | 913 | Gregorian order. | 594 | Iacobits sect. | |
| Canons of S. Augustine. | 1080 | Georges order. | 1407 | James brethren order. | |
| | | Cuilielmits. | 1246 | James brethren with the sword. | |
| | | | | Indians order. | |

Katharine

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Katharine of Senes order. | 1455 | New canons of S. Austin. | 1430 | Starred monks. | |
| Keied monks knights of Rhodes. | | Nestorini. | | Starred friers. | |
| | | Nalheart brethren. | | Sclauonic order. | |
| Lazarits or Marie Magdalens our ladie brethren. | 1034 | New order of our ladie. | | Scourgers the second sect, called Niniuits. | |
| Lords of Hungarie. | | Nazarei. | | Stoole brethren. | |
| | | Pauls heremits. | 345 | Scotland brethren order. | |
| | | Præmonstratensis order. | 1119 | Sicarij. | |
| | | Preacher order, or Black friers. | | S. Sophies order. | |
| Minorits which be diuided into | Conuentuals. | Peter the apostles order. | 1409 | | |
| | Obseruants. | Purgatorie brethren. | | Templar lords. | 1110 |
| | Reformat. | | | Templar knights. | 1120 |
| | Collectan. | Rechabits. | | The vale of Iosaphat his order. | |
| | *De Caputio.* | | | | |
| | *De Euangelio.* | Sarrabaits. | | *Vallis vmbrosæ.* | 1400 |
| | Amedes. | Sambonits. | 1199 | | |
| | Clarini and others. | Scourgers the first sect. | 1266 | Waldensis sect. | |
| Minors or Minorits. | 1224 | Souldiers of Iesus Christ. | 1323 | Wentzelaus order. | |
| Maries seruants. | 1304 | Scopenits, or S. Saluators order. | 1367 | Wilhelmer order. | |
| Monks of mount Oliuet. | 1046 | Speculariy or the Glasse order. | | White monks of mount Oliuet. | 1406 |
| Marouinies sect. | | Sepulchers order. | | | |
| Monorits sect. | | Shere order. | | Zelotes order. | |
| *Monachi* and *Monache.* | | Swerds order. | | | |
| Menclaish and Iasonish sect. | | | | | |



Thus haue you (if thou please (gentle reader) to know what orders and what sects of religion haue been set vp by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not onelie in bookes printed of late in Germany, namely by the reuerend father Martin Luther: but also conferred with another English booke which came to our hands, containing the same like notes of ancient antiquitie, the number of which rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I haue reckoned vp the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, it commeth to mind consequently to infer the prophecie of Hildegardis, as well against the whole rout of Romish prelats, and the fall of that church, as especially against the begging friers and such other vnprofitable bellies of the church. This Hildegardis is holden of the papists themselues to be a great prophetisse: whose prophecie proceedeth in this manner, first against the priests and prelats of the Romish church, as followeth.

Hildegardis prophesieng of frer. & and monks.

### The prophecie of Hildegardis of the ruine of Rome, *and against the Begging friers.*

Hildegardis a nun, and (as many iudged) a prophetisse, lined in the yere 1146. In hir prophecies she doth most grieuously reprehend not only the wicked and abominable life of the spirituall papists, but also the contempt of the ecclesiastic call office, and also the horrible destruction of the church of Rome. In a certaine place she hath these words: And now is the law neglected among the spirituall people, which neglect to teach and to doe good things; the master likewise and the prelats doe sléepe, despising iustice and laying it aside. In a certaine vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the priests had beraied her face with dust, and rent her cote, &c: and that they did not thine ouer the people, neither in doctrine, neither in example of life; but rather contrariwise, that they haue polluted the innocent lambe from them. She said moreouer, that all ecclesiastic call order did euery day become woorse and woorse, and that priests did not teach but destroy the law of God: and for these horrible crimes and impieties, the threatneth and prophesieth vnto them Gods most heauie wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments. There is no cause why the spirituall papists should flatter themselues vpon this, that the promised against to the ministers of the church those good things to follow, like as Ioannes de rupe scisa doth, and other such like prophets: for they say it will come to passe, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing (vndoubtedly) they meane the godly ministers in the reformed churches, which for the most part were of the spirituall number, and yet did forsake the dishonest life & those wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the priests and monks, that is, the whole rabble and spiritualtie do account Hildegard for a true prophetisse; now they ought to consider that by hir they are more seuerely accused, not as by a woman, but as by God himselfe. And I pray you, what abomination, impietie, and idolatrie hath been committed since that time by the spiritualtie? I will note heere a certaine prophecie of hirs, taken out of the common places of Henrie Toben, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophecieth of the reformation of religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

A prophecie for the decay of the Romish church.

Then shall the crowne of apostolicall honor be diuided, because there shall bee found no religion among the apostolicall order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignitie of that name, and shall set ouer them other men and other archbishops. In so much that the apostolike see of that time (by the diminution of his honour) shall haue scarse Rome, and a few other countries thereabout vnder his crowne. And these things shall partlie come to passe by incursion of wars, and partly also by a common councell and consent of the spirituall & secular persons. Then shall iustice flourish, so that in those daies men shal honestlie applie themselues to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall obserue them as ancient men did. The glosse agreeth, &c.

These things thus premised, now will we come to the prophecie of the forsaid Hildegard, concerning the forsaid begging friers aboue mentioned, reciting hir words, not only as they are printed in a booke, printed of late in Germany, but also as my selfe haue séene and read, agréeing to the same booke word for word, and yet haue the same to shew, written in old parchment leaues, in such sort as the thing it selfe most euidently declareth a great iniquitie of time: The words of hir prophecie be these.

Hildegardis prophesieng of frer. & and monks.

In those daies shall arise a senseless people, proud, gréedie, without faith, and subtill, the which shall eat the sinnes of the people, holding a certaine order of foolish deuotion vnder the fained cloke of beggerie, preferring themselues aboue all others by their fained deuotion, arrogant in vnderstanding, and pretending holinesse, walking without shamefastnesse of the feare of God, in inuenting many new mischiefes strong and stout. But this order shall be accursed of al wise men and faithfull christians. They shall cease from all labor, and giue themselues ouer vnto idlenesse, chosing rather to line through flatterie and begging. Moreouer, they shall together studie how they may peruertlie resist the teachers of the truth, and stay them together with the noble men; how to seduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the necessitie of their liuing, and pleasures of this world: for the deuell will graft in them foure principall vices, (that is to say) flatterie, enuie, hypocrisie, and slander. Flatterie, that they may haue large gifts giuen them. Enuie, when they see gifts giuen to others, and not to them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation they may please men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themselues and backebite others, for the praise of men, and seducing of the simple. Also, they shall instantly preach, but without deuotion or example of the martyrs, and shall detract the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiuing almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselues with the common people, hauing familiaritie with women, instructing them how they shall deceiue their husbands and friends by their flatterie and deceitfull words, and to rob their husbands to giue it vnto them, for they will take all these faire and euill gotten goods, and say: Giue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you: so that they being curious to hide other mens faults, do vtterlie forget their owne. And alas, they will receiue all things of rouers, pickers, spoilers, theeues and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, vsurers and adulterers, heretiks, schismatiks, apostataes, whores and bawds, of noble men, periurers, merchants, false iudges, soudiers, tyrants, princes, of such as liue contrarie to the law, and of many peruerse and wicked men, following the perswasion of the diuell, the sweetnesse of sinne, a delicat and transitorie life, and finallie; euen vnto eternall damnation.

All these things shall manifestlie appeare in them vnto all people, and they (day by day) shall wax more wicked and hard hearted: and when as their wickednesse and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they goe about their houses hungry, and as mad dogs lacking bréed vp on the earth, and drawing in their necks as doues, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then shal the people crie out vpon them: Woe be vnto you pe miserable children of sorrow, the world hath seduced you, & the diuel hath bridled your mouthes, your flesh is fraile, and your hearts without sauor, your minds haue been vnstedfast, and your eies delighted in much banitie and follie, your daintie bellies desire delicat meats, your feet are swift to run vnto mischiefe. Remember when you were apparantlie blessed, yet enuious; pore in sight, but rich; simple to see to, but mightie flatterers, vnfaithfull betrairs, peruerse detractors;

tractes, holy hypocrits, subuerters of the truth, ouermuch vpright, proud, vnthankefull, vnstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, counfellors to gaine; mæke, but slanderers; religious, but coductors; hymnie, but proud; pitifull, but hard hearted liars; pleasant flatterers, persecutors, oppressors of ryghteousnesse, vnpleasers of God, seruers newly inuented of your selues; mercifull thought, but found worke, plaurers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoylers of bonefices, vnprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, deuisers of honours, maintainers of mischiefe, robbers of the world, vnsatiable preachers, menpleasers, slanderers of women, and sowers of discord, of whom Moses the glorious prophet spake very well in his song, A people without counsell or vnderstanding: would to God they did know and vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded vp on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall euen as Simon Magus whom God confounded, and did strike with cruel plagues so you like wise through your false doctrin, naughtines lechetrousnes and wickednes, are come to ruine. And the people that saw vnto them, Go ye teachers of wickednesse, subuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamit, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue fained your selues to follow the life of the apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in part: ye soules of iniquitie were ye ill not followe the knowledge of your wayes, for pride and presumption hath deceiued you, and inflamable conceipt hath subuerted your erroneous hartes. And when as you would ascend higher then was meet or conuely for you (by the iust iudgement of God) you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobrie and shame.

This Hildegardis (those prophecie we haue mentioned) lieued about the yere of our Lord 1146. as we read in Chronico Martini.

Crossebearers sisters.

About the same time that these Franciscans and Dominike friers began (which are aboue mentioned, hpang vp also the Crossbearers or Crouched friers, taking their originall and occasion of Innocent the third, which Innocent raised vp an armie (signed with a crosse on their brest) to fight against the Albingenses, whom the pope and his sect accounted for heretikes about the parts of Tholouse. What these Albingenses were, it cannot be well gathered by the old popish historics: for if there were any that did hold, teach or maintaine against the pope or his papall pride, or withstand and gainesay his beggerly traditions, rites, and religions, &c: the historeians of that time (for the most part in writing them) doe so depraue and misreport them (suppressing the truth of their articles) that they make them and paint them forth to be worse then Turkes and infidels. And that, as I suppose, caused Matth. Parisiensis and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (as so I find in some records) that the opinions of the said Albingenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else but onely against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyrannie of the prelats, denying the popes authoritie to haue ground of the scriptures: neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatorie of the Romish church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous incompings, &c. Of these Albingenses were slaine (at times and burned a great multitude by the means of the pope, and Simon Cele flatticus, with others more. It seemeth that these Albigenses were chiefly abhorred of the pope, because they set vp a contrarie pope against him about the coasts of Bugarorum: for the which cause the bishop called Portuensis being the popes legat in those quarters, writeth to the archbishop of Rome and other bishops in this wise.

Albingenses.

Bishops of the Albingenses write to the archbishop of Rome against the Albingenses.

VEnerabilibus patribus Dei gratia Rothomagensi, archiepiscopo & cæteris sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, salutem in Domino Iesu Christo. Dum pro sponsa veri cruciferi vestrum cogimur auxilium implorare, patris compellimur decertari singultibus & plorare. Sede quod ædimus lequimur, & quod semel restificamur. Ille homo perditus qui extollitur super omne quod colitur, aut dicitur Deus, non habet perfidiæ fux præambulis in heresi archam, quæ hæretici Albingenses papam suum nominant, habitantem finibus Burgaworum & Croatiæ, & Dalmatiæ, intra Hungariæ nationem. Adeam confluunt hæretici Albingenses, vt ea eorum confulta resumant. Item de Carcasona eundant (as ipsius antipapæ gerens simulacrum) hæreticorum episcopus, funestam ei exhibendo reuerentiam. Solem & Lunam concessum sibi quæ Portas appellauit, & sedilem trinitatis in partes Tholosanas. Iste Bartholomæus in reuerentiam suarum vanitatum, desiderantium tenore, se in primis salutationibus alligatum in hac media Bartholomæus seruus seruorum, Matricke fidei salutat. Ipse etiam inter alias enormitates suas apostolos, & ecclesias perfide ordinare contendit. Rogamus igitur attentius, & per aduentum domini pape qua sumus, in hoc pium, & sancte præcipiendo, quatenus Senonas in octabis apostolorum Petri & Pauli proxime futuris, vbi & alij prelati Francie & vestre Domino congregabimini, prouisi consilium dare inuigilare possitis, & eis alijs quibidem aderunt prouidere super negotio albingensi. Alioqui in hebedientiam vestram domino pape curabimus fgnificari. Datum apud Plautium 6. nonas Iulij.

For so much as mention is here made of these superstitious sects of these friers, and such other beggerlie religions, it might seeme not much impertinent, being moued by the occasion hereof, as I haue done in Hildegardis before: to now to annex also to the same a certaine other ancient treatise compiled by Geffrie Chaucer by the way of a dialogue or questions, moued in the person of a certaine vplantish and simple ploughman of the countrie. Which treatise for the same, the author intituled Jacke Upland, wherein is to be seene and noted to all the world, the blind ignorance and bardable discord of these irreligious religions, how rude and vnskilfull they are in matters and principles of cat chistian institution, as by the contents of this present dialogue appeareth, the words whereof in the same old English wherein first it was set forth in this wise doe proceed. Wherein also thou maiest see, that it is no new thing that their blasphemous doings haue by diuers good men in old time been detected, as there are many and diuers other old books to shew.

The blind ignorance of friers detected.

## A treatise of Geffrey Chaucer intituled *Jacke Vpland.*

The feates of antichrist.

IJacke Upland make my mone to yerie God and to all true in Christ, that antichrist and his disciples (by colour of holinesse, walking and decerning Christs church by many false figures, where through (by antichrist and his) many vertues been transposed to vices.

Antichrists hypocrisie.

But the feliest folke that euer antichrist found, been last brought into the church and in a wonder wise, for they been of diuers sects of antichrist, some of diuers countries and kindreds. And all men knowne well, that they be not obedient to bishops, no beregeant to kinges: neither they tillen, ne sowen, tyden, ne repen, wode, coine, ne grasse, neither nothing that man should helpe: but only themselues their liues to sustaine. And these men han all maner power of God as they seien in heauen and in yearth, to sell heauin and hell to whom that them liketh, and these wretches sweet neuer where to been themselues.

Patience prouoketh master friers.

And therefore (freer) if thine order and rules been grounden on Goddis law, tell thou me Jacke Upland, that I aske of thee, and if thou bee so thinkest to be on Christs side keepe thy patens.

The frier must answer according to Gods word.

Saint Paul teacheth, that all our deeds should be doo in charitie, and else it is nought worth, but displeasing to God and harme to our owne soules. And for that freers challenge to bee greatest clerks of the church, and next following Christ in liuing: men should for charitie ar them some questions, and pray them to ground their answers in reason and holie writ, for else their answer would nought be worth, be it florished neuer so faire and as me thinke men might skilfully aske thus of a freer.

Friers may better breake Gods law then mans law.

1 Q. Freer, how many orders be in earth, and which is the perfectest order? Of what order art thou? Who made thine order? What is thy rule? Is there any perfecter rule then Christ himselfe made? If Christs rule bee most perfect, why rulest thou not thereafter? Without more why, shalt a frier be more punished if he breake the rule that his patron made, then if he breake the hests that God himselfe made?

There is but one religion.

2 Approoueth Christ any more religions then one, that S. James speaketh of? If he approoueth no more, why hast thou left his rule and takest another? Why is a frier apostata that leaueth his order and taketh another set, sith there is but one religion of Christ?

The frier more bounde to his habit then the man to his wife.

3 Why be ye wedded faster to your habits then a man is to his wife? For a man may leaue his wife for a yere or two as manie men done: and if you leaue your habit a quarter of a yere, ye should be holden apostatas.

If the habit make the frier religious as his habit weareth, so doth his religion.

4 Maketh your habit you men of religion or no? If it doo, then euer as it weareth, your religion weareth, and after that your hat it is better, your religion is better, and when yee haue liggen it before, then lig ye your religion beside you, and bin as effectas: why bie ye you so precious clothes? sith no man seketh such but for vainegloria, as S. Gregorie saith.

Judas for thieuerie put in the purse, but the priest and frier for foure pence selleth Christ.

What betokeneth your great hod, your scaplerie, your knotted girdle, and your wide cope?

5 Why vse ye all one colour, more then other christian men doo? What betokeneth that ye been clothed all in one manner clothing?

Holinesse of all hypocrits consisteth in clothing and outward appearance.

If ye say, it betokeneth loue and charitie, certes then yee be oft hypocrits, when any of you hateth another, and in that that ye weell be said holy by your clothing.

Why may not a freer weare clothing of another sect of freers sith holinesse standeth not in the clothes?

All friers found liers.

6 Why hold ye silence in one house more then another, sith men ought ouer all to speake the good and leaue the euill?

Why eat you flesh in one house more then in another, if your rule's your order be perfect, and the patron that made it?

7 Why get ye your dispensations to haue it more easie? Certes, either it seemeth that ye be imperfect, or be that made it so hard, that ye may not hold it. And after, if ye hold not the rule of your patrons, ye be not then her freers, and so ye lie vpon your selues.

8 Why



Friers be dead men, and quick beggers.

8 Why make you as dede men when ye be professed, and yet ye be not dede, but more quick beggers then ye were before? and it seemeth euill a dead man to go about and beg.

9 Why will ye not suffer your noinses heare your councels in your chapter house ere that they haue bin professed, if your councels bin true and after Gods law?

Graues best dead men and not sturrily boules.

10 Why make ye you so clothy boules to diuel in? sith Christ did not so, and dede men should haue but graues, as falleth it to dede men, and yet ye haue more courts then many lords of England: for ye nolo worden through the realme, yech night willing in your owne courts, and so mow but few right lordes doe.

11 Why heire you to ferme your limitors, giuing therfore eth yere a certen rent, and will not suffer one in anothers limitation, right as ye were your selues lords of countries?

Friers not the kings liege men.

Why be ye not vnder your bishops visitations, and liege men to our king?

Friers needye no more prayers.

Why are ye no letters of brotherheds of other mens prayers, as ye desire that other men should are letters of you?

If your letters be good, why grant ye them not generallie to all manner of men for the more charitie?

Friers greater and better then God.

12 Why ye make any man more perfect brother for your prayers then God hath by our beleeue by our baptisme and his owne grant? if ye mow, certes then ye be aboue God.

Why make ye men beleeue that your golden trentall song of you, to take therfore ten thillings, or at least fiue thillings, wold bring soules out of hell, or out of purgatorie? if this bee soth, certes ye might bring all soules out of paine, and that wold ye nought, and then ye be out of charitie.

Vncharitable friers.

13 Why make ye men beleeue that he that is buried in your habit shall neuer come in hell, and ye weet not of your selfe whether ye shall to hell or no? and if this were sooth, ye should sell your high houses to make many habits for to saue many mens soules.

Friers stealers of mens children.

14 Why steale ye mens children for to make hem of your sect, sith that of theft is against Gods hests, and sith your sect is not perfect? ye know not whether the rule that ye bind him to, be best for him or worst.

15 Why vnderwrene ye not your brethren for their trespasse after the lawe of the gospell, sith that vnderwrening is the best that may be? but ye put them in prison oft when they doe after Gods law, and by S. Augustines rule, Many doe amisse and would not amend him, ye should put him from you.

Christ and his rules were more gainesaid then the ministering of the sacraments.

16 Why counet you christ and burying of other mens parishens, and none other sacrament that falleth to christian folke?

Why busse ye not to heare to christ of poore folke as well as of rich lords and ladies, sith they mow haue more plentie of christ fathers then yone folke mow?

Poore men haue no soules, saith no fellow frier.

Why say ye not the gospell in houses of bedred men, as ye doe in rich men's that mow go to church and heare the gospell?

Why counet you not to burie poore folke among you? sith ih it they but most holy (as ye sain that ye bin so) your portertie.)

These be they that will not enter themselues, nor suffer other men that would.

17 Why will ye not bee at hir diriges as ye haue bin at rich mens? sith God praiseth him more then he doth other men.

What is thy prayer worth? sith thou wilt take ther for, for all chapmen ye need be most wise for dread of simonie.

What caule hast thou that thou houldest? sith it is the best loze and also our beleeue.

The frier guileth by *In principio*, and yet lieth the gospell.

Why be ye euill apaid that secular priests should preach the gospell? sith God himselfe hath bodden hem.

18 Why hate ye the gospell to bee preached, sith ye bee so much hold thereto? for ye win more by peere with *In Principio*, then with all the rules that euer your patrons made, and in this minstrels bin better then ye, for they contrarien not to the mirths that they maken, but ye contraien the gospell both in word and deed.

Judas for thieuerie put in the purse, but the priest and frier selleth Christ.

19 Freer, when thou receiuest a penne for to say a masse, whether selleth thou Gods bodie for that pennie, or thy prayer, or elis thy trauell? if thou saiest thou wolt not trauell for to say the masse, but for the penne, that certes if this be sooth, then thou lanell to little meed for thy soule: and if thou sellest Gods bodie, other thy praier, then it is very simony, and art become a chapman worse then Judas that sold it for thirtie pence.

20 Why wiltest thou hir names in thy tables that yeueth the monie: sith God wot weth all thing: for it seemeth by thy writing that God would not reward him, but thou wiltest in thy tables, God would els forgetten it.

The frier wilfully breaketh God his garnement.

Why bearest thou God in hand and slanderest him that he begged for his meat: sith he was Lord ouer all, for then had he bin bwise to haue begged, and haue no ned thereto.

Freer after what law rulest thou thee? where findest thou in Gods law that thou houldest thus beg?

21 What maner men nedeth for to beg?

For whom oweth such men to beg?

Why beggest thou so for thy brethren?

If thou saiest, for they haue ned, then thou doest it for the more perfection, or elis for the least, or elis for the meane. If it be the most perfection of all, then should all thy brethren doe so, and then no man nedeed to beg but for himselfe, for so should no man beg but him needed. And if it be the least perfection, why louest thou then other men more then thy selfe? For so thou art not well in charitie, sith thou shouldst seeke the more perfection after thy power, liuing thy selfe most after God. And thus leaping that imperfection thou shouldest not to beg for them. And if it is a good meane thus to beg as thou doest, then should no man doe so, but they bin in this good mean, and per such a mean granted to you may never be greunded on Gods law, for then both lerid and leand that bin in meane degree of this world should go about and beg as ye do. And if all should do so, certes well nigh all the world should go about and beg as ye done, and so should there be ten beggers against one ye ner.

It is better to labour with grace, then to loiter and beg, wicked friers.

Why procurest thou men to yeue thee their almes, and saiest it is so needfull, and thou wilt not thy selfe win thee that need?

22 Why wilt not thou beg for poore bedred men that bin poorer then any of your sect, that liggen and mow not go about to helpe himselfe, sith we be all brethren in God, and that brotherhed paseth any other that ye or any man could make, if there most need were, there were most perfection, either else ye hold them not your pure brethren, but worse, but then ye be vnperfect in your begging?

Why make ye so many maisters among you? sith it is against the teaching of Christ and his apostles?

23 Whose been all your rich courts that ye han, if all your rich iewels? sith ye seine that ye han nought nie in proper nie in common. If ye laine they beene the popes, why gether ye them of poore men and lordes so much out of the kings hand to make your pope rich? And sith ye saine that it is great perfection to haue nought in proper nie in common, why be ye so fast about to make the pope that is your father rich, and put on him imperfection? sithen ye saine that your goods been all his, and he should by reason be the most perfect man, it seemeth openlich that ye breene cursed children so to slander your father and make him imperfect. And if ye saine that the goods be yours, then be ye sicerlie your owne rule, and if it be not sicerlie your rule, then might ye haue both plough, cart, and labor as other good men done, and not so to beg by lose gnerie, and idle as ye done. If ye say that it is more perfection to beg then to trauell or to worch with your hand, why preach ye not openly, and teach all men to doe so? sith it is the best and most perfect life to the helpe of their soules, as ye make children to beg that might haue been rich heires.

Friers beg from all states to make the pope rich.

If it be imperfection to be rich, why doe the friers better to make the pope vnperfect?

Why make ye not your feasts to poore men and yeueth him pelts, as ye done to the rich? sith poore men han more need then the rich.

Why betokeneth that ye go twaine and twaine together? if ye be out of charitie, ye accord not in soule.

Why beg yee and take salaries therto more then other priests? sith he that most taketh, most charge hath.

If Francis order be contrarie to Christ his testament, then is Francis accused.

24 Why hold ye not S. Francis rule and his testament? sith Francis saith, that God shewed him this liuing and this rule: and certes if it were Gods will the pope might not for do it; or elis Francis was a lier that said on this wise. And but this testament that he made, accord with Gods will, or elis erred: he is a lier that leere out of charitie: and as the law saith, he is accused that letteth the rightfull iudge will of a dead man. And this testament is the last will of Francis that is a dead man; it seemeth therefore that all his freers been cursed.

He that is more holy in hand then in heart, is false to God.

25 Why will ye not touch no coined money with the croffe, ne with the kings head, as ye done other iewels both of gold and siluer? Certes if ye despise the croffe or the kings head, then ye be worthy to be despised of God and the king: and sith ye will receiue monie in your hearts, and not with your hands, and it seemeth that ye hold more holinesse in your hands then in your hearts, and then ye false to God.

A frier to exempt himselfe from the lawes of his prince is guiltie of treason.

26 Why haue ye exempt you from our kings lawes, and bissting of our bishops more then other christen men that liuen in this realme, if ye be not guiltie of traitorie to our realme, or trespassers to our bishops? But ye will haue the kings lawes for the trespasse do to you, and ye will haue power of other bishops more then other priests, and also haue leaue to palon your brethren as lords in your courts more then other folkes han that been the kings leege men.

Friers are forbidden to be theeues.

27 Why shall some sect of your freers pap ch a yere a certaine to her general prouincial or minister, or elis to her soueraigne? but if he scale a certaine number of children (as some men saine) and certaine if this been soth, then ye be constrained vpon certaine paine to do theft against Gods commandement, Non furtum facies.

Works of supererogation.

28 Why be ye so hardie to grant by letters of fraternity to men and women, that they shall haue part and merit of all your good deeds, if ye weeten neuer whether God be apaid with your deeds because of your sinne? Also ye witten neuer whether that man or woman be in state to be saued or damned, then shall he haue no merit in heauin for his owne deeds ne for none other mans. And all were it so, that he should haue part of your good deeds: yet should he haue no more then God would giue him after that he were worthie, and so much shall eech man haue of Gods yeft without your limitation. But if ye will say that ye been Gods fellowes, and that he may not doe without your assent, then be ye blasphemers to God.

God is the limiter of merit and reward, and not the frier.

29 What betokeneth that ye haue ordaines, that when such one

Friers will not pray, but for their gain. Or of their scatterpence.

one as ye haue made your brother or sister, and hath a letter of your seale, that letter ought be brought in your holy chapter, and there be read, or else ye will not pray for him. And but ye will pray especially for al other that were not made your brethren or sisteren, then were ye not in right charite, for that ought to be common, and namely in ghostly things.

30 Frere, what charitie is this, to ouercharge the people by mightie begging vnder colour of preaching or praying, or masses singing? lith holy writ biddeth not thus, but euen the contrarie: for all such ghostlie deeds should be done freely, as God teacheth them freely?

Friers do make ydolatrie.

31 Frere, what charitie is this, to beguile children or they commen to discretion, and bind hem to your orders that bin not grounded in Godslaw against hir friends will? sithen by this follie bin many apostat as both in will and deed, and many bin apostat as in hir will during al hir life, that would gladly be discharged if they will how, and so many bin apostates that shulden in other states haue bin true men.

The number of friers are sixty, fifty thousand and as many as ben fingers on one hand.

32 Frere, what charitie is this, to make so many freres in euery countrie to the charge of the people? sixty persons and vi cares alone, ye secular priests alone, ye monks and canons alone, with bishops aboue them, were inough to the church to doe the priests office. And to adde more then inough is a foule error, and great charge to the people, and this openly against Gods will that ordained all things to be done in weight, number and measure. And Christ himself was apaid with twelue apostles and a few disciples, to preach and do priests office to all the whole world, then was it better do then is now at this time by a thousand dele. And right so as foure fingers saith a thombe in a mans hand helpeth a man to wosh, and double number of fingers in one hand should let him more, and so the more number that there were passing the measure of Gods ordinance, the more were a man letted to wosh: right so (as it semeth) it is of these new orders that bin added to the church without ground of holie writ and Gods ordinance.

Ser, so saith the friar followeth Christ in his pouerte.

33 Frere, what charitie is this, to the people to lie, and say that ye follow Christ in pouerte more then other men done? and yet in curious and costlie housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and liking feeding, and in treasure and iewels, and rich ornaments, feers pallen lodes and other rich worldlie men, and themself they bring hir cause about (be it neuer so costly) though Gods law be put abacke.

Friers are the letters of preaching the gospell.

34 Frere, what charity is this, to gather vp the boks of holy writ, and put hem in treasonie, and so empoison them from secular priests and curats, and by this cautell let hem to preach the gospell fraelie to the people without wouldlie meed, and also to defame good priests of heresie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods law by the holy gospell to the christian people?

What holinesse is in a friers coat.

35 Frere, what charitie is this, to faine so much holinesse in your habite clothing (that ye clepe your habit) that many blind soles desiren to be therein more then in another? and also that a frere that leaueth his habit late founder of men, may not be assoiled till he take againe his apostats as ye sain, and curssed of God and man both? The frere beleeueth truth, and patience, chastitie, meknesse and sobrietie, yet for the more part of his life hee may soone be assoiled of his pine, and if he bring home to his house much good by the yere (be it neuer so filthie begged and pilled of the poor and needie people in countries about) hee shall beyold a noble frere. O Lord whether this be charitie?

The frere so much desire to haue rich men buried in their friteries.

36 Frere, what charitie is this, to preise vpon a rich man, & to intice him to be buried among you from his parish church, and to such rich men giue letters of fraternitie confirmed by your generall seale, and thereby to beare him in hand that hee shall haue part of all your masses, matens, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good deeds done by your brethren of your order (both whiles hee liueth, and after that he is dead) and yet ye witten neuer whether your deeds be acceptable to God, ne whether that man that hath that letter be able by gods liuing to receiue any part of your deeds, and yet a poore man (that ye write well of: supposen incerten to haue no good of ye ne queen to such letters, though he be a better man to God then such a rich man: neuertheleſſe, this poore man doth not reech thereof. For as men supposen, such letters and many other that freers beholten to men, be full false deceits of freers, out of all reason, and Gods law and christian mens faith.

Friers beheld are false be times.

37 Frere, what charitie is this, to be confessors of lords and ladies, and to other mightie men, and not aneed hem in hir living: but rather as it semeth, to be the better to pill hir poore tenants and to liue in lecherie, and there to dwell in your office of confessor for winning of worldly goods, and to be bold great by colour of such ghostlie offices? this semeth rather pride of freers, then charitie of God.

Friers desire to be lords and ladies confessors.

38 Frere, what charitie is this, to sain that who so liueth after your order, liueth more perfectly, and nert followeth the state of apostles in poueny and penance, and yet the wisest and greatest clerks of you werld or send, or procure to the court of Rome to be made cardinals or bishops of the poores chaplens, and to be assoiled of the pow of poueric and obedience to your ministers, in the which (as ye sain) standeth most perfection and merit of your orders, and thus ye farren as Pharisees that sain

Friers and ydolatrers fey eue thing and doe another.

one and doe another to the contrarie.

Why name ye more the patron of your order in your Confessor when ye begin masse, then other saints, apostles, or martyrs, that holy church hold more glorious then hem, and clepe hem your patrons and your auowries?

Dilemma.

Frere, whether was S. Francis in making of his rule that he set three order in, a foule and a liar, or else wise and true? If ye sain that he was not a foole, but wise; ne a liar but true: why shew you contrarie by your doing, when by your suggestion to the pope ye said; that your rule that Francis made was so hard, that ye mow not like to hold it without declaration and dispensation of the pope, and so by your deed? Ne let your patron a foole that made a rule so hard that no man may well keepe, and eke your deed proueth him a liar, where he saith in his rule, that he toke and learned it of the holy ghost. For how might ye for shame pray the pope to mow that the holy ghost hit, as when ye prayed him to dispence with the hardnesse of your order?

Wisheth to be best order of freers.

Frere, which of the foure orders of friers is best? to a man that knoweth not which is the best, but would faine enter into the best, and none other? If thou saiest that thine is the best, then saiest thou that none of the other is as good as thine, & in this each frere in the three other orders will say that thou liest, for in the selfe manner ech other frere will say that his order is best. And thus to ech of the foure orders bin the other three contrarie in this point: in the which I may say soth, that is one alone, for there may but one be the best of foure. So followeth it that if each of these orders answered to this question as thou doest, three were false, and but one true, and yet no man should wite who that were. And thus if seemeth, that the most part of freers bin or should be liars in this point, and they should answer thereto. If you say that another order of the freers is better then thine, or as good; why take ye not rather thereto as to the better, when thou mightst haue chose at the beginning? And eke why should st thou be an apostat to leaue thine order and take thee to that is better, and so why goest thou not from thine order into that?

Friers neuer agree one with another.

Frere, is there any perfecter rule of religion then Christ Gods sonne gaue in his gospell to his brethren? Or then that religion that S. James in his epistle maketh mention of? If you say yes, then puttest thou on Christ (that is the wisdome of God the father) vnknowing, vnpower, or euil will: for then he could not make his rule so good as another did his. And so he had be vnknowing, that he might not to make his rule so good as another man might, and so were he vnmighte, not God, as he would not make his rule so perfect as another did his, and so he had bin euil willed, namely to himselfe.

The frere thinketh his rule perfecter then Christs, because he taught the one and followeth the other.

For he might and could, & would haue made a rule perfect without default, and did not, bee was not Gods sonne almightie. For if any other rule be perfecter then Christs, then must Christs rule lacke of that perfection by as much as the other weren more perfecter, and so were default, and Christ had failed in making of his rule: but to put any default or failing in God is blasphemie. If thou say that Christs rule, and that religion which S. James maketh mention of, is perfectest, why holdest thou not thilke rule without more? And why clepest thou the rather of S. Francis or S. Dominicks rule or religion or order, then of Christs rule or Christs order?

Dilemma.

Freer, canst thou any default or asligne in Christs rule of the gospell (with the which he taught al men silerlie to be saued) if they kept it to her ending? If thou say it was too hard, then saist thou Christ lied; for he said of his rule: My yoke is soft, and my burthen light. If thou say Christs rule was to light, that may bee aligned for no default, for the better it may bee kept. If thou saist that there is no default in Christs rule of the gospell, sith Christ himselfe saith it is light and easie: what need was it to patrons of freers to ad more thereto and so to make an harder religion to saue freers, then was he religion of Christs apostles and his disciples helden and were saued by. But if they wouldest that her freers sated aboue the apostles in heauen for the harder religion that they kepent here, so would they sitten in heauen aboue Christ himselfe, for their mo and strit obseruations, then so should they be better then Christ himselfe with mischance.

Friers would sit in heauen aboue the apostles.

So now forth and fraine your clerks, and ground ye vpon in Gods law, and gif I acke an answer, and then ye han assoiled me that I haue laid lasly in truth, I shall soile thee of thine orders, and saue thee to heauen.

Of frees him not or mow not excuse hem of these questions asked of hem, it semeth that they be horrible giltie against God, and hir euen christian; for which gilts and defaults it were worthie that the order that they call their order were for done. And it is wonder that men sustaine hem or suffer hir liue in such manor. For holy write biddeth that thou do well to thine, & giue not to the wicked, but for bed to giue hem bread, least they be made thereby mightier through you.

Otho the emperor set by and deposed against by the pope.

After these digressions now to returne to the course of our storie againe. As Henrie this king succeeded king John his father, to after Innocent the pope, came Honorius the third, then Gregorie the ninth, &c. And after Otho the emperor (whom the pope had once set vp, and after deposed againe) succeeded Frederike



Frederike the second, as is partly before touched. In the daies of these kings, popes and emperours, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germanie, betwixt pope Honosius, Gregorius and Frederike the emperor: the horrible tragedie whereof were enough to fill a whole booke by it selfe. But yet we meane (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these ecclesiastical matters, first beginning with this realme of England.

After that the kingdome of England had been subiected by king John (as hath been said) and made tributarie to the pope and the Romish church, it is incredible how the vnstanchable auarice and greedinesse of the Romans did oppresse and wring the commons and all estates and degrees of the realme, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domesticall charges within the realme, what for the pope, what for the legats, what for contributing to the holie land, what for relaxations and other subtill sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slauerie, captiuitie, and penurie, that whereas the king neither durst nor might remedie their exclamations by himselfe: yet notwithstanding by his aduice, Simon Montfort and the earle of Leicester, with other noble men (not forgetting what great grieuances and dissolutions the realme was brought into by the Romans) thought to worke some way how to bridle and restraine the insatiable rauening of these greedie wolues. Wherefore they deuised their letter, giuing strait commandement to the religious men, and to such as had their churches to farme, that henceforth they should not answere the Romans of such farmes and rents any more, but should pay the said farmes or rents vnto their owne proctors appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to bishops or chapters, and other ecclesiastical houses may appeare, in this forme and effect as followeth.

Cardinall Otho legat.

The pope requireth two prebendships in euery cathedrall church.

Note the cause why the pope is compelled to craue money of other countreis.

## *A complaint of the nobles of England against the* intollerable couetousnesse of the pope and *prelats of Rome.*

A complaint of the nobles of England against the couetousnesse of Rome.

TO such and such a bishop, and such a chapter; all the vniuersitie and companie of them, that had rather die then to be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their legats haue hitherto behaued themselues toward you and other ecclesiasticall persons of this realme of England, it is not vnknowne to your discretions, in disposing and giuing awaie the benefices of the realme after their owne lust, to the intollerable preiudice and grieuance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and doe properlie belong to you and other your fellow bishops (ecclesiasticall persons) they thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, that you should not bestow them vpon anie person of this realme, vntill in euerie diocesse and cathedrall church within the realme, fiue Romans (such as the pope shall name) bee prouided for, to the value of euerie man an hundred pounds by yeare. Besides these, many other grieuances the said Romanists do inflict and inferre, both to the laitie and nobles of the realme for the patronages and almes bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the sustentation of the poore of the realme, and also to the clergie and ecclesiasticall persons of the realme touching their liuings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists not contented with the premisses, doe also take from the clergie of this realme the benefices which they haue, to bestow them on men of their owne countrie, &c.

Wherefore, we considering the rigorous austeritie of these foresaid Romanists, which once comming in but as strangers hither, now take vpon them not only to iudge, but also to condemne vs, laying vpon vs importable burthens, whereunto they will not put to one of their owne fingers to moue: Laying therefore our heads togither vpon a generall and full aduice had among our selues concerning the same, wee haue thought good (although verie late) to withstand them, rather then to be subiect to their intollerable oppressions, and greater slauerie more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cause wee straitlie charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliuer you, the church, the king, and the kingdome from that miserable yoke of seruitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or giuen to the said Romans. Letting you to vnderstand for truth, that in case you shall (which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but also in your persons shall incurre the same perill and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselues.

*Thus fare ye well.*

Example teaching neuer to take part against them with forren power.

THus much I thought here to insert and notifie concerning this matter, for that not only the foule and auaricious greedinesse of the Romish church might the more euidentlie vnto all English men appeare: but that they may learne by this example how vnwoithie they be so to be serued and plagued with their owne rod, which before would take no part with their naturall king against forren power, of whom now they are scourged.

To make the storie more plaine: In the raigne of this Henrie the third (who succeeding (as is said) after king John his father raigned fiue and fiftie yeares) came diuers legats from Rome to England. First cardinall Otho sent from the pope with letters to the king, like as other letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money.

The king opening the letters, and perceiuing the contents; answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter which concerned all the clergie and commons of the whole realme. Not long after a councell was called at Westminster, where the letters being opened, the same was this: *Primus inprimis ab omnibus ecclesijs cathedralibus duas nobis prebendas exhiberi, vnam de pontone episcopi, & alteram de capitulo: & similiter de canonicis vbi diuersa sunt portiones abbatis & conuentus. & consuetudinis quantum pertinet ad vnum monachum, aquali facta distributione honorum suorum, & ab abbate tantundem.* That is; We require to be giuen vnto vs, first, of all cathedrall churches two prebends, one for the bishops part, the other for the chapter: and likewise of monasteries where be diuers portions, one for the abbat, another for the conent; of the conent so much as appertaineth to one monke, the portion of the goods being proportionally diuided; of the abbat likewise as much. The cause why he required these prebends was this: It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the church of Rome, to be noted of inflatible couetousnes, which as we know is the rot of all mischiefe, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be hanled, nor to proceed in the church of Rome without great gifts and expence of money. Whereof seeing the pouertie of the church is the cause, and why it is so slandered and euill spoken of: it is therfore conuenient that pon (as naturall children) should succor your mother. For vnlesse we should haue some of you and of other good men as your are, we should then lacke necessaries for our life, which were a great dishonor to our dignitie, &c.

A councell at London called.

When those petitions and causes of the legat were propounded in the foresaid assemblie at Westminster on the popes behalfe (the bishops and prelats of the realme being present) answere was made by the mouth of maister John Wexford on this wise: that the matter there propouned by the lord legat, in especiall concerned the king of England, but in generall it touched all the archbishops with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelats of the realme. Wherefore, seeing both the king by reason of his seignorie is absent, and the archbishop of Canturburie with diuers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so doe without preiudice of them which were lacking. And so the assemblie for that time brake vp.

Not long after the said Otho cardinall De carcere Tullianno, comming againe from Rome Cum auctentico plenaria potestate, inuited another councell at London, caused all prelats, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and other of the clergie to be warned vnto the same councell, to be had in the church of S. Paule at London about the feast of S. Martin. The pretence of which councell was for redresse of matters concerning benefices and religion; but the chiefe and principall was to hunt for money: for putting them in feare and in hope, some to lose, some to obtaine spirituall promotions at his hand, he thought gaine would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the meane time (as Parisiensis in vita Henrici tertij witneth) diuers pretious rewards were offered him in palfries, in rich plate and iewels, in costlie and sumptuous garments richly furred, in coine, in victuals, and such like things of value inel worthy of acceptation. Wherin one indeuoured to go beyond another in munificence (not considering by meanes of the seruilitie wherewith they were oppressed of those popish thawelings and shameleſſe shifters, that all was meere pillage and extortion.) In so much that only the bishop of Winchester (as the storie reporteth) hearing that he would winter at London, sent him fiftie fat oxen, an hundred coine of wine, & eight tun of chosen wine toward his house keeping. Likewise other bishops also for their part offered vnto the cardinals bor after their abilitie.

Greter rewards graunted to the cardinall.

The time of the councell drawing nigh, the cardinall commanded at the west end of Pauls church an high and solemne throne to be prepared, rising by with a glorious scaffold vpon mightie and substantiall stages strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned, came the said archbishops, bishops, abbats and other of the prelacie, both farre and nere throughout al England, wearied and vered with the winters iourney, bringing their letters procuratorie. Who being together assembled, the cardinall begunneth his sermon. But before we come to the sermon, there hapned a great discord betweene the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious cardinall; for the which the one appealed against the other. The cardinall to pacifie the strife betweene them both, (to that he would not deragat from either of them, brought forth a certaine bull of the pope: in the middest of which bull was pictured the figure of the crosse. On the right side of the crosse stod the image of S. Paul, and on the left side S. Peter: Lo (saith the cardinall,

Contention for sitting on the right hand of the cardinall.

(holding open the bull with the crosse) here you se S. Peter on the left hand of the crosse and S. Paul on the right side, and yet is there betweene these two no contention, for both are of equal glorie. And yet S. Peter for the preeminence of his apostleship and cathedrall dignitie, feareth most worthie to be placed on the right side. But yet because S. Paul beleeued on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the crosse: For blessed be they (saith Christ) which beleeue and see not, &c. And from that time forth the archbishop of Canturburie moued the right hands, and the archbishop of Yorke, the left. Wherein yet this cardinall is more to be commended then the other cardinall Hugo mentioned a little before, which in the like contention betweene these archbishops ran his way.

Thus the controuersie ceased and composed betweene these two, Otho the cardinall sitting aloft betweene these two archbishops, beginneth his sermon, taking this theme of the prophet; In medio sedis & in circuitu eius quatuor animalia plena oculis ante & retro, &c. that is: In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were foure beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this theme the cardinall proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. Hee compared them about him to the foure beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to haue eyes both before and behind (that is) that they must be prouident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spirituall matters, continuing and ioyning twixte things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his clerkely sermon. That done, he giueth forth certaine statutes for ordering of churches, as for the deuotion of temples, for seuen sacraments, for giuing of orders, for farming of benefices, collations and resignations of benefices and vicaradges, priests apparell, and single life, for casting of sloth in religious houses, for archdeacons, bishops, prodors, and such other like matters. But the chiefest intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be vigilant, prouident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the popes pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other trauels besides. In so much that the king hearing the displeasures of his commons for the doings of the legat, willed him to repaire home to Rome againe; but yet could not be rid of him for 40 he receiuing new commandements from the pope, applied his harnesse still, gleaning and raking what soeuer he might scrape, hunting and sending to bishops and archdeacons in this forme and tenor.

A letter of the cardinall to bishops and archdeacons. Censure of the church will apply.

*OTto miseratione diuina, &c. Discreto viro N. episcopo vel N. archidiacono salutem. Cum necesse habeamus de mandato summi pontificis morem tenere in Anglia longiorem, nec possimus propriis stipendijs militare, discretionem vestram, qui familiares nostros ad agenda nostra & ecclesiæ Romanæ negotia, vt procuratores vobis debitas in episcopatu, vel archidiaconatu vestro colligi faciatis nostro nomine diligenter, ea quam citius poteritis, vobis transmittatis, rogamus attentius & hortamur per censuram ecclesiasticam compescendo. Prouiso, quod qualibet procuratio summam 4. marcarum aliquatenus non excedat, & vbi vna ecclesia non sufficiat ad procurationem huiusmodi subtrahendam, duæ pariter vel plures soluant. Datum Lond. 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. Gregor. papæ 9.*

Fiue markes to be paid to the pope at euerie prouincion.

Note the craftie practise of Romish prelats to pull to pay money.

And moreouer, note against the wicked and cursed trains of these Romish ratchets, who to picke simple mens purses, first send out their friers and preachers to preach vp in all places and countries where to go fight against the Turkes: whom when they haue once bound with a vow, and signed them with the crosse, then send they their bulls to release them both of their labour, and their vow for money, as by their owne stile of writing is here to be seene, thus proceeding.

*Note the stile of Rome.*

*N. episcopus dilectis in Christo filijs omnibus archidiaconis per diœcesim suam constitutis salutem. Literas domini legati suscepimus in hæc verba: Otto miseratione diuina, &c. Cum sicut nobiliter exhibere nouuelli cruce signati regni Angliæ, quibus inhabitandi pugnandum, ad sedem apostolicam accedant, vt ibidem à voto eis mandatis, vt eos non solum absoluere, verum & ad redimenda vota sua compellere debeamus, volentes eorum parcere laboribus & expensis, fraternitatem vestram qua fungimur, monemus, quatenus pariem predictam a summo pontifice nobis concessam faciatis in nostris diœcesibus sine mora qualibet publicari, vt prefati cruce signati ad nos accedere valeant, beneficium super his nuncijs formam nobis tradatum acceptare. Datum Londini 15. Kal. Mar. Pont. D. N. papæ Gregor. 9.*

*Fredericke the emperour married to king Johns daughter.*

*The fift part of cuerie spirituall mans liuing giuen to the pope.*

The cause why the pope was so greedie and nedie of money, was this: because he had mortall hatred, and waged continuall battell the same time against the good emperour Frederike the second, who had to wife king Johns daughter, and sister to king Henrie the third, whose name was Isabell. And therefore because the popes war could not be sustained without charges, that made the pope the more importunat to take vp money in all places, but specially in England. In so much that money in all places, but specially in England. In so much that money in all places, but specially in England. And not only that, but also the said pope Gregorie (consenting with the citizens of Rome) so agreed with them, that if they would ioyne with him in vanquishing the foresaid Frederike, he would (and so did) grant vnto them, that all the benefices in England, which were or should be vacant (namely pertaining to religious houses) should be bestowed at their owne will and commandement to their children and kinsfolkes. Whereupon it followeth in the forenamed historie, Vnde infra paucos dies misit D. papa sacra præcepta sua domino Cant. archiep. Elienſi & Lincol. & Salisb. episcopis, vt tercentis Romanis, in primis beneficijs vacantibus prouideri, scientes se suspensos à beneficiorum collatione donec ita competenter prouiderentur: that is: The pope sent in commandement to the archbishop of Canturburie and foure other bishops, that prouision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance: so that the foresaid archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the meane time from all collation or gift of benefices, vntill these foresaid three hundred were prouided for. Whereupon the archbishop the same time seeing the vnreasonable oppression of the church of England, left the realme and went into France.

*Three hundred Romans to be placed in the best benefices of England.*

Againe, marke another as much or more easie sleight of the pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubeus the same time with a new deuice, which was this: not to worke anie thing openly, but priuilie to go betwixt bishop and bishop, abbat and abbat, &c: telling in their eares, such a bishop, such an abbat hath giuen so much and so much vnto the popes holinesse, trusting that you also will not be behind for your part, &c. By the meanes hereof it is so incredible to thinke what a masse of money was made out of the realme vnto the pope.

*Petrus Rubeus the popes agent.*

*A Romish sleight of the pope to get English money.*

At length the foresaid bishops, abbats, and archdeacons seeling their owne smart, came to the king (whose father before they did resist) with their humble sute lamentable complaining of the vnmeasurable exactions of the pope, and especially against Petrus Rubeus and his fellow Otto the legat, desiring the king, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselues alone, but the whole church, and seeing the saluation of churches was knowen better to their archdeacons then to themselues, therefore they desired a generall calling and talke to be had in the matter. In the octaues of S. John the baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talke, at which day and place the prelats of England conuenting together, durst not giue anie direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuat certaine exceptions against the same.

*The Babylonicall rapt minite and slauerie of England vnder the pope.*

*Exceptions alleaged for not contributing to the pope.*

1 First they say, that for so much as the contribution is demanded to warr against him, who was ioyned in matrimonie with their prince, they were not bound to do so.

2 Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of christian blood: for so the forme of the bill pretended to fight against the emperour.

3 Thirdly because it was against the liberty of the church: for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be excommunicat.

4 Fourthly, because that when of late they gaue the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the pope no more hereafter.

5 Item, because they had contributed before, if they should now contribute againe, it were to be feared lest an action like done should grow into a custome, as is in the law, Legemo, &c.

6 Item, for so much as they shall haue causes continually to sende to Rome through the emperours land: it were to be feared lest the said emperour by the way would worke their annoiance.

7 Item, because the king hath many enemies abroad, and for his warrs hath need of much money at home, it is not conuenient that the goods of the realme should be alienated out of the realme.

8 Item, because that could not be done without preiudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree vnto the same.

9 Lastly, because they heare say that the generall state of the church is in danger, for the which they vnderstand there shall be shortly a generall councell, wherein such matters shall be determined: and therefore if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legat and his fellowes hearing these allegations, seeing their owne confusion, were the lesse importunat.

Not long after this followed a generall councell at Lions, called by pope Innocentius the fourth, in the which councell the English nation did exhibit certaine articles of their grieuances not vnworthie to be knowne. Grauatur regnum Angliæ, eo quòd D. papa non est contentus subsidio illo, quod vocatur denarius beati Petri, &c.

*Articles exhibited in the councell of Lugdune by the prelates of England.*

1 The kingdome of England is grieued that the pope hauing not contented with his Peter pence, requireth and exacteth from the clergie great exactions (and more is like) without the consent both of the king and against the customes of the realme.

2 Item, the church and kingdome of England is grieued, that the patrons of the same cannot present as they were wont into their churches for the popes letters: but the churches are giuen to Romans, which know neither the realme nor the tongue therof, both to the great perill of soules and robbing away

*The first grieuance.*

*The second.*



away the money out of the realme.

*The third.*

3 Item, it is grieued, that the pope promising by the tenor of his letters, that in requiring of pensions and prouisions in the realme of England, he would require but only twelue benefices, now contrarie to the tenor thereof many more benefices and prouisions are bestowed away by him.

*The fourth.*

4 Item, the realme is grieued and complained, that in the benefices in England, one Italian succeedeth another, the Englishmen being not only excluded, but also compelled (for the determining of their matters) to seeke to Rome, contrarie both to the customes of the realme, and also to the priuiledges granted by the popes predecessors to the king and kingdome of England.

*The fift. He meaneth perchance Otho of matter Pattenne.*

5 The fift grieuance is for the oft recourse of that infamous legat, by whom both faith and fidelitie, the ancient customes of the realme, the authoritie of old grants, statutes, lawes and priuiledges, are inbecilled and abragat, whereby an infinit number in England be grieuously afflicted & oppressed.

*The sixt.*

6 The said realme is also grieued in generall tallages, collections, and assises, made without the kings consent, the appellation and contradiction of the kings prodors to the contrarie notwithstanding.

*The seuenth.*

7 Seuenthly, the foresaid realme complaineth and is grieued, that in the benefices giuen to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor relefe of the poor, nor hospitalitie, nor any preaching of Gods word, nor care of mens soules, nor seruice in the church, nor yet the walls of the churches be kept vp and maintained, as the manner and custome of the same realme requireth. Diuer and aboue these foresaid grieuances, there came moreouer from the pope other freely letters, charging and commanding the prelats of England to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole yeare, some ten armed souldiers, some fiue, some fiftene, to be readie at the popes commandement there where he should appoint.

After these and other grieuances and enormities of Rome, the states of England consulting together, direct their letters to the pope for reformation thereof. First the abbats and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, after the nobles and barons, last of all the king himselfe. But as the prouerbe is, Venter non habet aures, so the popes purse had no eares to heare. And as our common saying goeth: As good neuer a whit as neuer the better: so went it with the pope, who not long after the same sent foo new tallages and oratious to be collected. Which thing when it came to the kings eare, he being moued and disturbed wonderfully withall, writeth in this wise to the bishops, seuerally to euery one in his diocesse.

*The letter of king Henrie the third to the bishops.*

*King Henrie the third commandeth no tax nor tallage to be sent to the pope.*

*HEnricus tertius Dei gratia, &c. Venerabili in Christo, N. episcopo salutem. Licet aliàs vobis, &c.* In English thus.

Henrie the third by the grace of God, to the reuerend in Christ bishop of N. Whereas we haue heretofore written vnto you, once, twice, thrice, as wel by our priuie seales, as alsoby our letters patents, that you should not exact or collect for the popes behalfe, any tallage or other helpe of our subiects, either of the clergie, or of the laitie, for that no such tallage nor helpe either can or is vsed to be exacted in our realme without the great preiudice of our princely dignitie, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustaine: yet you contemning and vilipending our commandement, and contrarie to the prouision made in our last councell at London (granted and agreed vpon by our prelats, earles and barons) haue that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your taxes and tallages. Whereupon we doe greatly maruell and are amoued (especially seeing you are not ashamed to doe contrarie vnto your owne decrees) whereas you and other prelats in the said councell in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, vntill the returne of our and your ambassadors from the court of Rome, sent thither purposely of vs, and in the name of the whole realme for the same, for to prouide redresse against these oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you doe not proceed any more in collecting any exacting, such tallages or helpes, as you will inioy our fauor & such possessions of yours as within this our kingdome you haue and hold. And if you haue alreadie procured or gathered anie such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our realme, but cause it to be kept in safe custodie till the returne of the said ambassadors, vnder the paine of our displeasure in doing of the contrarie: and also of prouoking vs to extend our hand vpon your possessions, further then you will think or beleeue. Moreouer, willing and charging you that you participat and make common this our inhibition, with your archdeacons and officials, which we here haue set forth for the liberties of the clergie and of the people, as knoweth God, &c.

*The popes saying against king Henrie.*

**At length the ambassadors which were at Rome came home about the latter end of December, bringing word that the pope hearing what was done in the councell of Winchester and of the king, was greatlie displeased with him and the realme, saying: Rex Anglorum qui iam recalcitrat & frederisat suum habet consilium, ego verò & meum habeo, quod & fequar, &c. Whereupon when the ambassadors began to speake in the kings behalfe, from that time they were halfe counted for schismatikes, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome.**

*King Henrie restraineth the popes taxes.*

The king hearing this, was marueilously incensed therewith, commanding by generall proclamation through all his realme, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidie of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the popes eare, vpon a cruell rage he directed his letters to the prelats of England, charging that vnder paine of suspence or interdiction, they should prouide the same summe of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being giuen to the bishop of Worcester to be executor of the said curie. The king that lately intended to stand to the liberties of the church, now for feare of the pope and partly for perswasions of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelats, durst not stand to it, but gaue ouer. Moreouer, the grædie guile of the Romish auarice waxed so vnmeasurable, that at length the pope thaued not vpon the censure of his curse, to aske the third part of the church goods, and the yearely rent of all vacant benefices. The chiefe doers and legats in England, were Otho, Stephanus capellanus, Petrus Rubeus nuncius, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus, Iohannes Anglicus episcopus Sabinensis. Of whom to speake further (for that I haue matter much more to write) for this present time I thinke best to surceasse, lest in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps not only moleste good eares, but also infect the aire. Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well ouerpasse.

*The king restrained by feare to giue ouer to the pope.*

*The pope asketh the third part of the church goods.*

This Otho, as he left no place vnsought, where any aduantage might be got: so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where lying in the house of Osney, he was received with great honour, the scholars presenting him honourable with such like duties and rewards as they had, thinking to gratifie the cardinall after the best maner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reuerently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtesie againe of him be intertained. As they came to the gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voice asketh what they would haue. They said they came to se the lord legat. But Cerberus the porter holding the doze halfe open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The scholars seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in: whom when the Romans which were within would haue repelled with their fists, and such staues as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the eares together, with much hooting and howing and many blowes on both sides. In the meane time while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, there chanced a poore scholar (an Irishman) to stand at the gate waiting for his mates. Whom when the master saw at the gate, taking hot scalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the scholars a Welchman, that came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth driue an arrow, and thereth this Sabuzardan (that maister of cookes) cleane thorow the bodie, and slayeth him out of hand. The cooke falling dead, there wag a mightie broile and a great clamour throughout all the house. The cardinall hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman runneth as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locketh the doores fast vnto him, where he remained till midnight. The scholars in the meane while not yet all pacified sought all corners about for the legat, exclaiming and crying out: Where is that traitor, that simoniake, that piller and poller of our liuings, that proller and extortioner of our money, which peruerteth our king, and subuerteth his kingdome, inriching himselfe with our spoiles? &c. All this heard the cardinall, and held his peace. When the night approching had broken vp the field, the cardinall comming out of his seat, and taking his horse (in silence of the night) was priuily conueyed ouer the riuer toward the king, conueying himselfe away as fast as he could. After the king heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliuer the Romans which were there shut vp for feare of scholars. Then was maister Otho a lawyer, with thirtie other scholars apprehended, and caried to Wallingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London, where at length (through much intreatie of the bishops) being brought barefoot to the legats bowe, had their pardon, and the Vniuersitie released of interdition. And thus much concerning the popes legat in England.

*A storie of cardinall Otho at Oxford.*

*The cardinall runneth away.*

*Thirtie scholars taken and had to prison.*

Thus partly you haue heard, and do vnderstand the insufferable thraldome and captiuitie of this realme of England and the clergie of the same, who before refused to take part with king Iohn their naturall prince, against the forren power of the pope: and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same pope, whose insatiable extortion and rapacitie did so exceed in pilling and polling of this realme long after this, that neither the king now could helpe them, neither could the pope with any reasonable measure be content. In so much (as writers record) in the daies of Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie, An. 1360. the pope by his prodors gat from the clergie in lesse then one yeare, more then fortie thousand florens, of the like summe contribution: besides his other annates and common reuenues out of benefices, prebendaries, first fruits, tributes, Peter pence, collations, reseruations, relaxations, and such merchandize, &c.

*Threescore thousand florens contributed to the pope in one yeare of the clergie.*

Mention was made a little before of Albingenses keeping about the citie of Tholouse. These Albingenses because they began to smell the pope and to controll the inordinat proceedings and discipline of the see of Rome, the pope therefore procured them as a people heretical, erected and directed vp recounting them as a people heretical, erected and directed vp against them this present time and yeare. Anno 1220. Ludouike the yong French king through the instance of Philip his father, to lay siege against the said citie of Tholouse, to expugne and ertinguish these Albingenses his enemies. Whereupon Ludouike according to his fathers commandement) treated a pursuit fant and a mightie armie to compasse about and beset the forenamed citie, and so did. Here were the men of Tholouse in great danger. Verse how the mightie protection of God fighteth for his people. *Ex Matth. Paris-fen. & in vita Henrici 3.*

Ludouike the French king.

Ludouike fighteth against all Albingenses.

Ludouike be discomfited by Tholouse.

The hand of God fighting for his people.

Ludouike the generall of the armie slaine.

The siege against Albingenses broke vp.

The repugnant, or fort of a certaine strong castle of Damiata in Egypt by the christians.

Damiata taken by the christians.

The citie of S. Elizabeth. Elizabeth daughter of the king of Hungarie.

S. Elizabeth persuadeth her husband to go and fight for the holy land.

The mother of S. Elizabeth accused of adulterie.

The sentence of a double meaning.

The queene saued by a sanctuarie, like vnto queene Elizabeth.

Elizabeth canonized a saint in Almaine.

Anno 1221

*Fratres Predicatores primo venerunt in Angliam.*

The preaching friers first entered into England.

The order of the Grey friers first confirmed.

*Iohannes de S. Egidio. Alexander de Hales.*

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the yeares and life of this king Henrie. The next peare following, which was An. 1221, the king went to Oxford, where he had summoned to be with William earle de Albemarla, who had taken the castle of Lidham: but at last for his grob seruice he had done in the realme before, was released of the king with all his men, by the intercession of Walter archbishop of Yorke, and of Pandulph the legat. About which present peare entred first the frier Minorits, or Grap friers into England, and had their first house at Canterburie, whose first patron was Francisc⁹, which died Anno 1227, and his order was confirmed by pope Honorius the third, An. 1224.

About the first comming of these Dominike and Grap friers Franciscan into the realme (as is in Nicol. Triuet testified) many Englishmen the same time entred into their orders. Among whom was Iohannes de sancto Egidio, a man famous for expert in the science of physicke and astronomie, and Alexander de Hales, both Englishmen and great diuines. This Iohannes making his sermon Ad clerum, in the house of the Dominike friers, reported his auditorie with great persuasions vnto wilfull pouertie. And to confirme his words the more by his owne example, in the midst of his sermon he came downe from the pulpit and put on his friers habit: and so returning into the pulpit againe, made an end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales entred the order of the Franciscans, of whom remaineth yet the booke intituled De summa theologiæ in olo libraries.

Moreouer, not long after by William de longa spata, which was the bastard sonne of king Henrie the second, and earle of Salisburie, was first founded the house of the Carthusian monkes at Heitrope, An. 1222. After whose death his wife Ela was translated to the house of Yenton in Wiltshire, An. 1227, which Ela also founded the house of nuns at Lacocke, and there continued her selfe abbesse of the place. The bishop of London named William, the same time gaue ouer his bishoprike, after whom succeeded Gufface in that se. Flor. hist.

Charterhouse monkes founded by William Longespey.

Ela founderesse of the house of Lacocke.

In the towne of Oxford aboue mentioned, where the king kept his court, Simon Langton archbishop of Canterburie held a councell, where was condemned and burned a certaine deacon, as Nicol. Triuet saith, for apostasie. Also another rude countriman, who had crucified himselfe, and superstitiously bare about the woundes in his feet and hands, was condemned to be closed vp perpetually within walls. Ex Nicol. Triuet. About which peare also Alexander king of Scots maried Ione sister to king Henrie.

Two condemned at a councell holden in Oxford.

*Ex Nic. Triuet.*

Not long after began the new building of the minster of Salisburie, whereat Pandulphus the popes legat laid the fine first stones; not for the pope (such was the fortune of that church to haue the popes stone in his foundation) the second for the yong king Henrie; the third, for the good earle of Salisburie; the fourth, for the countesse; the fift, for the bishop of Salisburie, &c. which was about the same peare aboue mentioned, An. 1221. Ex chron. do. Sal.

*Ex Nic. Triuet.*

In the same peare about S. James tide fell a dissension betweene the citizens of London and men of Westminster, the occasion whereof was this. A certaine game betweene these two parties was appointed, to trie whether part in wrestling could ouercome the other. Thus in striuing for maistrie, each part contending against the other (as the manner is in such pastime) it happened the Londoners to get the victorie, and the other side was put to foile, but especially the steward of the abbat of Westminster, who being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethinke in his mind how to be reuenged against the Londoners. Whereupon another day was set, which was at Lammas, that the Londoners should come against to wrestle, and who so had the victorie should haue the belt: whether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward suddenlie bringeth vpon the Londoners vnawares a company of barnes fed men prepared for the same before, and letteth driue at the Londoners, who at length being wounded and grieuously hurt, after much bloud shed were driuen backe againe into the citie. This tumultie thus being receiued, the citizens eagerly fruche ken with ire and impatience, ran to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assembled their commens together, to consult with themselues what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein when diuers sentences were giuen diuerslie, Serle the same time maior of London (a wise and discreet man) gaue this counsell, that the abbat of Westminster should be talked withall, who if he would reuoke the iniurie done, and satisfie for the harme receiued, it should be to them sufficient. But this for the harme receiued, it should be to them sufficient. But this for the harme receiued, it should be to them sufficient. But this

The clergie of France answering to the legat.

thedrall and conuentuall church. Which being so, they much marruelled that he would not in the publike councell make manifest to them those letters which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensiue matter might rise by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the church of France. For graue (said they) that certaine will assent vnto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole: especially, seeing both the states of the realme with all the inferiour subiects, yea and the king himselfe they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honor, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as vpon the offence whereof standeth the subuersion both of the realme publike, and of the whole church in generall. Declaring moreouer the cause of this feare to rise hereof, for that in other realmes such communication hath been with bishops and prelats for the procuring of such prebendships, whereas neither the prince nor the subiects were made any thing priuie thereto.

Inferiours euer must bold to speake vnto their superiours in all matters of truth, then the rich.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the legat, the obiections of the inferiour parts against the cruell exaction were these in briefe effect, as is in Parisiensis noted.

The obiections of the clergie of France against the popes exaction.

First, they alleaged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustaine thereby, by reason of the continuall procurators of the pope, which in euery diocese must line not of their owne, but must be sustained vpon the charges of the cathedrall churches, and other churches also, and many times they being but procurators, will be found as legats.

Item, by that means they said great perturbations might insue to the couents and chapters of cathedrall churches in their elections: for so much as the popes agents and factors being in euerie cathedrall church and chapter house, perchs the pope would command him in his person to be present at their elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the court of Rome to giue: and so should be placed more of the popes clientele in the churches of France, then of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, by this meanes they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome should be richer, and should receiue more for their proposition then the king of the realme: by reason of which abundance of riches it was like to come to passe, that as the wonne of rich men is paire; so by the meanes of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and driue off great suites, and scarce would take any paines with small causes. The experiment whereof is euident, for that now also they vse to delay the matters when they come with their gifts, and being in assurance to receiue. And thus should iustice stand aside, and poore suitors die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treasure and riches.

Item, for so much as it is meete and conuenient to haue friends in the court of Rome, for the better speeding of their causes, therefore they thought to keep them wiselie, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter, and their causes sooner dispatched.

Item, when as it is impossible the fountaine of greedie desire to be stopped, it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by themselues, or else they should be inforced to giue greater rewards then before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked vpon.

Item, where he alleaged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the court of Rome: by this meanes rather the contrarie were to be feared, wherein they alleaged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem;*
*Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Further, they alleaged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking, so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruine and destruction of the citie, whereof some experiment they had already.

Item, they added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselues to that contribution, yet their successours would not so be bound, nor yet ratifie the bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the zeale of the vniuersall church, and of the church of Rome would moue him: for if this oppression of the church should be vniuersall, it were to be doubted left an vniuersall departing might follow from the church of Rome: which God forbid (say they) should happen.

God graunt, say we.

The legat hearing these words, being therewith something moued (as seemed) excused himselfe, that he being in the court neuer agreed in this exaction: and that the letters hereof came not to him before he was in France. Whereat he said he was greatly sorie, adding this withall, that the words of his percept included this secret meaning in them thus to be vnderstood and taken: so far forth as the empire and other realmes would agree vnto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proued what other countries would say and do therein.

The cardinall repulsed and defeated of his purpose in France.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legat touching his eraction of prebendships in euerie cathedrall and conuentuall church; wherein as yee heare, he was repulsed: Ex Matth. Paris. pag. 62.

*Matth. Paris. pag. 62.*

The popes traffeth was against the earle and the people of Tholouse.

Now to returne to the first part of his commission againe, which was concerning Reimundus the godly earle of Tholouse, thus the storie proceedeth; that while the legat was in hand with this matter of the popes money, in the meane season certaine preaching friers were directed by the said Romanus the popes legat into al France, to incite and stir vp the Frenchmen to take the crosse vpon them, and to war against the earle of Tholouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for heretikes. At the preaching whereof a great number of prelats and lay-men signed themselues with the crosse, to fight against the Tholosians, being thereto induced, as the storie saith, more for feare of the French king or fauor of the legat, then for any true zeale of iustice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris: *Videbatur enim multis abusio, vt hominem fidelem christianum infestarent, præcipue cum constaret cuncti is eum in concilio nuper Biturisensi, multis precibus persuasisse legato, vt veniret ad singulas terræ suæ ciuitates, inquirens a singulis articulos fidei: & si quempiam contra fidem inuenires, &c.* For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse, to moue warre against a faithfull christian man, especially seeing in the councell of Bitures (before all men) he intreated the legat with great instance that he would come into euerie citie within his dominions, and there to inquire of euerie person the articles of his faith: where if hee found any man to hold any thing contrarie to the catholike faith, he promised a full satisfaction to be had therof, according to the censure of the church, to the vttermoft, &c.

Testimonie of the author by the clearing of Reimundus and of the Albingenses.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the pseud legat contemning this so hautie and reasonable purgation of the earle Reimundus, ceased not by all manner meanes to prosecute the popes furie against him and his subiects, stirring vp the king and the Frenchmen vnder paine of excommunication, to war against them. Likewise the French king thus being inforced by the legat, answered againe, that he for his owne safetie would not attempt that expedition or aduenture against the earle, vnlesse it were first obtained of the pope to write to the king of England: commanding him that hauing the time of that expedition, he should vnite and make fit no peece of his lands and possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or bobsolouer they were holden, while the time of the said war against the heretikes (as they were then termed) did indure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsell and money in that enterprise. All which being done and accomplished, the French king and the legat (crossing themselues to the field) appointed a day peremptorie for the French army to meet together at Lions, vnder paine of the popes excommunication, and with horse and harneste to set vpon the Tholosians, against the Ascension day next insuing.

The vntrustie tyrannie of the pope against the Tholosians.

Excommunication abused.

Lewis the French king and Romanus the popes legat marching against the Albingenses.

Item, the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorie appointed, the French king hauing prepared at Lions all things necessarie for his armie, marcheth forward with a great and mightie host; after whom also commeth the legat, with his bishops and prelats. The number of fighting men in his armie besides the victuallers and waggeners were 500 men. The legat by the law openly excommunicated the earle of Tholouse, & all that take his part, and further more interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward, till he came into the prouince of Tholouse, and the first citie which they came vnto there of the earles was Auinion: which citie they thought first to haue besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to haue destroyed and wasted all the whole prouince belonging to the earle. And first the king demanded of them to haue his passage through their citie, fairing himselfe in peaceable wise (for the expedition of his iourney) but to passe through the same. The citizens consulting with themselues what was to be done, at length gaue answere that they mistrusted their comming, and supposed that in deceit they required the entrance of their citie, and so no necessitie of their iourney.

Remaunding earle of Tholouse excommunicated.

The citie of Auinion besieged.

The king hereat being much offended, sware an oth that he would not depart thence till he had taken the citie, and immediatly in those places where he thought most meet, he began to giue sharpe assaults, with all manner of suitable engins: the citizens againe within, manfully defended themselues, casting stone for stone, and hayling shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the Frenchmen. Thus, when they had long besieged the citie, and could not win the saun: at length victuals in the French campe began to faile, and many of them died for hunger. For the earle of Tholouse as a wise man of war, hearing before of their comming, tooke into the towne all the prouision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serue for their defence and succour: he plowed vp the fields, that there should no flower be found to serue their hosses, he put out of the towne all the old people and young children, left they should want victuals that kept the towne, and before their comming sent them far away; so that within the towne they had plentie, and without they died for famine. And besides in seeking farre for their forage, manie fell into the hands of them that kept the citie, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad and slew manie of them: besides a great number of cattell and hosses died for want

Policie of war.



Famine and pestilence in the French campe.

want of forage: and poore soldiers that had no great store of monie, died for want of victuals. By which mortalitie and sickenes both of men and cattell, grew great infection and pestilence amongst them, in so much that the king himselfe and also the legat were greatly dismaied, thinking it to be no little shame as well to the realme of France, as also to Rome, that they should depart and breake vp their siege. Thus againe thought the souldiers, that much better it were for them to end their liues by battell then so to die like dogs and starue. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to giue a new assault at the bridge that goeth ouer the flood Rhodanus into the towne, to which place they came in such number, that either by the debilitie of the bridge, or subtilitie of the souldiers that kept the towne, three thousand of them with bridge and all fell armed into the violent streame, and were drowned. What was there then but ioy and gladnesse of the citizens part, and much lamentation and heauinesse on the other part? Then shortly after, the citizens of Auinion (when they saw a conuenient time, whilest their enemies were in eating meat) came suddenly vpon them out of the towne, and slue of them two thousand, and tooke the towne againe with safetie. But the legat with his companie of prelats (like good men of warre) practised none other martiall feats, but all to be cursed the earle of Tholouse, his cities and his people. Ludouicus the king, to auoid the pestilence that was in the campe, went into an abbie not farre off, where the battle after he died, of whose death are sundrie opinions, some saying that he was poisoned, some that he died of a bloudie flix.

The French king died of the flixe at the siege of Auinion.

Lewis the French king died at the siege of Auinion.

Whose death notwithstanding the legat thought to keepe secret and conceale, till that the towne might bee rendred and giuen vp: for he thought himselfe shamed for euer, if hee should depart before the towne were wonne. Wherefore after hee had incouraged the souldiers afresh, and yet after many sharpe assaults could not preuaile, he bethought him how by falshood he might betray them, and sent vnto them certaine heralds, to will them that they should amongst themselues consult vpon articles of peace, and bring the same to their campe, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of comming and going. And when they had giuen their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legat: who promised them, if they would deliuer vp their citie, they should haue their liues, goods and possessions in as ample manner as now they inioyed the same. But the citizens & souldiers refused to be vnder the seruitude of the French king, neither would to deliuer vp their citie to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talke on both sides, and in one like to take effect, the legat requested them, & friendly desired, that he and his prelats which were about him, might come into their citie to examin what faith and beleefe they were of, and that he neither sought nor ment any other thing thereby, but their owne safeties as well of bodie as soule, which thing he faithfully sware vnto: For (saith he) the lute of your great infidelitie hath come to the lord popes eares, and therefore desired he to make true certificat thereof. Whereupon the citizens not mistrusting his faithfull oth and promise made vnto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergie, bringing with them no weapon into the town. The souldiers of the campe, as it was agreed before, made them ready, so that at the entrance of the prelats in at the gate, nothing regarding their oth and fidelitie, the other suddenlie were readie, and with violence rushed in, flue the porter & wardens, and at length wonne the citie and destroyed the same, and flue many of them that were within. Thus by falshood and policie, when they had gotten this noble citie, they carried the kings corps vnto Paris where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French souldiers which in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, he recounted more then two and twentie thousand: Whereby, saith the storie of Mat. Parisiensis, it may euidentlie appeare the warre was vniustlie taken in hand, &c: Ex Mat. Parisiensi.

The popes legat wicked life pictured.

Periurie of the papists.

The citie of Auinion taken by treason and periure of the popes legat.

The number of the French soldiers in this siege destroyed.

The vncontinent life of these Romish prelats to bee noted.

After these things finished, and after the funerall of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said historie of Parisiensis, that the said legat Romanus was vehementlie suspected, and grieuously inflamed to abuse himselfe with Blanca the kings mother: Suspicium est (saith he) hoc credere, quia æmuli eius hoc disseminauerunt; benignus autem animus dubia in melius interpretatur: that is, But it is vngodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies to rumored the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtfull in the better part.

To passe further to the yere next following, which was {Anno 1227.} 1227. of the Lord, first is to be noted, that in this yere king Henrie beginning to shoote vp vnto the twentith yere of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the citizens of London for old reckonings, namely for giuing of lending one thousand marks to Lewis the French king, at his departing out of the realme, to the great preiudice of him and of his kingdome. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yeld to the king the full sum of the like monie. That done he remoued to Oxford, where he assembled a great councell, there denouncing and protesting before them all that he was come to sufficient age, no more to be vnder tutors and gouernors; but to be his owne man: requiring to be freed from the custodie of others. Which thing being protested, and contraried forthwith; hee by the counsell of Hubert the chiefe iustice (whom hee made then the earle of Kent) removed from his companie the bishop of Winchester, 3 others, vnder whom he was moderated. And immediatlie in the same councell, by the sinister perswasion of some, doth annihilat and make void the charters and liberties before by him granted, pretending this colour: for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minoritie, at what time he had the rule neither of himselfe, nor of his seale. Whereupon much muttering and murmuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert the iustice. Moreouer, it was the same time proclaimed, that who soeuer had any charter, or gift sealed vnder the time of the kings minoritie, they should come and renew the same againe vnder the new seale of the king, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finallie, for renewing of their seales, were taxed not according to their abilitie, but according as it pleased the iustice and other to leuie them.

The king claimeth to be freed from gouernors and to be his owne man.

Hubert the iustice made earle of Kent.

The king vnbooth and bis subiects the liberties which before he granted.

Moreouer, beside this general subsidie of the fifteenth granted to the king through the whole realme, and beside also the contribution of the Londoners, diuers other parcels and payments he gathered through seuerall places: as of the burgesses of Northhampton he required a thousand and two hundred marks, for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of monie was made toward the furnishing of his voiage to recouer Normandie. And yet because hee would gratifie the citie of London againe with some pleasure: hee granted the citizens thereof (should passe toll-free (saith Fabian) throughout all England. And if of any citie, towne, or towne they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the shiriffes of London to attach euery man comming to London of the said citie, borough, or towne, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were againe refunded of all such monie paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same. Ex Fabiano.

Dartes of princes to frely in munie.

The citizens of London freed from toll throughout all England.

Anno 1228

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded pope Gregorie the tenth, betweene the which Gregorie and the people of Rome, this yere, fell a great sedition. Insomuch that about the fall of Easter, they thrust the pope out of the citie, pursuing him vnto his castle at Viterbium. Where also they inuaded him so valiantlie, that they chased him to Perusium. Then hauing no other remedie wherwith to reuenge his persecutors, fiercely did excommunicat them. Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 69.

*Ex Fabi. part. 7.*

Sedition betweene the Romans and the pope.

Here, by the way, is to be obserued and considered, christian reader, not only by this sedition, but by so many other schismes, diuisions, tumults, fightings, battels & contentions in the church of Rome, euen from the first beginning of the popes dominion, and that not only within the citie of Rome, but vniuersallie almost in all popish monasteries, colledges, churches, and conuents vnder the pope subiected, continuallie raigning amongst them, what is to be thought of their religion and holinesse, hauing so little peace, so great disquietnesse, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories both manifold it is to behold, and wonderous to consider.

The popes church may be iudged by their dissensions and schismes.

No peace in the popes church.

And so much as I haue entred here into the mention of this schismaticall commotion betweene the pope and his clergie: it followeth moreouer in the historie of Parisiensis, who maketh relation of a like hayling matter, which befell the same yere, and time, An. 1228. betweene the prior and conuent of Durham, and this king Henrie the third vpon this occasion: After the death of Richard bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtaine licence for the electing of their bishop. The king offered to them one Lucas a chaplen of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monks answered, that they would receiue no man, but by their order of canonicall election. Meaning belike by their canonicall election, that is, when as they elect either some monke out of their owne companie, or else some monkish priest after their owne liking. Contrarie, the king against sendeth word vnto them, and bound it with an oth, that they should tarrie seuen yeres without a bishop, vnlesse they would admit the forsaid Lucas to that place of that dignitie. All which notwithstanding, the monks preceding in their election, refused the said Lucas, and preferred another clerke of theirs, named William archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king: but the king bringing in exceptions and causes against the partie, would not admit him.

Dissension betweene the prior and conuent of Durham and the king.

Canonicall election.

Then the monks in all haste speed send vp to Rome certaine of their couent, to haue their election ratified by the authoritie apostolicall. On the other side the king likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the monks, the bishop of Chester, and the prior of Lentonie on his behalfe, to withstand the purpose of the monks. And to the matter being trauised with great altercatio on both sides, did hang in suspence (saith mine author) till at length thus it was concluded betweene both, that neither matter William, nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard bishop of Sarum should be translated to Durham, and be bishop there. An. 1228. Ex Matth. Parisiensi.

The monks of Durham send to Rome against their king.

The like fell also happened both the same yere, and for the like

Another contention between the monks of Couentrie and the canons of Lichfield.

like matter, betweene the monks of Couentrie and the canons of Lichfield, about choosing of their bishop, which of them should haue the superior voice in the election of their prelat. After much adoe, the cause at length being hoisted vp to Rome, had this determination; that the monks of Couentrie & the church of Lichfield should chuse their bishop by course, each part keeping his turne the one after the other: prouided notwithstanding, that the prior of Couentrie should alwaies haue the first voice in euery election, whereas the old custome was, saith mine author, that the couent with the prior of Couentrie was wont to haue the whole election of the bishop without the canons; this was An. 1228. Ex Parisiensi, pag. 68.

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 64.

Stephan Langton first archbishop here.

The chapters of the Bible first distinguished by Stephan Langton.

In the which yere died Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, by whom as is recorded by Nic. Triuet, the chapters of the Bible, in that order & number as we now vse them, were first distinct. The said Langton also made postils vpon the whole Bible. The same moreouer builded the new hall in the palace of Canturburie.

Another contention betweene the monks of Canturburie and king Henrie the third. Obiections laid against the new archbishop.

After the death of this Langton insued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie, betweene the monks of Canturburie and the king. The perturbation whereof as it was no lesse seditious, so the determination of the same was much more colticke. After the death of Stephan Langton, the monks of Canturburie obtaining licence of the king to proceed in the election of a new archbishop, did chuse one of their owne societie named master Walter Hemeham. Whom when the monks had presented vnto the king, bee after long deliberation, began to obiect against that election, saying: first, that the monks had elected but one as neither was profitable to him nor his kingdome. Secondly, he obiected against the partie elect, that his father was conuict of felonie, and hanged for the same. Thirdlie, that hee stood in causes against his father king John in the time of the interdict. Moreouer, the bishops his suffragans charged the partie elect, that he had lien with a certaine nun, and had children by her: adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the archbishop against all this standing vnto his election, appealed vp to Rome, and estsoones taking with him certaine monks, presented himselfe to the popes aiont prouer person, there to see his appeale, instant the matter, that his election might stand confirmed by his authoritie pontificall. But the pope vnderstanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter vntill he did heare further of the certaintie thereof. The king and the bishops hauing intelligence that the archbishop with his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to acquaint the foresaid obiections alone alleaged, in writing; and sealing the same with the seales both of the king and of the bishops to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of these letters, were the bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the archdeacon of Bedford master John, &c. Who comming to Rome, and exhibiting their message with their letters vnto the pope; consideration being had vpon the same, were commanded to wait attendance against the next day after Ashwednesday: then to haue a resolute answer concerning the cause, which was the second day of March the next yere following, that is, in the yere of our Lord 1229. In the meane season, the kings procurators ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be fauourable to the kings side. But finding them fourthat hard and strict in the matter, as is the guise of that court; they began to mistrust their speeding. Wherefore consulting together with themselues vpon the premisses, they came to the pope, promising in the kings behalfe to be giuen and granted to him out of the realmes both of England and Ireland, the tith or tenth part of all the goods within the said realmes moueable, to sustaine his wars against the emperor, so that he would incline fauourably to the kings suit and petition herein. *At dominus papa (saith Paris) quia rebellem imperatorem sibi per omnia sibi subiugare cupiens, tantis promissionibus exhortatus fuerat, vt consentiret.* That is, But the pope, saith the author, which boiled with desire aboue all measure, to haue the emperour his enemie cast doiune, being cheered with so great promises granted by his consent to them, who sitting then in his consistorie had these words, as here follow.

Appeale sued to Rome.

King Henrie sendeth to the pope.

Cause of all warres betweene the emperour and England and France pretended to the pope for procuring the kings suite.

*O auri fames, &c.*

It is vse of the pope still to take to bribes.

The popes answere to the election of Walter archbishop of Canturburie.

There hath come of late to our intelligence the election of a certaine monke named Walter, to be archbishop of Canturburie, whereupon after that we heard and aduised as well those things which the said monke hath said for himselfe and for his election: as also on the contrarie side, the obiections and exceptions of the bishops of England alleaging against him and against his election; namelie of the bishop of Chester, the bishop of Rochester, and John archdeacon of Bedford: We vpon the same committed the examination, touching the person of the man, vnto our reuerend brethren lord cardinall Albanie, Lord cardinall Thomas de Sabina, and master Peter. And when the foresaid elect comming before them, was asked of them, first concerning the Lords descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the bodie of Christ on the altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreouer how Rachel wept for her children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, he answered not wel. Againe, being required of matrimonie, if one of the married parties be an infidell, and do depart, he answered there-to not well. Vpon these articles he was (as is said) diligentlie examined of the cardinals, to the which wee say hee answered not onely not well, but also very ill. For so much therefore, as the church of Canturburie is a noble church, and requireth a noble prelat, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosome of the church of Rome; and for so much as this new elect (whom not only heere we pronounce to be vnworthie, but also should say more of him, if wee would proceed with him by the rigor of the law) is so insufficient, that he ought not be admitted to such a roome: we doo vtterly to our selues the prouision of the said church. *Hec ex Mat. Parien. sub verbum.*

The election of Walter archbishop of Canturburie disalloued of the pope for the kings mony.

Thus the election of Walter being frustrat and disalloued, the kings procurators, bringing forth the letters of the king, and of the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, presented the same vnto the pope for the ratification of Richard chancellor of Lincolne, to bee appointed archbishop of Canturburie, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conuersation; and which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the church of Rome, as also for the realme of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the pope by the letters procuratorie of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the pope and of the cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canturburie before he was elected. Whereupon the said pope Gregorie in his behalfe directeth downe his letters to all and singular suffragans of the church of Canturburie, declaring thus, and beginning first with a tie; that for so much as by the fulnesse of ecclesiasticall power the charge of pastorall office is committed to him in generall vpon all churches, he therefore for the sollicitude hee beareth as well to all other churches in generall, as in special to the metropolitan church of Canturburie, repudiating and disanulling the former election of Walter the monke vpon iust causes, both prouided for, that see a man, as in all other good gifts verie first and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that function verie fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and all others by his authoritie apostolicall, with all deuout reuerence to receiue him, and humblie to obay him, &c: which was An. 1229. Ex Paris.

Richard chancellor of Lincolne commended to the pope to be archbishop of Canturburie.

Clarkes brought into England by the pope to feast him with mony.

Richard made archbishop of Canturburie by the pope without election.

Came vpon the grounds tithed to the pope. Ramulphus earle of Chester neere to the pope his tenths.

The effect of the popes letters to the suffragans of Canturburie. The pope beginneth first with a tie. *Ex Mat. Parisiensi.*

The church of Couentrie finished.

The popes French armie thinking to destroy Raimund, is deliuered by the way.

These letters thus finished at Rome, the pope not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English siluer which he so gratuitie gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedie wise sendeth vnto the king of England & Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before, there with to maintaine his war against Frederike the emperor. And to the intent he might inflame al christian realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederike the emperor, sendeth also with the said Stephan speciall letters full of manifold complaints, and grieuous accusations against the said emperour, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be shewed hereafter. Vpon the comming of this Stephan the legat, the king assembled all his earles and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, templaries, hospitalers, parsons, and vicars, and other such as held of him in capite, to appeare before him at Westminster, to the end to commune of the matter. In the assembly of whom, the popes patent letters were brought forth and read, wherein hee required the tenths of all the moueables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergie as of the laitie, to maintaine his expedition against the foresaid Frederike the emperor. The which expeditio as he pretended to atchieue and to take in hand for the cause of the vniuersall church, and the pope, had begun the matter alreadie, and for so much as the riches of the apostolik see did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise, he therefore inforced by mere necessitie, did implore the aid and help of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the church of Rome. left the members thereof together with the head should be subuerted. These letters of the pope to this effect, being openlie recited & explained by ꝑ popes chapien, which he with much more allegation and perswasion of words did amplifie to his vttermost; the king (saith mine author) in whom all men did hope for helpe to their defence, became then as a staffe of reed. For so much as he had obliged himselfe to the same before, for the election of his archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The earles, barons, and all the laitie vtterlie refused so to bind their bareines to the church of Rome: but the bishops, abbats, priors, with other prelats of the church, first requiring space & respit to deliberat for three or foure daies; at length for feare of the popes curse (although they durst not vtterly withstand) had brought to passe to haue concluded for a sum of mony much lesse, had not Stephan Segraue, one of the kings counsellors, craftilie commoned with the legat; and by subtill meanes bought it so to passe, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable

The popes request for the tenths of all the moueables in England, Wales, and Ireland.

The contents of the popes letters to the king.

The inconstant loue of princes towards those that be chiefe about them.

This false pretence of the pope vnder the name of the church wise kings his owne kingdom to mislice.

The kings mouth stopped.



ble damage (saith Parisiensis) both of the ecclesiasticall and temporall state. The meanes whereof (saith the author) was this. The legat hauing to the prelats his procuratorie letters, to collect and gather vp all the foresaid tenths in the name and authoritie of the pope, declared moreouer full authoritie to him granted by the vertue of his commission, to excommunicat all such and to interdict their churches, who soeuer did gainstand or goe contrarie to the said collection. Whereupon by the said vertue lo-

Excommunication denied.

gantine, hee sendeth to euery shire his proctors to gather the popes monie, or else to excommunicat them which denied to pay. And for so much as the present need of the pope required present helpe without delay, he sendeth moreouer to the bishops and prelats of the realme, in paine of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him either of their owne or vplone, or by fauce, or by what meanes soeuer, so much mony in all post speed for the present vse of the pope; and after to take vp against the said monie of the tenths of euerie singuler person, by the right taxing of their goods. Vpon this, the prelats to auoid the danger (hauing no other remedie) were driuen to sell their chalices, crutes, copes, iewels, and other church plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borow vpon vsurance to make vp the monie which was required. Moreouer, the said Stephan the popes chaplen (as reported by Paris) brought with him into England for the same purpose, such bankers and vsurers, who lending out their monie vpon great vsurie, did vnreasonablie pinch the English people, which merchant vsurers were then called Caursini. Briefle, such strict exaction was then vpon the poore Englishmen, that not onlie their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the corne yet growing in the field, against the next haruest was tithed, &c. Onelie the earle of Chester named Ranulphus, stood stoutly against the pope, suffring none within his dominion either lay man or clerke to yeeld any tenths to the popes proctors. Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 74. And this was the end of the strife betweene the monks of Canturburie and the king for the election of their archbishop, which was about the yere of our Lord 1229. in the which yere was finished the new church of Couentrie, by Alexander bishop of the said citie, and partlie by the helpe of the king: which church, Richard his predecessor bishop before him of Couentrie had begun.

The effect of the popes letters to the suffragans of Canturburie. The pope beginneth first with a tie. *Ex Mat. Parisiensi.*

This was a deare archbishop of Canturburie, bought with the riches of all England.

The Frenchmen about this time againe prepared themselues towards Poyters, to warre against the foresaid Reimundus earle of Tholouse, and to expulse him out of his possessions. And hearing that he was in his castle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to inclose and compasse him about: but the earle being priuie of their conspired purpose, set vpon them by the way, appointing certaine ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receiue the comming of the Frenchmen, and to giue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entred the wood, the earle with his traine of well armed and able warriors, suddenly did sle vpon them on wares, and gaue them a bitter meeting, so that in that conflict fiue hundred of the French soldiers were taken, and many slaine. Of their seruitors to the number of two thousand men with their armour were taken, of whom some lost their eies, some their noses, some their eares, some their legs, and so sent home; the rest were carried away prisoners into the castell. And to bee briefe (saith the historie) thrice the same summer were the Frenchmen discomfited, put to flight, taken and impoisoned by the foresaid Reimundus the godly earle. Ex Parisiensi pag. 69. Wherein is to be seene and to bee praised the gratious protection of the Lord our God against the furious papists, which is glorious alwaies in his saints.

The same yere the king being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobilitie, earles, barons, and knights of England, with such an armie of horsemen and footmen, as hath not been sightlie seene, thinking to recouer againe the countrie of Normandie, of Gant, and other possessions which king John his father before had lost. But when the captaines and marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not halfe ships enow to receiue the host. Whereupon the king was verie heinentlie inflamed with anger, laying all the fault to Hubert the lord chiefe iustice (who vnder the king had all the gouernment of the realme) calling him old traitor, charging him that he should be the let of his voiage, as hee was before when hee tooke of the French queene fiue thousand marks to stay the kings tournie into Normandie. Insomuch that the rage of the king was so kindled against him, that drawing his sword, hee made at him to run him through, had not the earle of Chester Ranulph stopt the king. Hubert withdrew himselfe away till the kings rage was past. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arriued Henrie earle of Normandie in the hauen of Portsmouth in the moneth of October, who should haue conducted the king vpon his allegiance and oth into Normandie. But he with other of the kings armie counselled the king not to take that voiage toward winter, but rather to desert it to the Easter next following: wherewith the king was staied and well contented, and pacified against with Hubert the iustice, &c. Ex Parisiensi.

Fabian recordeth this yere the liberties and franchise of the citie of London to be confirmed by the king, and to euerie of the shrils to be graunted two clerks, and two officers without any more. Ex Fabian.

Then followed the yere 1230. in which vpon the day of the conuersion of saint Paul (as saith Paris) as a great multitude of people for solemnitie of the day were congregat in the temple of S. Paul, the bishop then being at his masse, a sudden darknesse with such thicknesse of clouds fell in the aire, that vneth one man might see another in the church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leauing such a tent in the church, that the people looking for dooms day, thought no lesse but that the steeple and whole church would haue fallen vpon their heads: in so much that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell downe together by thonders, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were, onlie the bishop and his deacon stood still at their masse, holding the altar fast. Ex Parisiensi.

Anno 1230.

A sudden terrour among the people in Paules church by thunder and lightning. *Ex matthæo Paris. pag. 75.*

Of the death of Stephan Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costlie and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in the roome, which did cost the whole realme of England the tenths of all their moueables, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king complaining of Hubert the lord chiefe iustice, of mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and towne of Tunbridge with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earle of Clare late decealed. Which lands appertaine to the right of his seat, and to the church of Canturburie, for the which the said earle with his ancestors were bound to bee homage to him and to his predecessors, and therefore required the keeping of the foresaid castle, with the demaines thereof to be restored to him. To this the king answered againe, that the said earle did hold of him in capite, and that the castles being vacant of the earles and barons with their heirs, did belong to his crowne, till the lawfull age of the said heirs. The archbishop when hee could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicat all such as inuaded the foresaid possessions, with all others that tooke their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoones speedeth himselfe to Rome, there to prosecute his suite before the pope. The king hearing thereof, not long after sendeth by maister Roger Cantelu with certaine other messengers vnto Rome against the archbishop.

The yeerly valure of Richard archbishop of Canturburie. The kings answere to Richard the archbishop.

Excommunication abused.

This Richard the archbishop complaineth to the pope of his king and other matters more.

The frenchmen about this time againe prepared themselues towards Poyters, to warre against the foresaid Reimundus earle of Tholouse, and to expulse him out of his possessions. And hearing that he was in his castle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to inclose and compasse him about: but the earle being priuie of their conspired purpose, set vpon them by the way, appointing certaine ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receiue the comming of the Frenchmen, and to giue them their welcome. Thus when the French were entred the wood, the earle with his traine of well armed and able warriors, suddenly did sle vpon them on wares, and gaue them a bitter meeting, so that in that conflict fiue hundred of the French soldiers were taken, and many slaine. Of their seruitors to the number of two thousand men with their armour were taken, of whom some lost their eies, some their noses, some their eares, some their legs, and so sent home; the rest were carried away prisoners into the castell. And to bee briefe (saith the historie) thrice the same summer were the Frenchmen discomfited, put to flight, taken and impoisoned by the foresaid Reimundus the godly earle. Ex Parisiensi pag. 69. Wherein is to be seene and to bee praised the gratious protection of the Lord our God against the furious papists, which is glorious alwaies in his saints.

Pluralitie of benefices complained of by the bishops of Canturburie.

The same yere the king being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobilitie, earles, barons, and knights of England, with such an armie of horsemen and footmen, as hath not been sightlie seene, thinking to recouer againe the countrie of Normandie, of Gant, and other possessions which king John his father before had lost. But when the captaines and marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not halfe ships enow to receiue the host. Whereupon the king was verie heinentlie inflamed with anger, laying all the fault to Hubert the lord chiefe iustice (who vnder the king had all the gouernment of the realme) calling him old traitor, charging him that he should be the let of his voiage, as hee was before when hee tooke of the French queene fiue thousand marks to stay the kings tournie into Normandie. Insomuch that the rage of the king was so kindled against him, that drawing his sword, hee made at him to run him through, had not the earle of Chester Ranulph stopt the king. Hubert withdrew himselfe away till the kings rage was past. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arriued Henrie earle of Normandie in the hauen of Portsmouth in the moneth of October, who should haue conducted the king vpon his allegiance and oth into Normandie. But he with other of the kings armie counselled the king not to take that voiage toward winter, but rather to desert it to the Easter next following: wherewith the king was staied and well contented, and pacified against with Hubert the iustice, &c. Ex Parisiensi.

The kings attempts could not speed with the pope. Respect of person bid much with the pope.

Richard the archbishop in his tournie to Rome dieth.

Fabian recordeth this yere the liberties and franchise of the citie of London to be confirmed by the king, and to euerie of the shrils to be graunted two clerks, and two officers without any more. Ex Fabian.

Then followed the yere 1230. in which vpon the day of the conuersion of saint Paul (as saith Paris) as a great multitude of people for solemnitie of the day were congregat in the temple of S. Paul, the bishop then being at his masse, a sudden darknesse with such thicknesse of clouds fell in the aire, that vneth one man might see another in the church. After that followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leauing such a tent in the church, that the people looking for dooms day, thought no lesse but that the steeple and whole church would haue fallen vpon their heads: in so much that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell downe together by thonders, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were, onlie the bishop and his deacon stood still at their masse, holding the altar fast. Ex Parisiensi.

Anno 1230.

A sudden terrour among the people in Paules church by thunder and lightning. *Ex matthæo Paris. pag. 75.*

Of the death of Stephan Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costlie and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in the roome, which did cost the whole realme of England the tenths of all their moueables, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king complaining of Hubert the lord chiefe iustice, of mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and towne of Tunbridge with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earle of Clare late decealed. Which lands appertaine to the right of his seat, and to the church of Canturburie, for the which the said earle with his ancestors were bound to bee homage to him and to his predecessors, and therefore required the keeping of the foresaid castle, with the demaines thereof to be restored to him. To this the king answered againe, that the said earle did hold of him in capite, and that the castles being vacant of the earles and barons with their heirs, did belong to his crowne, till the lawfull age of the said heirs. The archbishop when hee could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicat all such as inuaded the foresaid possessions, with all others that tooke their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoones speedeth himselfe to Rome, there to prosecute his suite before the pope. The king hearing thereof, not long after sendeth by maister Roger Cantelu with certaine other messengers vnto Rome against the archbishop.

The yeerly valure of Richard archbishop of Canturburie. The kings answere to Richard the archbishop.

Excommunication abused.

This Richard the archbishop complaineth to the pope of his king and other matters more.

Pluralitie of benefices complained of by the bishops of Canturburie.

The kings attempts could not speed with the pope. Respect of person bid much with the pope.

Richard the archbishop in his tournie to Rome dieth.

Ralfe Neuill bishop of Chichester elected archbishop of Canturburie. The kings intent to haue had the archbishop of Canturburie. *Ex Mat. Paris.*

After the death of this Richard, the monks of Canturburie (according to the manor) addresse themselues to a new election: at which was chosen Ralfe Neuill, bishop of Chichester, who was the kings chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithfull, vpright, and constant: which from the way of iustice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but vpright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralfe (thus chosen of the monks) was presented vnto the king to be their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad alle of his election: and forthwith inuested him for archbishop of the church of Canturburie. But this intending

A rare example of a good archbishop.

The prayer of the new bishop elect.

Simon Langton archbishop of Dorke, a traitorous backbiter of Rodulphus archbishop elect.

The early vnhappiness of the pope. The election of Rodulph archbishop elect, defeated by the pope.

John archbishop of Canturburie elected and refused of the pope.

The popes intolerable exactions vpon England.

Ex Mat. Paris. pag. 79.

Hubert L. chiefe iustice inuadeth against the pope.

The copie of the letters written vnder the Kings name vnto the Archbishop of Rodulphus the Archdeacon of Norwich.

sking of the king was not enough, vnlesse he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherefore the monks readie to take their iourney vnto Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his helpe for their expenses by the way, and to know what seruice he would command them to the court of Rome. But he fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simonie and ambition, said he would not giue an halpenie, and holding vp his hands to heauen, thus prayed, saying: O Lord God, if I shal be thought worthie to be called (although indeed vnworthie) to the seat and office of this church: so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministerie, whereunto I haue bin assigned, I shall seeme more necessarie for this thy kingdome and people, I refuse not my labour, thy will be done.

The monks beholding the constancie of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no monie, yet refused not their trauell and iournie to Rome, to haue their election confirmed by the popes authoritie. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton (brother of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported against him by the said Simon (maliciously depraning the good man behind his backe) declaring to the pope that hee was a courtier, vnlearned, lasciue, and seruent in his doings, and such a one, who if he should be promoted to that dignitie, would go about with the helpe of the king and of the whole realme, to remoue and bring the reaime of England from vnder the yoke of the pope and of the church of Rome: and for to breaine the yoke of Rome of the tribute, vnder which king Iohn had once subiected himself and his realme, at what time he pulled his crowne to the hands of Pandulphus the legat, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton fallie and maliciously depraned the godly bishop. The pope hearing with one eare and receiuing what he heard, without further inquisition made of the matter partie accused, sendeth incontinent to the monks of Canturburie to proceed in a new election, and to chose them another archbishop, such as were an wholsome pastor of soules, profitable vnto the church of England, and benigne to the church of Rome: and thus was the lawfull election of this good archbishop made frustrat, too good peraduenture to serue in that place whereunto he was elected.

After the repulse of this Radulph, the Canturbury monks entring a new election, agreed vpon Iohn their prior, to bee their metropolitan, who going vp to Rome to haue his election confirmed by the pope, was there bates together examined of the cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiencie in him, touching those things wherein they tried him, notwithstanding the pope finding fault with his age (he peraduenture being more aged himselfe) repelled him, for that hee said he was to old and simple to sustaine that dignitie. Ex Paris.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he which was able to take that iourny to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficientlie to take paines in keeping the chaire of Canturburie.

In the former parts of this storie preceding, partly before hath been declared, partlie hereafter more shall appeare (Christ willing) how the church of England and commons of the same was grieued and miserable afflicted by the intollerable oppressions of the pope: who through his violent extortion had procured the best benefices to be giuen vnto his Romans, and the chiefe fruits of them to be referred to his owne coffers. And what complaints thereof haue been made, yet heard to force: but no redresse could be had. Such was the insatiable auarice of these Romane rakehels polling and polling therefore the realme, with their propulsions and exactions out of measure, and neuer satisfied. In so much that here in England whosoeuer lacked, their barnes were alwaies full of corne; and what penurie soeuer pinched the people, they were sure to haue inough. And these importunat exactions and contributions of these Italia harpyes, besides the Peter pence, besides the common tribut, daily more and more increased, to the great griefuance of the realm, in so much that the wealth of this land was almost cleane sucked vp and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not helpe the matter. Wherefore it was deuised by some of the nobles (as appeareth in the storie of Parisiensis) this foresaid yere, An. 1222. that certaine letters vnder the pretensed colour of the kings authoritie, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding, that such come and graine with other reuenues, as were taken vp for the pope, should be staid and forth comming by a certaine day in the said letters appointed; the which letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the meanes of Hubert lord chiefe iustice of England, who then next vnder the king, ruled the most affaires of the realme. The words and contents of the letters be these.

After diuers and sundrie griefes and oppressions which this realme, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the preiudice of the king himselfe, as also of the nobility of the same, concerning the aduoasons of their churches, and about their tithes: who also goe about to take from the clerks and spiritual men their benefices, and to bestow them vpon their owne nation and countrimen, to the spoile and confusion both of vs and our realme: we therefore by our common consents haue thought good (although very late) now yet rather, then any longer to suffer their intollerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like maner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to haue kept vnder and bridled others: whereby they may desist any longer to moleste the realme. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that as touching the farming of their churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you haue presently in your hands, or else do ow vnto the said Romanists, that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you haue the said your rents and reuenues readie by such a day, to pay and deliuer vnto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that al abbats and priors haue the same in a readinesse at the time appointed, in their owne monasteries: and all other priests, clerks, and laimen, at the churches of the Romanists, there readie to pay. And further, know yee for certaintie, that if ye refuse thus to doe; that all that you haue besides, shall bee by vs burnt and spoiled. And besides, looke what danger we purpose shall fall vpon them, the same shall light vpon your necks, if you refuse this to doe. Farewell.

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certaine souldiers thereunto appointed, to the which letters [illegible] had deuised a new seale with two swords ingraued, and ouerseene the swords was written; Ecce gladij duo, &c; Behold these two swords, readie to take vengeance of all these that shall withstand the some and order in these letters contained.

At that time the sixteenth day before the kalends of Ianuarie, about the beginning of the yere 1232. there was kept at S. Albons a great conuocation of abbats, priors, archdeacons, with diuers both of the nobilitie and clergie by the popes commandement, for the celebration of a diuorce betweene the countesse of Esser and her husband. At the breaking vp of which conuocation, when euerie man was about to depart thence, there was a certaine clerk, whose name was Cincius a Romane, and also a canon of Pauls in London, taken by some of the said vniuersitie not far off from S. Albons, and was carried away from his companie by the souldiers. But maister Iohn archdeacon of Norwich a Florentine, hardie escaping from that companie, got to London where he hid himselfe, and durst not be seene. Cincius after fiue weeks, when they had inuelempticd his bags, was safely sent againe without any more hurt to London.

Not long after this, about the beginning of Ianuarie, the barnes of a certaine beneficed man a Roman, and parson of Wingham, being full of corne, were broke vp by a like companie of armed souldiers, and the corne brought out to be sold and giuen away to the poore people. The farmer seeing this and not able to resist, complaineth to the shiriffe of the shire of this iniurie done to his master, and of breaking the kings peace: whereupon the shiriffe sent certaine of his men to see what was done. Who comming to the emptie barns, and there finding the foresaid souldiers to them vnknowne, who had sold away the most part of the corne vpon easie price, and some for charitie had giuen to the pouertie of the countrie about: requiring of them what they were, that so durst presume to breake the kings peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and there vnto them the kings letters patents (pretending at least the kings name and seale) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the shiriffs seruants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

This comming to the knowledge of Roger bishop of London, he (with the assistance of other bishops) proceedeth in solemne excommunication, first against them that robbed Cincius the Romane; then of them which spoiled the barnes of the parson of Wingham another Romane; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seale of the king aboue specified.

Neither yet for all this, did that so cease, but the same yere about Easter next following, all the barns in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the corne sold to the best commoditie of the poore commons. Of the which, great aimes were distributed, and many times monie also with corne together was sparled for the needie people to gather vp. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselues, they were stricken in such feare, that they hid themselues in monasteries and cels, not daring to complaine of their iniuries receiued; but held it better to lose rather their goods then to lose their liues. The authors and workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed souldiers, of whom the principall captaine was one naming himselfe William Withers, surnamed Twing.

This comming to the popes knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediatlie to the king vpon the same, with sharpe threatnings, and imperious commandements, charging him for suffering of such villanie within

Anno 1232.

A Roman priest, canon of Pauls taken and robbed by souldiers.

The barnes of a Roman parson broke vp and the corne distributed to the poore.

The Romish and Italian pastors in England robbed of their rents and corne.

A generall spoile of the Romish parsons in England.



A Romish vsher of mild Spirit.

Inquisition made for the spoiling of the popes copie.

Hubert de Burgo.

Robert Twing scaped of his benefice by the Romans.

within his realme, straitly inioyning him vnder paine of excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewise he sendeth the same charge to Peter bishop of Winchester, and to the abbat of S. Edmund, to inquire in the south parts. Also to the archbishop of Yorke, and to the bishop of Durham, and to maister Iohn canon of Yorke, a Romane, to inquire in the north parts for the said malefactors, and after diligent inquisition made, to send vp the same to Rome, there medes to appeare before him, &c.

Thus after earnest inquisition made of all parties, and witnesses sworne and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were factors, some that were consentors, of whom some were bishops and chaplens vnto the king, some archdeacons and deans, with other souldiers and lay men. Among whom certaine thirles and vnderthrils with their seruice, whom when they were apprehended and cast into prison by the king. Many for feare fled and escaped away, who being sought so could not be found: but the principall of this number (as is aforesaid) was supposed to be Hubertus lord iustice, who both with the kings letters and his owne, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreouer, in the same seruitie of them which were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Twing aboue mentioned, a comelie young man, a tall souldier, who of his owne voluntarie accord with fiue of his seruitors, whom he toke with him abroad to worke that feat, came vnto the king, openlie protesting himselfe to be the author of that deed doing, and laid he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, because that by the sentence of the bishop of Rome, and fraudulent circumuention of the Italians he was bereaued of the patronage of his benefice, hauing no more to giue but that one: wherefore to bereuenged of that iniurie, hee enterprised that which was done; preferring rather iustlie to bee excommunicated for a season, then to be spoiled of his benefice for euer. Then the king and other grecntors of the popes commandement, gaue him counsell, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the popes sentence, he should offer himselfe to the pope to be absolued of him againe, and there to make his declaration vnto him, that he iustlie and canonicallie was possessed of that church. The king moreouer with him sent his letters testimoniall vnto the pope, witnessing with the said souldier, and instantly desiring the pope in his behalfe, that he might with fauor be heard. At the request whereof, pope Gregorie afterwards both released him of the sentence, and restored vnto him his patronage, writing vnto the archbishop of Yorke, that hee might againe inioy the right of his benefice in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

The bishops go about to bring Hubert out of the kings fauor.

Hubert de Burgo lord chiefe iustice, being one of them which held against the Romish priests, as is afore signified, was therefore not a little noted of the bishops, who to requite him with the like despite againe (after their accustomed maner of practise) went about by subtill working to make him out of the kings fauour. And first commeth Peter bishop of Winchester to the king, grieuously complaining of certaine about the king; but especially of the foresaid Hubert the kings iustice: in so much that he caused him to be removed from his office, notwithstanding hee had the kings seale and writing for the perpetuitie of the same, and procured Stephan Segraue to bee placed in his function. And after a few daies, the king more and more incensed against him, called him vnto account of all the treasure which he was countable for by his exchequer office, also of all such debts by him due from the time of his father, till his time: also of all the lordships which were in the possession of William earle of Penbroke, chiefe iustice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forests, warrens, shires and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of pyles likewise, also of losses committed though his negligence, & of walls made contrary to the kings profit, of his liberties how he did vse them. Item, of iniuries and damages wrought against the clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the popes legats, for the redresse whereof he would neuer adioyne his counsell, according as pertained to his office, being then chiefe iustice of England. Also of fruteges, gifts, presents, feapes of prisoners. Item of maritages which king Iohn committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed vnto him. To these Hubert answered, that he had king Johns owne hand to shew for his discharge, who so approoued his fidelitie, that he neuer called him to any, but cleerelie discharged him from all such counts. Whereunto answered against the bishop of Winchester, saying; The charter of king Iohn hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the same.

Note, that in Winchester the kings charter is no longer in force then whilst he liueth.

Other crimes obiected to Hubert by the king.

Diuers and sundrie other greater obiections were laid to his charge by the king, as for lending and writing vnto the duke of Austria that he might marrie his daughter, to the preiudice of the king and of the realme, dissuading that she might not be giuen to him. Item for counselling the king not to enter into Normandie with his armie, which he had prepared for the recouerie of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treasure was there consumed in vaine. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the king of Scots, whom king Iohn his father committed vnto his custodie for him to marry. Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a vertue to make him victorious in war, and for sending the same vnto Leolin prince of Wales: and that by his letters sent to the said Leolin, William Bues a noble man was caused there traitorouslie to be hanged, &c. These with other crimes, (whether true or false) were suggested to the king against the said Hubert by his aduersaries; wherevnto he was required to answer by order of law. Hubert then seeing himselfe in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respit thereunto, for that the matters were weightie which the king obiected to him: which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September: but in the meane time, Hubert being in feare of the king, fled from London to the priorie of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before for the loue of the king, and defence of the realme (saith mine author) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the kings fauour, was destitute of comfort on euery side; saue onely that Lucas archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and teares, labored to the king for him. By this example and many like is to be seene, how vnstable and variable a thing the fauour of mortall and inutable princes is: to teach all such as haue to doe about princes, how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find helpe in Christ the true prince of all princes, which neuer faileth. By like example was Clito serued of king Alexander, Ioab of king Dauid, Belisarius of Iustinian, Harpagus of Astiages, Cromwell of king Henrie, with innumerable more, which in histories are to be found.

Princes fauors hereto be rewarded vnto.

When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping amongst the monks of Merton, he durst not appeare. Then was it signified vnto him from the king, that he should come by and appeare in the court, there to answer to his charge. Wherevnto he answered again, that he vnfoundedly the kings anger, and therfore he did flie to the church, as the vttermost refuge to all such as suffer wrong; from whence he would not stirre, till he heard the kings wrath to bee mitigated towards him. With this the king moued and sore displeased, directed his letters in all hast to the maior of London, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and raise vp all the citizens that could beare harnesse in the citie, & to bring to him by force of armes the foresaid Hubert either quicke or dead out of Merton. Whereupon, the maior immediatlie, causing the great bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London, and opening before them the kings letters, commanded them to prepare and arme themselues in all readinesse to the executing of the kings will and message.

The kings displeasure against Hubert.

The kings message to the maior of London.

The citizens hearings this, were therewith right glad and readie, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, because of the execution of Constantine their citizen afore mentioned. Notwithstanding, certaine of the citizens, namelie Andrew Buttrell, Iohn Leauers and others more, men of more graue and sage discretion (wisely pondering with themselues, what inconuenience might rise hereof) went in haste to the bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwarke, and waking him out of his sleepe, declared him of his counsell in that so sudden and dangerous distresse, declaring vnto him what perill might thereby insue as well to the church of Merton, as also to the citie, by the furie of the vnaduised and fierce multitude, which without doubt would be bridled from robbing and spoiling, neither will spare shedding of bloud, &c. Then Iohn againe the bloudie bishop gaue this bloudie counsell (saith Parisiensis): Dangerous it is (quoth he) both here and there; but yet for that you obay and execute the precept of the king, I counsell you plainely. At the which counsell of the bishop they being amazed, went with an ill will about the businesse inioyned. But the people inflamed with hatred, gladly coueted to be reuenged and to shed the bloud of the said Hubert.

Old grudge borne in mind.

Some wiser then some.

Good aduisement of discreet citizens.

Cruell counsell giuen of Peter bishop of Winchester.

The causes of displeasure betweene Hubert and the bishop of Winchester.

Hubert prostrat vpon the ground commendeth himselfe to God.

Sage counsell of an earle giuen to the king.

Now the cause why Peter bishop of Winchester was so earnestlie set against the iustice, was partly for the damages hee had done to the Romane priests, as before is touched: partlie also for the old grudge, because the king comming to his lawfull age before (through the counsell of this Hubert) loosed himselfe from the gouernement of the said bishop, who had him then in custodie. And thus rose vp the grudge and displeasure of this bishop towards him.

On the next morrow, the Londoners assuring out of the citie to the number of twentie thousand, set forth toward the abbie of Merton, where Hubert was lying prostrat before the altar, commending himselfe to God.

In the meane season, while the citizens were in their tumultuous raging against the poore earle of Kent; it was suggested to the king by Radulph bishop of Chichester, and lord chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite vp the vulgar and barrulie multitude, for feare of sedition; lest peraduenture the rude and headdie people being stirred vp, will not be sone be brought downe againe, when the king would haue them. Moreouer, what shall be said (quoth hee) among the Frenchmen and other nations, which of great things loue to make them greater, and of euill things to make them worse then they are; but thus selfe ingle things to make them worse then they are; but thus selfe ingle and mockingly: See what a kind bird is a young king of England, which seeketh to deuour his old nurse, vnder whose wings

The manicle-like blessing of the bishop at the time of ordering, [illegible]

A true note for the [illegible]

He had been brought vp and nourished in his youth. And thus the king by the perswasion herof, changing his counsell, sent in all haste vnto after the armie against, willing them to retract their iournie, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wils) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be obserued another notable example of Gods working prouidence. For vpon the king[s] saith the historie, had sent by two messengers or pursiuants to require the armie and calle backe against the citizens of London, going with gredie minds to shed the bloud of the innocent iniurie: one of the messengers posting with all speed possible, with the kings letters, ouertooke the armie; and comming to the foreward where the captaines were, by vertue of the kings letters staid their course and bloudie purpose, wherby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger craftie and malicious, who bearing hatred to the said Hubert, rather wishing him to be slaine then to be deliuered, lingred by the way of purpose (although being commanded to make haste) and when hee came, went only but to the middle sort: more like a messenger sent to serue a dead mans arrant, then to serue the turne of them which he alone. And so in like maner by the ill hand of God it fell vpon him. For the same messenger stumbling with his horse, riding but a lofe or a fort pase, and rather walking then ronne, fell some backward from his horse backe, and there brake his necke and died. This merciefull message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Radulph bishop of Chichester lord chancellor (a worthious and a faithfull man) and one that could skill to haue compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he being elected archbishop of Canturburie, would not giue one halfe peny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the pope: and afterward by the said pope was reiected and vtterly refused of his election, as relation was made before. And thus through Gods prouidence by the meanes of the kings letters the armie returned, and Huberts life (contrarie to his expectation) was preserued.

A notable example of Gods iust punishment striking with death in that same path the death of another.

Excommunication of Radulph bishop of Chichester.

After this, the archbishop of Dublin a graue maketh intercession for Hubert.

The archbishop of Dublin a graue maketh intercession for Hubert. After this, the archbishop of Dublin with much labor and great suite intreated, and obtained of the king to grant vnto the said Hubert respit till the twelfth day of Ianuarie, to prouide himselfe of his answer to such things as were commenced against him. Then Hubert trusting to inioy some libertie by the kings permission to him granted, he breathed himselfe a little and to walke abroad, take his iournie towards S. Edmundsbury, where his wife was; and passing through the countrie of Essex, was inuited there in a certaine towne belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Whereof when the king was certified, fearing lest he would raise vp some commotion in the realme, sendeth in hastie anger after him, sir Godfrid Cranecombe knight with three hundred men: commanding vnder paine of hanging that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the towre of London: which commandement to accomplish, there lacked no haste. Hubert hauing intelligence of their comming (fling out of his bed naked as he was) ran into the chapell standing next vnto the inne, where he holdeth with the one hand the crosse, with the other hand the sacrament of the Lords bodie. Then Godfrid with his foresaid armed souldiers entring into the chapell, willed him to come out. Which when hee would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the chapell, and taking the crosse and the sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and giues vnder the horse bellie, and broughthim as they were commanded, to the towre. And so certifying the king what they had done, who thereof hauing vnderstanding of them, he reioyced not a little thereat, and went merrie to his bed.

Hubert flieth to the church for his refuge.

Hubert violently drawne out of the church.

Hubert is committed to the custodie of the bishop of London.

The next morrow following after, Roger bishop of London hauing knowledge, how and in what order he was taken violentlie out of the chapell, commeth vnto the king, blaming him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and protested that vnlesse the partie were loosed againe, and sent to the chapell from whence he was drawne, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the bad doers.

The liues blamed by Hubert hauing the peace of holy church.

The king seeketh to find Hubert matter to send him into banishment.

The king is vexed with displeasure against Hubert, but yet he sendeth Albert against his will out of the towre vnto the said chapell again, and by the same souldiers which brought him out before. Which done, hee giueth in strait charge and commandement vnder paine of hanging to the shirifs of Hertford and of Essex, that they in their owne persons with the strength of both shires should watch and compasse about the chapell, and see that the said Hubert no waies might escape. Which commandement of the king was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert tooke all this patiently, and continued in the chapell praying both night and day, and commending his cause vnto the Lord, whom he desired to deliuer him from that iniust danger, as hee alwaies fought the kings honour by his faithfull and trustie seruice. And as hee continued in his prayer, so the king continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should intreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet Lucas archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost onelie friend, ceased not to pray and weepe to the king for him, desiring the king at least to intimat to him what his purposed should be done with Hubert. Wherevnto the king answering, said:

Example of a constant friend in the time of need.

Three things put to Hubert to choose.

Hubert conueied out of the castle into the parish church.

Hubert againe taken out of the church, and brought backe to the castle.

Hubert reciteth himselfe to the shirifs.

Hubert reuoked againe to the towre.

Hubert deliuered out of prison and committed into Wales.

Faithfull dispositions.

Roger bishop of London gathered to go to the papage himselfe before the pope.

Against diuerse.

Hubert deuiseth all his treasures.

Anno 1233

Vsurers excommunicated and repelled by the bishop of London.

Excommunication well liked against vsurers.

God ruleth the harts of kings.

The kings answer in defence of Hubert.

A worthie saieng of a king.

The generall visitation of the pope through all religious houses.

The kings mind reclined toward Hubert.

Ex Paris. fol.

Foure earles sureties for Hubert.

The great discorde among all religious orders noted.

Hubert putteth the castle of Deuizis.

That of these three things one he should chose, whether he would abiure the realme of England for euer, or be condemned vnto perpetuall prison, or else confesse himselfe openlie to bee a traitor. But Hubert hereunto said, that hee would chose none of these articles, as who knew himselfe neither guiltie, nor worthie of any such confusion: but to satisfie some what the minde of the king, hee would bee contented to depart the realme for a season, but to abiure the realme he would not so doe.

In this meane time it befell that Ranulphus earle of Chester and of Lincolne, one of his forsell enemies died. Hubertus all this while remained in the chapell inclosed and garded about with the power (as is said) of two shires, and so continued till at length by the commandement of the king, his two seruitors: which ministred to him within the chapell, were taken from him. Then Hubert seeing no other remedie, but there to starue for famine, offred himselfe of his owne accord to the shirifs, saying that hee would put himselfe rather in the kings mercie, then there desperatlie to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and being fast bound in fetters, was brought againe and clapped, by the kings commandement, in the towre of London.

Not long after this, word was brought vnto the king by certaine, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new templaries in London. Whereupon the king, to trie out the truth thereof, sendeth for the prior or master of the house: who not daring to denie, confessed that there was indeed treasure brought into the house, but the quantitie and number thereof he could not tell. The king desirous to seize vpon the treasure, required and charged the matter with his brethren with threatning words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying that it was taken and stolne out of his treasurie. But they answered againe, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith vnto their hands, and therefore they would not ought to let it goe out of their hands, being trusted withall, without the assent of him which committed the same vnto them. When the king could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst they in any further violence against them, he sendeth vnto Hubert in the towre, requiring of him the foresaid treasures. To whom he answering againe mildly, yeelded both himselfe, his treasures, and all that euer hee had vnto the kings will and pleasure, and so sending word vnto the master and brethren of the temple, willeth them to take all the treies, and deliuer the goods with all that there was vnto the king; who receiuing the same, and taking an inuentorie of that which was receiued, caused it to be brought vnto his treasurie: wherof the number both of the plate, of coine, and of the iewels, was of price vnknowne. The enemies of Hubert suppsling reuenge for to take aduantage against him, to bring him to his end, came with open complaint vnto the king, crying out against Hubert, that he was a theefe, a traitor, and a robber of the kingstreasure, and therefore by right was worthie to bee hanged, and thus cried his accusers daily in the kings eare. But the hearts of kings (saith the wise man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after mans will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And to this king hauing noio his will and fill vpon poore Hubert, and fauor what comming more vnto himselfe, answered against it this wise, that there was no such need to deale so straitlie with him, who from the time of his youth first serued mine vncle king Richard, then my father king John, in whose seruice (as I heard say) beyond the seas, hee was driuen to eat his horse, Parisiensis, pag. 81. and in my time hath paid to constantly in defence of the realme against foren nations, who kept the castle of Douer against king Lewis, and vanquished the Frenchmen vpon the seas, also at Bedford and at Lincolne hath done such seruice. And though against me hee hath dealt anything buttruelie, which yet is not euidentlie prooued, yet he shall neuer be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather here commit a king saieth and simple, then to bee iudged a tyrant or striker of bloud, especiallie of such as haue serued me and mine ancestors in many perils so dangerous like, weighing more fewe euils which yet he is not proued, then so many good deserts of his cudent and manifest seruice done both to me and to the whole realme, &c. And thus the king somewhat relenting to poze Hubert his old seruant, granted vnto him all such lands as hee had giuen by king John his father, and whatsoeuer else he had by his owne purchase.

Thus Hubert after long trouble a little cheered with some peece of comfort, for Laurence his trustie friend that neuer left him, or that belonged to S. Albons, to bee his steward and ouerseer of those possessions granted vnto him by the king. And shortly vpon the same, after the kings mind was seene thus something to relent, the enuie also of the nobles being now partly satisfied, began to turne to mercie, in so much that foure earles, to wit, earle Richard the kings brother, William earle of Warrein, Richard earle marshall, and William earle of Ferris, became sureties to the king for him. Vpon whose fidelitie he was transferred to the castle of Deuizis, where hee was vnder the keeping of some souldiers by them appointed, hauing the liberte of the caste. But the bishop of Winchester, who alwaies hunted after the life of Hubert, craftilie commeth vnto the king, and desireth the custodie of that castle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof, he might the sooner dispatch him. Hubert hauing there of some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his seruants, who (with compassion tendering his miserie, watched their time (the keepers being asleepe) and conueied him by night on their backs, tethered as he was, into the parish church of the towne, and there remained with him. The keepers when they miss their prisoner were in great perplexitie, and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle againe. For which iniurie to the church, the bishop of Sarum vnderstanding the order of the matter, commeth to the castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should bee brought againe into the church from whence he was taken. Which when the keepers denied to doe, saying they would rather hee should hang then they: then the bishop gaue sentence against them of excommunication. Which done, he with the bishop of London and other bishops, goeth immediately vnto the king, complaining of the iniurie done vnto Hubert, and especially of the contumelie against holy church: neither would they leaue the king, before they had obtained that he should be reduced again into the church, and so he was. It was not long after, but the king in great displeasure sendeth to the shirifs of the shire to keepe him well watched in the church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

It befell in the meane season that great dissension rose betweene the king and the nobles of the realme, by reason where of Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard earle marshall into Wales, and there remained, vntill the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so receiued (with the rest) the said Hubert againe into his fauor. Ex Matthæo Parisiensi, & ex Floribus historiarum. Of the which dissension more shall bee shewed (Christ willing) hereafter.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of vexing the popes barnes: so likewise Roger bishop of London suspected for the same cause, was inforced to trauell vp to Rome, there to purge himselfe before the pope. Where after much money consumed, and robbed also by the way, hee gat nothing else, but loss his labor, and so came home againe. Who then doing the part of a good bishop, after his returne from Rome, attempted to expell and exclude out of his dioces all these Italian vsurers called, as is before said, Caursini. These Caursinits comming with the popes legats into England, and lending their money to religious houses, to colleges and churches, had their debters bound vnto them in such sort as was much vntageable to them, and much iniurious to the other, as in the forme of their obligations in the storie of Mat. Parisiensis is largely expressed fol. 65. Against these Caursinites the bishop of London being worthilie inflamed with zeale of iustice, first with louing admonition went about to reclaime them for the wealth of their soules, afterward with sharpe words began to charge them. But they neither regarding christian counsell, and despiting the bishops threatnings, would not leaue the sweetnesse of their occupation. Wherefore the bishop proceeding vnto the sentence of excommunication, precisely and districtly charged them to depart his dioces. But they againe being confident and imboldened vpon the popes defence, not onely set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such wiles with the pope, that they caused the said bishop of London, being both aged & sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appeare beyond the seas, there to answere to such obiections as they should inferre against him. And thus the bishop minding rather to couer then to open the faults of the church, and partly being let with infirmitie and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

And thus much of the popes merchants here in England, which were not so busie here for their part, but the pope the great master of these merchant vsurers, was as busie for his. And although his barnes here in England were destroyed, and his banke something decayed, yet he thought to win it by another way: for he proclaimed the same yeare a generall visitation through all the religious houses exempt or not exempt vniuersallie pertaining to his iurisdiction, where by the cruell dealing of the visitors, many were compelled to appeale and to trauell vp to Rome, to the great expenses of their money, and filling the popes coffers. But as touching this visitation, to make short (saith the storie) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of vniuersall order: *Dum omnes qui in diuersis orbi. partibus vnicam Benedicti secuti fuerant regulam, per nouas constitu...nes ita inuentiantur vbique discordes, quod ex omnibus cœnobijs, vel alijs religiosorũ ecclesijs vix duo inuenitur in norma viuendi concordes:* that is, Whilst all they, which before though all sorts of the world followed onely the rule of Benedict, now through new deuised constitutions are found in all places so diuided and diuers, that of all monasteries, and other churches of religion, scarce may two be found, which doe agree in one rule and institution of life.

All this while that Hubert aboue mentioned was secluded from the king, Peter bishop of Winchester bare all the rule, and about all other alone was accepted. This bishop being in such priuiledge and fauour with the king, as by whose counsell all things were administred, remoued the naturall seruitors that were Englishmen, out of their offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of Pictauia, and of other countries, in their rooms. Among whom was thrust out William vndermarshall, which supplied the roome of Richard lord great marshall of England, for the which cause, the said lord Richard was nightlie offended. Also Walter treasurer of the kings house, was not onely expelled, but also merced at an hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the kings patent granted to him.

Old seruitors of the king put out and displaced.

Moreouer, by the counsell of the said bishop of Winchester, all the old counsellors as well bishops, as other earles and barons, and all the nobles were reiected from the king in such sort, that he would heare and follow no mans counsell, but only the said Peter bishop of Winchester, and his cosin Peter de Rivallis. Whereby it came to passe that all the greatest holds and munitions in the realme were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the custodie of the said Peter. Then the bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himselfe more strongly in the kings fauor, adioyned to his fellowship Stephan Segraue succeeding in the place of Hubert the iustice: also Robert Passew, who had the keeping of the treasure vnder the foresaid Peter Rivall. So by these three, all the affaires of the realme were ordered. Moreouer, to make their partie more sure, by them was prouided, that souldiers and seruitors from beyond the sea, as Pictauians and Britains were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the king, partly were set in castles & holds within the realme, and had the ouersight and gouernment of shires and baronies, who then oppressed the nobles of the land, accusing them to the king for traitors, whom the simple king did lightly beleeue, committing to them the custodie of his treasures, the sitting in iudgements, and the doing in all things. And when the nobles thus oppressed, came to complaine of their iniuries to the king, by the meanes of the bishop of Winchester, their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester moreouer accused certaine bishops also to the king, so that hee did suffer them as open traitors and rebels.

The king seeketh his nobles and sticketh to strangers.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard the noble marshall of England, with others of the nobles ioyning with him, seeing these oppressions and iniuries daily growing contrarie to the lawes and wealth of the realme, came to the king, and blamed him for retaining such peruerse counsel about him of the Pictauians and other forreners, to the great preiudice of his naturall subiects, and of the liberties of the realme, humblie desiring and beseeching him, that he with as much speed as might be, would reforme and reuoke such excesses, whereby the whole realme seemed to lie in danger of subuersion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, hee with other peers and nobles would withdraw themselues from his counsell, so long as he maintained the societie of those forreners and strangers about him.

Richard earle marshall admonished by the king.

To this Peter Winchester answering againe, said, that the king right well might call vnto him what forreners and strangers him liked, for the defence both of his kingdome and of his crowne; and what number of them he would, as by whom hee might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subiects, and so to keepe them in awe and god order. When the earle and the nobles could get no other answere of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselues, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole realme, they would constantly ioyne together to the parting of their life.

The disdainfull answere of the bishop of Winchester to the nobles.

After this, the foresaid Petrus bishop of Winchester with his complices, ceased not by all meanes to inflame the kings hart to hatred and contempt of his naturall people, whom they so vehemently peruerted, that he counting them no other then his enemies, sought by all diligence the vtter destruction of them, sending daily more garrisons of the Pictauians, that in that space they replenished welneare the whole land, whose defence the king only trusted vnto: neither was any thing disposed in the realme, but through the guiding of this Peter and of the Pictauians.

Wicked counsell about a king.

Petrus de rupibus bishop of Winchester peruerter of the king.

The king thus garded and strengthened with these forren aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were warned to bee present. They not considering the indignation of the king conceiued, would not appeare. Against they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselues. The assemblie proceeded, but they came not, for whom the king woked. In this assemblie or parliament, it was plainely told the king by a Dominike frier preaching before him, that vnlesse he remoued from him the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rivall his kinsman, hee should not, neither could long inioy peace in his kingdome. Although it was bluntly spoken of the frier against the bishop, yet this remedie he had; the frier had nothing to loose. Yet was there another chaplaine of the court, who perceiuing the king some what intigated by the former preaching, and after a courtlike dexteritie handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrilie came to the king asking a question, What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all others? That was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all to them that trauell by the seas: That, said the

A merrie answere of one of the kings chaplain.

king, is beſt knowne to ſuch as trauell in that kind of traffike. Nay ſaith he, this is eaſie to be told. The king demanding what it was, Forſooth (quoth he) ſtones and rocks, alluding merrily (but yet truely) to the biſhop of Winchester, whoſe name and ſurname was Petrus de rupibus, for ſo Petre in Latine ſignifieth ſtones, and Rupes rocks. Notwithſtanding, the king either not perceiuing the meaning, or not amending the fault, againe ſignified to his nobles to ſpeake with him at Weſtminſter. But they fearing ſome traine to be laid for them, refuſed to appeare, ſending plaine words to the king by ſolemne meſſage, that his grace without all delay ſhould ſeclude from him Peter biſhop of Winchester and other aliens of Britaine, or if he would not, they with the common aſſent of the realme, would diſplace him with his wicked counſellors from his kingdome, and haue within themſelues traeation for chuſing a new king.

The meſſage of the nobles to the king.

The king at the hearing of this meſſage being mightilie moued, partly to feare, partly to indignation, eſpecially hauing the late example of king John his father before his eyes, was cait in great perplexitie, doubting what was beſt to bee done. But Winchester with his wicked counſell ſo wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all ſecuritie againſt them, informing that in ſhort time the ſparkles of poyſoned counſell kindling more & more, grew to a ſharpe battell betweene the king and Richard earle marſhal with other nobles, to the great diſquietneſſe of the whole realme. The which war before was preſignified by terrible thundring and lightning heard all England ouer in the moneth of March, with ſuch abundance of raine and cloudes growing vpon the ſame, as cait downe mils, ouercouered the fields, threw downe houſes, and did much harme through the whole realme.

They called by the king againſt his nobles.

Great thunders and cloudes in England.

To proſecute here at large the whole diſcourſe of this war betweene the king and earle marſhall, which continued neere the ſpace of two yeares, to declare all the parts and circumſtances thereof, what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought vnto the whole realme, what traines were laid, what ſlaughter of men, what waſt of whole countries inſued from Wales vnto Shrewſburie, how the marſhall ioyned himſelfe with Leolin prince of Wales, how the Pictauians were almoſt all ſlaine and deſtroyed, how the king was diſtreſſed, what forgerie wrie Winchester wrought by the kings letters to intrap the marſhall and to betray him to the Iriſhmen, amongſt whom he was at length ſlaine; all this I refer to other authors, who at large doe intreat of the ſame, as Mat. Paris, Florilegus, and ſuch others. This is to be noted and obſerued (which rather pertaineth to our eccleſiaſticall hiſtory) to ſe how great ſedition and continuall diſquietnes was in thoſe daies among all chriſtian people almoſt, being vnder the popes catholike obedience: but eſpecially to marke the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be marueiled, or rather lamented, to ſee the king and the people then ſo blinded in the principall point and article of their ſaluation, as we find in ſtories (which making mention of a houſe of monaſterie of conuerts, builded the ſame yeare by the king at London, do expreſſe in plaine words, that he then did it *Pro redemptione animæ ſuæ, & regis Iohannis patris ſui, & omnium anteceſſorum ſuorum*: that is, For the redemption of his ſoule, of the ſoule of king John his father, and for the ſoules of all his anceſtors, &c. Whereby may bee vnderſtood in what palpable darkeneſſe of blind ignorance the ſillie ſoules redeemed by Chriſt were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and firſt principles of their redemption. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, pag. 86.

Edward builded Thre eccleſiaſticall houſes.

Mention was made a little before of diſſoluing the election of Iohn Pikot of Canturburie, which was choſen by the monks to be archbiſhop of the ſaid church of Canturburie, but by the pope was defeated. After whom one John Blund was elected, who trauelling vp to Rome this yeare, An. 1233. to be confirmed of the pope, was alſo repealed and vnelected againe, for that it was thought in England, and ſo complained of to the pope, that he had receiued of Peter biſhop of Winchester, a thouſand marks, and had another thouſand promiſed him of the ſaid Winchester. Who by his money thought to make him of his ſide, and alſo wrote vnto the emperor to helpe forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithſtanding, both hee with his giuing, and the other with his taking of bribes, were both detected and diſappointed of their purpoſe. For the pope hating then the emperor, for the ſame cauſe admitted not the election; pretending the cauſe, for that he was proued to hold two benefices without his diſpenſation. After whom, by the commandement of the pope, one Edmund canon of Saliſburie was ordained archbiſhop, and had his pall ſent to him from the pope. Which Edmund after for his vertues was canonized of the popiſh monks there for a ſaint, and called S. Edmund. About which time alſo Robert Groſſhead was made biſhop of Lincolne.

John archbiſhop of Canturburie elected by the chapter, is againe vnelected by the pope.

Corruption of bribes.

Edmund archbiſhop of Canturburie.

S. Edmund canonized. Robert Groſſhead made biſhop of Lincolne.

This Edmund accompanied with other biſhops, during this trouble betweene the king and his nobles, being in counſell at Weſtminſter, in the yeer next inſuing, which was 1234: came vttering their minds boldly in the name of the lords, and declaring vnto the king as breaine his faithfull ſeruants, that his counſell which then he followed, was not found nor ſafe, but cruell and dangerous both to him, & to the ſtate of the realme, meaning the counſell of Peter Winchester, and of Peter Riuall, with other adherents.

Anno 1233. Faithfull counſell of the biſhops graunted to the king.

1 FIrſt and in primis, ſo that they hate and contemne the Engliſh nation, calling them traitors and rebels, and turning the kings heart from the loue of his naturall ſubiects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the earle marſhall and others, ſowing diſcord among them.

2 Item, by the ſaid counſell, to wit, by the foreſaid biſhop and his fellowes, king John the kings father loſt firſt the hearts of his barons, after that loſt Normandie, and afterwardes other lands alſo, and in the end waſted all his treaſure, ſo that ſince that time the reguuent of England had neuer any quiet after.

3 By the ſaid counſell alſo, in their time and memorie, the kingdome of England had been troubled and ſuſpended, and in concluſion became tributarie, ſo that was before the prince of prouinces: and ſo war inſuing vpon the ſame, the ſaid king Iohn his father incurred great danger of death, and at laſt was ertinguiſhed, lacking both peace of his kingdome and of his owne heart.

4 Item, by the ſaid counſell the caſtle of Bedford was kept long time againſt the king, to the great loſſe both of men and treaſure, beſide the loſſe of Rupella, to the ſhame of the realme of England.

5 Moreouer, though their wicked counſell, at this preſent, great perturbation ſeemed to hang ouer the whole realme; for elſe if it had not been for their counſell, and that true iuſtice and iudgement might haue been miniſtred vnto the kings ſubiects, theſe tumults had neuer been ſtirred, and the king might haue had his land vnwaſted, and his treaſure vnconſumed.

6 Item, in that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged vnto him, they proteſted vnto him that ſaid his counſell was not a counſell of peace, but of diuiſion and diſquietneſſe, for the cauſe that they which otherwiſe by peace could not aſpire, by diſturbing and diſherciting others might be eralted.

7 Item, for that all the caſtles, forts, munitions, alſo all the officers of the archeler, with all other the greateſt archcats of the realme were in their hands, of the which if the king would demand account, he ſhould proue how true they were.

8 Item, for that neither by the kings ſeale, nor commandement, except it bare withall the ſeale of Peter Riuall, almoſt no buſineſſe of any weight could be diſpatched in the realme, as though they counted their king for no king.

9 Furthermore, by the foreſaid counſell, the naturall ſubiects and nobles of the realme were baniſhed the court, which was to be feared would growe to ſome inconuenience both to the king and to the realme; for ſomuch as the king ſeemed more to be on their ſide then they of his, as by many euident coniectures may appeare.

10 Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the ſaid counſell ſtanding of ſtrangers and aliens, to haue in their power both the kings ſiſter, and many other noble mens daughters and other women marriageable, with the kings wards and marriages, which they beſtowed and diuided among themſelues, and men of their affinitie.

11 Alſo, the ſaid counſell regarding neither the lawes, nor liberties of the realme confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and peruert all iuſtice: therefore it was to be feared that they would run vnder excommunication, and the king alſo in communicating with them.

12 Item, becauſe they kept neither promiſe nor faith, nor oth with any perſon, neither did obſerue any inſtrument made neuer ſo formall by laid, nor yet did feare any excommunication: therefore they were to be left for people deſperate, as which were departed from all truth and honeſtie.

These things (ſaid the biſhops) we as your faithfull ſubiects before God and men, do tell and aduertiſe your grace, deſiring and beſeeching you, that you will remoue and ſeclude from you ſuch counſellors as the cuſtome is of all other kingdomes to do, that you will ſo gouerne in like maner your kingdome by your owne naturall liege people, and ſuch as bee ſworne vnto you of your owne realme. For thus (ſaid they) in veritie we denounce vnto you, that vnleſſe in ſhort time you will ſee theſe things reformed, we according to our dutie will proceed by the cenſure of the church againſt you, and all others that gainſtand the ſame, tarrying no other thing, but onely the conſecration of this our reuerend archbiſhop.

Excommunication denounced by the biſhops againſt the king.

These words of the biſhop thus ſaid and finiſhed, the king required a little time of reſpit, wherein to aduiſe with himſelfe what the matter, ſaying that he could not in ſuch a ſudden remoue from him his counſell, before hee had entred with them account of this treaſure committed to them: and ſo that aſſemblie brake by.

The kings anſwere to the biſhops.

It followed then after this communication ſo broken by, that the king reſorted to the parts of Northfolke, where coming by S. Edmundſburie, where the wife of Hubert the iuſtice was, he being moued with zeale of pitie toward the woman, (who were humbile behaued her ſelfe to the king, and grant him eight manor places, which her huſband before with his money had purchaſed, being then in the cuſtodie & poſſeſſion of Robert Paſſelew, one of the kings new counſellors aboue ſpecified.

The pitie of the king toward the wife of Hubert.

It



Edmund conſecrated archbiſhop of Canturburie, which was aforetime condemned by pope Innocent the fourth for a ſaint.

It was not long after this, but Edmund the archbiſhop was inueſted and conſecrated in the church of Canturburie, who ſhortly after his conſecration, about the moneth of Aprill, comming with his ſuffragans to the place of councell, where the king with his earles and barons was aſſembled, opened to him the cauſe and purpoſe of his comming and of the other prelats, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talke had with him at Weſtminſter; denouncing moreouer to him expreſſie, that vnles with ſpeed hee would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithfull nobles of his realme, hee incontinent with the other prelats there preſent, would paſſe with ſentence of excommunication againſt him, and againſt all them that ſhould bee enemies to the ſame peace, and maintainers of diſcord.

The counſell of Winchester and ſuch other biſhops as about the king, diſpraued by certaine cauſes.

Example of excommunication rightly practiſed.

The king after he heard the meaning of the biſhops, with humble and gentle language anſwered them againe, promiſing to condeſcend to them in all things. Whereupon within few daies after, the king comming to ſome better remembrance of himſelfe, commanded the foreſaid biſhop of Winchester to ſeale the court, and returne home to his biſhoprike, there to attend vnto the ſpirituall charge and care of his flocke committed to him. Moreouer, he commanded Peter Riuall the biſhops coſin (ſome ſtories ſay his ſon) who had then the diſpoſing of all the affaires of the realme, to render vnto him his caſtles, and to giue account of all his treaſures, wherof he had the keeping, and ſo to boide the realme, ſweating moreouer vnto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the church, elſe he would haue cauſed both his eyes to be pluckt out of his head.

The kings promiſe to the biſhops.

Peter biſhop of Winchester diſcharged out of the court. Peter Riuall called to account of the kings reuenues.

He expelled likewiſe the Pictauians out of the court, and from the cuſtodie of his munitions, ſending them home into their countrie, and bidding they ſhould no more ſee his face. And thus the king wiſely diſpatching himſelfe of his wicked counſellors, firſt did ſend Edmund the archbiſhop, with the biſhops of Cheſter and of Rocheſter, into Wales to Leolin, and to Richard earle marſhall, and others, to intreat with them of peace. Alſo herceiued to his ſeruice againe men of his naturall countrie, to attend about him, offering himſelfe willing to be ruled by the counſell of the archbiſhop and the biſhops, by whoſe prudence he truſted his realme ſhould be reduced againe to a better quietneſſe.

Pictauians ſent home to the king vnto their countrie. Reconciliation ſought betweene the king and the nobles.

Richard earle marſhall fraudulently excommunicated, and ſlaine in Ireland.

But in the meane time, while theſe things were doing in England, the foreſaid Richard earle marſhall by the falſhod of the biſhop of Winchester, and Peter Riuall, forging the kings letters to the Iriſhmen againſt him, and partly by the conſpiracie of Gilbert de Sparico, was circumuented by the Iriſhmen in war, and there taken & wounded, was by them through the meanes of his ſurgeon ſlaine.

Catini ſlaine about Almaine, vnder colour of the pupills hoy hereſike.

Great ſlaughter the ſame time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Almaine. Theſe Catini were eſteemed of pope Gregorie and the papiſts to be hereſikes; but what their opinions were I find it not expreſſed: In Pariſienſi.

Albigenſes ſlaine in Spaine by the popes ſetting on.

In like ſort the Albigenſes afore mentioned, recounted alſo of the popes flock to be hereſikes, with their biſhops, and a great number and compaſſe of them were ſlaine by the commandement of pope Gregorie at the ſame time in a certaine plaine in Spaine. Ex March. Pariſienſi, fol. 87.

The king ſamineth the death of Richard earle marſhall.

Vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie with other two biſhops were ſent into Wales for intreatie of peace. vve heard before. At whoſe returne againe after the time of Eaſter, the king going toward Glocester to meet them by the way, as hee was in his iourney at Wodſtocke, came meſſengers of Ireland, declaring to the king the death of Richard earle marſhall, and the order thereof, through the forged letters of Winchester and others: whereat the king made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, ſaying and complaining that he left not his like in all the realm againe.

The ſaying of Leolin king of Wales. The ſtrength of king Henrie more feared then his puiſſance.

After this the king proceeding in his iourney came to Glocester, where the archbiſhop with the other biſhops comming to the king, declared to him the forme and condition of peace, which they had concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, ſuch as the king had baniſhed out of his realme; to the end that the concord might be the more firme betweene them. Thus (ſaid they) was Leolin contented, although with much adoe & great difficulty, to receiue the league of peace, ſaying and proteſting this vnto them, that he feared more the kings almes then all the puiſſance both of him and of all his clergie within England.

Peace concluded betweene the king and the nobles.

This done, the king there remaining with the biſhops directed his letters to all the erles and baniſhed lords, and to all his nobles, that they ſhould repaire to him about the beginning of June, at Glocester; promiſing to them his full fauour and reconcilement to them and to their heires, and that they ſhould ſuſpect no fraud therin they ſhould haue their ſafe conduct by the archbiſhop and biſhops.

Hubert earle of Kent reſtored againe to the kings fauor.

Whereupon, though the mediation of the ſaid archbiſhop and the biſhops, firſt commeth to the king, Hubert earle of Kent, offring himſelfe to the kings grace and fauor. Whom the king with chearefull countenance receiued and imbraced, reſtoring him not onely to his fauor, but alſo to his houſhold and counſell, with his liuings and poſſeſſions from which hee had been diſlieged before. Then Hubert lifting vp his eyes to heauen, gaue praiſe and glorie to God, by whoſe gratious prouidence he ſo marcuelouſly being preſerued from ſo great diſtreſſes and tribulations, was againe ſo happilie reconciled to the king, and his faithfull friends. After him in like ſort came in Gilbert Baſſet a noble man, Richard Sward, alſo Gilbert the brother of Richard Marſhall that was ſlaine; which Gilbert recouered againe his whole inheritance as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, & his ſeruice due for the ſame; to whom alſo was granted the office of the high marſhall court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

Hubert aſſieth thanks to God.

In the ſame councell of communication touching them at Glocester, the ſaid Edmund archbiſhop of Canturburie, bringing the forged letters wherein was betrayed the life of Richard earle marſhall, ſealed with the kings ſeale, and ſent to the great men of Iceland, read the ſame openly in the preſence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof, the king greatly ſorrowing and weeping, confeſſed there in truth, that being forced by the biſhop of Winchester and Peter de Riuallis, he commanded his ſeale to be ſet to certaine letters preſented vnto him, but the tenor thereof he ſaid and ſware he neuer heard. Whereunto the archbiſhop anſwering againe, deſired the king to ſearch well his conſcience, and ſaid that all they which were procurers or of knowledge of thoſe letters, were guiltie of the death of the earle marſhall, no leſſe then if they had murthered him with their owne hands.

Falſhood and murther couered with out. Kings many times abuſed by wicked counſell.

Then the king calling a councell, ſent his letters for the biſhop of Winchester, for Peter Riuall, Stephan Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew to appeare and yeeld account for his treaſures vnto them committed, and for his ſeale by them abuſed. But the biſhop and Riuall keeping themſelues in the ſanctuarie of the minſter church of Wincheſter, neither durſt nor would appeare. Stephan Segraue, the ſucceeded after Hubert the iuſtice, and was of the clergie before, after became a lay man, and now biding himſelfe in S. Patricks church in the abbie of Leiceſter, was turned to a clerke againe. Robert Paſſelew couertly hid himſelfe in a certaine cellar of the new temple, ſo ſecretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length through the foreſaid Edmund archbiſhop of Canturbury, meanes was made, that a dilatory day was granted by the king for them to anſwere. At which day firſt appeared Peter de Riuallis, then Stephan Segraue, after him Robert Paſſelew, each of them ſeuerally one after another, theiued themſelues, but not able to anſwere for themſelues, like traitors were repoued, and like villaines were ſent away. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 91.

The biſhop of Winchester fleeth to his anſwere.

Peter Riuall, Stephan Segraue, Robert Paſſelew cal led to their anſwere.

## Variance betweene pope Gregorie the *ninth and the Romans.*

VVHile peace thus betweene the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, diſſenſion and variance the ſame time and yeare began in Rome, betweene the pope and the citizens of Rome. The cauſe was, for that the citizens claimed by old cuſtome and law, that the biſhop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the citie, nor ſuſpend the ſaid citie with any interdiction for any maner cauſe.

Variance betweene the pope and the citizens of Rome. The allegatiõ of the Romans.

To this the pope anſwered againe; *Quod minor Deo eſt ſed quolibet homine maior* (to vſe the very words of mine author:) *Ergo, maior quolibet ciue, ne Etiam rege, vel imperatore, &c:* That is, that he is leſſe then God, but greater then any man: Ergo, greater then any citizen, yea alſo greater then king or emperor. And ſo ſo much as he is their ſpirituall father, hee both ought and lawfully may chaſtiſe his children when they offend, as being ſubiected to him in the faith of Chriſt, and reduce them into the way againe when they ſtray out of courſe.

The popes anſwere.

Moreouer the citizens alleage againe for themſelues, that the potteſtats of the citie and ſenators doe receiue of the church of Rome yearely tribute, which the biſhops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and alſo ancient lawes. And though with much adoe & great difficulty, to receiue the league they haue not yet in poſſeſſion before this preſent time of this pope Gregorie the ninth.

The ſecond allegation of the Romans. The pope bound to pay to Rome yearely tribute.

Hereunto the pope anſwered and ſaid, that although the church of Rome in time of perſecution, for their defence and cauſe of peace, was wont to reſpect the head rulers of the citie with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a cuſtome: for that cuſtome onely ought to ſtand, which conſiſteth not vpon examples, but vpon right and reaſon.

The pope refuſeth.

Further and beſides, the citizens ſaid that they at the commandement of the ſenators, would appropriate their countrie with new and larger limites, and infranchiſe the ſame, being inlarged with fields and bodders.

The reaſon cauſe and allegation of the Romans.

To this the pope againe made anſwere, that certaine lordſhips, and cities, and caſtles, be contained within the compaſſe of the ſaid limits, as the citie Viterbium, and Montcaller, which they preſume to appropriate within their precinct: but to aſcribe to them and vſurpe that which pertaineth to others, is againſt right and iuſtice.

The popes anſwere.

For theſe and ſuch other controuerſies riſing betwene the pope and the Romans, ſuch diſſenſion kindled, that the pope

The Romanes flie to the Greekes for helpe.

The Greekes refuse to helpe them.

The pope wars against the Romanes.

A great slaughter of the Romanes by the pope. Ex Parisiens. fol. 182.

The church of Rome degenerated from the true image of the primitiue church.

Diuers corrupt behauiours in the church of Rome that vnderprop the church of Rome that now is.

East church. West church.

Catholike.

The schisme betweene the Greeke church and the church of Rome. Catholike vnitie.

with his cardinals leauing the citie of Rome, remoued to Ianuarium as partly before is recited, thinking there to remaine and to plant themselues: but the Romans preuailing against him, ouerthrew diuers of his houses in the citie, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then flying to the emperor, desired his aid and succour: but he, lothe to displease the pope, gathering an armie, went rather against the Romanes. Then the popes armie, whose captaines were the earle of Ebowlis (to purchase the popes fauor) and Peter the forenamed bishop of Tusculane (whether (whom the pope for the same had sent for from England partly for his treasure, partly for his practise and skill in feats of warre) and the emperors host ioyned together, and bordering about the citie of Rome, cast downe the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, to the number of eightéene, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the citie. Either of the Romans being not a little offended, brast out of the citie, with most hearte them ouerthrew them the popes citie with sworde and fire. But the multitude being vnordered and out of batell raie, and vnprouided for ieopardies which by the way might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number, so that on both parts were slaine to the view of 30000: but the most part was of the citizens. And this dissension thus begun was not soone ended, but continued long after.

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how farre the church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ, which by the rule and example of the gospell ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a reuenger of her selfe, nor a setter of wars; but a forgiuer of iniuries, humbly and patiently referring all reuenge to the Lord; not a taker for riches, but a winner of soules; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselues as seruants, and not as vicars of the Lord; but loyally like brethren seruing together, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as masters separating themselues by superiorities one from another; and briefly communicating together in doctrine and counsell, one particular church with another, not as a mother one ouer another, but rather as a sister church one with another, seeking together the glorie of Christ, and not their owne. And such was the church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitiue state, especially while the order of perfection yet kept the bishops & ministers vnder in humilitie of heart and feruent calling to the Lord for helpe: so that happie was that christian then, which with libertie of conscience onely might hold his life, how barely soeuer he liued. And as for the pride and pompe of the world, as striuing for patrimonies, buying of bishopriks, gaping for benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure and lesse list yea once to thinke vpon them. Neither did the bishops then of Rome fight to be consuls of the citty, but fought how to bring the consuls vnto Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the citie. Neither did they then presume so high, to bring the emperors riches vnder their girdles, but were glad to lay riches as an ouer course for the sword of the emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, Gods holy spirit mightilie working in their hearts. Then was one catholike vnitie of truth and doctrine amongst all churches against errors and sects. Neither did the east and west, nor distance of place diuide the church, but both the east church and west church, the Greeks and Latins made all one church. And albeit there were then fiue patriarchs that appointed for order sake, differing by regions, and peraduenture also in some rites one from another: yet all these consenting together in one vnitie of catholike doctrine, hauing one God, one Christ, one faith, one baptisme, one spirit, one head, and linked together in one bond of charitie, and in one equalitie of honor, they made all together one body, one church, one communion, called one catholike, vniuersall, and apostolicall church. And so long as this knot of charitie and equalitie did ioyne them in one vnitie together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased, one readie to helpe and harbor another, in time of distresse, as Agapetus and Vigilius flying to Constantinople were there aided by the patriarch, &c: so that all this while, neither forren enemie neither Saracen nor Soldan, nor Sultan, nor Caliphia, nor Sopastmine, nor Turke had any power greatly to harme it.

But through the malice of the enemie, this catholike vnitie did not long continue, and all by reason of the bishop of Rome, who not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend himself and to claime superiority aboue the other fiue patriarchall seas, and all other churches in the world. And thus as equalitie amongst christian bishops was by pride and singularitie oppressed, so vnitie began by little & little to be dissolued, and the Lords cote, which the soulders left whole, to be diuided. Which cote of christian vnitie, albeit of long time it had been now seamcript before by the occasion aforesaid: yet notwithstanding in some peace it held together in some meane agreement, vnder subiection to the see of Rome, till the time of this pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1233 at which time the ruptures and schisme of the church brake out into a plaine diuision, vtterly disseuering the east church from the west church vpon this occasion.

There was a certaine archbishop elected to an archbishoprike among the Greekians, who comming to Rome to bee confirmed, could not be admitted vnlesse he promised a verie great sum of money. Which when he refused to doe, and detested the execrable simonie of the court of Rome, hee made his repaire home againe to his owne countrie vnconfirmed, declaring there to the whole nobility of that land the case how it stood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others also, which comming lately from Rome, and there had proued the same or worse, came in and gaue testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the churches of the Greekians the same time hearing this, departed vtterly away from the church of Rome, which was in the dayes of this pope Gregorie the ninth. Insomuch that the archbishop of Constantinople comming afterward to the generall councell at Lions, there openly declared, that whereas beforetime he had vnder him aboue thirtie bishopriks and suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreouer, that all the Greekians and certaine others, with Antioch and the whole empire of Romania, euen to the gates almost of Constantinople, were gone from the obedience of the church of Rome, &c. Mat. Paris, fol. 112, &c. fol. 186.

By the occasion of which separation aforesaid of the Greekians from pope Gregorie, it happened shortly after, being the yeare of our Lord 1237, that Germanus archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople wrote to the said pope Gregorie the ninth, humblie desiring him to studie and seeke some meanes of vnitie, how the seamelesse cote of the Lord Iesus thus lamentablie rent, not with hands of soulders, but by discord of prelats may be healed againe; offering this moreouer, that if hee will take the paines to the same, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the mid way, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the sunder stopped, and vnitie reformed betweene them.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had been the bishops part againe with like humilitie to haue condescended to the same, and glad with all his might to helpe forward the reformation of christian vnitie in the church of Christ, and to haue shewed himselfe the sonne of peace: but the proud bishop of Rome more like the sonne of discord and dissension, standing still vpon his maiestie, refused thus to doe: but writing againe answere to his letters with great disdaine, seeking nothing else but onely how to aduance his see aboue all other churches; and not onely that, but also shortly after sent forth his preaching friers to moue all christians to take the signe of the crosse, and to fight against the Grecians no otherwise then against the Turkes and Saracens: insomuch that in the ile of Cyprus many good men and martyrs were slaine for the same, as by the letters of the said Germanus patriarch of Constantinople is to be seene.

The tenor of the third letter to the pope, with the popes answere against him, being long and tedious to reade, are extant in the historie of Mat. Parisiensis, there to bee seene and found. The summarie effect whereof notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notifie for the simple and vnlearned multitude, which vnderstanding not the Latine, may hereby perceiue the fault of this schisme, not so much to rest in the Greeke church, as in the church of Rome, as by the contents of his letter may appeare.

## The effect of the patriarch of Constantinople his *letter to pope Gregorie the ninth.*

IN the which letter the said Germanus patriarch of Constantinople writing to pope Gregorie, first after his reuerend salutation and preamble following vpon the same, entring then towards the matter, sheweth the occasion of his writing, which was by fiue obseruant friers repairing that waies, whom he gentlie receiuing into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two churches, how it might be reduced againe to vnitie: and afterward perceiuing the said friers to make their iourney towards Rome, he thought therfore by them to write his letters. Wherin he first lamenting this diuision in the house of God, and reciting the inconueniences which come thereof, by the example of Iuda and Israel, Ierusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Iacob; also of other such like, both priuat and publike societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as amongst fishes the greater deuoureth the lesser: he proceedeth then further gently to exhort pope Gregorie to the studie of vnitie.

And forsomuch as the pope had accursed (belike) those churches of the Greeks before, he therefore taking his ground vpon the words of S. Paul (Gal. 1.) where he accurseth euery such person and persons whatsoeuer they be either man or angell of heauen, that shall preach any other gospell then hath been preached, &c: willeth the pope to stand with him vpon the same ground of the apostles curse: so that if the stroke of that curse haue light vpon him or his churches, he desireth him to shew the wound, and to helpe to wipe away the blood, to minister some spirituall implaister, to bind vp the sore, and to saue



Salomon.

Faith & the church of the Greekes & the pope & church of Rome vnited vnder the danger of the Turke.

saue his brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man: A brotherly friend is tried in aduersitie, &c.

But if we (saith he) of the Greeke church bee free from the stripe of this curse of the apostle, & that you Italians and of the Latine church be stricken therewith, and lie thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you through ignorance and willfull obstinacie will not so suffer your selues to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

And as touching this great discord betweene vs, if either contrarietie of doctrine, or swaruing from the ancient canons, or diuersitie of rites receiued of our forefathers bee any cause thereof, where take heauen and earth to witnesse, that wee for our parts are readie, and desire also vpon due triall of profound truth by Gods word & inuocation of the Holy ghost, to ioyne hands with you, or you to ioyne with vs. But to say the verie tauth, & to tell you plaine, this we suppose, that many mightie and noble potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your vniust oppressions, your infatiable exactions, & inordinate prouisions wherwith you wring your subiects. By reason whereof haue risen amongst vs cruell wars, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, buls and interdictions set vpon church dores, diuision of brethren, and churches of the Grecians left whithout seruice, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I beleeue to bee predefined & appointed from aboue long before to vs Grecians, the time I meane of martyrdome, which also now hasteneth fast vpon vs, that the tribunall of tyrants should be opened, and the seats of toirments bee set, that the blood of martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of martyrdome, to fight for the crowne of glorie.

This that I do speake, and wherfore I speake it, the noble iland of Cyprus doth alreadie know and feele, which hath made many new martyrs, and hath seene valiant souldiers of Christ, which of long time before passing by water & teares of sorrowe, now at last haue also passed through fire, and so entred into the heauenly rest. How say you, bee these good and seemely, O holy pope, the successor of S. Peter the apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meeke and humble disciple of Christ? Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his epistle, where he writeth in this wise? The elders which are among you, I beseech, which am also a fellow elder with them, & witnes of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glorie that shall be opened. Feed the flocke of God which is amongst you, hauing care & sight ouer it, not of a coaction as compelled against your wils, but willingly of your owne accord, not for filthie lucre sake, but freely and heartily, neither as bearing dominion and lordship ouer the church, but shewing your selues as an example to the flocke: and when the chiefe pastor shal appeare, you shall receiue an incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie, &c. And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see, which do not obey it. As for vs, the other part of the said epistle is sufficient: wherein he willeth them to reioyce which are in heauinesse through manifold temptations, that the triall of their faith being much more precious then gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honor, and glorie, at the appearing of the Lord Iesu, &c. But beare with me I pray you (O holy father, and of al your predecessors most meeke) and suffer my words though they be something sharpe, for they bee sighings of a sorrowfull heart.

Wherefore gird about your loines with fortitude, and light vp the candle of your discretion, and seeke the grote that is lost, of the vnitie, I meane of faith. And we will also with like compassion ioine with your holinesse, and will not spare this weake bodie of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way: for the more laborious the trauell is, the more crownes it bringeth. And S. Paul saith: euery man shall receiue reward according to his trauell, &c.

Neither are we ignorant (if it please your holines) that like as we Grecians for our parts do labor in all respects to keepe & obserue the sinceritie of true faith and doctrine, not to erre nor swarue in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed apostles and ancient fathers: so the church likewise of old Rome doth for his part labor also (we know well) to follow the sincere veritie of christian doctrine, and thinketh hir selfe to erre in nothing, nor to need any remedie or reformation. And this we know is the iudgement and saying of both the churches, as well of the Greekes, as of the Latines. For no man can see any spot in his owne face, without he stoope downe to the glasse, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Euen so haue wee many great and faire glasses set before vs: first the cleare gospell of Christ, the epistles of the apostles, and diuinitie bookes of ancient writers. Let vs therefore looke in them well: they will shew euery mans mind and iudgement, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread downe Satan speedilie vnder our feet. The author of peace confound the fewer of discord. He that is the cause of all goodnesse destroy the hater of that which is good, and which giueth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all ioy and peace, send to vs, which are the shepheards of his sheepe reasonable, the angel of peace, and the messenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the natiuitie of Christ, to the shepheards of brute sheepe and vnreasonable, and make vs worthie to sing that ioyfull song of Gods praise: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax, hominibus bona voluntas:* and to receiue one another with an holy kisse. The grace of our lord Iesus Christ, and the peace of God the father, and the communion of the Holy spirit be with you alwaies: Amen.

## Another epistle of the said Germanus, patriarch *of Constantinople, and primate of the Greeke* church, to the cardinals of Rome.

ANother letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the popes cardinals, wherin he first commendeth them for their wisedome and counsell, and sheweth what vtilitie commeth by good counsell giuing. For so much as God (saith he) many times, that vtterly he bereth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the almightie God is sundrely dispended to diuers, through common counsell and conference spreadeth to the publike vtilitie of many, &c. After this ech one he beginneth to exhort them, that they like charitable ministers, and discreet counsellors, will take in hand the spirituall armor of God, to cast downe the stop and partition wall of the old discord betwixt the Greeke and Latin church, and that they will be a meanes to the bishop of Rome, that they which so long haue been deuoured by dissension, may now be coniouned in vnitie of peace, in brotherly charitie and communion of faith.

Concerning which matter, I haue (saith he) already written to his holinesse. And now I beseech the king of heauen, which take the shape of a seruant, to helpe his miserable seruants, & was exalted vpon the crosse, to raise them vp which were fallen into the profunditie of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling it selfe ouer and aboue the vnitie of your brethren and fellow seruants, and to lighten your consciences with the true light of vnderstanding, that we may all together agree in one, & that there be no schisme amongst vs. Let vs therefore as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it bee not said of vs, as it was of the Corinthians before vs: I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ: but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called christians, so may also abide in that wherein wee are instructed in one mind, that is, to follow loue and charitie in Christ Iesus, hauing alwaies in our hearts the words of the apostle, saying: One Lord, one faith, one baptisme.

Thus now to be plaine with you in that I haue to say, I shall desire you not to be offeaded with me in bitring the truth as a friend vnto you. The words (saith Salomon) of a wise man telling truth, be like to nailes which bee driuen in deepe: And truth for the most part breedeth enemies. And therefore though I am partly afraid, yet will I simple confesse the truth vnto you. Certes this diuision of christian vnitie amongst vs, proceedeth of no other cause but onely of the tyrannie, oppression, and exactions of the church of Rome, which of a mother is become a step dame, and hath put hir children from hir whom long time she nourished (after the maner of a rauening bird, which deuoureth hir owne young from hir:) which children how much the more humble & obedient they are to hir, the lesse shee esteemeth them, & treadeth them vnder foot, not regarding the saying of the gospell: Who so humbleth himselfe shall be exalted.

Let modestie therefore something temper you, and let the auarice of the court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet forcease a while, and let vs together condescend to the triall of the truth, which truth being found out on both sides, let vs constantly imbrace the same.

For why, we haue been altogether sometimes both Italians and Grecians in one faith, and vnder the same canons, hauing peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the church. At what time many spring out of the west parts (which that the tyrannie of the heretikes induced) made their concourse to vs, and were receiued, and part fled vnto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong towre of refuge, and so receiued they comfort in both places, and one brother twins thus receiued into the bosome of another, by mutuall loue for their defence.

Then after, when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were euer ready to rescue and deliuer them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flie vnto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and being honorablie receiued, were here defended vnder our protection? although the like kindnesse was neuer yet shewed of your part to vs againe in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be vngratefull; for so doth the sea participat his fresh & saline tides euen vnto the pirats. And so God causeth the sun to shine vpon the iust and vniust. But (alas for sorow) what bitter diuision is this, that hath thus sequestred vs asunder? One of vs detracteth another, thwnting the companie one of another, as the damnation of his soule. What a mostall hatred is this come among vs? If you thinke we are fallen, then do you helpe to lift vs vp, and be not to vs a stumbling blocke to our bodily ruine,

Vnity, but

The cause why the Greeke church and the pope remedy not the schisme.

The Greekes afeard of the popes oppressions.

The patriarch of Constantinople prophesieth of the martyrdome and slaughter of the Grecians.

The popes persecution in the ile of Cyprus.

The tyrannie and auarice of the pope shadowed by the words of Saint Peter. 1. Pet. 5.

1. Pet. 1.

He exhorteth the pope to come and meete with him, that they might confer together about the matter of faith.

The Greeke church sound and sincere in doctrine.

He exhorteth the church of Rome to looke the face in Gods glasse, that is, to trie their doctrine by Gods word.

Another letter of Germanus patriarch of Constantinople to the cardinals.

The tyrannie and oppression of the church of Rome, is the onely cause of breaking vnitie betweene the Greeke church and the Latine.

Luke 18.

The old vnitie and concord betweene the east church and the west.

Agapetus and Vigilius flie to Constantinople for succor.

but helpers vnto the spirituall resurrection of our soules. So shall we acknowledge our selues bound vnto you to giue you condigne thanks accordingly.

Paul rebuketh Peter. Galath. 2.

But if the blame and first origin of all this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the successors of Peter the apostle; then read ye the words of saint Paul to the Galathians, saying: When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c. Do whilst this resistance was no cause of any discord, or breach betweene them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, prouoking temporall agreement. For either were fast ioyned together in the bond of charitie in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformitie of doctrine, separated by no ambition or anarice. In which points would God we also were like vnto them: This to vs in our minds gendreth a great offence, that you gaping so greedily after terren possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heape vp gold and siluer, and yet pretend that you be the disciples of him which said: Gold and siluer I haue none, &c. You make whole kingdomes tributarie to you, and kings and princes your vassals. You augment your mooney by vsurie, and by feats of merchandize. Don vniteach by your deeds, that which you teach in words.

Acts 3. The ambition of the patriarch of Constantinople and other bishops which were made tributarie to the see of Rome.

The immoderate quarrel of the court of Rome.

Moderate your selues therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to vs and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is one brother to helpe another. Onely God alone needeth no helpe or counsell, but men need to bee holpen one of another. And were it not that I doe reuerence the blessed apostle Peter, the chefe of Christs apostles, the rocke of our faith, I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rocke was shaken and remoued from the foundation, at the sight of a silly woman and Christ of his secret purpole permitted the same, which by the crowing of the cocke brought him againe to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he being thus waked, washed his face with teares, confessing himselfe before God and all the world, to bee a true patrone of repentance, which before bare the keyes of the kingdome, as saying thus vnto vs: Say not he which falleth, rise againe: Oh you which are fallen, rise vp and behold me, and hearken vnto me, trauelling toward paradise; the gates wherevnto to open I haue receiued power.

Peter an ensample of repentance.

And thus do I write vnto you, not for any instruction, but onely to put you in remembrance: for I know how God hath indued you with all wisedome and knowledge; as Salomon saith: Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learne wisedome: Teach the iust man, & he will be glad to take instruction.

This one thing more I will say and so make an end: There bee great and mightie nations that are of like mind and opinion with vs. First the Ethiopians that inhabite the chiefest part of the east. After that the Syrians, and other more of greater number then they, and more disposed to vertue, as the Hiberi, Alani, Gothi, Gharari, with innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdome of great Tiberie of the Bulgarians. And all these are obedient vnto vs as their mother church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true orthodoxe faith immouueable.

Christian countries and nations in the east parts which are not vnder the bishop of Rome.

The God of all holinesse, which for our sakes became man, and which onely is the head of his church and congregation, vouchsafe to gather vs againe together in vnitie, and grant that the Grecian church together with her sister church of old Rome may glorifie the same Christ, the prince of peace, by the vnitie of faith, to the restitution of sound & wholesome doctrine, wherein many yeares agone they haue agreed and were vnited. God grant vnto you brotherly charitie, and the hand of the most mighty God guerene you all holy cardinals) till that ioyfully ye arriue in the hauen of euerlasting tranquillitie. The grace of God be with you all, Amen. Ex Match. Parisiens. fol. 111.

Christ only the head of the church.

Shortly after the sending of these letters, pope Gregorie prepared to send men of war signed with the crosse to fight against the Grecians: whereupon the archbishop of Antioch, with the said Germanus solemnly excommunicated the pope, after he first had excommunicated them: Paris. fol. 118. In the meane time by the tenor of these letters of the patriarch sent to the pope and to the cardinals, it is euident to all men that haue eyes in their heads to see: first how the whole vniuersall church of Christ, from the east parts to the west, in ancient times were altogether vnited in one consent of doctrine, and linched together in brotherly charitie, one church brotherly to helpe another, both with temporall aid and spirituall counsell, as cause required. Neither was then any one mother church aboue other churches, but the whole vniuersall church was the mother church and spouse of the Lord, to euery faithfull beleeuer. Vnder which vniuersall church in generall were comprehended all other particular churches in special, as sister churches together, not one greater then another, but all in like equalitie, as God gaue his gifts to serue one another, euer holding together the vnitie of faith, and fatherly loue. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the catholike church, hauing in it true vnitie, vniuersalitie, and free consent. Vnitie in doctrine, vniuersalitie in communicating and ioyning together of voices, consent in spirit and iudgement. For whatsoeuer was taught at Rome touching faith and saluation, it was no other then was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

The first note. The second note.

Secondly, how in processe of time, through occasion of the bishops of Romes tyrannie and violent oppression, this ring of equalitie being broken all flew in pieces, the east church from the west, the Greeks from the Latins, and that which was one before, now was made two; vnitie turned to diuision, vniuersalitie to singularitie, and free consent to dissension.

The third note.

Thirdly, here is also to be noted, after this pitifull breach of equalitie, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the church of Rome, and especially about this time aboue specified of pope Gregorie the ninth, An. 1230: so that both before and after that time many councels were holden, and many things concluded in the west church, whereunto the one halfe of christendome lying in the east parts, did neuer agree: and contrarie, many councels holden with them, which in the Latine church were not receiued. So that the church now is the lest the benefit of vniuersall consent, so also the lest the name catholike. Whereupon this question is to be asked, that when the councell of Latran vnder pope Innocent the third, ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession here in the west church, without the free consent of the east church, whether the same doctrine is to be counted catholike or not?

The church hath her name of catholike, where by and when. Whether the doctrine of transubstantiation, made without the free consent of the east churches, be catholike or no? The fourth note.

Fourthly, in the departing of these churches from the bishop of Rome, here also is to be noted, that the same churches of the Greeks, notwithstanding they sequestred themselues, and fell out with the church of Rome, and that finally: yet they kept their vnitie still with their God, and receiued still the true faith alwaies; that is, The true and sincere doctrine of faith, readie to debate and trie the truth of their religion by the scriptures, as they here in their owne writings before to haue the truth examined, according as ye haue heard. Wherefore the church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offred so gentlie to trie and to be tried by the truth of Gods word, not onely would stand to no triall, no abide conference, but also hath excommunicated them as heretikes, which appeare here to bee more orthodoxe & catholl chiflians then they themselues.

Fiftly, these things thus standing, then haue we to conclude that the church of Rome falsely pretendeth it selfe catholike. For if the name of catholike must needs import an vniuersall consent of the whole, how can that be catholike where the consent of so many famous and true christian churches hath been lacking; and furthermore where the consent that hath been amongst themselues, hath rather been coacted then any free consent? Which is easie to be proued: for let these fires and fagots cease, let kings and princes leaue to presse their subiects with the popes obedience; but let the scripture, and the bishops alone euery one in his owne diocesse to gouerne their flocke after the rule of Gods word, and how few bee there in this well end of the world (trow you) that would not bee the same that these Grecians, Ethiopians, and Syrians haue done before vs? And thus much by the occasion of this patriarchs letters sent to pope Gregorie concerning the Grecians.

The fifth note. The church of Rome vniuersall not to be catholike. The diuersitie of churches and nations free consent, but not coacted.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71. b.

The miserable state of the west part of christendome vnder the pope. The popes excommunication like to a foules tagget. The false pretensions of the popes supremacie, cause of much bloudshed.

Many grone at Rome between the king and the archbishop of Canturbury.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisedome, and iudge their state happie and blessed, in hauing of free right neckes the miserable yoke of the popes tyrannie: so on the other side considering with my selfe the wretched state done of these our churches here in the west part of the world vnder the bishop of Rome, I cannot tell whether more to maruell or to lament their pitifull fate, who were brought into such oppression and slauerie vnder him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyrannie, his sufpensions and excommunications much like to a mad mans dagger, drawne at euery trifle, that no christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Againe, so deepe did he sit in their consciences, faltlie beleeuing him to haue the authoritie of S. Peter, that for conscience sake neither king nor Cesar durst withstand him, much lesse poore subiects once mute against him. And although his takings and spoilings namely in this realme of England were such, that neither the laitie nor spirituallie they could beare them, yet was there no remedie, beare them they must, or else the popes sentence was vpon them, to curse them as blacke as pitch.

The miserable state of the realme of England.

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament: true, to see the miserable captiuitie of the people vnder this tyrannie of the bishop of Rome, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I mind to expresse.

## A briefe table or declaration of the popes vnreasonable gatherings, exactions, and oppressions in the realme of England.

A briefe table of the popes spoiling and getting of English mens goods in the daies of king Henrie the thirde.

AND first to begin with the elections of the bishops, abbats, deanes, and priors within this realme, it cannot bee told what masse of money grew to the popes coffers thereby, especially in this kings daies: for so much as in his time lightly no election happened either of archbishop, bishop, abbat, or any conuent of dignitie, but when the conuent or chapter had chosen one to their mind, the king, who had maried a stranger, and



and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set vp another. Vp reasd whereof, when the other part was faine to appeale to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small riuers of English mony, besides expences and trauell by the way, went flowing to the popes sea. And although the election went neuer so cleere, yet the new elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further by his oth was bound euery three yeares, either in his owne person, or by another to visit Limina apostolorum.

Many coming to the popes court for confirmation of their election. Iohn Herford bishop of S. Asaphs. Matth. Paris. fol. 132. b.

So in the house of S. Albons, when Iohn Herford was elected abbat, their publike election was not enough, but for the confirmation of the same the monks were faine to send Reginold the physician, and Nicolas a monke, to Rome with a sufficient bag of mony, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new abbat swone euery three yeere by himselfe, or another to visit the bones of the apostles.

Eight thousand nine hundred fiftie marks paid for the bishopricke of Lichfield to the pope, about the election of Alexander Nale, An. 1241.

Another such like contention happened betweene the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Nale, whom the monks had chosen; but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messuage, Theobald a monke of Westminster, and Walter Alexgers, Theobald a monke of Westminster, and Walter Alexanders a lawyer, with no small sum of mony to procure the election of the foresaid William Nale: commanding moreouer, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and no man so hardy there to receiue him in the house. Whereupon the said Wil. being secluded, after he had laid his curse vpon the whole city of Winchester, made his repaire to Rome, where eight hundred marks being promised to the pope, his bishopsicke (spite of the kings heart) was confirmed, and he receiued. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 164. & 240.

Many coming to the pope, before the bishop of Lincolne and the conuent.

Great expence of money in the court of Rome, between the bishop of Lincolne and the conuent.

After the death of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturbury, he heard before how the monks had elected Walter a monke of Canturbury. But the king to stop that election, sent his two procters, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford bishop of Rochester to the pope, to coacuat that election, and to place Richard chancellor of Lincolne. Which procters perceiuing at first the pope and cardinals, how hard and vnwilling they were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for mony, rather then the king should faile of his purpose, they promised on the kings behalfe to the pope for maintaining his wars against Frederike the emperor, a deme of tenth part of all the moueables in the realme of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which mony the pope effewes thinking to passe with the king, began to picke quarrels with the foresaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Gualtis descending to hell, making of Gilles body on the altar, the weeping of Rachel for her children, the being dead before, about the sentence of excommunication, and certaine causes of matrimony. His answers whereunto when they were not to the popes mind, he was therefore put backe, and the kings man preferred, which cost the whole realme of England and Ireland the tenth part of their moueable goods, by reason whereof, what mony was raised to the popes gazophylacium, I leaue to the estimation of the reader, An. 1229.

The tenth part of all moueables in England and Ireland giuen to the pope, 1229.

How prettily the pope can take with both hands.

Many may not much at Rome.

The popes answer to Robert Grosthead.

Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 71.

It happened moreouer the same yeere, that the said Robert Grosthead excommunicated and deprined one Ranulphus a beneficed person in his diocesse, being accused of incontinencie: who after the terme of forty daies, refusing to submit himselfe, was by the writ of the shiriffe of Rutland to appeered him at the bishop vnder the shiriffe of Rutland to appeered him at the bishop vnder the shiriffe of Rutland to appeered him at the bishop vnder

a few words in pope Innocents care, the marriage was good enough: and letters sent to the pope the popes legat here, to giue sentence solemnly with the earle. Notwithstanding the Dominican freiers, and other of the like religious fraternities, withstood that sentence of the pope stoutly, saying that the popes holinesse was therein deceiued, and sought in danger, that Christ was ielous ouer his wife, and that it could not bee any wise pull'ble, that a woman which had solued marriage with Christ, could af erward marry with any other. &c: An. 1238. Ex Parisiensi, f. 1114.

As touching was nothing so hard in the wide world, wherewith the pope would not dispence for money: so by the said dispensation was much mischief was wrought abroad. For the rulers of the people crushing vpon the popes dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they sware. As well appeared by this king Henry the third, of whom a great number of the peere commons, as euer was any king before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people fauor to his deuotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, & there to bound himselfe with a solemne oth, both before the clergy and laity, to grant vnto them the old liberties and customes as wel of Magna charta, as Charta de foresta, perpetually to be obserued. Whereupon a Quindecim was granted to the king. But after the parement was sure, the king trusting by the popes dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his oth and couenant went from that he had promised and sworne before.

Wilfull periury maintained by the popes dispensations.

In like maner the said king another time, being in need of money, signed himselfe with the crosse, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himselfe personally fight in the holy land against the Sarasens. But as soone as the mony was taken, small care was had for performance of his oth, being so put in the head by certaine about him, that he needed not to passe of that periury, for smuch as the pope for an hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him therof. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 372.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations, haue proceeded also many other foule absurdities. For where many young men were in those daies, which inioied benefices, and were no priests: and when by the procurement of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincolne, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders; they laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the pope a dispensation to remaine still as they were, that is, to haue the fruits of benefices to finde them at schole or Vniuersitie, and yet themselues vnder ministers to take charge, nor yielding any seruice for their preists taken: Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 256. Besides innumerable heapes of enormities more, proceeding of the popes dispensations, as dispensing one man to haue sundry bishopricks, to incroch pluralities of benefices, to make children parsons, to legitimate bastards, with such other like, the particulars wherof for brenities sake I doe omit to further opportunitie.

Commodities which spring of the popes dispensations.

## The intollerable oppression of the realme of England by the popes exactions, and contributions, and of their slights vsed in the time of king Henry the third.

Diuers kinds of the popes exactions and contributions.

ALthough these enuoluments, thus rising daily to the popes purse by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seeme sufficient to satisfie his greedy appetite: yet so insatiable was the auarice of that sea, that he not yet contented therewith, euer and besides all this, sent euery where almost some legat or other into this realme to take for his aduantage. Insomuch that during all this kings time, the realme was neuer lightly without some of the popes legers, with all violence exacting and extorting continuall pensions, contributions, and summes of money to be leuied out of cels, abbies, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishopricks, and also lay mens purses, to the miserable impouerishing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder followeth.

Cardinall Otho sent into England.

First, after Pandulphus, was sent into this realme cardinall Otho, procured by the king without the assent of his nobles, to the vtter to all these vncreature affaires he had to do. At receiuing of which legat, great preparance was made, many rich and sumptuous gifts in scarlet, in plate, in iewels, in money and palfreies were giuen him. When the king also himselfe went as far as the seaside to receiue, bowing downe his head in low courtesie to the cardinall his man. To whom also the bishop of Winchester for his part gaue to the keeping of his house, fifty tun of red, an hundred semes of wheat, 4 eight great vessels of pure wine. This legat at his first comming beginneth first to bestow such benefices as he found vacant, vpon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were needy or not. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 105.

After this, the pope hearing how the nobles and commons of the realme began to stomach the cardinall for his excessiue procurations and exactions, sent for him home: but the king by reason he stood in feare of his nobles, 4 thought to haue a stay by the cardinall against all occurrents, intreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtaine further licence for him to tary: 2 so did, not without some English money he may be sure.

In this meane time of vacation, Otho thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crums in Scotland, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the church of Scotland to be reformed: and so commeth to the king of Scots, being then in Barke with king Henry, to haue leaue to enter. Vnto whom the king thus made answer, that he neuer saw, to his remembrance, any popes legat in his land, neither was there any such need: God be praised, for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no helpe of his. And as he could neuer learne either in the dates of his father, or any his predecessors, that any such entrance to any legat was granted: so for his part would not now begin. But yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as I learne (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if ye will needs aduenture in, doe it warily, and take heed to your feete, lest it happen to you otherwise then I would wish: for they bee a sauage and vnruly people, giuen much to murther, and shedding blood, whom neither I my selfe am scarse able to bride, so that if they fall vpon you, I shall not be able to helpe you. And how they also inuaded me, and fought to expell me from my kingdome, ye heard a late. And therefore I warne you before, take heed before what ye thinke best to do. After the cardinall heard the king speake these words, he plucht in his bonnes, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of king Hertin. Notwithstanding shortly after, the same legat comming to the borders of Scotland, there called the bishops to him, and so when he had well filled his bags, came backe againe. Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 106. 123. b.

The king of Scots his answer to the legat sent into Scotland.

The realme of Scotland by diuers meanes troubled, to bow any popes legat.

It was not long after, but licence came from pope Gregory to his legat Otho, for his longer abode here in the realme (as welcome as water in the ship) with new authority also to proceed in the popes affaires. Who first shewing to the bishops and the clergy his letters of longer tarying, required of them, for smuch as no man (said he) warreth of his owne charges, to be supported with new procurations, which was, to haue of euery mile thorough fore marks, and where one church was not able to reach thereto, that other churches should ioine withall, to make the said mony. Notwithstanding the bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof. Paris, fol. 122. 128. 132.

Cardinall Otho stopped from going into Scotland.

Anno 1238

Besides, he assembled together all the blacke monks of S. Benedicts order, giuing to them fricte orders, which shortly after for many he released to them againe. Paris, fol. 116. 119.

Moreouer, by the said Otho, and other the popes exactions, with speciall bulls directed bolwne for the same, collation of benefices being taken out of the hands of the patrons were giuen to light and vile runnagates, comming from Italy and other places, such as pleased the pope & his legat to bestow them vpon, to the great preiudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Whereupon the earles and barons, and nobles of the realme, addressed letters vnto pope Gregory by sir Robert Twing knight, for redresse of such wrongs and iniuries, who otherwise should be forced (they said) to inuocat the succo: of their king, who both was able, and no lesse was willing, according to his duty (they trusted) to reforme such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realme. The tenor of whose writing is to be read in Math. Paris, fol. 128. a.

The popes dispensations maintained by the popes bulls.

Oppositions of the cardinall Otho the popes legat.

The archbishop of Pount. stoode on a time nothing against the kings.

Turris Lond.

The nobles of England write to pope Gregory for collation of benefices taken out of their hands.

Not long after the same, in the yere of our Lord 1240, came a new precept from pope Gregory, by Petrus Rubeus the popes Nuncio, to the foresaid Otho, that all benefices men of the clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the pope the fifth part of their reuenews. Whereupon when the clergy men made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieued by him: the king answered them again, that he neither would, ne durst stand against the pope in any case, and so without all hope of succo: sent them away. Parisiensis, fol. 132. Then were the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and prelats of the church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to heare the popes mandate and commandement concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end thus the matter was conded, that the prelats desired a further time to be giuen them to aduise vpon the matter; and so that season the assembly brake vp: Paris, 122. Notwithstanding at last, after many excuses and exceptions laid in by the clergy: first, that because the mony was gathered to fight against the emperor, they ought not to contribute their mony, contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, forsomuch as they had paid a tenth not long before vnto the pope, vpon condition that no more such paiments should be required of them, much lesse now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done maketh a custome. Item, seeing they had oftentimes to repaire vnto the court of Rome, if they should giue this mony against the emperor, it would turne to their danger comming through his land. Item, seeing their king had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieue the king with their mony, they could not so doe if the realme were thus impouerished, &c. All which excuses, with diuers other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conforme themselues to the popes god pleasure, through the example giuen of Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, who to obtaine his purpose against the monks of Canturbury (with whom he was then in strife) began first to yeeld to the legats 800. marks for his part, whereby the rest also were faine to follow after. Ex Mat. Paris. fol. 132. 136.

Anno 1240

Petrus Rubeus being the popes carrier.

All liuinesse men in England compelled to giue the fifth part of their reuenewes to the pope.

Excuses of the clergy whereby they would not contribute to the pope.

Further-



Further more, the same yere the pope agreed so with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederike the emperor, loose what benefices were to be giuen in England, the same should be at their arbitrement to be bestowed vpon their children. Whereupon commandement was sent to the foresaid Edmund archbishop, to the bishops of Lincolne and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realme should be suspended, till promition were made for three hundred children of the citizens of Rome to bee first serued. Vpon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund archbishop of Canturbury, for sorow to see the church so oppressed, departed the territory, & so continued in France, and died at Pontiniac. Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 124. b. Which Edmund was afterward made a saint, and canonized by pope Innocent the fourth.

Some kinne children of Rome preferred to benefices in England.

Edmund archbishop of Canturbury departeth out of the realme, and dieth in exile.

This done, then went Petrus Rubeus the popes Nuncio, and Rufinus into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds to the popes vse about All hollontide the same yere. At which time moreouer commeth another harpar from the pope to England, named Romelius, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realme to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the cardinall Otho, Petrus Rubeus, Rufinus and Romelius on the other side, pope England was in a wretched case. Mat. Paris, fol. 137.

Three thousand pounds to the popes vse. Romelius bringeth to England to be beneficed.

Another prettie practise of the pope to pull so mony, was this: The foresaid Petrus Rubeus, comming into religious houses and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the popes holinesse, by the example of this bishop, and that abbat, pretending that he and he of their owne voluntary deuotion, had giuen so much and so much, and so seduced them. Paris, fol. 134. Also the pope craftily subjoined certaine letters, authorized with full indulgence, that whosoeuer had vowed to fight in the holy land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repaire to Rome for absolution, but paying so much mony as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the fiue friers might be absolued at home.

Cardinall Otho stopped from going into Scotland.

The pope forbiddeth christians to trafficke with the Turkes.

Contribution of 10000 marks for the pope.

The pope craftily deluded with the king, that the king might hold with him.

Oppositions of the cardinall Otho the popes legat.

✠ This passed in the yeere 1240. Now all these troubles laid together, were enough to ver the meekest prince in the world; where to by way of accesse to the kings further molestation, he had much adoe with the prelats and clergy men of his realme, who were alwaies tempering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councels: to whom the king to refraine them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by his exhidence of record, *Rex misit Galfridum de Langley, &c.* That is, The king sent Geffrey Langley to the archbishop of Pharaoh. Whereupon the king beginning at last to looke vp, and to consider the iniuries & wrongs receiued in this realme, through the auarice of the court of Rome, directeth to pope Innocent the fourth this letter in tenor as followeth.

Anno 1238

Inuasion giuen to the king, touching the intollerable oppression of the realme by the pope.

## The kings letter to pope Innocent the fourth.

*SAnctissimo in Christo patri ac domino Innocentio Dei gratia summo pontifici, Henricus eadem gratia rex Anglia, &c. Salutem & pedum osculabeatorum, &c.*

The kings letter to the pope.

To the most holy father in Christ and lord, Innocent by the grace of God chiefe bishop, Henry by the same grace king of England, &c. Greeting and kissings of his blessed feete. The more deuout and obsequious the sonne sheweth himselfe in obeying the fathers will, the more fauour and supperatation doth he deserue to finde at his fathers hands againe. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our realme haue euer and in all things bin hitherto at the deuotion and commandement of your fatherhood, and that although in some certaine affaires of ours and of our kingdome, we haue found your fatherly fauour and grace sometimes propice vnto vs: yet in some things againe, as in prouisions giuen and granted to your clerks of forren nations, both we and our kingdome haue felt no small detriment. By reason of which prouisions, the church of England is so fore charged and burthened, that not onely the patrons of churches, to whom the donations thereof doe appertaine, are defeated of their right: but also many other good workes of charity thereby doe decay, for that such benefices which haue been mercifully bestowed vpon religious houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your prouisions.

The king offereth to fulfil the popes fact.

Damage receiued by the pope in the realme of England.

The popes prouisions.

Wherefore forsomuch as your fea apostolike ought to be fauourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therfore to be suters to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your holinesse, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such prouisions to be exacted. In the meane season, it may please your fatherhood we beseech you, that our lawes and liberties, (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receiue to your tuition, to be conserued whole and sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggestion in your court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your holinesse be any whit moued therefore with vs, if in some such cases as these be, wee doe or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandements, forsomuch as the complaints of such as which daily call vpon vs, doe necessarily inforce vs thereunto, which ought by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to vs

The pope prouisions.

The king complaineth of the popes exactions.

Damage receiued by the pope in the realme of England.

Petrus Rubeus, the popes collector in England.

The obligation of king Johns tribute to the pope burned.

The bishops of England put their hands and seales to the popes bill.

Exercises of the clergy whereby they would not contribute to the pope.

A thousand and fiue hundred marks brought out of England by the pope.

Sir Martinus another indicter for the popes money, An. 1244.

Erection of the popes legat to be at the clergy of England.

Contribution of 10000 marks for the pope.

The pope craftily deluded with the king, that the king might hold with him.

The king moued against the pope.

vs of almighty God, to foresee that no man in that which is their right be iniuried, but truly to minister iustice to euery one, in that which duly to him appertaineth. This letter was sent the eight and twentith yeere of the kings raigne. *Ex Parisiensi, fol.* 172.

A man would thinke that this so gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope, would haue wrought some good effect in his apostolicall breast, to withdraw his preuisions, and to haue rendered the kings so reasonable and iust request: but how little all this preuailed to stop his insatiable greedinesse, and intollerable extortions and oppressions, the sequell well declareth. For besides that, shortly after the pope sent M. Martin with blankes, being bulled for contribution of 12000 marks, in all hast to be paid also, euen immediatly vpon the receiuing of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the said pope Innocent the fourth, after all this great submission of the king, and so manifold benefits and paiments yerely out of his realm receiued, was not ashamed to take of Dauid prince of north Wales, fiue hundred marks by yere, to set him against the king of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obedience due to his owne liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welshmen had sworne their subiection before, as by the scales and obligations as well of that Dauid himselfe, as other Welsh lords in this behalfe doth appeare: In Mat. Paris, fol. 172.

*Ex Matth. Paris, fol. 172.*

*The pope setteth vp Dauid prince of north Wales against the king of England.*

Neither did M. Martinus in the meane while slep his businesse, in making vp his market for the popes mony of ten thousand marks, but still was calling vpon the prelats and clergy. Who first assuring themselues by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canturbury, after warde being called againe by new letters, made their answer by the deane of Pauls their spokesman.

First, that the pouerty of the realme would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, whereas they had giuen before a contribution to cardinall Otho, for paying of the popes debts, and knew the said mony to be imployed to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to misdoubt, lest this contribution in his handes, which was a much more inferior messenger then the cardinall, would come to the same or a worse effect.

*Contribution required of the pope, with their excuses and reasons against the same.*

Item, if they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custome, seeing that one action twice done, maketh a custome.

Item, forsomuch as a generall councell is shortly looked for, where euery prelat of the realme must needs be in both his trauell and expences, and also his present to the pope: if the prelats now should be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide this burthen.

Item, seeing it is alleaged, that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were, that the mother so oppressed, should be sustained of all her beloued children meeting together in the generall councell: whereas by helps of many, more reliefe might come then by one nation alone.

Item, last of all, they alleaged that for feare of the emperor and his threatnings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talke betweene the popes priests and the clergy of England, commeth in Iohn Mansell and other messengers from the king, commanding in the kings name, that no bishop that held his baronage of the king, should inlest his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they ought only to him, &c. Ex Paris. fol. 129. An. 1245.

*The popes of England talk to Mansell about the prouisions, yet all was in vaine.*

Not long after this, in the yeere of our Lord 1245, the whole nobility of the realme by generall consent, and not without the kings knowledge also, caused all the ports by the sea side to be laid, that no messenger with the popes letters and bulls from Rome should be permitted to enter the realme, whereupon some were taken at Douer and there staied. Notwithstanding when complaint thereof was brought to the king by M. Martinus the popes legat, there was no remedy but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored againe and executed to the full effect. Paris.

*Straunge vsurped taxes yerely gotten out of England to the pope and his legat.*

Then the king vpon aduice, caused a view to be taken through euery shire in England, to what sum the whole reuenewes of the Romans and Italians amounted, which by the popes authority went out of England: the whole sum whereof was found yerely to be threescore thousand marks, to the which sum the reuenewes of the whole crowne of England did not extend: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 185. a.

The nobles then vnderstanding the miserable oppression of the realme, being assembled together at Dunstable for certaine causes, sent one Fulco in the name of the whole nobility, vnto M. Martinus the popes merchant with this message: that he indelaiedly vpon the same warning should prepare himselfe to be gone out of the realme, vnder pain of being cut all to peces. At which message the legat being sore agast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom when he found little better comfort, he take his leaue of the king, who bad him adieu in the diuels name (saith Matth. Paris) and thus was the realme rid of M. Martinus: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 185. b. An. 1245.

*M. Martin the popes legat, sent out of England in the diuels name.*

As soone as pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his legat, he was in a mighty rage. And further more, remembring how the French king and the king of Arragon not long before had denied him entrance into their land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, began in great anger to knit his bookes, and said: It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, whereby we may the sooner bring vnder these little pettie kings: and so the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents we shall dawble at our owne pleasure as we list.

*The pope in displeasure with the king of England.*

*Iohn regalis. The blood bookes of the pope against the French king and king of England.*

After this, immediatly then followed the generall councell of Lions, to the which councell the lords & states of the realme, with the consent of the communalty, sent two bils: one containing a generall supplication to the pope and the councell; the other with the articles of such greeuances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes. First, that men now in these dates may see the pitifull blindnesse of those ignorant dates, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselues and stand to the popes courtesie, whom rather they should haue shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the pope might the better appeare in his colours, who so disdainfully reiected the humble suite of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to disdaine rather, and to stamp him vnder their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

## The copy of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to pope Innocent the fourth, in the generall councell at Lions, Anno 1245.

*Anno* 1245

*To the reuerend father in Christ, pope Innocent, chiefe bishop, the nobles, with the whole communaltie of the realme of England sendeth commendation, with kissing of his blessed feete.*

*The supplication of the lords and commons of England to the pope.*

OVr mother the church of Rome we loue with all our harts, as our duty is, and couet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought alwaies to flie for refuge, whereby the griefe lying vpon the child, may finde cōfort at the mothers hand. Which succor the mother is bound so much the rather, to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficiall she findeth him in relieuing her necessitie. Neither is it to the said our mother vnknowne, how beneficiall and bountifull a giuer the realme of England hath bin now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yerely subsidie, which we terme by the name Peter pence. Now the said church not contented with this yerely subsidie, hath sent diuers legats for other contributions, at diuers and sundry times to be taxed and leuied out of the same realme: all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding haue bin louingly and liberally granted.

*The supersticious founding of monasteries in England.*

Furthermore, neither is it vnknowne to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholikes, both louing and fearing their maker, for the soules health as well of themselues as of their progenitors and successors also, haue founded monasteries, and largely haue indued the same both with their owne proper lands, and also patronages of benefices, whereby such religious persons professing the first and chiefest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with more peace & tranquillity occupie themselues deuoutly in Gods seruice, as to the order appertained: and also the clerks presented by them into their benefices, might sustain the other exterior labors for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch vs also very neere, and work intollerable griefe vnto our hearts.

*Iniuries receiued in England by the pope.*

*Benefices in England wickedly giuen away to Italians.*

And now we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what iniuries we sustaine by you and your predecessors, not considering those our subsidies and contributions aboue remembred, doe suffer also your Italians and forreners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries afore said: which forreners neither defending the said religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet hauing the language, whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their soules, but vtterly leaue them of wilde wolues to be deuoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepheards, whereas neither they know their shcep, nor the sheep do know the voice of their shepheards, neither doe they keepe any hospitality, but only take vp the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realme, wherewith our brethren, our nephewes, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell vpon them, and imploy such exercises of mercy & hospitality as their duty required. Where of a great number now for meere necessitie are lay men, and faine to flie out of the realme.

And now, to the intent more fully to certifie you of the truth, ye shall vnderstand that the said Italians and strangers receiuing of yeerely rents out of England not so little as threescore





*Threescore thousand marks yerely giuen to Italians out of the church of England.*

*Italians receiue ten more in this land of meere rents, then do the kings crowne.*

thousand marks by yeere, besides other availes and exises deducted, do reape in the said our kingdome of England more emoluments of meere rents, then doth the king himselfe, being both tutor of the church, and gouernour of the land.

Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacie, we were in good hope and yet are, that by meanes of your fatherly goodnesse we should inioy our franchises, and free collation of our benefices and donatiues, to be reduced againe to the former state: now commeth another grieuance, which wee cannot but signifie vnto you, presſing vs aboue measure, which we receiue by M. Martin, who entring late into our land without leaue of our king, with greater power then euer was seene before in any legat, although he beareth not the state and shew of a legat, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legat, charging vs euery day with new mandats, and so most extremely hath oppressed vs: first in bestowing and guing away our benefices, if any were aboue thirty marks, as soone as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

*Diuers fatall dealings of the popes legat in England.*

Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, vnknowing to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons haue been spoiled and defrauded of their right.

Thirdly, the said M. Martinus yet also ceaseth not to assigne and conferſuch benefices ſtillvnto the like persons: and some he reſerueth to the donation of the apoſtolicall ſea, and extorteth moreouer from religious houſes immoderat penſions, excommunicating and interdicting whoſoeuer dare gainſtand him.

*Complaint of M. Martin the popes legat.*

Wherefore, forſomuch as the ſaid M. Martin hath ſo far extended his iuriſdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realme, and no leſſe derogation to our kings priuiledge, to whō it hath been fully granted by the ſea apoſtolike, that no legat ſhould haue to doe in his land, but ſuch as he by ſpeciall letters did ſend for: with moſt humble deuotion beſeech you, that as a good father will alwaies be ready to ſupport his child, ſo your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compaſſion to relieue vs your humble children from theſe grieuous oppreſſions.

*King Henry the third died sorry that he became tributarie by note.*

And although our lord and king, being a catholike prince, and wholly giuen to his deuotions and ſeruice of Chriſt Ieſu our Lord, ſo that he reſpecteth not the health of his own body, will feare and reuerence the ſea apoſtolike, and as a deuout ſon of the church of Rome, deſireth nothing more then to aduance the eſtate and honor of the ſame: yet we which traueil in his affaires, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whoſe duty together with him, is to tender the preſeruation of the publike wealth, neither can patiently ſuffer ſuch oppreſſions ſo deteſtable to God and man, and greiuances intollerable, neither by Gods grace will ſuffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and truſt of you ſpeedily to obtaine. And thus may it pleaſe your fatherhood, we beſeech you to accept this our ſupplication, who in ſo doing ſhall worthily deſerue of all the lords and nobles, with the whole communalty of the realme of England, condigne and ſpeciall thanks accordingly. An. 1245. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 188.

*The stout words of the lords to the pope.*

*The supplication of the English nation took no place with the pope.*

This ſupplication being ſent by the hands of ſir R. Bigot knight, and W. de Polwike ſquier, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened & read, pope Innocent firſt keeping ſilence, deferred to make anſwer thereunto, making haſt to proceed in his deteſtable excommunication and curſe againſt the good emperor Frederike. The which curſe being done, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors waiting ſtill for their anſwer: the pope then told them that they ſhould not haue their requeſt fulfilled. Whereat the Engliſhmen departing in great anger away, ſware with terrible othes, that they would neuer more ſuffer any tribute, or fruits of any benefices, namely whereof the noble men were patrons, to be paied to that inſatiable and greedy court of Rome, vntyp to be deteſted in all worlds. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 192.

*The Englishmen greeued with the pope.*

*The pope in an anger with England.*

The pope hearing theſe words, albeit making then no anſwer, thought to watch his time, and did. Firſt, incontinent vpon the ſame, during the ſaid councell, he cauſed euery biſhop of England to put his hand and ſeale to the obligation made by king Iohn for the popes tribute, as is aboue ſpecified. Threatning moreouer, and ſaying, that if he had once brought downe the emperor Frederike, he would bidde the inſolent pride of England well enough.

*The bishops of England ſet their ſeales to the popes tribute.*

✠ But here by occaſion of this councell at Lions, that the reader may ſee vpon what ſlipperp, vncertainty and variableneſſe the ſtate of the king did depend; it is materiall here to interlace the forme of a letter ſent by Henry the third to the prelats of his land, before they were tranſported ouer ſea to Lions, whereby may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be thouing and heauing at his roialty; and therefore directed theſe letters vnto them, otherwiſe to prepare their affections: the tenor whereof followeth.

### A letter of charge to the prelats of England, purpoſed to aſſemble in the councell at Lions, that they ſhould ordaine nothing, &c: to their kings preiudice.

Turris Lond. R *Ex archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, & omnibus aliis prælatis terræ ſuæ Angliæ commentarius ad concilium Lugdunenſe ſalutē. Vn-*

*cuio intramenti nobis (vt noſtis) aſtrictis, &c.* In Engliſh thus.

The king to the archbiſhops, biſhops, and to all other prelats of his land of England, appointed to meet at a councell at Lions, greeting. You are (as you know) bound vnto vs by oth, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can vnto vs in all things concerning our roiall dignity and crowne. Wherefore we command you vpon the fealty and alleagiance wherein you are ſtrictly bound vnto vs, inioining that you doe your vtermoſt indeuour, as well to get as to keepe, and alſo to defend the right of vs and our kingdome. And that neither to the preiudice of vs, or of the ſame kingdome, nor yet againſt vs or our rights, which our predeceſſors and we by ancient and approued cuſtome haue vſed, you preſume to procure or attempt any thing in your councell at Lions: nor that you giue conſent to any that ſhall procure or ordaine ought in this caſe, vpon your oth aforeſaid, and the loſſe of your temporalties, which you hold of vs. Wherefore in this behalfe ſo behaue your ſelues, that for your good dealing and vertue of thankfulneſſe, we may rather ſpecially commend you, then for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reproue your vnthankfulneſſe, and reſerue vengeance for you in due time. Witneſſe my ſelfe, &c: the nine and twentith yeere of our raigne. ✠ Initio ſcat wrote hee to the archbiſhops and biſhops, &c. of Ireland and Gaſcoigne.

After this councell ended, in the beginning of the next yeare following, An. 1246, pope Innocent came to Clunake, where was then appointed a ſecret meeting or colloquie betweene the pope and Lewis the French king (who was then preparing his voiage to Hieruſalem) in which colloquie the pope ſought all meanes to perſwade the French king, in reuengement of his iniury, to war Contra regulum (as he termed him) that is, againſt the weake and feeble king of England, either to driue him vtterly from his kingdome, or elſe to diminiſhe him, whereby he ſhould be conſtrained whether he would or no, to ſtoope to the popes will and obedience, wherein he alſo would aſſiſt him with all the authority he could doe. Neuertheleſſe, the French king to this would not agree. Firſt, for the conſanguinity that was betweene them (for their two queenes were ſiſters.) Alſo for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly, for feare of the emperor, leſt he ſhould take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much ſpilling of chriſtian bloud. And laſtly, becauſe he was preparing his voyage to the holy land, where his comming was already looked for. And thus the French king, denying the popes bloudy requeſt, refuſed not only to enter warre againſt the king and the realme of England, but alſo ſhortly after concluded with him longer truce, An. 1246. Ex Mat. Pariſienſi, fol. 196. b.

*Anno* 1246

*The pope ſtirreth Lewis the French king to warre against the king of England.*

*Lewis the French king refuſeth to warre againſt England.*

Straight vpon the necke of this followed then the eraction of Boniface archbiſhop of Canturbury that he had bought of the pope; which was to haue the firſt yeares fruits of all benefices and ſpirituall liuings in England for the ſpace of ſeuen yeres together, vntill the ſum ſhould come of ten thouſand marks. Whereat the king firſt was greatly grieued. But in concluſion, hee was faine at laſt to agree with the archbiſhop; and ſo the mony was gathered there. Paris. fol. 197.

*The first yeeres fruites for ſeuen yeeres gathered of all benefices for the archbiſhop of Canturbury.*

Ouer and beſides all other exactions wherewith the pope miſerably oppreſſed the church of England, this alſo is not to be concealed, how the pope ſending downe his letters from the ſea apoſtolike, charged and commanded the prelats to find him ſome ten, ſome fiue, and ſome fifteene able men well furniſhed with horſe and harneſſe for one whole yeere, to fight in the popes wars. And leſt the king ſhould haue knowledge thereof, it was inioined them vnder paine of excommunication, that they ſhould reueale it to none, but to keepe it in ſecret only to themſelues. Paris, fol. 200.

*The prelats of England charged to find men for the popes wars.*

*A ſubtill practiſe of the pope.*

The pope yet notwithſtanding, partly being laboured by ſuters, partly of his owne mind thinking good ſometwhat to giue to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to giue ſomething to their babes to play withall to keep them ſtill, ſent downe this releaſement to the king, that hereafter whoſoeuer any of the popes nephewes, or of his cardinals were to be beneffced in any church of England, either he or the cardinals ſhould firſt make the king priuie thereof, and inſtantly craue his good will in obtaining the procuration, or elſe the ſame to ſtand in no effect. Paris, 202. Howbeit all this ſeemed to be done but of a policie, to get the kings fauor, whereby he might be ſuffered more freely to paſſe with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

*The popes bulle ſent downe to more mony.*

For when the foreſaid pope Innocent the fourth had knowledge at the ſame time of certaine rich clerks leauing great ſubſtance of mony, which did inteſtate, as of one Robert Hails, archdeacon of Lincolne, which died leauing thouſands of marks and much plate behind him, all which becauſe no will was made, came to the temporall mens hands: alſo of M. Almaſtaine, archdeacon of Bedford, being found worth a great ſubſtance when he died: and likewiſe of another M. John Iotoſh, archdeacon of Northhampton, who died ſuddenly inteſtat, leauing behind him fiue thouſand marks, and there ſtanding peces of plate, with other infinit iewels beſides: ſent forth vpon the ſame a ſtatute to be proclaimed in England, that whatſoeuer eccleſiaſticall perſon henceforth ſhould decreaſe in England inteſtat

*An olde law of the pope, to ſeiſe for vpon all the goods of clergy men that die inteſtat.*

*A note of certaine eccleſiaſticall perſons dying in England worth great ſubſtance.*

intestat, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the popes vse. Paris, fol. 203.

Six thousand marks sent to the popes vse out of England for the popes.

Furthermore, the pope not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to W. bishop of Norwich, for gathering vp amongst the clergy, and religious houses in England, fiue thousand marks, to the behoofe of holy mother the church, without any excuse or delay, by vertue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the clergy, when it came to the kings eare, hee exclames directly contrary letters to all the prelats and euery one of them, commanding them vpon forfeiting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy of money should be gathered or transported out of the realme. But the pope againe hearing thereof, in great anger writeth to the prelats of England, that this collection of money, vpon paine of excommunication and suspension should be prouided, and brought to the new temple in London, by the feast of the assumption next ensuing.

The king beseecheth Winchelsey and the pope, but both in vaine.

The pope in a chafe.

Furthermore, forsomuch as he perceiued the king to go about to gainstand his proceedings, taking threat great disdain: hee was about the same time to interdict the whole land. Whereupon then one of his cardinals called Ioannes Anglicus, an Englishman borne, speaking for the realme of England, desired his fatherhood for Gods cause to mitigate his moodie ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his mind: which (said he) to tell you plaine, is here stirred vp too much without cause. Your fatherhood (quoth he) may consider that these daies be euill. First, the holy land lieth in great perils to be lost. All the Greeke church is departed from vs. Frederike the emperor is against vs, the mightiest prince this day in all christendome. Both you and we, which are the peeres of the church, are banished from the papall sea, thrust out of Rome, yea excluded out of all Italy. Hungary with all coasts bordering about it, loketh for nothing but vtter subuersion by the Tartarians. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spaine is fierce and cruell against vs, euen to the cutting out of the bishops tongues. France by vs is so impouerished, that it is brought to beggery, which also is conspired against vs. Sicilie England being so often plagued by our manifold iniuries, euen much like to Balaams asse, beaten and bounst with spurs and staues, beginneth at length to speake and complaine of her intollerable greefes and burthens, being so wearied and dammified, that she may seeme past all recouery; and we, after the maner of Ismael, hating all men, prouoke all men to hate vs, &c. Ex Parisensi, fol. 207.

The weeds of Ioannes Anglicus cardinall, to the pope.

The miserable estate of christendome.

Of Spaine he maketh mention, how cause the king of Aragon a little before had cut off the tongue of a certaine bishop that had reuiled him.

Parisiensi. 207.

For all these words of Ioannes Anglicus his cardinall, the popes cholerike passion could not yet bee appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandement with full authority to the bishop of Worcester, that in case the king would not speedily surceasse his rebellion against his apostolicall proceedings, hee would interdict his land. So that in conclusion, the king for all his stout enterprise, was faine to relent at last, and the pope had his mony. An. 1246. Ex Parisiensi, fol. 204.

Power giuen to the bishop of Worcester to interdict the land.

The king faine to relent to the pope.

He heard before of the Greeke churches vnder the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestred themselues from the company of the Romish church. Iasomuch that Germanus the patriach of Constantinople, and the archbishop of Antioch did excommunicate the bishop of Rome. And after the said Germanus another archbishop of Constantinople, at the councell of Lions protested, that whereas before there thirtie suffragans belonging to th' prouince, now there were not three that held with the church of Rome. And this breach, albeit it chiefly brast out in the time of pope Gregory the ninth, Anno 1230, to open warre and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, & so continued long before, in such sort as in the time of pope Innocent the third, if any priest had said masse in their churches, they would wash the altar afterward: as appeareth by the acts of the Lateran councell. Capit. 4. Wherefore pope Innocent now (as his other predecessors had done before) bearing an old grudge against those churches of the Greeks, and neither willing by conference to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of armes to subdue them, sent the pronuntiall of the gray friers, with other assistats of the same order into England with his precept authentical, containing in it these articles.

The Greekes were so much offended with the altar cloth, &c. That they would not say masse vpon it, vntil they had washed it.

Parisiens. 203.

Goods left in dead mens wils for the relaxation, conuerted to the pope.

Goods bequeathed in dead mens wils, conuerted to a warre against the Greekes.

Goods ill gotten giuen to the pope.

Absolution for money.

1 First, that the said prouinciall, or his friers, should inquire vpon all visites being alue, and of all such euill gotten goods giuen *per fauorem pecuniarum*, should make attachment for the vse & preparation for this warre against the Greeks, excommunicating all them by district censures of the church that repugned against it.

2 That all they which tooke the badge of the crosse, for the recouery of the land oppressed of the Greeks, or with goods and catell, should helpe sufficiently vnto the same, should be absolued of all their sinnes.

3 Item, that all the goods left in the testaments of them that were deprived, being gotten by vsury, should be taken vp to the subsidie of the empire aforesaid, and whosoeuer repugned against the same, should be excommunicated.

4 Item, that such goods as in the testamets of the dead were left, or which should be left three next yeers to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had euill gotten, they should take vp for the subsidie of the empire aforesaid, excommunicating, &c.

5 Item, such goods as were left to be distributed in godly vses, after the arbitrement of executors, by the wils of the dead, or were not in their wils deputed to any certaine places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said executors to the foresaid vses, they should collect to the vse and subsidie aforesaid, and giue certificat to the sea apostolike of the quantitie thereof, excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

6 Item, that they should diligently inquire of such mens goods euill gotten of euil come by, as were aliue, and them they should attach for the subsidie aforesaid, in case the party which ought to be satisfied for those goods euill gotten, could not be found, giuing certificat thereof, and excommunicating, &c.

7 Item, that the said prouincial or his friers, should haue full power to absolue those that were excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 205.

Absolution for money.

*What man hauing eies is so blind, which seeth not these execrable dealings of the pope to be such, as would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually to abiure the pope, and well to consider the blurred authority of that seat not to be of God? But such was the rude dulnes then of miserable England, for lacke of learning and godly knowledge, that they feeling what burthens were laid vpon them, yet would play still the asse of Balaam, or else the horse of Esop, which receiuing the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his owne misery, nor yet recouer liberty. And so it fared with England vnder the popes thraldome: as partly by these stories aboue hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seene.*

An interdiction at the creation of the pope.

For so it followeth in the story of the said Matth. Paris, how the pope taking more courage by his former abused boldnesse, and perceiuing what a tame asse he had to ride vpon, ceased not thus, but directed a new precept the same yeere, 1246, to the prelats of England, commanding by the authority apostolike, that all benefited men in the realme of England, which were resident vpon their benefices, should yeeld to the pope the third part of their goods, & they which were not resident should giue the one halfe of their goods, and that for the space of three yeres together: with terrible commiuations to all them that did resist: and euer with this clause withall, Non obstante, which was like a key that openeth all locks. Which sum cast together, was found to amount to 60000 pounds: which sum of mony could scarse be found in all England to pay for king Richards ransome: Paris, fol. 207. The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who conferring about the matter with his brethren in the church of Pauls, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the impotable burden of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustaine, suddenly commeth in certaine messengers from the king, sir John Lenuton knight, and M. Laurence Martin the kings chaplen, straitly in the kings name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should bee greatly to the preiudice and desolation of the whole realme. Paris, fol. 207.

*Non obstant.*

Three score thousand pounds granted of the clergy to be paied to the pope.

A parliament.

*This being done, about the first day of December, in the yeere aboue said, shortly after in the beginning of the next yeere 1247, about February the king called a parliament, where by common aduice it was agreed, that certaine ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of Rome the exceeding grieuances of the realme, deliuering moreouer these letters to the pope in the name both of the temporality and also of the clergy, as here followeth.*

The bishop of London answered to the letters the popes messengers.

## Another letter sent to pope Innocent the fourth in *the names of the whole clergy and comminalty of* England, An. 1247.

A letter sent to the pope in the name of all the estates and comminalty of the realme.

*Sanctissimo patri in Christo ac domino Innocentio Dei prouidentia summo pontifici, vniuersitas cleri & populi per prouinciam Cant. constituti deuota pedum oscula beatorum. Cum Anglicana ecclesia, &c.* To the most holy father in Christ, and lord Innocent, by Gods prouidence chiefe bishop; the whole comminalty both of the clergy and laity within the prouince of Canturbury sendeth deuout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the church of England, since it hath first receiued the catholike faith, hath alwaies shewed her selfe faithfull and deuout in adhering to God and to our holy mother the church of Rome, studying with all kind of seruice to please and to serue the same, and thinking neuer otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun: euen so now the same church most humbly prostrat before the feet of your holinesse, intirely beseecheth your clemencie to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of mony, which so manifold wates for the subuention of other nations, by the commandement of your holinesse is laid vpon vs: considering that not onely it is importable, but also impossible which is inioyned vs. For although our countrey

The abbat of S. Albones with great sutes to the pope for the 4. mo marks that he should pay. This Iohannes Anglicus was wonderful wrath against the abbat, because he refused him not with such reuerence as he thought meet for the popes legat.

More fooles yet in gluing to the church so much.



countrie sometimes yeelded forth fruit for the necessarie sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor siluer, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now adaies is required. Which also being burdened and ouercharged of late daies with another such like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answere vnto that which is exacted.

Furthermore, besides this commandement of your holinesse, there is required of the clergie a subsidie for our temporall king, whose necessities neither possible we can, nor honestly ought to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the inuasion of the enemie, and maintaine the right of his patrimonie, & also recouer againe that hath been lost. In consideration whereof, we haue directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your holinesse with our humble supplication, to explaine to you the dangers and inconueniences which are like to insue vpon the premisses, which by no meanes we are able to sustaine, although notwithstanding we know our selues by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your deuotion and obedience. And because our generall communitie hath no seale proper, wee haue signed therefore these presents with the publike seale of the citie of London, &c. *Ex Parisiensi fol. 209.*

The like letters were sent also vnto the cardinals, to the same effect. The pope vnderstanding these things, and perceiuing that there was no striuing against such a generall consent, and yet loth to forgo his sweet haruest, which he was wont to reape in England, craftilie deuised to send this answere againe vnto the king, much like to the same which he sent before, which was: That although the pope in time past vpon his owne will and pleasure to the vnpotable grieuance of the realme of England, hath euery where, and without reason, through the whole land made his prouisions in giuing their benefices vnto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest said he, is ouerblowne: & that hereafter if the pope shall grant his prouision for any of his nephues or of his cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant sute vnto the king, without all inforcement, so that it shall stand wholy in the kings free arbitrement to doe herein what he thinketh good, &c. Matt. Paris, fol. 209. b.

The pope answere against to the king of England.

The pope false of his promise.

This answere of the pope albeit it was but a subtil shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the king. For shortly after, and within few daies vpon the same, and in the time also of the said parliament holden at Winchester, the pope sent two English friers into the realme, whose names were Iohn and Alexander, with full authoritie after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission to the king, while they had leaue granted to range about the realme, afterward comming to the bishops and rich abbats, shewed themselues forth in their full authoritie, in such sort as they became rather tyrants then exactors.

Note the subtill practise of the pope to get money.

Among others, comming to Robert bishop of Lincolne, who of all other bare a speciall mind to the order of obseruants, these two friers as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandat with the popes bulls, required and eke commanded vnder the popes mightie curse, to haue the gathering in his diocesse of fiue thousand marks. Likewise of the abbat of S. Albons they required foure hundred marks vnder great penalty and that in short time to be paid.

The bishop although well liking before that order of those friers, yet seeing the impudent behauiour, and more impudent requeste of those merchants, thus answered them against that this exaction (sauing, saith he, the popes authoritie) was neuer heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed: and moreouer was such as did not onely concerne him, but the whole publike state of the clergie, and of the whole realme in generall; and therefore it should be absurdlie and rashly done of him to giue them answere herein, before the king and the rest of the councell, with others to whom the matter generally did appertaine, were made priuie thereunto, &c: and so for that time he shoke them off. Paris, fol. 210.

Furthermore, as touching the abbat of S. Albons, when he also alleaged the same causes, he pretended moreouer that hee would appeale, and so did, to the pope and his cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent downe from pope Innocent another legat called Iohannes Anglicus, an Englith frier and cardinall, who bringing downe a new speciall precept to the foresaid abbat, cited him either to appeare at London the morrow after S. Giles day, or to dispatch to the vse of the pope the foresaid foure hundred marks. By reason whereof the abbat was driuen to send his proctors againe, with a new supplication to the pope at Lions, who in the end through great instance of monied friends, agreed with the abbat for two hundred marks, besides his other charges borne. And so thus that matter compounded little to the abbats profit. Paris, fol. 217.

The pope false of promise.

To recite all damages and grieuances receiued by the bishop of Rome in this realme of England, neither is any historie sufficiently able to comprehend, nor if it were, vnneth is there any that would beleeue it. Notwithstanding to those aboue declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memorie, to the intent that they which now liue in this age may behold and wonder in themselues to see in what miserable slauerie, passing all measure, not onely the subiects, but kings also of this realme were brought to, vnder the intollerable yoke of the popes tyrannie, which in those daies neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example insuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appeare.

Example how it is a crime of England was oppressed vnder the pope.

In the yeare of our Lord 1248. after that pope Innocent the fourth had taken holy order in the realme, that all prelats of the church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the popes visitoures and clerks of Italie had been first promoted for: it happened vpon the same, that the abbat of Abington had a commandement from the pope, to bestow some benefice of his church in all hast, to a certaine priest of Rome, which the abbat as an obedient child vnto his father the pope was prest and readie to accomplish accordingly. But the Roman priest not contented with such as fell next hand, would take his time, to haue such as were principall and for his owne appetite, hauing a speciall eie to the benefice of the church of S. Helen in Abington, which was then esteemed worth an hundred marks by yeare, besides other baits and commodities bedong longing to the same: the collation whereof the priest required by the authoritie apostolicall to be granted vnto him.

The abbat of Abington cited to appeare before the pope.

As this past on, it chanced at last the incumbent to die and the benefice to be emptie. Which ecclesmes being knowne, the same day commeth a commandement, with great charge from the king to the abbat, to giue the benefice to one Aethelmare the kings brother by the mother side, who at the same time was possessed with so many benefices, as the number and value thereof was vnknowne. The abbat here being in great perplexitie, and not knowing what to doe, whether to gratifie his king, or to obey the pope, tooke counsell with his friends: who well aduising the matter, gaue him counsell rather to preferre the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would vndertake to stand in his defence against the pope, rather then the Romish priest, whom alwaies he should haue lying there as a spie and watcher of him, and like a thorne euer in his eie: and so the king assuring the abbat of his vndoubted protection, and indemnitie against all harmes, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the kings brother.

The abbat of Abington cited to appeare before the pope.

The Roman priest not a little grieued therat, speedeth himself in all hast to the bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of men) making it worse then it was. Vpon whose complaint the pope ecclesmes in great anger cited vp the abbat personally to appeare before him, to answere to the crime of disobedience. The abbat trusting vpon the kings promise and protection (which neither could helpe him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the pope) being both aged and sickly, was driuen to trauell vp to the court of Rome, in great heauinesse and bitternesse of mind. Where in conclusion after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expences, he was faine to satisfie the pope after his owne will, compounding to giue him yearely fifte marks in part of making amends for his trespasse of disobedience. Ex Matt. Parisiensi, fol. 222.

The abbat of Abington ouerdriuen in litle maketh for the proue of an English bruce. ance to an Italian the popes nephue.

To this also may bee added another like fact of the pope as outragious as this, against the house of Witham. For when the benefice of Wetle in the diocesse of Elie was voide by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian and one of the popes chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priore of Witham, an other Italian which was a bastard and vnlearned, borne in the citie of Genoa, called Periggetto de Spalchana debalta, brought downe the popes letters to M. Berardo de Nympha the popes agent here in England, with strict charge and full authoritie, commanding him to se the said benefice to be conferred in any case to Periggetto. Berard though the benefice had been giuen alreadie, yet notwithstanding the possessio therof should bee displaced, and the said Periggetto preferred: yea also Non obstance that the foresaid priore himselfe had before giuen his grant to the king and realme of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there: yet for all that the said Periggetto vpon paine of excommunication to bee placed therein, Ex Matt. Parisiensi, fol. 240.

A detestable extortion of the pope vsed against the prioresse of Witham.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that read these stories, and see the doings of this vnsetled bishop, may consider what iust cause these Grecians had to exclude themselues from his subiection, and communion. For what christian communion is to be found with him, which so contrarie to Christ & his gospell seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuted his brethren, so giuen to warre, so greedie in getting, so iniurious in oppressing, so instatiable in his exactions, so malicious in reuenging, stirring vp wars, deposing kings, deposing emperors, playing Rex in the church of Christ, so erroneus in doctrine, so abominable abusing ecclesiastical communication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of Gods feare: and briefly, so farre from all the parts of a true euangelicall bishop? For what seemeth hee to care for the soules of men, which setteth in benefices, popes and outlandish Italians: and further, one Italian to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flocke, nor once would abide to see their faces. And who can blame the Grecians

The Greekes excused and vrged in vnreasoning from the church of Rome.

The miseries that haue ruled in England through subiection vnder the church of Rome.

then for differring themselues from such an oppressio: and grant against him.

Whose euil example if this realme had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, iniuries, oppressions, wars, conuentions, great trauels and charges, before the sauing of innumerable thousandes of pounds, which the said Pope hath taken and transported out of this realme of ours. But not to exceed the bounds of my historie, because my purpose is not to stand vpon declamations, nor to dilate common places, I will passe this ouer, leauing the iudgement therof to further examination of the reader. For else if I listed to prosecute this argument to farre as matter would leade me, and truth peraduenture would require me to say, I durst not onely say, but could well proue the pope and court of Rome to be the onely fountaine and principall cause, I say not of much misery here in England, but of all the publike calamities and notorious mischefs which haue happened these many yeares though all these worldes parts of christendome, and especially of all the lamentable ruine of the church, which not onely we, but the Grecians also this day doe suffer by the Turks and Saracens. As whosoeuer shall considereth by reading of histories the course of times, and wherein withall the doings and acts passed by the said bishop of Rome, together with the blind leading of his doctrine, shall see good cause not onely to thinke, but also to witnesse the same. Onely one narration touching this argument, and yet not transgressing the office of my historie, I minde (the Lord willing) to set before the readers eies, which happened euen about this present time of this king Henries reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1244.

The pope and court of Rome to be the only fountaine and principall cause of much misery here in England, and elsewhere.

In the which yeare it chanced, that Lewis the French king, fonne to queene Blanch, fell very sore sicke, lying in a swound or in a trance for certaine daies, in such sort as few thought he would haue liued, and some said he was gone alreadie. Among others, there was with him his mother, who sorrowing bitterly for her sonne, and giuen somewhat as commonly the manor of women is to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy crosse, with the croiser and the speare, which piece of the holy crosse Baldwinus emperor of Constantinople whom the Grecians had deposed a little before for holding with the bishop of Rome) had sold vnto the French king for a great sum of money, and blessed him with the same, also laid the croisure and the speare to his bodie, making a vow withall in the person of her son, that if the Lord would grant him with health and release him of that infirmitie, he should bee crossed or marked with the crosse, to visit his sepulchre, and there solemnely to render thankes in the land which hee had sanctified with his blood. This as the rest with the bishop of Paris, & others there present more plainly, behold the king which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to plucke to his armes and legs, and so stretching himselfe, began to speake, giuing thankes to God, who from an high had visited him and called him from the danger of death. Which as the kings mother with others there take to be a great miracle wrought by the vertue of the holy crosse: so the king amending more and more, as soone as hee was well recouered, receiued solemnly the badge of the crosse, vowing for a fearfull sacrifice vnto God, that he, if the counsell of his realme would suffer him, would in his owne person visit the holy land: forgetting withall the rule of true christianitie, where Christ teacheth by otherwise in the gospell saying: That neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Ierusalem the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and veritie, &c. An. 1244. Parisiensi, fol. 182.

The sicknesse of Lewis the French king.

The queene mother bringeth a piece of the crosse to the king her sonne.

The king recouereth his health by the meanes of Baldwine emperor of Constantinople.

The king vowes to visit the holy land.

The French king prepareth himselfe to the warres.

After this was great preparance and much ado in France toward the iourney forth to the holy land. For after the king first began to be crossed, the most part of the nobles of France, with diuers archbishops and bishops, with earles, and barons, and gentlemen to a mightie number, receiued also the crosse vpon their shoures. Amongst whom was the earle Attrebatensis the kings brother, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant, the countesse of Flanders with her two sons, the earle of Britaine with his sonne, the earle of Sarcestre, earle of Swession, earle of S. Paul, earle of Vandosme, earle of Eureux, with many notable persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoeuer the pope could do, to set forward this holy businesse, in sending his legats and friers into France, to stir the people to follow the king and to contribute to his iourney. Whereupon was granted by the king to gather of the vniuersall church of France by the popes authoritie the tenth part of all their goods for three yeares space together, vpon this condition, that the king likewise would grant to the pope the twentith part, for so many yeres after to be gathered of the said church of France. Which was agreed. An. 1246. Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 204. b.

Contribution in France for the holy warres.

{Anno 1247}

Shortly after this, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie & seuen, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles being present, there was declared how the king of Tartarians or Turks, hearing of the voyage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he will become his subiect. In the which parliament the time was prefixed for taking their iourney, which should be after the feast of saint Iohn Baptist next yere ensuing. At

The time of the king's voyage appointed.



to the whole church, what strength it gaue to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it impaired christian concord, and weakened all christian lands, not onely the host of the French king did find thereby after, but christendome euen to this day may and doth feele and rue. Neither can it scapes be found any greater cause which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground ouer christendome as they haue, then the prelates vnworthy king of this pope in deposing and excommunicating this worthy the emperor. For as there was neuer emperor of long time, which more victorious preuailed in building and keeping vnder these enemies of Christ, or which haue done more against them, then the said Frederike if he might haue been suffered: so after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as hee was counselled, neither was yet able, without the helpe of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartarians being now ioyned together, neither yet could the emperor be suffered by the pope to rescue the king: it followed thereof, that the good king being taken prisoner, and all his armie destroyed, the Turks thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the christians, that euer since they haue burst in further vpon vs, and now haue preuailed so far, as neuer the power of the pope nor of all christendome is able to driue them out, as hereafter by sequell of storie is further to be declared.

The beginning of the Turks increase ouer christendome.

William Longspath worthy of memorie.

The christian kings prepared to the holy voyage. Perswasions giuen to the French king to enter his voyage.

In the meane time, to returne where before we left, when the French king comming thus vnto the pope at Lions, to intreate for the emperor: could find no fauor, hee take his leaue and with great heauinesse departed, setting forward on his iourney into Spartilia, and so failed to the ile of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter, so that falling into penurie and lacke of victuals, he sent fame to send to the Venetians and other their friends for helpe of prouision. The Venetians gently sent vnto him fiue great ships laden with corne, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the reliefe of other lands more. But especially Frederike the emperor, vnderstanding of their want, so furnished the French campe with all plentie of necessaries, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king moued with the kindnesse of the emperor, wrote his especiall letters to the pope in the emperors behalfe; but the hard heart of the pope would not relent. Blanchia the kings mother in France, hearing what the emperor had done to his sonne, sent him most heartie thanks, with presents and rewards manifold: Matt. Paris. fol. 226.

Pope Innocent the fourth vnwilling to be reconciled with the emperor.

The French king exhorted by the emperor Frederike. The French king againe intreateth the pope for the emperor.

In this meane time about the beginning of October, the Frenchmen got Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the yere one thousand two hundred fortie and nine. After the winning of Damiata, the prince and people of the Saracens being affonied at the losse thereof, offered to the christians great ground and possessions more then euer belonged to them before, so that they might haue Damiata to them restored againe. But the pride of the earle of Artois the kings brother would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but requireth both Damiata and Alexandria, the chiefe metropolitan citie of all Egypt to bee deliuered vnto them. The Saracens seeing the pride and greedinesse of the Frenchmen, in no case would abide it: which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our christians, as in the end it prooued: Ex Mat. Parisiensi, fol. 229.

Damiata got-ten against by Frenchmen.

The pride of the earle of Artois.

The French king forced to enter his iourney.

The French king desireth to reconcile the pope and the emperor.

The emperor offereth part-ners him-selfe in the pope and councell.

First, in the ile of Cyprus and in the iourney before, died the earle of Palatin and one of the twelue peeres of France, also the earle of S. Paul and Bleise, who had vnder him fiftie ensignes, which were at after his death scattered abroade and dispersed; also died Ioannes de Dentis a valiant captaine, with many other noble personages both men and women, which by altering the aire and diet, there deceased.

Death of seuerall-laine of the French cap-taines in the way.

The next yeare insuing, which was 1250, about Ashwednesday, the Frenchmen issuing out of their tents by the citie of Damiata, fell vpon the Saracens which besieged them, and so after a great number of the enemies slaine, with bickarie and skirmishes, returned to their tents againe. Now within the citie of Damiata was the queene with her ladies, the popes legat, and bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and footmen for the defence of the citie strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to haue the like hand of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gaue a fresh assault vpon them; but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselues, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more then they got the day before, and so after a great slaughter of their men, retired vnto their tents againe. Whereupon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men stopping all the passages round about the citie of Damiata, that no victuals could passe vnto them. In like maner the Soldan also gathering all the gallies about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so inclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water.

{Anno 1250}

The worthie valure of the em-perour.

Alexandria the Frenchmen ouer the Sara-cens.

Frenchmen dis-comfited by the Saracens.

The emperor offereth to put in the French king and king of England to be his sureties, & to bring them out of captiuitie.

The Frenchmen againe beseiged by the Soldan.

At length after long talke and consultation between them on both sides, the Soldan aduised them betimes to resigne vnto him the citie of Damiata, with the furniture which they found therein, and they should haue all the countrie about Ierusalem, with all the captiues of the christians friendly restored vnto them. Wherewith the christians (said he) ought to be contented, and to seeke no further, but onely to haue the land of Ierusalem; which being granted to them, they should not incroch into their lands and kingdomes, whereto they had no right. This forme of peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poore souldiers and diuers others of the said counsell and nobilitie: so the proud earle of Artois the kings brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the citie of Alexandria to be yeelded vnto them. Which the Egyptians by no meanes would agree vnto.

The earle of Artois and the popes legat are against the peace offered.

From that time the French armie being compassed by sea and by land, began euery day more and more to bee distressed for lacke of victuals and famine, being driuen to that miserie, that they were faine to eate their owne horses in the Lent time, which they had serued them vnto other vses. Neither could any christian, nor Frederike being deposed by the pope, be able to send them any succo. Furthermore, the more miserie the christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens prease vpon them on euery side, detecting their forward wilfulnesse. Insomuch that diuers of the christian souldiers not able to abide the affliction, plainlie confessed themselues as they could, out of the campe to the Saracens, who were gladly receiued and relieued, and some suffered still to keepe their faith, some marrying wiues amongst them, and for hope of honor did apostatize to their lawe, and so brought no little harme to the christians. The Soldan being perfectly instructed by these fugitiues of all things belonging to the kings armie, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mattocks, forkes, and rakes, his sithes, plowes, and harrowes, which he brought ouer with him, or why he did not occupie them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker. All this and much more the king with his French men were faine to take well in worth. It happened shortly after, that this Soldan died, being poysoned of his owne seruants, which was to the christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said Soldan had been a cruell tyrant to the christians, yet was he hated of his owne people, whereby his strength was the lesse: after whom succeeded an other much more cruell. Who as he was better loued, so he became much stronger by a generall confederacie of all the Saracens which were in the east parts, ioyning now together. So that when the christians desired now to haue the same of peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to bee feared, by their pride and ouermuch greedinesse, grew more and more in contempt amongst their enemies: and now was vtterly despised.

Famine and miserie in the French campe.

The French-men take their houses in Kaire time.

The Soldans mildnesse beri-bing the Frenchmen.

The Soldan died an vnwise followeth.

The christians thus seeing all things to go backward with them, and how the infidell Saracens daily do preuaile, began to murmur against God, and some also which were well stirred before, to stagger in their religion, calling out these words of infidelitie: How is this (said they) that the Lord hath left vs, in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance haue we been confounded by these Saracens and infidels, who with sheading of our blood haue inioyed great spoiles and victories? First the citie of Damiata, which we christians had gotten dearely with effusion of so much christian blood, afterward was we were constrained for nought to resigne vp again. After that, the armie of the templaries, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, came to Antioch, was vanquished, and the standerbearer slaine in the fields. Againe, within these few yeers, our Frenchmen fighting in the maner against the Saracens at the citie of Gazera, were put to the worse, and many afterward out of captiuitie ransomed, by Richard duke of Creeter, brother to the king of England, Henrie the third. Then came in the Asoninozins sent by the Soldan of Babylon, which by a wile inuaded the christians in the citie of Ierusalem, where almost all the christian armie being in the holy land were destroyed. And now here a new christian king together with the whole nobilitie, is like to bee in danger, vtterly to bee ouerthrowne. And how is it, that the Lord thus standeth against vs, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them, then of vs, &c. Matthaeus Parisiensis fol. 231. Such murmuring words of an vnfaithfull faith many there began to call out, as taking displeasure for the sufferings: but not considering on the other side what idolaters rings: but not considering on the other side what idolaters they were, how vnpure and bloody was amongst them, what cruelties and murther they had shewed at home in persecuting the poore Albingenses, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatrie they proceeded, putting their trust in masses, in the popes indulgences, in worshipping of images, and praying to saints. And what helpe then could they look for at good hand, which had images in their temples, to fight against them which had none? Or what maruell, if the Lord of hosts went not with their armie committing such idolatrie euery day in their pauilions to their sacramentall bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their owne merits, and not onely by the power of the faith in Christ, which is onely the victorie that ouercommeth the world? 1 Iohn 5. Finally, hauing in their campe the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemie: as by example of Frederike the emperor may be well perceiued, who after hee was accursed by pope Gregorie a little before, comming the same time in warre against Saracens in Palestina, Gods blessing wrought so mightilie with him, that without any bloudshed he recouered

Causes why the Lord did not prosper the christians fighting against the Saracens.

Ierusalem

The occasion of the French kings power went to wracke, but also such a fire of mischiefe was kindled against christendome, as yet to this day cannot bee quenched. For after this ouerthrow of the French king and his armie, the christians of Antioch and of other christian regions thereabounts, being vtterly discouraged, gaue ouer their holds and cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turkes got such an hand ouer christendome, as to this day we all haue great cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where diuers christians were crolled to goe ouer and helpe the French king, the pope for money dispensed with them to tarrie still at home.

But as I said, the greatest cause was, that the emperor which could haue done most, was deposed by the popes tyrannie, whereby all those churches in Asia were left desolate. As touching the which emperor Frederike, because wee haue diuers and sundrie times made mention of him before, and for that his storie is strange, his acts wonderous, and his conflicts tragicall, which he sustained against foure or fiue popes one after another, I thought (not out of place) in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the reader to consider, what is to bee iudged of this cathedrall see of Rome, which had wrought such abominable mischiefe in the world, as in the sequell of the story following faithfullie translated out of Latine into English is to be seene.

The occasion of the French kings power.

## The whole tragicall historie of Frederike the second
*emperor, translated out of the Latine booke*
of Nich. Cisnerus.

FRederike the second, came ant of the ancient house of the Weblins or Gibellins; which Gibellins came of the most famous stocke of the French kings and emperors.

Other house Frederike came of.

He had Frederike Barbarossa to his grandfather, whose sonne Henricus the sixth was emperor: after him, who of Constantia, the daughter (or as some write the neece) of Roger the first, king of Sicilie, begat this Frederike the second.

What father and mother.

This Constantia was fiftie yeares of age before she was conceiued with him: whom the emperor Henrie the sixth to auoide all doubt and surmise that of his conception and childing might be thought, and to the perill of the empire insue: caused his regall tent to be pitched abrode in place where euery man might resort. And when by time of his queene trauell approched, Constantia in presence of diuers ladies and matrons, and other gentlewomen of the empire, a great number) was brought a bed and deliuered of this Frederike, the seuenth day before the kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christs incarnation 1193, who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria and Sicilia.

The time and manner of his birth.

Henricus his father shortly after hee was borne, obteined of the princes electors, that by their oth vnto him giuen, they would chuse his sonne Frederike for their emperor: after his decease, and so did, and immediately called him Cesar, being yet but in his cradle.

What patrons he had.

This Henrie when hee died (which was shortly after the birth of Frederike) committed the protection of him to Constantia his wife, to Philip his brother chiefe gouernor of Ituruia, and to the bishop of Rome, then Innocentius the third.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband being sickly and growing into age, and thereby not so well able to gouerne the troubles and broiles of the empire, resigned, and willed by her testament the safety both of his sonne Frederike, and also of his dominions to the protection and gouernement of Innocent the third, thinking thereby safely to haue prouided.

This pope Innocent, as some as hee had the protection of the yong emperor and his segniories, became in stead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions both an enemie and conspirator. The examples are many. One is, hee persuaded Sibyll the late wife of Tancredus (whom Henrie put from the kingdome of Sicilie, to recouer the same againe, and that shee should thereunto require Philip the French kings aide. Whereupon one Walther us being of a noble house of the cries of Brenne, which in the prouince of Barreneccis had great liuing: and marrying with Aceria the eldest daughter of Tancredus once king of Sicilia (as is said) now by the inticgation, counsell, and aid of the French king with the pope (well hoping to recouer the kingdom) entred and inuaded with great power Campania, and Apulia. At which time also, the same worthie protector Innocentius the third, sent his legats with letters of excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said Walthcrus for their king.

The conspirators of pope Innocent against Frederike during himselfe.

The first conspiracie.

Another was, that where the princes electors and other nobles as before is said, had promised by their oth to Henricus, that they would make Frederike his sonne emperor: after his decease (whom the pope saw to put their indeuor thereunto to bring it to passe) absolued them all from the oth which they had taken and giuen for the election of Frederike the emperor, as one not content he should obtaine the same. And further, hee raised slanders and defamations against Philip, whom the electors had chosen to gouerne the empire during the minoritie of Frederike his nephue. Hee wrote his epistle (which is yet extant) to the duke Warthold of Zaringia to bee emperour. Who for, that he gaue place to Philip, hee went about to procure that Otho the son of Henry Leo should be made emperor, and that the princes and lords electors of Germanie should crowne him forthwith after the maner of Aquisgrane. He depined all such bishops as he knew to fauour Philip as emperor, in the defence of his nephues right. But Philip whose cause was better, his skill in martiall affaires greater, and in power and strength mightier, after diuers and great conflicts, the marueilous disturbance & ballation of the whole empire, by Gods helpe put the other to the worse. All which calamities and mischiefs Conradus Lichtenaus at that time liuing, in his annales most pitifullie complaineth of, and accuseth the bishop of Rome and his abbercats to be the chiefe authors and deuisers of this great and lamentable mischiefe, as such that for to make themselues rich by the spoile thereof, sought by all meanes and deuised the same.

The second conspiracie.

Not long after, a peace was concluded betweene Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled againe to the pope, who within a while after betweene Otho and him was murthered in his chamber and slaine. And then was Otho againe brought to the imperiall seate, and new elected for emperor, with the counsell and consent of this Innocent the third, and so continued vntill that a great variance and discord chanced to arise betweene the said Otho and the pope. Whereupon Innocentius sought by all meanes, how against him likewise hee might worke mischiefe and bring him vnto his end. The occasion of this sudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) inuaded and dispoyled these dominions of Frederike, as Flaminia, Piscenum, Umbria, Petruria, but chiefly Campania, and Apulia, for that those properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederike.

The fifth conspiracie.

Philip slaine.

Marriage betweene Otho and the pope.

Thus you see, how first by the counsell and consent of pope Innocentius and by his instigation, besides his secret conspiracies, this good Frederike and his dominions were hurt and indamaged. Then againe though his default that damage he suffered by Otho, who by him and his meanes was made so strong as he was: notwithstanding the great trust he was put in for the protection both of Frederike and his dominions.

At this time Frederike was come vnto the age of twentie yeares, who in his youth by the prouision of Constantia his mother, was so well instructed in letters, and in other arts and vertues so indued, that at these yeares there appeared and did shine in him excellent gifts both of wisdome and knowledge.

What learning and knowledge he was of.

He was excellently well seene in the Latine and Greeke tongues, although at that time learning began to decay, and barbarousnesse to increase. He had also the Germane tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. Hee daily exercised and put in practise those vertues which nature had planted in him, as pietie, wisedome, iustice, and fortitude: in so much that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthiest and most renowned emperors his predecessors.

What vertue he was indued with.

Frederike suspected for his grandfathers sake.

Fazellus (the historician of Sicilia in this time) writeth, that Fredericus was againe after this had in great honor and estimation with Innocentius; but yet notwithstanding he had no sure confidence in him, for that he had the suspected name of Frederike his grandfather often in remembrance, and for that occasion was much desirous to haue him far from Italie.

When Frederike had gathered his power, he purposed to set vpon Otho his enemie; of which thing Otho hearing (as he was painefull in trauell) came out of Italie with his armie into Germanie, thinking to haue met Frederike at the riuer of Rhene, and to haue stopped his passage; but hee was deceiued of his expectation, and Fredericus was crowned, as the maner of Aquisgrane is, before he came. And after that Frederike in the winter time toke his iourney to Frankford, and after many meetings in Norico had, and that Otho was dead, he set the empire in a stay, and the whole countrie of Germanie hee in a maner appeased. And then with all his nobles and princes hee returned to Rome, and of Honorius the third was with great solemnitie consecrated and called Augustus. Which Honorius succeded Innocentius the third in the papall see: and was a great helpe to Frederike (although hee loued him not) in this behalfe, to reuenge himselfe vpon Otho.

The coronation of Frederike.

The death of Otho.

The consecration of Frederike the emperor.

After the consecration of Frederike the second, hee gaue many great and liberall gifts, as well vnto the bishop of Rome himselfe, as also vnto the court of Rome besides. Also he gaue and assured by his charter to the church of Rome, the duke dome of Fundanum. For by the vnlatiable couetousnesse of the Romish bishops, this wicked vse and custome grew, that vnlesse the emperors elect and crowned would giue vnto them such like great and large gifts, they could not obtaine of them their consecration or confirmation, which for that intent they denied.

The liberall munificence of Frederike to the pope and church of Rome

Furthermore, Frederike the emperor willing to shew himselfe more bountifull and liberall vnto the church, neither yet to refraine any priuiledge that might benefit the same, gaue and admitted those constitutions which the pope himselfe would desire, and are yet extant in their ciuill law: by which his doings he deliuered to their hands a sword (as it were) to cut his

Frederike gaue through his liberalitie a sword to cut his owne throte.

The canon of proscription granted and confirmed by Frederike.

Frederike after his consecration diuideth his prouinces and dominions.

The liberalitie of Frederike: wel recompenced of Honorius the third.

Frederike expostulateth, the pope curiously.

The emperors replieth to the popes demand.

The fruite he receiued of his liberalitie.

Thomas Fazellus declareth the detestation or defiance to happen betweene them somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those which were found traitors to the emperor, certaine bishops, which flying to the pope, requested his aid: whereupon the pope sent his legats to the emperor, and requested him that he would admit and receiue to fauor those bishops which he had banished and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any ecclesiasticall charge wherewith he had not to doe: and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him. And moreour, that the ouersight of those churches in that kingdome, from the which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged vnto him.

Whereunto Frederike thus replieth; That forsomuch as now foure hundred yeres and more (from the time of Carolus Magnus) all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same, such ecclesiasticall functions and charges as within their territories and kingdoms fell: that he looked to haue the like priuiledge and authority also, that other his predecessors before him had. And further said, that he had the same and like authority in the empire that his father Henry and Frederike his grandfather, and other his predecessors before them had; neither had he so deserued at the handes of the church of Rome, either of Honorius himselfe, to be depriued of those priuiledges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederike being chafed and moued with these demands of the pope, breaketh forth and saith; How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his couetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such like words more, repeating certaine iniuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocentius the third his predecessor, as also other like iniuries of popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and beare this so incredible boldnesse and intollerable insolencie of so proud a bishop? Go, saith he (vnto the legats) and tell Honorius that I will hazard both the seignory of my empire, and crowne of my kingdome, rather then I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our maiestie. Thomas Fazellus, lib. 8.

The strife betweene the pope and the emperor for the election and deposition of bishops.

Now because much disquietnesse and controuersie hath arisen (for the most part through all christendome in euery kingdome and realme seuerally) for and about the authority of chusing and deposing of bishops (as may be seene by the example of this Frederike) which the pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himselfe, and not to appertaine to another: I

Authority for the election of bishops to be in the princes and their subiects.

Authorities of election of the bishop of Rome to be in the emperor.

Gratianus in his distinctions, repugneth for the election of bishops to be in the pope.

The title of Iustinian for the election.

The Grecian emperors restrained by 318 bishops in the councell of Lateran to bee in the emperors.

The election decreed by 318 bishops in the councell of Lateran to bee in the emperors.

Stephan the fourth first author of this election.

The bishop of Rome the first breaker of the decree of the councell.

Lotharius restoreth the Romish decree for election of bishops.

synodall

synodall decree of Lateran touching the iurisdiction of the emperor for the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiasticall persons. And because it came that those epistles were written of Leo in the 16 and 17 canon, and the same dilinatian, which also, as in the 9 can. and 10 distinction, made a profession, that at the same imperiall precepts should be kept in all ages. This Leo when he was reproued of reason and other causes, pleaded his cause before Iudoulcus the second emperor of Rome, and some of Lotharius above recited: 2 question, 7 can. 40.

Lest after this, as time grew on, the bishops of Rome nothing reknowledging their ambitious desires, Otho the first emperor of that name, deposed and put from the sea of Rome that most filthy and wicked bishop Iohn the thirteenth, both for diuers and sundry wicked and hainous acts by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his royall person, and did substitute in his place Leo the fifth, who calling a synod at Lateran in the same temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgat a new constitution with consent of the senat and people of Rome concerning the election, ceasing iurisdiction in the foresaid election: which in the 23 canon is contained and 63 distinction. Wherby the old right and power of the emperors in the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiasticall prelates, was against with more sharper and briefer sanction confirmed and ratified. Against Iohn the eighteenth whom Crescentius the Romane usurping the imperiall crowne, had made bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiasticall order, hauing his nose cut off, and his eies put out, and so thrust out of the capitoll, was against Otho the third ecclaimed and made bishop. But when as not notwithstanding, the bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry indeuored to abrogat that iurisdiction of the emperor ouer the bishop of Rome (as people loth to bee vnder subiection) Henry the third (then Leo the ninth being constituted bishop) did once again ratifie the same, and caused the bishop (which erroled himselfe before all his fellow bishops) to stoope and giue place to Good ordinis.

So after the death of Henry the third emperor, Nicolas the second, although in his decree (which in the 1 canon, and 23 distinction is recited) he gaue the primacy for the election of the bishop of Rome by the means of the priests & people of Rome, vnto the cardinals: yet he would after that, that the prerogatiue therein should be reserued to Henry the fourth the young emperor, from whom the empire afterwards was so, a time wrested and taken.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the seuenth, was pope, this prerogatiue of the emperors in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the bishop was neglected and broken; the bishops of Rome not only did seeke to diminish the authority thereof, but also to extinct and quite vnto the same. For he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the emperor, but also made restraint, that no emperor, king duke, marques, earle, or any ciuil magistrat, should assigne and appoint to any, any ecclesiasticall function and charge; neither that any of his prelates so hardy, should take them at any of their hands: as quest. 6. can. 7, 9 and 10 may be seene.

But notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was preferred and thrust out of the papall seat, and Clement the third put in his stead, Henry against challenged his imperiall prerogatiue of election. But yet, when the bishops which succeeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogat from the imperiall prerogatiue of election: and Henry on the other side by all the meanes possible, sought to defend and maintaine the same, by the subtill fraud and malicious policie of the bishops, which set the sonne against the father, and found meanes to steale from him the hearts of his nobles and subiects, and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

And although Henry the fifth (comming to Rome) brought Paschalis the second to that point, that he both in publike confession, and in writing sealed, and also by oth confirmed, refused against to the emperors of Rome the prerogatiue of election, and of giuing ecclesiasticall dignities: yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the emperor was gone from Rome, Paschalis the pope, greatly repenting and scrolding that he had done, in allowing and confirming the priuiledges of emperors through feare, touching the giuing and disposing of ecclesiasticall functions, excommunicated the emperor, and in a synodall councell at Lateran ordained and decreed, that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any ecclesiasticall function or preferment at the hands of a ciuill magistrat: vnto which decree were made these decrees, qu. 16, chap. 7, 13, 14, 15 and 16.

Therefore when these decrees touching the designation of bishops, in spight and contempt of the emperor, were practised and put in vre: and vnto that now especially by the means and procurement of the bishops iniustice and ciuill wars began to rise in the empire: the imperiall iurisdiction in this matter was not only weakned and much debilitat, but also in manner vtterly broken and lost. For when Henry the fifth emperor was sharply of Lotharius and his vallals the bishops beset, and laid vnto by the prouocation of the pope, and was mightily by the bishops that take his part on the other side, requested and intreated (in hope of publike peace & tranquillity) that hee would condescend and sone what yeld to the popes demands: he at length (the more was the pitie) that he might be reconciled and haue peace with pope Calixtus the second, in the citie of Tungis, departed from and with that his prerogatiue of iurisdiction of giuing ecclesiasticall preferments to the pope and his prelats, now more then three hundred yeres (from the time of Carolus Magnus) in the hands of the emperors of Rome, and until this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserued and kept: which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the church of Christ, and christian commonwealth.

Then first, and neuer before, obtained the bishop of Rome, and quietly inioied that prerogatiue of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies (now secretly, now openly, and now with force) had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authority Gratianus will proue, that before this time the same authority was giuen to the elect of Rome for the election of the pope without the consent of the emperor, he sheweth, as in the 29 and 30 canon, and what good stuffe he putteth in the latter, and how subtilly that papisticall flatterer or pontifical parasit hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinaeus sufficiently in diuers places hath noted, and by the obseruation of times may of a meane historiographer that hath read the French and German histories, soone be espied and discerned. For first, fiue bishops one after another succeeded this Gregory the fourth, vpon whom the 29 canon is intituled or fathered; that is, Sergius the second, Iohn the eighth, Adrian the second, Iohn the ninth, and Adrian the third. Which Adrian by force, wresting the authority of the election from the people, was made pope, when as Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the papacie, before that the emperor had consented to his election. After this, Stolanus compareth Raphael Volaterranus with the 30 canon, which against is suspected. For when Eugenius was bishop, who was the successor of this Paschalis, with whom Ludouicus Pius is said to haue made a league or paction, the same Ludouicus Pius with his sonne Lotharius, together with the helpe of the king of Romans, at Rome made lawes both to all his subiects in the empire, and also to the Romans themselues: speaking nothing of the renewing of the decree made by Lotharius. Then again, how could Leo the fourth write to Lotharius and Ludouicus emperors, that counterfet or forged decree beginning with Constitutio, &c? when in the same mention is made of Henricus Aucupes, and Otho the first, which reigned more then foure score yeres after them, and Leo the fourth bishop of Rome.

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Otho the first to be author of the 31 can. when as Otho deprined the same Iohn the twelfth of the papacie: and not only take nothing from the imperiall iurisdiction concerning the election, nor from the citie of Rome, nor any other bishops subiect to the Romane empire, but added somewhat more thereto, as was said before. And yet notwithstanding, so shamelesse and senselesse was this Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the reader so manifest fraud and euident legerdemaine (fained and made of his owne braines in the compiling of this decree) being so necessary, as he thought for the dominion and primacie of the Romane bishops, in the stead of good and true lawes, neither fearing that the same might be after his deuise reprehended, neither to his great shame and discredit to him attributed. Where also by the way is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratianus to please these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdome, would giue so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiuing of all posterities, inserting so grounded truths and holy decrees such vnsound vnsaund detestable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of writers in those dates, what attempts shope of gaine might cause them to worke: by whom and such like is to be feared the falsifying of diuers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written.

Thus when the bishops had once wrested this authority out of the emperors hands, they then so fortified and armed themselues and their dominion, that although afterwards Frederik the first, grandfather vnto this good emperor Frederike the second, as also Ludouicus Pius, and Henricus Lucelburgensis (as men most studious and carefull for the dignities of the empire, brainned louers and maintainers of the vtility of the commonweale, and most desirous of the preseruation and prosperity of the church) did all their indeuors with singular wisdome and strength, as much as in them lay, to recouer against from the bishop of Rome this the authority of the imperiall iurisdiction lost, most cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the destruction both of the empire, binding of the commonwealth, and vtter subuersion of the church of God: yet could they not be able to bring the same to passe in those darke and shadowed times of peruerse doctrine and errors of the people; and most miserable seruitude of ciuill magistrates.

The election wrested from the emperor.

Gratianus found a forger of the canons.

Iohn the first, and Adrian the third.

The second fault found with Gratianus.

How shamelesse and impudent Gratianus is in forging the decrees.

The third fault found with Gratianus.

The coumpting of many good works to be rewarded.

Rome euer catcheth, the elder he waxeth.

Not wicked enough could Rome find out to set the people in ignorance.



The same and like priuiledge also in the election of their bishops and prelats, and disposing of ecclesiasticall offices, as the emperors of Rome had, euery prince and king in their seuerall dominions had the like. For by the decree of the councell of Toletan, which in the 25 canon and 63. distinction is mentioned: the authorite of creating and chusing bishops and prelats in Spaine, was in the power of the king of Spaine. The like also by the histories of Clodoueus, Carolus Magnus, Ludouicus nonus, Philippus Augustus, Philippus Pulcher, Carolus quintus, Carolus sextus, Carolus septimus, kings of France, is apparant and well knowne: that all these kings had the chiefe charge and gouernment of the French church, and not the bishops of Rome.

And by our English histories also, as you heard, it is manifest, that the authority of chusing ecclesiasticall ministers and bishops, was alwaies in the kings of England, till the raigne of king Henry the first, who by the labor and procurement of Anselmus archbishop of Canturbury, was deprined and put from the same.

Also the princes of Germany and electors of the emperor, till the time of Henry the fifth, had all (euery prince seuerally in his owne diction and prouince) the same iurisdiction and prerogatiue, to giue and dispose ecclesiasticall functions to their prelats at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the people and prelates together. And how in the raigne of Frederike, the prelats gat into themselues alone this immunitie, Iohannes Auentinus in his seuenth booke of the annales of the Boiores doth describe.

Also it is probable that the kings of Sicilia had the same faculty in giuing and disposing their ecclesiasticall promotions and charge of churches: Anderas de Isernia ad 1. Neap. no. 12. And that when Frederike defended him against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, therefore (as Facelius saith) he was excommunicated of Honorius: but that Platina & Blondus alleage other causes wherefore he was excommunicat of Honorius, I am not ignorant: howbeit, he that will compare their writings with others that write more indifferently by twixt Honorius and him, shall easily find, that they more sought the fame of the Romish bishops, then to write a verity. But now again to the history of Frederike.

Nicolaus Cimerus affirmeth, that whilest Frederike the emperor was in Sicilia, his wife Constantia died at Catania or Catana. In the meane time the christians which with a great name, sailed into Egypt, and tooke the citie Heliopolis, commonly called Dalmatia, and long ago named Pelusium, being in good hope to haue driuen Sultanus the Soldan out of Egypt, had a great and marueilous ouerthrow by the ouerflowing of the water of the flood Nilus (which then ouerflowed into their campe) and were faine to accord an vnprofitable truce with the Soldan for certaine yeares, and to deliuer the citie again, and so departing out of Egypt, were faine to come to Acon and Tyrus, to the no small detriment and dishonor of the christian army. Whereupon king Iohn surnamed Beremus (being king of Hierusalem) arriued in Italie, and praied aid of the emperor against his enemies, in whom he had great hope to finde remedy of the euils and calamities before declared, and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, delaring vnto him the great discomfit and ouerthrow past, as also the present perill and calamity that they were in, desiring of him his assistence in. By whose mouth (as Cimerus saith) the emperor was reconciled again to the pope, and made friends together, to whom also king Iohn gaue Ioell his daughter in marriage, which came of the daughter of Conradus king of Hierusalem, and marques of Montferrat, with whom he had to dowrie, the inheritance of the kingdome of Hierusalem, as right heire thereunto by her mother. By whom also he after obtained the kingdome of Naples and Sicill, and promised that with as much expedient speed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recouery againe of Hierusalem, and be there himselfe in proper person: which thing to do, for that vpon diuers occasions he deferred (whereof some thinke one, some another) Honorius, vnto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to haue made against him some great and secret attempt, had he not been by death betoy prouented, vpon whom were made these verses.

*O pater Honori, multorum nate dolori,*
*Est tibi decori viuere, vade mori.*

After whom succeded Gregorius the ninth, as great an enemy to Frederike, as was Honorius, which Gregory came of the race whom the emperor (as before we heard) condemned of treason which they wrought against him. This Gregory was scarsly setled in his papacie, when that he threatned him greatly with excommunication, vnlesse hee would prepare himselfe into Asia according to his promise, as we heard before, to king Iohn: and what the cause was why the pope so hastened the iourny of Frederike into Asia, you shall heare hereafter: In effect, he could not well bring that to passe which in his mischieuous mind he had deuised, vnlesse the emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederike it should seeme smelling a rat, or misthrusting some what (as well he might) alleaged diuers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Emperors hauing and exercising the like priuiledge.

The like in Spaine.

The like in France.

The like in England.

Germany had the election.

Sicilia had the election.

The death of Constantia the wife of Frederike.

A great ouerthrow of the christians in Egypt.

Frederike and the pope made friends.

Honorius the pope dieth before he put his practise in vre against Frederike.

Gregorius the ninth as great an enemy to Frederike as Honorius.

Frederike reasoneth with Asia at the popes bidding: the pope is angry.

Fagellus a Sicilian writer saith, that the speciall cause of the emperors stay was, for the oth of truce and peace during certaine yeres, which was made betweene the Saracens and christians as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same also Fagellus writeth thus of king Iohn of Hierusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled together. And being called by to Rome to celebrat the marriage, pope Gregory (as the manner of those popish prelats is) offered his right foote vnto the emperor to kisse. But the emperor not stoping so low, fearfully with his lip touched the vpper part of his knee, and would not kisse his foot; which thing the pope tooke in very euill part, and was therewith marueilously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time serued to reuenge his conceiued grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same as he might for that time, thinking to recompence it at the full, as time would serue, and fall out therefore.

After this, it fortuned that the emperor hearing how the christians were oppressed by the Soldan in Syria, and that from Asiatica there came a great power against the christian princes: he made the more haste, and was with more desire incouraged to set forward his iourny into Asia. Wherefore assembling the nobility of the empire at Rauenna & Cremona, he gaue in commandement to Henry his sonne (whom not long before he caused to be created Cesar) that he should perswade the nobles and princes of the empire, that they all would bee ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his iourny and enterprise. This writeth Facelius: but Blondus, and others affirme that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoeuer the matter is, this thing is manifest; that Frederike to satisfie the popes desire, which never would lin, but by all means sought to prouoke him forward, gaue him at length his promise, that by a certaine time he would prepare an army, and fight himselfe against those, which kept from him the citie of Hierusalem (which thing he also confirmed himselfe in his epistles, and also how he desired, and obtained of the princes and nobility of the empire, their aid thereunto: as also to haue appointed a conuenient time when they should bee at Brundusium.

In the meane season, he with all his power and indeuour made speedy and hasty preparation for the warres: he rigged and manned a puissant nauy, he had the yelded men and best souldiers that were in euery country, and made warlike prouision and furniture, for euery thing that to such a voiage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slacked, but at the time appointed great bands assembled and mustred both of German souldiers and others, and vnder their captaines appointed, set forth and marched to Brundusium. Their generals were, Thuringus and Sigebertus, and Angustinus the bishop: where they long time lying, and attending the emperors coming, hauing by infirmity and sickues, great pestilence and many diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that country: and many a souldier there lost his life, among whom also died Thuringus, one of their generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recouered his health, with all his nauy lanched out and set forward to Brundusium. And when he came to the straits of Peloponnesus and Creta, being landed lying in the sea, and there for lacke of conuenient wind was stated, suddenly the emperor (his diseases growing vpon him again) fell sicke; & sending before all or the most part of his bands and ships into Palestina, promising them (most assuredly) to come after and follow them as soone as he might recouer and get neuer so little health: he himselfe with a few ships returned and came to Brundusium, and from thence, for want of health, went into Apulia.

When tidings hereof came to the popes eare, he sent out his thundring curses and new excommunications against the emperor. The causes wherefore, I finde noted and mentioned by his owne letters, that is; how that when hee had robbed and taken from Brundusius, prince of Thuring, his horses, his mares, and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he sailed into Italy: not for the intent to make war against the Turke, but to conuay his prap that he had stollen and taken away from Brundusius, who neglecting his oth and promise which he had made, and fainting himselfe to be sicke, came home againe. And that by his default also Damiatta was lost, and the hoil of the christians sore affaied. Facelius besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the pope alleaged these also: that he defiled a certaine damsell, which was in the queenes nurserp; and that he slew his wife when he had whipped her in the prison, for declaring the mischieuous act to her father king Iohn. But all the writers, and also Blondus himselfe doth declare, that this Ioell died after the publication of the prescript and excommunication: wherefore, the pope could not without great shame alleage the cause vpon the death of Ioell, for vndoubtedly the truth is, that the of her sonne Conradus died in childbed. Then Frederike, to refell and auoid the foresaid slanders, sendeth the Bishop of Brundis and other legats to Rome, whom the pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the councels of the cardinals to make his purgation. Wherefore the emperor to purge himselfe of the crimes which the pope did so falsly accuse him of, both to all christian

The cause of the stay of the emperors iourney into Asia.

The pope dissembleth his grudge.

The preparation of the voyage of Frederike to Hierusalem and stay thereof.

The preparation of the emperor vpon his warlike going to the Turke.

Great sickens in the emperors army.

The pope excommunicateth the emperor for staying his voyage.

Diuers false accusations to his charge.

The emperor purgeth himselfe of their crimes the pope laid against him by his letters dedicated to all christian princes.

christian kings, and specially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the empire, he writeth his letters (which are to be seene) that those things are both false & also fained, and of the popes owne head inuented; and the welth how that his ambassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the popes presence: also both largely intreat how vnthankfull and vngratefull the bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits, which both hee and also his predecessors had bestowed vpon them and the Roman church: which letter, for that it is ouer tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this.

The effect of the emperors letters.

He protesteth and declareth vniuersally, that hee had always great care for the christian common wealth, and that he had determined euen frō his youth to fight against the Turke and Saracens. And for that occasion he made a promise to the princes electors of Aquisgrane, how that he would take the war vpon him. Afterward he renewed his promise to Rome when he was consecrated of Honorius; then when he maried the daughter of the king of Hierusalem, which was an heire of the same. And for because that kingdome might be defended & kept from the iniuries of the enemies, and that he fauored it much as hee did his own, he prepared an huge nauy, and gathered togither a strong army of men, neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the war. But when the time was come, and his band was gathered together, his sickines would not suffer him to be there. And afterward when he had recouered the same, and came to Wundusium, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to the sea: he fell into the same sicknesse againe, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to proue by sufficient testimony.

The emperors purgation.

How the pope also both lay the losing of Damiata and other things which prospered notwel with him, vniustly to his charge, when as he had made great prouision for the same iourny, both of souldiers & other necessary things. But he wil vnderstand these things more plainly, among other epistles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederike, let him reade these especially which begin thus: *In admirationem, & inclitiam, & attentionem, & Lenate oculos.* And truly euen as Frederikes the emperor declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany doe accord and agree in the same.

The emperors epistle to gaining the title admiration & attention, and against Lenate oculos.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining vnto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these: And amongst other catholike princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters vnto the king of England, embulled with gold: Declaring in the same that the bishop of Rome so flamed with the fire of auarice and manifest concupiscence, that not being content with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subiects and contributors to him, and to displeasure them and put them from their kingly dignities. And that the king of England himselfe had good experiment thereof, whose father (that is to say, King John) they so long held excommunicat, till they had brought both him and his dominions vnder seruitude, and to pay vnto him tribute. Also that many haue experience of the same by the earle of Tholouse and diuers other princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like seruitude. I pretermit (saith he) the simonicke sinkes and sorts of exactions (the like whereof was neuer yet heard) which daily are vsed amongst the ecclesiasticall persons, besides their manifest vsury, yet so cloked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithall they infect the whole world. They be sugred and embalmed simonists, the infatiable horse-leaches or bloud-suckers, saying: that the church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the vniuersall world, the roote & right mother of all mischiefe, vsing and exercising no motherly doings or deedes, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient proofe thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparant. Let the barons of England consider whether this bee true or not, whom pope Innocent by his bulls with one consent incouraged to rise and rebell against their soueraigne lord & prince king Iohn your father, as an obstinat enemy to the church of Rome. But after that, the king (farre out of square) remembring himselfe, had crouched vnto him and obliged both himselfe and kingdome to the church of Rome, more liker a woman then a man; and that the wife barons whom the pope had first maintained and stirred vp, without all shame either of the world, or feare of God had done the same, sought how hee might with gaping mouth deuour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betraied and dishe-rited, as the maner of the Roman bishops is. By whose greedy auarice it came to passe, that England the prince of prouinces was brought vnder miserable subiection and tribute. Behold the maners and conditions of our Roman bishops, behold the snares wherewith these prelats doe seeke to intangle men withall, to wipe their noses of their mony, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seeke to liue in peace, being clothed with sheeps clothing, when in deed they be but rauening wolues, sending their legats hither and thither to excommunicat and to suspend: as hauing power to punish whom they list, not sowing the seed, that is the word of God, to sructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reape that which they neuer did sow. Thus commeth it to passe, that they spoile the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poore, and the mansion houses of Saints, which our deuour and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refection of poore men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerat varlets, whom only letters haue made both mad and malipert, do striue and gape to be both kings and emperors.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining vnto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these: And amongst other catholike princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters vnto the king of England, embulled with gold: Declaring in the same that the bishop of Rome so flamed with the fire of auarice and manifest concupiscence, that not being content with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subiects and contributors to him, and to displeasure them and put them from their kingly dignities. And that the king of England himselfe had good experiment thereof, whose father (that is to say, King Iohn) they so long held excommunicat, till they had brought both him and his dominions vnder seruitude, and to pay vnto him tribute. Also that many haue experience of the same by the earle of Tholouse and diuers other princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like seruitude. I pretermit (saith he) the simonicke sinkes and sorts of exactions (the like whereof was neuer yet heard) which daily are vsed amongst the ecclesiasticall persons, besides their manifest vsury, yet so cloked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithall they infect the whole world. They be sugred and embalmed simonists, the infatiable horse-leaches or bloud-suckers, saying: that the church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the vniuersall world, the roote & right mother of all mischiefe, vsing and exercising no motherly doings or deedes, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient proofe thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparant. Let the barons of England consider whether this bee true or not, whom pope Innocent by his bulls with one consent incouraged to rise and rebell against their soueraigne lord & prince king Iohn your father, as an obstinat enemy to the church of Rome. But after that, the king (farre out of square) remembring himselfe, had crouched vnto him and obliged both himselfe and kingdome to the church of Rome, more liker a woman then a man; and that the wife barons whom the pope had first maintained and stirred vp, without all shame either of the world, or feare of God had done the same, sought how hee might with gaping mouth deuour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betraied and dishe-rited, as the maner of the Roman bishops is. By whose greedy auarice it came to passe, that England the prince of prouinces was brought vnder miserable subiection and tribute. Behold the maners and conditions of our Roman bishops, behold the snares wherewith these prelats doe seeke to intangle men withall, to wipe their noses of their mony, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seeke to liue in peace, being clothed with sheeps clothing, when in deed they be but rauening wolues, sending their legats hither and thither to excommunicat and to suspend: as hauing power to punish whom they list, not sowing the seed, that is the word of God, to sructifie, but that they may bribe and poll mens persons, and reape that which they neuer did sow. Thus commeth it to passe, that they spoile the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poore, and the mansion houses of Saints, which our deuour and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refection of poore men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerat varlets, whom only letters haue made both mad and malipert, do striue and gape to be both kings and emperors.

Who be the resembling wolues in sheeps clothing.

The treasure of the church belongeth to the poore.

Doubtlesse the primitiue church was builded and laid in pouerty and simplicitie of life, and then as a fruitfull mother begat she those her holy children, whom the catalogue of Saints now naked mention of: and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other church, then that which is laid by Iesus Christ. But this church as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluitie of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory, so is it to be feared lest the wals thereof in time fall to decay, and when the wals be downe, vtter ruine and subuersion follow after. Against vs he knoweth that is the searcher of al hearts, how furiously these catholikes rage and go to worke; Saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take vpon me the iourny I haue promised beyond the seas, whereas inexitable and most vrgent causes and perils as well to the church of God, as also to the empire, besides the annoiance of mine infirmity and sicknesse, do detaine me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolencie of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? neither doe we thinke it safetie to our empire, nor expedient to the christian state, that we should now take our iourny into Asia, leauing behind vs at home such intestine and ciuill wars, no more then for a good surgeon to lay a healing plaister to a grieuous wound new stricken with the sword and made. In conclusion, also to this he addeth, admonishing all the princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their auaricious iniquity) of like perill and danger to themselues, because that as the proue be is: Ie behoueth him to looke about that feeth his neighbours house on fire.

Christes church was builded in humility: the popes churches all superfluitie: Ergo, the popes church is not Christs church.

Thus much out of Parisiensis, pag. 69.

The emperor crowned king of Hierusalem.

But now, that Fredericus the emperor might in very deed stop the slanders of the cruell pope, which did perfist and go forward still in his excommunication against him; and that he might declare in the whole world, how that the last yeere he had fulfilled not his iourny by his owne voluntary will, but by necessity, when he had deuised and prepared all things meete for the war, and that he had gathered together and leuied a great army of men, he departed from thence to Wundusium, committing the gouernment of his kingdome to Reinaldus the sonne of duke Spoletus, and to Anselmus a baron of Iustingerfla, and came by sea to Cyprus with his host.

Another iourny of the emperor to Hierusalem.

From Cyprus, the emperour with his whole nauy sailed into Ioppa, which citie he fortified, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies: and by sea might be not passe no trauell, by meanes of the extreame weather and tempest: wherefore it came to passe, that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sore afflicted with famin. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God, with whose teares his wrath being appeased, the great tempest and long continued foule weather ceased, whereby (the seas being now calme) they had both victuals great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought vnto them, whereby immediatly it came to passe, that both the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Ioppa were greatly refreshed and animated: and on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the king of Egypt, who with great power (accompanied with Scarapho his brother, prince of Gaza, & the prince of Damascus their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles) hauing incampt themselues within one daies iourny of Ioppa, thinking to haue beseged the same, were contented vpon the commming of the emperors heralds vnto them, to intreat of a peace. Whereupon, ambassadors were sent vnto them with the emperors demands, right profitable to the christian common weale. The Saracens immediatly perceiuing vpon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten yeeres was concluded, and was confirmed by solemne oth on the behalfe of both princes, according to their seuerall vsages and manner: the forme and condition of which peace hereafter collected are these.

The emperor oppressed by famin, and by praier miraculously relieued.

A conclusion of a profitable peace during ten yeeres betweene the Turkes and the christians.

First, that Frederike the emperor should be crowned and annointed king of Ierusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Ierusalem before him.

The Articles of the peace agreed vpon.

Secondly, that all the lands and possessions which were sometime betwixt Ierusalem & Ptolomaida, and the greatest part of Palestina, and cities of Tyrus and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwinus the fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should bee deliuered vnto him, only certaine castels reserued.

Thirdly, that he might fortifie and build what fortresses and castels



castles cities and townes hee thought good, in all Syria and Palestina.

Fourthly, that all the prisoners which were in the Saracens hands, should be ransomed freely and sent home: and againe, that the Saracens might haue leaue without armor to come into the temple where the Lords sepulcher is, to pray, and that they should hold and keepe still Chatarum, and the kings mount.

The letters of Frederike to the princes and pope of his faction.

Frederike now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be so necessary, as also profitable for all christians, and had also gotten as much thereby as if the wars had continued he should: he sent his legats with letters into the west, to all christian kings, princes and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring vnto them the circumstance and successe of his iourny and wars, as partly ye haue heard; requiring them that they also would praise and giue God thanks for his good successe and profitable peace concluded. And desireth the pope, that for so much as he had now accomplished his promise, neither that there was any cause now wherefore hee should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtaine his fauor.

The emperor crowned king of Hierusalem.

In the meane season the emperor with all his army marcheth to Hierusalem: where, vpon Easter day in the yeere one thousand two hundred twenty and nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdome (onely the patriarch of Cyprus the kings legat, and Oliuer the maister or captaine of the temple with his company excepted) solemnely and with great applause crowned king.

After this, he reedifieth the citie and wals thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten downe and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he builded vp the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazareth mund Ioppen with strong garrisons, victuals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold I pray you, whilest Frederike was thus occupied in the kingdome of Hierusalem, what practises the pope had in Italy: not I warrant you any whit at all carefull in the affaires of the christian commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischiefe and spight he might worke against the emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied (partly for hate, and partly to inrich himselfe) in Asia and Hierusalem, so far out of Italy ye may be sure. First, he caused the souldiers which the emperor sent for, out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy warres, to be staied as they passed through Italy, letting them of their iourney, and take from them, and spoiled them of all such prouision as they had. And not onely this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his owne faction: that is, to the patriarch of Hierusalem, and souldiers that kept the temple and the hospitall, inticing and inciting them to rebell against the emperor: which thing Blondus himselfe, that popish parasit & historiographer, dissembleth not hereof. But that he furthermore did: dissuaded the princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederike, neither deliuer vp vnto him the crowne and kingdome of Hierusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his trechery & treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and soueraigne, and mightiest potentate vpon earth: so was it his will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last epistle vnto the christian princes he protesteth. The copie of which letter amongst his other epistles you shall haue expressed.

The first and fiercest practises of pope Gregory the ninth.

Neither were the popes letters written to that learned and factious sect in vain: for the patriarch and his collegioners, which take their name of the temple, did mightily repugne against Frederike. They raised a tumult in Ptolomaida against him, they accused him and his legats openly of treason, and did malipertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But as God would, by the helpe of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genouaises, and the Dutch souldiers, both their false accusations were refelled, & also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when at other men reioiced and were glad of the emperors coronation, they as wicked conspirators were heauy therefore, and bitterdoas of his worthy laud and fame.

The emperor withstandeth the secret treason which the pope had wrought against him at Hierusalem.

The second and manifest treason of the pope against Frederike.

The pope when he had thus conspired against Frederike, and had betrailed him to the publike enemy of all christian men the Turke, hee could not dissemble this his mischeiuous fact, nor content himselfe therewith, but that he would deuise and practise yet another. For by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his wife Iola, hee incited Iohn Brennus his father in law to make warre against him, who caused the subiects of his empire to withdraw from him their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, & inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus ioining themselues together, created further aid of the French king, j whereby they made a great power. That done, they diuided their host in two armies, inuading with the one the empire, and with the other the proper territories and ditions belonging to the inheritance of Frederike; Iohn Brennus and Pandolph Sauellantus, leading the one (as generals) into Campania and the kingdome of Naples, and the other (with Iohn Columna cardinall his legat, and that Thomas before conuicted of treason, being his lieutenants) he sendeth into Piedmont.

Brennus, Diatpolphus, Iohannes Columna and Thomas the traitor, the popes generals and leaders of his host.

Of this treason of the pope against Frederike, both also Matthaeus Parisiensis make mention during his wars in Asia, who (saith he) purposed to haue deposed him, and to haue placed *Alium quemlibet filium pacis & obedientie loco eius subrogare:* That is; Any other he cared not whom (so that hee were the child of peace and obedience) in his stead. And for the more certainty thereof, the said Matthaeus Parisiensis, pag. 71. repeateth the letter which a certaine earle of Syria wrote vnto him concerning the same, which letter here vnder insueth word for word.

To the high and mighty prince Frederick by the grace of God emperor of Rome, and euer Augustus, and most puissant king of Sicilia, Thomas earle of Acran his faithfull and trustie subiect in all things, humble salutation. After your departure, most excellent prince, Gregory the bishop of Rome, and publike enemie to your magnificence, gathering togither a great power and host of men by Iohannes Brennus, late king of Hierusalem, and other stout captaines, whom he hath made generals of the same his host, as a forren enemy inuading your dominions and possessions of your highnesse subiects against the law of christianity, hath purposed and determined to vanquish and subdue you with the materiall or temporall sword, whom he cannot master and ouercome with the spirituall sword, hee saith. For the foresaid Iohn Brennus gathering out of France and other prouinces neere adioining, a great army; giueth vnto them of the treasure he hath gotten (by what meanes togither I cannot tell) great wages, in hope to recouer and get from you the empire. And furthermore, the same Iohn and others (the captaines of the sea apostolicall, inuading your land) burne and destroy all as they goe, driuing away and taking for their booties all that they can come by, as well cattell as other things, and such as they take prisoners, they constraine by afflicting them with greeuous punishments to ransome themselues for great summes of mony: neither spare they man, woman, nor child, but take and keepe your townes and castels, hauing no regard that you be in the seruice of Iesus Christ. And further, if any make mention of your maiesty vnto him, he saith, there is none other emperor but himselfe. Your friends and subiects, most excellent prince, much maruell heereupon; yea and also the clergy themselues of the empire doe maruell with what conscience, or vpon what confideration the bishop of Rome can doe the same, making such bloudy wars and slaughter vpon christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he strooke with the materiall sword, to put vp the same into the scabbard, saying; All that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword. Or else by what law he daily can excommunicat such pirats, burners of mens houses, and robbers, when he is the patron & maintainer of such himselfe: hereat they greatly muse and maruell. Wherefore most mighty and renowned emperor, I beseech your highnesse to consider your owne safety, for that the said John Brennus hath laid and fortified all the ports and hauens with no small company of men and souldiers: that if (not knowing thereof) your grace should arriue in any of them, the same garrisons of his should apprehend and take you as a prisoner; which thing to chance God forefend.

What meaning the pope had to send Frederike to fight against the Turke.

Thus whilest the host of this hellish enemy the pope was incamped in the dominions of Frederike, he receiued the letters which Frederike by his legats sent into Europa, as you heard, wherein he vnderstood the good successe he had in Asia: the which not only tooke no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appeare, what was the cause and meaning of the pope, that he was so solicitous and vrgent to haue Frederike the emperor make a voyage into Asia. Doubtlesse euen the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation he procured Iason with all the chosen youth and flower of Grecia to saile into Colchus, to fetch away the golden fleece: and that by the opportunity of his absence he might vse, or rather abuse his power and tyranny; and that Frederike might either be long affliated and molested in the Asian war, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

How the pope cherished and receiued the mischeuous practise of the emperor.

And when he saw, that fortune neither fauored his fetches, nor serued to his longing lust, he was as a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous successe of the emperor. He tare and threw his letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reuiled the legats for the emperor their masters sake: which thing also Blondus himselfe denieth not, though he write altogither in the fauor of the pope. And to the intent that he might couer this his rage and vnbridled furie with some cloke and colour of iust deserued ire, lo, he fained himselfe therfore so much to mislike therewith, as though the emperor therein had onely refreshed his olyne private commodities, not regarding the vtilitie of the christians: for that the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon)

weapon) to haue repaire vnto the sepulcher of Christ, and had left for them somewhat where the same an hollome or longing place: for which occasion (saith Blondus) his lord pope rebuked the emperors legats by the name of traitors: such like or the opprobrious words. Now to go to friend Blondus, by what strong arguments proue you and your lord pope, that the peace which the emperor hath concluded, to be either against the christian commonwealth, or that the emperor was a traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things either by reading of old and ancient writers, or else partly by mee that haue gathered and collected the same out of diuers monuments and histories, and plainly perceiued not the conspiracies and treasons of your good lord the pope so notable and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamie? What shere be diuers that write how the pope commanded these legats of Frederike to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded diuers souldiers returning out of Asia, to be slaine, to the end that none should heare the report of those good newes which were in Asia, nor more go thither to tell the setches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more then of those things which all the writers with most consent agree vpon. This is most certaine, that the pope caused this rumor to be spred of the death and taking of the emperor: vpon this consideration, that he might allure vnto him the fidelity of those cities in the kingdom of Apulea, which yet bear their allegiance vnto Frederike, of whom they thinke now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the emperor in his epistle intituled Leuate oculos greatly against him complaine.

Great are these iniuries of the pope against Frederike, and most wicked treasons. But herewith could not the cruell and tyrannicall mind of him be contented, nor yet his thirsted. but so far exceeded, as is scarce credible that it could: for he perswaded not onely to set variance betweene Henry (whom Frederike his father had caused to be made king of Germanie) and him, but also by his allurements caused him to become an enemie vnto him. To whom when his father had assigned the duke of Bauoria (named Ludouicus) to be his ouerseer and counseller; neither knew he amongst all the princes of Germany a man more faithfull to him in his affaires and vnity, or else more vertuous, or else more graue and apt to be in authority. Henry fearing least hee should vnderstand and know of these secret counsels, which he with his conspirators had in hand against his father, or that he should vtter the same vnto him, or that he should go about to disswade him from that he was purposed to do by authority of the court and senat of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the first of all the practises, that together and at one instance (but in diuers and sundry places for one from another) sharpe and cruell war might be made against the emperor, to that his power being distract to the appeasing of variable contention, might be himselfe the easier oppressed of a few.

When the emperor now vnderstood that sir the pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and that he had somewhat reformed & appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the kingdome of Hierusalem, thinking to preuent the popes purpose in that he went about, and also to confirme the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trusty subiects: he left in Asia Renaldus with his garisons, commanding all the other bands to be vnder his appointment, and with all speed came forth certaine galies to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which maladies & sicknesse there he suffered his power and name with his friends all the while preparation that he might. From thence hee went to Reriera where he taried twenty daies, to whom came the duke of Spoletanum with all his garisons, and so from thence with all his power he came into Apulia, and remoued John Brennus his father in law from the siege of Calatia, and within short time by Gods helpe recouered against all his holds and dominions there. And from thence going into Campania, he winneth Beneuentum, and as many other townes and holds as the pope had there, euen almost to Rome, and so after that, Tiburia & Picena. And now although the emperor (being moued thereunto vpon good occasion, and vpon the popes worthy desert, had gotten & recouered this so likely an entrance vpon the popes domin ons, whereby he might haue reuenged him of all the iniuries done to him: yet notwithstanding for that he preferred nothing before the christian and publike tranquility, for the loue of which he refraining his wrath so vehemently biged and kindled) sendeth vnto him his legats to intreat a peace, declaring vnto him, that if no other conceiued grudge towards him were, then that he dissembled and pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily of all things that euer he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himselfe vnto the church: and also for, that this cause he willingly offered vnto him both duty and obeisance. Furthermore to the intreating of this peace and deciding of all controuersies, hee sent to the pope eight or ten of the noblest and chiefest about him that were princes and dukes of the empire: as Bartolduit the patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho prince of Dalmatia and Histria, Eberhardus Iuuanensis, Sigifridus, Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus a worthy prelat, Leopalons of Austria and Styria, and Bernhardus, being all dukes; besides others of the nobilitie to accompany them.

But yet so great was the insolencie and pride of the stubborne pope, that by no gentlenesse or beneficence he of those princes could be brought that peere to the pacifiable concord of the church and christian commonweale. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himselfe in the church of Christ, and in respect of his owne willfull reuenge, setteth nothing by the health and vtility of all christendome. Then therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these nobile men departed from Rome, the next yer after, (with much adoe) a peace was made and concluded betweene them, by the helpe and industry of Leopalous of Austria, Hermannus captaine of the Dutch souldiors, and the president of Spetania. The pope then absoluing the emperor: Fredericus of his excommunication, take therefore of him 120000 ounces of gold, restoring vnto him againe the titles both of his empire, and also of his kingdomes. Now considering the vncourteous dealing of the pope with Frederike the emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse and marueil at the vnshamefastnesse of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederike then was meete, or beseemed him to doe) who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason, nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinianus concerning this matter, which saith, that the pope doth occupy very profitable merchandize, which for so much money selleth that he receiued freely, paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Christ for his, as he saith he had.

And yet although the emperor Frederike concluded with the pope this unpossitable peace for himselfe, yet he performed those things that were agreed vpon faithfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to breake his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace he made. For by the way, to passe ouer other things, neither had he restored as he promised, the customes in the land of Sicili, neither yet the city Castellana, which by force before the peace concluded betweene them did occupy and inioy. And that doth both Frederike in his epistles testifie, and also Fazellus in his eight booke writing of the affaires of Sicilia. Yet notwithstanding, Frederike, for the quietnes and vtility of the commonwealth, purposed with himselfe to beare and suffer these small iniuries, and further, studied in all that he might, as well by liberall gifts as otherwise, to haue the pope to be to him a truely friend: as when the Romanes and others of the ecclesiastical number made war against the pope for certaine possessions which he kept of theirs, he comming to him at Neat, and as one that tendered the vnitie of the church, and thinking to help the pope at his earnest requeft in these matters, sent his legats vnto them, willing them to lay downe their armor: which against the pope they bare. And when that would not serue, at the popes further request and desire, he leuied an army against them at his owne charge, and brake them from the siege of Viterbium; with other such like assures tokens of amitie and friendship he shewed him. Who notwithstanding, so soone as the emperor was departed with a small company which he take with him into Sicilia, leaning with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his wars, concluded a peace with the Romans (vnknowing to the emperor) whom he by pursued to trouble and labor therein with great instance: affirming that without his will and commandement, the emperor had expelled them, and driuen them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederike also himselfe make mention in his second and third epistle, where he complainth of the iniuries of the pope towards him.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserued, if he had written of these treacheries of the pope, then that forgetting himselfe (as vnto liers often it chanceth) in that he writeth both contrary to himselfe in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Fredericus his story: which saith, that the Romans were incited to these new tumults by his inciting and setting on. As though simple men of vnderstanding could not both by the offering of his sonne in hostage, by the great preparation of the wars, and by the euent specially of the thing it selfe, gather the contrary. But to no impudent will Blondus needs shew himselfe.

Whilest that these things were done in Italy and Sicilia, great rebellions were moued in Germany against the emperor: by Henricus Celar and Frederike of Austria, his sons being the chiefe authors hereof. For Henry being disappointed and taken off from his lords pope, and other conspiratores by reason of the peace betweene his father and him (as ye heard) began now to make open challenge to the empire. And for that cause, he (as before is said) put from him Ludouicus, whom he knew to be vnto the emperor his father so loving & assured friend; who as willingly perceiuing and smelling what mischief he went about) forsooke his court, and came to Bolonia, who had not there remained a yere, but was as he walked abroade at a certaine time stabbed in with a dagger of one Belhemius and presently died, his seruants being not far from him; of whose death diuers diuerstly write. Notwithstanding the sequell doth shew them to write trulieft, that affirme the said stroker to be suborned



suborned by Henrie Celar: who comming vnto him in the habit of a messenger, deliuered vnto him certaine letters which he fained to be sent from the emperour. And whilest Ludouicus was in reading the same, he stroke him in with a dagger and gaue him his mortal wound: and with speed fled vpon the same. After whose death succeeded in that bukedome his sonne Otho, who when solemnly according to the manor of the Boiores he them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselues from the subiection both of him and the empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the souldiers which the emperor sent for, when he was in Asia, and diuers others also (which for necessary causes he had called to him) they had so suckefully dealt with and abused, he (as they had deserued) should rather desire to be punished and reformed, then to maintaine them (vnder colour of peace) being so wicked and manifeft euill doers. And touching that he demaundeth of him, that he should commit and defer to great a cause, wherein the wealth and safetie of the empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either allgnment of any time taken, or abiding thereunto a nie condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the dignitie and regalitie of his empire considered, he could not but maruell: seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculties, nor to the benefit or commoditie of the empire. To this effect also writeth Frederike in his last epistle vnto the pope, the effect whereof amongst other especiall things may reade.

Albin in the same his letters he sheweth, that when the emperour at a certaine time had been with the pope, at his going away, he requested that when he came againe, he would come into Italie, but with his household band and familie; for that if he should come as before he did accustome with his armie, he should terrifie them ouermuch; amongst whom (saith he) you may assure your selfe to be in great iealosie, and find all things in euill quiet; when quite contrarie (as the emperour for a certaintie had tried) he had there all things readie and prepared for his destruction: so that when he pretended vnto him great friendship, he was busieft in conspiring his death. The certaine time when the pope had this exercise in hand against the emperour I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles vndated easily found out; but that of the certaintie thereof no man need to doubt, I haue alleged vnto the emperours epistle, where he maketh mention of the same.

The emperour then, as he had determined, prosecuteth his purpose and marcheth into Italie, where he brought vnder his subiection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Terminum, Patauium, and others. And then he afterward set vpon the great hoft of the Mediolanenses, the Brixians, the Placentines, and other confederates, to whom the popes great Magus Longomontanus had ioyned himselfe, of whom he take 1000 prisoners, and also their generall, being the chiefe magistrat in the citie of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus the dukes sonne of Venice, and sleu diuers captaines more, and take all their ensignes. And in this battel, specially at the recouering of Marchie and Terrisiana, he shed the friendly aid of Aristolinus.

The pope vnto somewhat dismaid at his ouerthow of his confederats and mates (though not much) began yet somewhat to feare the emperour, and whereas before, that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to worke with might and maine to subdue and deprive the emperour. And although the emperour saw and perceiued that inward hate and mortall malice he bare towards him, not only by that he sa perctly knew by his conspiratos against him, but also that on euery side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certaine word how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughtie reports and flanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelitie of his subiects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take by and cease from such euil and wicked practises: yet notwithstanding for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace betweene them a little before concluded, he sendeth foure legats to the bishop of Rome, which should answere vnto and refute those crimin ous objections which he laid vnto him, as also to make him priuie vnto his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocencie towards him (in such causes) and simplicitie.

The bishop when he vnderstood these ambaffadors to be not farre off from Rome, and knew the cause of their comming, hee thought with himselfe, that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answere of the emperour, perhaps might be prouoked to desist from his purpose, & to degener at from others of his predecessors, refuseth to speake with them, and at the day appointed pronounceth the sentence of proscription against him, depriuing him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatiues, kingdomes, and whole empire. And that hee had no occasion hereunto, as well Pandulphus and Colonucius, as the letters of the emperour himselfe do both right well declare. For it may appeare, hee dedicated as it were himselfe to his vtter ruine and destruction, when he did sollicitat against Frederi cus, Iacobus Tenopolus the Venetian duke. Whom for the displeasure hee tooke with the emperour in the impriloning of



Blondus reproued that wrote so grossly in the popes fauor.

The pope reioyceth at the imprisonment of the emperour.

The pope seeketh the emperours destruction & gaineth fauor of peace.

Henry Celar at the pope instigation practiseth with his father against the Romans.

The emperour hearing of the popes practises, returneth hastily out of Asia.

John Brennus his father in law raiseth the siege of Calatia.

God plaieth merely with the affaires.

Frederike the secondis by the popes friend alwaies thought to haue no need.

The price of the emperors absolution.

Anst-marueill Blondus.

Cuspinianus merily glanceth the pope.

Celar that benefited the emperor by deth to haue the popes friendship, which he shall neuer get.

Henrie Celar condemned of treason, and dieth in prison.

Fredericus Austriacus practised an open enemie to his father, and disherited.

The emperour married king Johns daughter of England.

I will recompence good turne of the pope to the emperor.

Blondus taken wisely vnwrapt.

The pope reiecteth a place with the emperor.

The emperour sonnes no longer subiected, make manifeft rebellion against their father.

The popes ambassage to the emperour.

I wicked murtherer of Henry Celar for true and faithfull trenter.

The emperour againe vnto the pope.

A secret conspiracie of the pope against the emperour.

The emperour marcheth into Italie, notwithstanding the popes forbidding.

The emperour seeketh to breake the peace of late concluded.

The pope refuseth to speake with the emperours legats.

The new sentence of proscription against the emperour.

his sonne, was in good hope he should allure vnto him, he being in so troublous a time such a counsetter and aider vnto him, that as Blondus writeth in a certaine epistle gratulatory, he called him lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and lord of halfe of the Romane empire. And calling vnto him the Venetian and Genowetian legats, made a peace betwixt them, which for certaine causes about their sea coasts were at variance: and couenanted with them vpon this condition, that at their publike charges, they should rig and man fiue and thirtie gallies, which should spoile and burne all alongst the sea coasts of the kingdomes and dominions of Frederike.

The pope vnderhandedly and hirelly like a thiefe stirreth the Italian gallies to spoile the coasts of the emperour.

But the pope when he saw the gods will and fidelitie which the duke of Venice bare vnto the emperour, and saw also what aid the emperour had of him, neither that he was like to winne him to his purpose: then had he recourse againe to his old craftie practises and subtilties. And further deuised to put forth an edict at Rome to the vniuersall church and people, the beginning whereof is. Ascendit de mari bellua bestia: wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giueth the emperour to the diuell of hell, and hath reiect him from all his princelie dignitie. Vse in the same accurseth him of so manie and so huge a heape of mischiefes, as to nominat them my heart detesteth. And besides that he restraineth his souereigne lord and emperour of the appellation which euerie priuat man by law may haue. He slandereth him of treason, periurie, cruelti, sacrilege, killing of his kind, and all impietie; he accuseth him so an heretike, a schismatike and a miscreant: and to be briefe, what reuerend chiefe soeuer the pope can inuise, with that both he charge him and burthen him. All this doth he, saith the pope, that when he hath taught our holinesse and all the ecclesiasticall estate to beggerie, he might scoffe at, and deride the religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now to that the pope had a great and speciall trust in Albertus Bohaunse of the noble house called Equestri (as erafte an apostle as the best) as one whom he saw redie to leane to his lust: to him the pope deuised two other mandats in seuerall letters sealed, in which he commanded all bishops, prelats, and other of the clergie, that they should solemnely recite the same in their churches in stead of their sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicated Frederike out of the fellowship of christian men, put him from the procuration or gouernment of the empire, and that had released al his subiects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore, charged them, and all other christian men vnder paine of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the emperour, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the popes speciall and trustie seruiter, made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of publike quietnesse, as shall after appeare.

Albertus Behaunse the popes one hand.

The pope threatneth to curse all those that wish well to the emperour.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germanie at that time towardes the emperour, was Otho the gouernor of Rhenus and duke of Bauaria, both most scrutreable, and also a prince of great honor, riches and estimation. This prince, both with faire promises and also rewards he enticed from him: for that being made by him to beleeue, that Ludouicus his father, of whom we spake before, was by the emperour murthered and slaine. And the same Otho againe caused three other princes and dukes to reuolt from the emperor to the pope, which were neighbours and nere adiourning vnto him, as Vincenclaus, and Belus, princes of the Hungarians, and Henrie duke of Polonia. To whom came also Fredericus Austriacus his sonne: who because he was proscript or outlawed of his father, and had his dukedome wasted and burnt, as you heard, was faine to come vnto the pope. These gathering a councell (when they had thought to haue translated the empire vnto the kings sonne of Denmarke, desired to haue the popes legats to be sent from him, to the effect of that election.

Otho with diuers other princes of Germanie, by the popes meanes do forsake the emperour.

The emperour hearing of the death of Pierre de Vineis his secretarie.

What great good the ouersight of Pierre de Vineis did in the emperours behalfe.

The emperour being at Patauium when these newes were brought vnto him, what the pope had done at Rome. Therefore he commanded Peter de Vineis his secretarie (vpon Easter day) to make a narration to the people of his great and liberall munificence to the bishops and church of Rome, and against of the iniquitie of them toward him in recompence thereof: of his vnsecurenesse also in that whereof he had accused him, and of the vnsemelinesse of such an act or deed, of the right vse of the ecclesiasticall censure, and of the errors and abuse of the church of Rome. By which oration of his, he to remoued the cloud from many mens hearts of blind superstition, and the corrected opinion of holinesse of the church of Rome, and bishops of the same, and also of their disused power and subtill persuasion, that both they plainly saw and perceiued the vices and filthinesse of the church of Rome and bishops of that see, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagitious doings, most lamentably lamenting and complaining of the same. Albertus maketh mention of certaine verses which were sent and written betweene the bishop of Rome and the emperour. The which verses in the latter end of this present historie of Frederike you shall find.

The emperour moreouer both by his letters and legats, giueth intelligence vnto all christian kings, to the princes of his owne empire, to the colledge of cardinals, and people of Rome; as well of the fained crimes wherewith he was charged, as also of the cruelnie of the bishop of Rome against him. The copie of which letter or epistle followeth here vnder inserted.

## ¶ The emperour to the prelats of the world.

The emperours letter to all princes to bidde the pope and restraine him of his will.

IN the beginning and creation of the world, the inestimable foreknowledge and prouidence of God (who asketh counsell of none) created in the firmament of heauen two lights (a greater and a lesse) the greater he created to gouerne the day, and the lesse to gouerne the night: which two so do their proper offices and duties in the Zodiake, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique respect vnto the other, yet the one is not enemie to the other: but rather doth the superiour communicat his light with the inferiour. Euen so, the same eternall foreknowledge hath appointed vpon the earth two regiments, that is, to wit, priesthood and kinglie power: the one for knowledge and wisdome, the other for defence; that man, which is made of two parts (ouer wanton and dissolute) might haue two raines to gouerne and bridle him withall, that peace thereby and loue might dwell vpon the face of the earth. But alas, the bishop of Rome sitting in the chaire of pernerse doctrine or pestilence, that phariseannointed with the oile of iniquitie aboue the rest of his conforts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from heauen; indeuoureth with his power to destroy and vndo all, and thinketh (I beleeue) to stellifie againe himselfe there from whence he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our vnspotted life, whilst that (altering the veritie into lies) the papall letters flush with all vntruths, are sent into sundrie parts of the world: of his owne corrupt humor, and vpon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sinceritie of our religion. The lord pope hath compared vs vnto the beast rising out of the sea, full of names of blasphemie, and spotted like a leopard. But we say, that he is that monstrous beast of whom it is said, and of whom we thus reade: And there shall come another red horse out of the sea, and he that shall sit on him, shall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell vpon the earth destroy him. For since the time of his promotion, he hath not bin the father of mercie, but of discord: a diligent steward of desolation in stead of consolation, and hath inticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right sense and interpretation, he is that great dragon that hath deceiued the whole world: he is that antichrist, of whom hee hath called vs the forerunner: he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse vs: the prince of darkenesse, which hath abused the prophets. This is the angell leaping out of the sea, hauing his phials filled with bitternesse, that he may both hurt the sea and the land: the counterfeit vicar of Christ, that feteth forth his owne imaginations. He saith that we do not rightlie beleeue in the christian faith, and that the world is deceiued with three maner of deceiuers, which to name God forbid we should open our mouth, seeing that openly we confesse only Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauiour to be the euerlasting sonne of God, coequall with his Father and the holy Ghost, begotten before all worlds, and in processe of time sent downe vpon the earth for the saluation of mankind: conceiued, not by the seed of man, but by the holy Ghost: which was borne of the glorious virgin Marie, and after that suffered and died as touching the flesh: and by his Godhead the third day, he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the wombe of his mother. But we haue learned, that the bodie of Mahomet hangeth in the aire, and his soule is buried in hell: whose workes are damnable and contrarie to the law of the most high. Wee affirme also, that Moses was the faithfull seruant of God, and a true teacher of the law: and that hee talked with God in mount Sinai, vnto whom the Lord said, *Rubum*, &c. By whom also God wrought miracles in Aegypt, and deliuered the law written to the Israelites, and that afterwards with the elect he was called to glorie. In these and other things our enemie and ouer of our state, casting our mother the church, to accuse her sonne, hath written against vs enormous and lying slanders, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly vnderstood the apostles meaning, he would not haue preferred his violent will before reason, which beareth such swaie with him: neither would hee haue sent out his mandats to the suggestion of those which call light darkenesse, and euill good: which suspect honie to be gall, for the great good of opinion they had conceiued of that hoe place, which indeed is both weake and infirme, and conuerteth all truth into falsehood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.

Man being made of this parte hath two fleetall regiments, Gods word and the materiall sword.

The apologie of the emperour to the popes edict.

*Ascendit de mari, &c.*

Antichrist long agone described to be vnto vs by the emperour.

The confession of the emperour touching his faith, wherof he was accused by the pope.

The pope writeth vnto his lieutenants to persecute heretikes.

Truelie my opinion (so indifferent on euerie side) ought not in any case to be infringed and auerted from the faith, to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Wherefore wee greatly are inforced not a little to remoue, which thing also doth much disquiet vs to see: that you which be the pillers and assistants in office of righteous dealing, the senators of Peters citie, and the principal beames in Gods building, haue not qualified the perturbation of so fierce a iudge: as do the planets of heauen in their kind, which to mitigat the passing swift course of the great orb or sphere of heauen, draw a contrary way by their opposit mouings. In verie deed, our imperiall felicitie hath bin almost euen from the beginning) spurned against, and enuied at of the papall see and dignitie: as Simonides being demanded

The answere of Simonides applied.

The emperour prophesieth of the popes fall.

The popes fall by the emperour prophesied. VVars betweene them both leuked. 279

whie he had no more enemies and enuiers of his state, answered and said; *Quianihil feliciter gessi*: For because (saith he) I haue had no good successe in any thing that euer I tooke in hand. And so, for that we haue had prosperous successe in all our enterprises (the Lords name be blessed therefore) especially in the ouerthrow (of late) of our rebellious enemies the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrell he promised life and absolution with remission of their sins, is the cause wherefore this apostoliall bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now, not by your counsels (I suppose) he laboureth to impugne this our felicitie, but of his owne power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, he impugneth it. But presently where power and abilitie wanteth to redresse, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mightie a king, and the worthiest prince amongst all the prouerbes, to desire and craue the restitution of Gods holy spirit, when he had polluted the dignitie of his office. But the prouerbe is, *Vti indissolubilia non solemuntur, ita insolubilia non ligantur*: As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound. Which thing manifestlie is proued in him. For why, the Scriptures of God do instruct men how to liue, they mortifie our souls which are immortall, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtlesse he is able to humble and bring downe those that are vnworthie of dignitie, as much as him pleaseth, and when him pleaseth. Doubtlesse, if the bishop of Rome were a true bishop indeed, innocent, impolluted, and not associat with wicked liues and euill men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of loue and charitie, and would cense, not with the incense of griefe and hatred, but with the sweet smelling incense of concord and vnitie, neither yet would alot *Summum ponificium in malefficium*: that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If hee were such a bishop as he ought to bee, hee would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the word, into the fruit and gaine of his owne dissension, neither should we bee accused for such an enemie of our mother the true church, as is laid vnto her sonnes charge by such a bishop. Which true and mother church, with all reuerence we honor, and benignite embrace, so beautified and adorned with Gods most holy sacraments. Some singular parsons not withstanding, fayning themselues to be our brethren by that mother, and yet are not, but of a stumpet begot: such, I say, as are fubiect and slaues to corruptible things (putting them from amongst vs) we vtterly reiect: especially for that iniuries by them done, are not only transitorie and mundane, where with our maiestie is so molested, vexed and grieued. Wherefore we cannot so easily mitigat our mood, neither ought we in very deed so to do, and therefore are we informed the more to make the greater reuenge of them. You therfore that are men of graue and deliberat counsell, hauing the excellent gift (as from God) of wisedome and vnderstanding; refuse you that roring enemie of ours in these his proceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past, with those to come. Otherwise, you that are leader our fubiection, as well of our empire as other our dominions, shall feele and perceiue (both of my chiefe enemie and persecutor, as also of the princes that are his fautors and adherents) what reuenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take vpon them, God so permitting.

The emperour vniuersallie reiecteth the pope and church of Rome.

The emperour called a parliament or councel to repulse the popes malice.

**This done, he determineth a solemne parlement or councell of all the princes and other nobilitie of the empire at Aegra; whither came Conradus Cesar, Pogauntinus presul, the Sauon dukes, the lords of Wandenburg, Spitza, Thuringus, and the legats of all the nobles of Brabant to aid the emperor. But the princes of Boiemus and Palatinus being disluaded by the legats, into whom the Austrians had ingoned themselues, refused to come to the councell holden at Aegra. And being at their wits end, not knowing well what they might do, for take at last the emperour, and take part with the pope and the other conspirators. Then Fredericus Austriacus the emperours second sonne (whom he disherited as ye heard) by the aid of the Boiois and Bohemians, reconuered againe the dukedomes of Austria and Styria, putting to flight and discomfitting the emperours bands and garrisons which he had there. And although the cardinals (especially that honest man Albertus Boiemus) had allured to the pope Otho the duke of Boiozia, as ye heard, and diuers other noble men of Germanie: yet not withstanding certaine bishops in Boiozia (as Ebenhardus Iuuanensis, and Sigrefidus Seginoburgensis, being at that time the emperors chancello), Rudicenus Ratheuiensis, Conradus Frisingensis, and others) left not of yet for sooke the emperour. All which the foresaid Albertus not only did excommunicat, but also by processe sought to bring them vp to Rome before the pope, giuing commandement to their colleginers and clofterers, that they should deprive them of their offices, and chuse such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope vnderstanding by Albertus, and of this their fidelitie to the emperour, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to chuse other bishops in their steads.**

The bishops of Germanie excommunicat the popes legat and cardinall.

Iuuanensis the bishop a true subiect to his prince.

The godly bishops of Germanie are obedient to the king and prince.

**But the bishops and prelats with one consent contemning the popes mandats and writs, and also the curses and threatnings of Albertus, accused, reproued, and greatly blamed his**

The passage of the pope to maintaine the war against his lord and maister.

**temeritie and also tyrannie which he vsurped against the churches of Germanie, and especially against the good emperour, that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperours gouernment against the old and ancient customes, and that he had excommunicated the emperour without iust cause, that he had condemned the emperours faithfull subiects as enemies to the church for standing with their liege and soueraigne prince (which allegiance to violat, without horrible iniquitie they might not) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations, and had also in that quarrell giuen such defiance to the emperour. They accused and condemned the same Albertus also for a most impudent impostour and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch and sore of the christian common-weale: and giue him to the diuell they do, as a common enemie, as well of the church as of his owne naturall countrie; and further thinke him two; thie to haue his reward with the rest of the popes pursuants, being the most wicked inuenters and deuisers of mischiefe that were in all Germanie. This done, they make relation hereof to the emperor by their letters; and further, they aduertise all the princes of Germanie (especialie those which were of the popes faction or rebellion, and were the fauourers of Albertus) that they should take heed, and beware in any wise of his fubtill deceits and pernicious deceiuable allurements, no: that they should assist the pope for all his words against the emperour. And doubtlesse by the counsell of the high prelat or archbishop of Boiozia (whose name was Iuuanensis) and by his industrie and perswasion, Fredericus Antichristus was againe reconciled vnto the emperour his father, from whose aid and obedience after that (by no promises, threatnings, bribes, or gifts, no more so: the execrable curses of the popes olune holy mouth) he would be induced or removed. But Albertus prosecuteth still his purposed mischiefe, alluring and inciting by all means possible (and that not amongst the worst but the best) friends to the pope, and enemies to the emperour. Vnto some he gaue their tithes to fight against the emperour, to other some he gaue the glebe lands of benefices, and to other some he gaue the spoile of such colleages and monasteries as tooke part with the pope; and to some other also he gaue the colleges and monasteries themselues. And assuredly I find by Iohannes Auentinus, lib. 7. annalium Boiorum, that there were certaine of the popes olune birds, that had their ecclesiasticall tithes taken from them; and other some had the rents and reuenues of their colleges pluckt away by force to the maintenance of the popes quarrell against the emperour. Hereby was the fire of discord opened to do what they lusted (euerie man according to his rauening and detestable lust) and all things lay open vnto their greedie and insatiable desires. Who lusteth to heare more hereof, let him reade Auentinus in his booke before noted, and there shall he see what vsitation grew thereby to the whole state of Germanie, who largely intreateth of the same.**

**Whilst these things were thus in working in Germanie, Frederike leauing in Lombardie Aciolinus with a great part of his host (he passing with the rest by Apeninum) came to Hetruria and set the same in a stay, after that he had allaied certain insurrections there, and from thence to Pisas, where he was with great amitie and honor receiued and welcommed. This citie was always assured and faithfull to the emperours of Germanie. The pope vnderstanding of the emperours coming into Hetruria, and knowing what power the emperour had also left in Lombardie, he with a great armie besieged the citie Ferraria, that allwaies loued the emperour full well: which citie when the popes legat had assaulted sharpely the space of fiue moneths, and could not win the same; he deuised with himselfe to send for Salinguerra out of the totone, by way of a parle, promising his faith and truth to him for his safe returne. Who, by the perswasion of Hugo Rambertus, that said with-out perill he might do the same (being but by way of parle) was comming to the legat: who preuenting him in his tourney, tooke him as prisoner, contrarie to his truth and fidelitie. And thus got he Ferraria, and deliuered the keeping thereof to Azones Atensis. And that the popes legat thus falsified his truth, and circumuented the captaine and old man Salinguerra, the same is confessed of the popes friendly historiographer, to be but a stratagem of warlike policie. But to returne againe. About the same time also the Venetian nauie, at the mount Garganum chased twelue gallies of the emperours, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region: and further take one of the emperours great shippes, being driuen by tempest and weather into the hauen Spontium, fraught with men and munition.**

The pope besieged Ferraria.

The emperours gallies chased, and one of his shippe taken by the pope.

**Fredericus againe getting on his side the Lucenses, the Idolaterans, the Genenses, the Aretines, and diuers cities besides in Hetruria to helpe that countrie, came to Pisas and Viterbium, which take part with him. Some say, that the names and factions of Gibellins and Guelphs sprang from Frederike, that by them he might stirre and inuie (hauing recourse to all the townes and cities in Italie) which tooke part with and fauoured the pope, and which the emperour; and called the one by the name of Gibellins, and the other by the**

The Gibelins and Guelphs from whence they came.

name of Guelphs. But for that both Blondus, and Platina, and some others, bring no sufficient proofe thereof, but only by slender coniecture, I rather cleaue to the opinion of Nauclerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Florentinus, and other such writers, which say: that these Guelphus and Gebelinus in Italie take their beginning of Conradus the third, Fredericus his great vncle being emperour; and that these Guelphs were dedicated to the pope, of Guelphs the yonger brother of Henrie the proud: and that those which were called the Gebelins, were appointed either of Conradus himselfe or else of his son, being brought vp in the lordship of Gaibingen. But to our purpose.

The pope afeard of the emperours coming into Italie.

The pope, when he vnderstood that Frederike was come to Viterbium, he was verie heauie: for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which citie the pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be framed, prostraying about the same the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharpe and contumelious oration he much defaced the emperour: promising them euerlasting life, and gaue them the badge of the crosse, as many as would arme themselues and fight against the emperour, as against the most wicked enemie of God and the church. Holy when the emperour marching somewhat nere to Rome gates, beheld those whom the pope had with his goodly spectacle of S. Peter and S. Paul, and with his alluring oration stirred vp against him, and marked with the badge of the crosse to come forth in battell against him; disdaining to be accounted for the enemie of the church, who had been thereunto so beneficiall, giuing a fierce charge vpon them, put them some to flight: and as many as he tooke (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he marching into Campania and his owne kingdoms, leuied a great masse of money, and mustered new bands, and augmented his armie: and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trustie vnto him; he appointed them to inhabit a castle named Luceria. For which thing, although the papisticall writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of Frederike, yet notwithstanding, Nicolaus Machiauellus doth write, that therefore he retained them; lest that through the popes execrable curses he should be quite destitute of soulditers, as was Fredericus Barbarossa a little before, his grandfather, when that of Alexander the pope he was excommunicated, as ye haue heard.

The emperour hanged all the crossed soulditers.

The emperour retaineth the Saracens in his warre against the pope.

After this, when the emperour had greatly afflicted by battell the popes ecclesiasticall consorts, such as conspired with the pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed Beneuentum, the mount Casinum, and Soza, for that they take part with the pope against him; Frederike, when he had manned the citie of Aquilia, marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Picenum, that he might banquish his enemies in Italie. And by the way, he besieged the strong towne of war named Alculinum, which was also conuerted to the popes faction and rebellion. He there hauing vnderstanding what the popes affients had done with the princes of Germanie and princes of Germanie, especially with Wincelaus king of Bohemia, and Otho Palatinus, writeth his letters vnto them. In the which, first he telleth how that those contumelies and spightfull words which the pope blustred out against him, are lighted vpon himselfe, and how the bishops of Rome haue taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so lofty, that not only they take to bring emperors, kings, and princes vnder their obedience, but also take how to be honored as gods, and say that they cannot erre, neither yet be subiect or bound to any religion, and that it is lawfull for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any, so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as princes they complain: and that vnder paine of cursing, that men beleeue euerie thing they say, how great a lie soeuer it be. In fe much that by this couetousnesse of his, all things gee backward, and the whole state of the commonweale is subuerted, neither can there any enemie be found more hurtfull or pernicious to the church of God then he. He wrote vnto them furthermore, that he (to whom the greatest charge and dignitie was in the whole commonweale appointed and committed) seeing and perceiuing to his great perill, their good hearts, wils, and practises towards him, would with all the power and abilitie that God had giuen him, do his indeuour: that he which in the likenesse of the shepheard of the flocke, and the seruant of Christ, and chiefe prelate of the church, hetherto himselfe so verie a wolfe, persecutor & tyrant; may be removed from that place, and that a true and carefull shepheard of Gods flocke may be appointed in the church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, that if they desire the safetie and preseruation of the whole state of the commonweale and empire; that they be vnto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings: left otherwise, their also perish happen to fall into the same state of feritude with the bishop of Rome. And further, he gaue them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for (that is, to be an emperour and king ouer kings) yet should that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but would be as greedie and raueneus as now he is. Therefore if they be wise, to withstand him be-

The effect of the letter sent by the emperour to the princes of Germanie.

No enemie more hurtfull to the church of God then is the pope.

The emperour praieth to remoue the pope, and put another more carefull shepheard into the church of God.

times, lest hereafter when they would, it should be to late, neither were able to withstand his tyrannie. The effect of this epistle I take out of Auentine, which more largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the emperour (by his legats) sent the same to Wincellaus.

Boiemus somewhat relenting at this letter, promiseth to accomplish the emperors biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assemblie of princes and nobles at Aegra; where, by common consent they thinke to renounce with the emperour a new league and couenant. And furthermore they bind Otho Boius (which was absent, and would not be at this their assemblie) to be the author of this defection, and an enemie to the commonweale. Otho then seeing himselfe not able to stand against Cesar and the other princes with whom he was associat, desiring aid of the pope by his letters, came with all speed to Boiemus his kinsman, whom when he could not perswade vnto him againe, neither would he to their parts also be wonne, obstinately notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and couenant (which they were in hand to make with the emperour) might for a time be deferred, and that another assemblie might be made, wherein he also would be, and ioyne himselfe with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched also his sonne, and brought him to be both a rebell and a traytor. In the meane season the pope sent his rescript vnto the king of Bohemia and to Otho, tending to this effect: that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the church, to take the emperours part. And so much preuailed he by the meanes of Wolfelaus and Wabillaus (which were the chiefe left of that legall) and by his faire promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that against at Libusa by Boiemus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new emperour, in despite of Augustus the emperour and Cesar his sonne. And whilest that this was thus in hand, Conradus Cesar called Landshuta the wife of Otho being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that vnlesse her husband take a better way with himselfe and them, and his obedience to the emperour his father, that he should not enioy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conradus Cesar came thus: Fredericus Barbarossa in the yere of our Lord 1180, at a parlement holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of high treason, and depriued him of his dominions of Boiora and Saronie, and gaue Boiora to Otho Wittelspachius, for that he had done him so faithfull seruice in his Italian warres. After that, Ludouicus the sonne of this Otho, obtained of the emperour Fredericke the second, in recompence of his assured and trustie seruice the dittion of Palatinatum Rhen so called, which gaue also Agnetes the daughter of Henrie earle of Palatine to Otho his sonne in marriage. This Henrie was the sonne of Henric Leo the traitor, vnto whom Henrie the first the father of Frederike gaue in marriage Clementia his brothers sonne Conradus Duke time of Lotharius, and gaue vnto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boiora, that he had also now long possessed by the heires of Otho Wittelspachius. Wat to our purpose againe.

Boiemus relenteth at the emperours letter.

The practise of Otho with the pope against the emperour.

The pope receiueth soorth a name to the sea.

By what meanes Otho attained so great possession by the emperour and his ancestors.

A great victorie on the sea against the popes confederate by the emperours nauie.

At the same time also the gouernour of Colonia Agrippina reuolted to the pope, who not long after in a skirmish betweene Wabantinus and him, was banquished and taken prisoner. And doubtlesse, Fredericus Austriacus after he was received into fauour againe with the emperor (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelitie renued) during this time made sharpe warre vpon the Hungarians, which take part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germanie, the emperour when he had gotten Alcalinum and led his host into Flaminia, hauing Maucenia at his commandement, from thence came to Faucntia, which citie neuer loued the emperour: the circuit of whose wals is fiue miles in compasse, and pitched his campe round about the same. And although the siege was much hindered by asperitie of the time and weather (being in the verie head time of winter) yet notwithstanding through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his soulditers in the painfulnes of the laborious siege, he induced out the same, who thought it no little shame, hauing once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault giuen. And therefore when now the winter (so extreame cold and hard) was well neere ended, and the spring time now hard at hand, and by long battering had made the same in diuers places satiable: the citizens (being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof) sent their legats to the emperour, craning pardon for their offence, and that he would grant vnto them their liues, and so yeelded themselues vnto his mercie.

The gouernor of Agrippina reuolteth to the pope.

The emperour obtaineth another victorie by land at Ticinum against the pope and his confederats.

The emperour thinketh to make the pope afraid.

The emperours great leuities and elementie, but yet manifestly inforced.

The emperour hauing against them good and sufficient cause of reuenge, yet for that his milde heart thought it to be the best reuenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men: hee thought it better to grant them their requests, to saue the citie and citizens thereof, with innumerable people, then by armes to make the same his soulditers prey, to the destruction both of the citie, and great number of people therein. So both this good emperour in one of his epistles, Adacta nobis, confessio



heart of so worthie a prince, if that with great and marueilous prouocations and wrongs he had not been incited. I thought good in the midst of the historie here to haue placed. But thus I haue kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

The emperour hauing spent and consumed almost all his treasure both gold and siluer, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the great eagle (the armes of the empire) and made a proclamation, that the same should passe from man to man for all necessaries in stead of other money, and therewith all promised, that whosoeuer brought the same money vnto his receiuer when the wars were ended, he would giue them gold for the same, according to the value of euerie coine limited: which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the historiographers do accord.

The emperour preuaileth by making his money of leather.

Thus when the pope, as before is said, had stopped his eares, and would not heare the emperors legats that came to intreat for peace, but reiected and despised his most courteous and equall demands: neither yet had left any vnlikepolicie vnattempted or force vnpractised, that with his confederats he thought himselfe either able to reuenge or else resist the by his legats called to a councel at Rome, al such prelats out of Italy, France, and England, as he thought to fauor him and his proceedings, that hereby as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helpes might bepraise Frederike of his empire, as an vtter enemie to God and to the church. All which things Fredericus hauing vnderstanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be put to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by sea as by land in all that euer he might. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and prouented, he commandeth his sonne Henrie with certaine gallies to go and keepe the coasts of Sardinia, which kingdome the Italians call Sntimum: and from thence to Pisas, and with the Pisans to rig out a nauie to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the pope at Rome. The popes champions vnderstanding that by land they could not safely repaire to Rome: they prouided of gallies and ships out of Genoa (hauing Guilielmus Boccio for their chiefe captaine or admirall) for the safe conduct of their cardinals, who by the meanes of Wolfelaus and Wabillaus (which were the chiefe left of that legall) and by his faire promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that against at Libusa by Boiemus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new emperour, in despite of Augustus the emperour and Cesar his sonne. And whilest that this was thus in hand, Conradus Cesar called Landshuta the wife of Otho being absent) in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had, and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that vnlesse her husband take a better way with himselfe and them, and his obedience to the emperour his father, that he should not enioy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conradus Cesar came thus: Fredericus Barbarossa in the yere of our Lord 1180, at a parlement holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henricus Leo of high treason, and deprived him of his dominions of Boiora and Saronie, and gaue Boiora to Otho Wittelspachius, for that he had done him so faithfull seruice in his Italian warres. After that, Ludouicus the sonne of this Otho, obtained of the emperour Fredericke the second, in recompence of his assured and trustie seruice the dittion of Palatinatum Rhen so called, which gaue also Agnetes the daughter of Henrie earle of Palatine to Otho his sonne in marriage. This Henrie was the sonne of Henric Leo the traitor, vnto whom Henrie the first the father of Frederike gaue in marriage Clementia his brothers sonne Conradus Duke time of Lotharius, and gaue vnto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boiora, that he had also now long possessed by the heires of Otho Wittelspachius. Wat to our purpose againe.

The popes sendeth for succor and aid and is prouented.

The popes rescript hasteth all the matter against.

The emperour ouerthroweth Otho at Ticinum, thus: There went forth vpon a time out of Ticinum into the borders of Genowaies, certaine bands to gather them tatums in the countrie: which bands, the seruiters of Bedolinum (where lay a great part of the popes) hearing, told the captaine of the towne, that now a brcie opportune and fit time was to giue an assault to Ticinum: for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a foraging. Whereupon they immediatly calling together the captaines and such as had charge, set their soulditers in array and marched forward to Ticinum. And so by when they were come almost hither, the Ticinian bands (whom they thought to haue been far a foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gaue a full charge vpon them: who, being dismaied at the suddennesse of the matter, fought not long but gaue ouer and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slaine) three hundred and fiftie captaines, and two thought prisoners into Ticinum with all their ensignes with them.

The emperour ingreth forth a nauie to the sea.

Newes hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was removing from the siege of Faucntia (as ye heard) to the citie of Bononium, thinking to haue destroyed the same. But vpon the hearing of these good newes, he altereth his purpose, and thinking to haue hereafter a more conuenient time thereunto, leadeth his armie towards Rome: and in the way he reconciled to him the citie of Pisarum. But Fauum, for that the townesmen shut their gates and would not suffer the emperour to come in, he tooke by force and destroyed. For the emperor, seeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawfull excusation he could doe any good with him, thought, that by his sudden comming thither, and with feare of the peril vnminded, he might be brought to some vnitie, and caused to leaue off his accustomed pertinacie. And although the emperour was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more then the publike tranquillitie of the empire, and that he might then take the Tartarian warre in hand, the conuenient by many meanes conclude, he refused not to intreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and fortune much his inferior.

The emperour ouerthroweth Otho at Ticinum.

Whilest that this ruffle was betwixt the emperor and the pope, Ochodatus the emperour of the Tartarians his sonne, with a great power and prouision made, inuaded the borders next adioining vnto him, and there wan Voroloumm, Vodoium, Dundanum, with diuers other cities, townes, and villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman and child, sparing none of anie sex or age. At whose sudden inuasion, the people being in such feare and perplexitie (hauing no citie, no refuge, nor aide to stand in defence for them) were faine to take all that euer they had, and disperse themselues into woods, and lie into marishes and mountaines, or wheresoeuer any succour else did offer it selfe to them. And by this time the Tartarian host was come as farre as Meatisauia, where Henricus of Polonia and the duke of Selesia with their armies met with them, who for the inequalitie of the number and small strength they were of, had soone an ouerthow, and almost all their soulders being slaine, they themselues were taken and put to the sword. From thence they came to Mozauia, and from thence to the kingdome of Bohemia: which countrie while the king kept himselfe in strong defenced forts, and durst not come abroad, he inuaded and suffred all Hungarie, putting to flight and banquishing Colmannus the brother of Belus the fourth king of Hungarie, by whom also was great spoile made in both the Pannonias, Dissarum, Bulgaria, and Seruia. When Belus the king of Hungarie had gotten to Pola (which is a citie of Istria) then to Otho the duke of Venetia, he sent his legats to Frederike the emperour, promising that if he would send him aide that the Tartarians might be expelled, then Hungarie should euer after be vnder the iurisdiction of the emperour: which thing if he refused to doe, that then the same were in great danger to be subiect to the Tartarians, to the no little peril of the whole empire. And laid further, that the cause wherefore he sent more instance vnto him for the emperour, was: for that many christian men and countries made such pitifull lamentation in this their great calamitie and miserie, and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole christian state and empire. And also said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, that then he thought they would make inuasion vpon the empire and prouinces of the same.

The Turke inuadeth christendome with a great and mightie power.

The vnmercifull cruelties and the slaughter of christian men by the Turke.

The king of Hungarie reacheth aid of the emperour, for the which he offereth him his land.

The emperour although he thought it verie requisit, that with all conuenient speed this mischiefe should be remedied and prouented: yet notwithstanding his great enemie the pope with his confederats, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceiued that he himselfe could do no good, and only laboured in vaine in seeking peace with the pope, he gaue commandement to Boiemus and Boius, to intreat and perswade with him. And (considering the imminent perill like to infue by reason of such ciuill dissention to the whole state of christendome) that he would take vp and conclude a peace, and mitigate some what his fierce and vnbathfull mood. Wherefore, when he saw further, that neither by that meanes of intreatie, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborne and malicious froward purpose, hee writeth againe to the king of Hungarie, that he was right sorie and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to release the need and necessitie that he and all the rest stood in. But yet he perceiued well enough (he saw) that the pope, not hauing him in anie head, he blamed greatly the bishop of Rome, who refusing all intreatie of peace, could not without great perill to himselfe depart out of Italie, left that when he should come to the aid of him (by the popes mischieuous imaginations) hee should be in perill of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent Conradus the king of Bohemia with other princes more of Germanie to resist and withstand the enemie, as much as in them lay to doe. The great armie and number of such soulditers as were the crosse by the popes assignement, deferred their iourney against the Tartarians, and had commandement giuen vnto them by one Albertus (the popes procurator) to tarie and bide at home, vntill they should be called for in battell to fight against the emperor. This was the louing zeale and affection of the pope and his adherents (to conclude) in this time of calamitie towards the christian state and commonwealth; that he had rather bend his force and reuenge his malice vpon the christian and good emperour, then either hee himselfe to withstand, or suffer and permit by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most blodie and cruell Tartarian should be let and restrained from so great bauocke, spoile and slaughter of the christian men: and yet for soth these men will seeme to haue the greatest regard of all others to the christian preseruation, and thinke to haue the supremacie giuen therein:





what thing else is this, then manifest mockerie and deceiuing of the people? But notwithstanding, euen in the midst of this spoile and bauocke of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined: that at Lbulla, the princes confederat should be assembled about the deposing of the emperour and creation

The French kings letters contained in themselues.

argument of your letter both faultie and vnfauourie. It is apparent that you wanted the vertue of mediocritie in the conclusion of the same your graces letter: for that they themselues bewray no lesse then we giue you manifestly to vnderstand, and many more besides do know. It is notorious also, and to all the

A good aposi-

The emperour returneth to make his appearance before the pope.

his repaire. The emperor also being enforced on his way, and come as far as Laurinum, sent before other messengers (as the maner of the French order, and Peter de Vineis) to giue them vnderstanding of the emperors comming, and that hee would prolongue the day of hearing, till that he might conuenientlie trauell thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or vpon hold will cause soeuer required, the pope would not giue so much as three daies space, in the which time the ambassadours assured them of the emperours presence; as though there had been no common prouiso for euerie man in that case, by the law to haue vsed vpon any reasonable let. What should I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the pope with his confederats (whom for mante and bribes he had gotten to that councell) as gainst Gods law, against christian doctrine, against both the precept of the law of nature and reason, against the rule of equitie, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of emperors, and also the decrees of the empire, without any obseruation of the law, or granting dilatory daies, without probatis de any crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded vnto, or heard what might be answered therin, taking vpō him to be both aduersarie and iudge, condemned the emperour being absent. What more wicked sentence was euer pronounced? What more cruell fact (considering the person) might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could haue bin imagined or deuised? And yet hereat were those bishops not a thing abashed; but meaning to leaue their doings in writing (as an impudent testimonie to their posteritie) established the same for a law to continue.

The terrenitie of the pope to the emperour.

Vengeance falleth vpon the pope for his false iudgement.

But marke what vengeance God take vpon this wicked iudge. The writers of the annals record, that when Fredericus the emperour, and Conradus his sonne being Cesar, were both dead, the pope gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicilie, and thinking by force to haue subdued the same, came to Naples with a great host of men, where was heard in the popes court manifestlie pronounced this voice, Veni miser ad iudicium Dei, Thou wretch come to receiue thy iudgement. And the next day after the pope was found in his bed dead, all blacke and bleu as though hee had been beaten with bats, as before in the historie of king John is declared.

When the emperour had vnderstanding of this cruell and tyrannical sentence of the pope, passed and pronounced against him, considering his furious purpose and mind therein, thought good by his letters, to let all christian princes vnderstand, as well what iniuries and manifold displeasures he had suffered by the foure popes in all their times, as also the cruelties and tyrannie of this pope, in pronouncing the sentence of indgement and condemnation against him (passing the bounds both of iustice, equitie, and reason) which letter as he wrote the same, here vnder followeth to be seene.

## The letter of the emperor to the French king, and other princes, for the sentence giuen against him in the councell of Lions by the pope and cardinals.

ALthough we suppose not the contrarie, but that both by the certificat and common rumor you haue heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling therof yet for that more credit is commonly giuen to that the eie seeth, then to that the eare receiueth, we thought good to prefent vnto you the naked truth of such things, which the popes successiuely haue put forth, and forged against vs. To the perusing and consideration of which my cause and letter, I beseech your gentlenesse amongst other times of leisure, you will spie out some fit and conuenient time therefore. And all other whatsoeuer that shall haue desire to heare princes counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentiuely consider. First, whether our predecessors haue been destitute or not of godlie zeale, iust dealing, and righteousnesse: or whether we may not iustly auenge our selues, being so much prouoked, of such cuils and iniuries as haue been wrought against vs. Secondly, let the consider whether Christs vicar doth follow Christs steps or not; and whether Peters successors do follow his example or not; and also by what law, equitie and right, that sentence which they haue pronounced against vs, may be maintained and allowed: also what name they may iustly giue it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence which is giuen by an vnsufficient iudge or not. Although we acknowledge that the Lord hath giuen full power in spirituall things vnto his church, that whatsoeuer the same bindeth in earth is bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer the same looseth is also loosed: yet we read neither by Gods law, nor by any law of man, that wee ought of duetie to be subiect vnto him, or that an empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may giue any such sentence or iudgement to punish princes temporallie, and depriue them of their kingdoms. For why? although our consecration belongeth vnto him by right and custome (as he challengeth) yet our deposing and depriuing doth no more belong to him, then doth that presumption belong to any other prelat of other realmes, which doe consecrat and annoint their kings, as the custome and maner is. Or put case it were so (we nothing hindred hereby) that he had such power: hath he that power to the intent to reuenge himself vpon whomsoeuer his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equitie and law to bring them vnder his iurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against vs as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or processe before; neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a law full denouncer; neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But hee peraduenture will say, that all things that hee laieth against vs were manifest and notorious. But that doe we denie, and nothing to be notorious but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approoued and tried. Fourth may euery iudge himselfe (concerning the order of law) affirme what hee lust to be notorious, and thus condemne whom he lust. There were against vs (as well it may be said in counsell) certaine false witnesses, although not many, of whom the bishop of Calin was one, whose neere kinsman or nephue (by our laws condemned for treason to be hanged) maketh also to vs an infestiue enemie. ¶ To such like effect prosecuting the rest of his epistle, which for breuitie sake I omit.

This policie vsed the pope to vere and disturbe both the countrie of Germanie and the whole empire, and not so onelie, but also vtterly to destroy and subuert the same: by the ruinous decay whereof the pope and his prelats thought to make by their mouthes. And thus, whilest that Germanie was now newly againe diuided, some taking part with Frederike the emperor and Conradus Cesar his sonne and other nobles and princes of the empire; some with those that thould by the popes procurement be the electors of the new emperor, othersome with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending the publike vtilitie, but to serue their owne purposes, armed themselues; and thus was the publike peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and altogether in tumult and hurlie burlie. For whilest the one part laboured by all force to retaine the dominion by publike and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort indeuoured themselues with all their force and power to vse and occupie the same, according vnto the decree of the bishop of Rome, and to take it from Frederike, and thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

Germanie altogether in hurlie burlie through the popes malitious mind.

By these ciuil wars, Germanie suffered no little calamitie, in euery place was manslaughter and murther, the countrie spoiled, the townes and villages set on fire and burnt, the churches and temples violated and robbed, insomuch the husbandmen had put their goods and substance: houses were pulled downe, the goods drawen, & euery mans cattell driuen away. To conclude, in this turmoile and contention of deposing and chasing another emperor, in this faction of princes, in this liberte of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and smiting, the impudent boldnesse of diuers priuat soudiers, and especially of such as were the hoselemen, then counted the better sort of soudiers, was so great, and their vnbridled and insatiable desire in robbing, spoiling, and taking of bootes, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safetie that any good man inioyed. Therefore a little before the death of Guilielmus the king, three score cities & townes which were belonging to Ludouicus Palatinus duke of Bauaria and Rhenus, and Otho his sonne, and other princes, whose names Auentinus in his seuenth booke of the annals of the Boiens maketh mention of, ioyned themselues in a league for the expelling of these rebels and repelling of their so great iniurious rapine, and slaughter of men. Of which armie the said Ludouicus being captaine, chased and draue the whole rout of them to the vttermost parts of Germany, and pulled downe and ouerthrew their castles and fortresses, and euery other place where they had intrenched themselues.

The robbers and rebels chased out of Germanie.

Otho Saxus yet notwithstanding his oth & promise and faith most constantlie made before to the emperor Frederike and Conradus his sonne. Whereupon Philippus Iuuauensis, Albertus and others, calling a councell at Wildonius (by the popes commandement) sent for Otho vnto them, vnto whom they opend the popes pleasure and commandement. To all which, when he had heard, Otho answered: I cannot marueil at some of you enough, that when as heretofore your predecessors haue sworne to leaue & forsake the part I take with the bishop of Rome, whom you your selues affirmed to bee antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor, why that you your selues will not kéepe your fidelitie and promise made vnto those good princes: and said that he perceiued in them a great inconstancie and leuitie, both in their words and deeds, which you call that wicked, brittle, and violent wrong, but lateile that they thought equall, iust and right. He said further, that they were ouercome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluitie, ouercome with bribes, gaping for honor and estimation: and that they neither regarded honestie, godlinesse, nor their dutie and office, but studied how to make dissention and commotions, and longed after war and bloudie battell.

The fidelitie of Otho to the emperour.

He said further, that for his part he would obay God and his prince, to whom he had sworne fidelitie; and that he nought esteemed the fained holinesse and detestable practises of such prelats. He said he beleeued in Christ, and would trust in his mercie; and that he beleeued how those whom they cursed and gaue

The answer of Otho to the legats.



Otho excommunicated for turning from the pope to take the emperors part.

gaue to the diuell, were in great estéeme with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those prelats to sise in good part this expostulation with him, and seemed to beare Otho no malice or grudge for: that he had said, but to be desirous of peace and vnitie: yet not long after Otho was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Albertus the popes champion now in Germanie playeth not ver only amongst the citizens, but also bethought him of a mischieuous deuice against Conradus Cesar the emperors sonne; when by fraud and subtilitie hee had gotten and taken many of the rich burgesses and citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the emperour good will, and had sent them prisoners to Stassium. Conradus ioyning with other noble men of the empire (after he had spoiled and wasted much of his lands and others his companions) draue him so nére, that vpon certain other conditions he deliuered againe the citizens. And thortlie after comming againe to Reginoburgh, and being receiued and welcomned into the colledge of D. Hamerannus: Albertus with certaine of his confederats by the meanes of Viricus a chiefe officer of the monks, came in the beatime of the night into the chamber, where the Cesar with a few others about him did lie; and falling vpon them, some they tooke, and other some they slue; and finding no other bodie in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Cesar had been slaine among the rest. But by hearing the noise, forsooke his bed, and did himselfe vnder a bench and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed & proclaimed the bishop and his mates, and also the monks bailiffe of treason, and seized vpon all the goods of the house. But at the sute of the guiltelesse monks he released all to them againe, taking by way of fine 100. pounds. Viricus lost his office, and Albertus thereby to escape danger of punishment, tooke vpon him the habit of a monke. Conradus Vochenfolcus, which was the murtherer of these men (though he escaped the punishment of mans hand) yet the vengeance of God for the fact he escaped not. For as he rid in the day time abroad, he was suddenly stricken with a thunderbolt and died.

Cesar in danger of Albertus.

Albertus to escape punishment taketh the order of monkerie.

During all this busie and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that Frederike the emperor lay not still, but had his hands full: who notwithstanding (by Gods helpe) ouercomming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious popish tumults, and had done strict execution on these especially that had conspired against his person, calling a councell, and setting in some stay the troublesome affaires of his kingdome, came to Cremona with Fredericus patriarch of Aquileia, Richardus earle of Cornwall, the generall of Flaunmirila, and Encius king of Sardinia, with a great number besides of soldiers and men of war. And besides, he take with him (which he sent for out of euerie part) the wisest, most vertuous, and best learned men that there were, thinking with them to haue gone himselfe to Lions to the pope, and there to haue with him communication, and full concerning the intercession of all: to about the conclusion of any peace, if by any meanes hee might. And when all things were prepared and readie, he take the iournie in hand, and came to Taurinum, hauing with him both a great armie of soudiers, and also a great company of legats and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within three daies iournie of Lions, he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlawes of diuers and sundrie factions of the pope, his neere neighbors and frends; as by the popes legat and other citizens, as of Viricia, Placentia, and such like. Which thing when hee vnderstood, and that the pope therein was the onlie and chiefe doer, he fato manifestlie it should little preuaile, to attempt any further the thing hee went about, and then at length, when he saw no other remedie, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himselfe to the wars with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose and iournie, hée take the straightest way into Lombardie, and with an armie of 60000. men hee besieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptlie and neere the foresaid plant his siege and battrie without disturbance, first he intrenched his campe, and fortified the same about with bullwarks & other defensible munition. After that, he caused diuers victualling houses & tauerns in his campe to be sleightly builded of timber, and without the campe he appointed the place where the market should be kept, and al blaualers resort that would. He appointed places for their churches and temples, and in semelie maner ordered the same: and for the most part, their tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another Parma. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for his happy and prosperous successe he called and named it Victoria, and had thought to haue made the same to be in the stead of the citie Parma, the which he purposed to haue made level with the ground. And in the beginning, both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederike and had good successe; for hee charplie laid to their charges that defended and kept the citie of Parma. And further, Robertus Casilioneus, which was the emperors lieutenant in Picenum nere vnto Auximum, discomfited the popes armie, and slue of them more then 4000. and took many such as were of the confederat cities prisoners. And when the factions & companies of the Gibelines and Guelphs in Flozentia were at controuersie, when Fredericus of Vetruria came to the Gibelines, to whom they had sent for

Parma taken and kept by the popes legat and other friends of his.

The emperour alterech his iournie from Lions to the siege of Parma.

The emperour camps his campe and siege about Parma, Victoria.

The popes armie discomfited by the emperours lieutenant at Auximum.

aid: the Guelphs therewith disdaind, fled from thence to Bononia, whose goods and substance came al to the emperors coffers, and Flozentia also it selfe to the emperors obedience. But this good successe and prosperous fortune lasted not long. For as at a time Fredericus to recreat himselfe (which seldome had his health) rode about the fields with certaine of his hoselemen to hawke and hunt: many of the emperors soudiers thinking nothing lesse then of such a matter to bee attempted of a many flaxenlings within the towne of Parma, wanded and ranged vnarmed out of their citie Victoria about the fields. The soudiers in Parma hauing this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entred the emperors campe or rotaie Victoria, which being not frongthe fenced, nor hauing gates to shut against them, was a thing easie enough to doe. The sudden strangenesse of the matter much abashed the soudiers, and rang out their larum bell. The first assault was giuen vpon Marcus Salapina his charge, whom when the emperor returning in all haste found to be hard beset, had thought to haue rescued him. But when that was perceiued of the enemie, they bent all their force altogether on that side: insomuch that the emperor was inforced to take the trench, lest he should haue bin of the enemie inuironed, and from thence he retired into the citie or campe, where he had thought to haue gathered further aid. But the enemie giuing not so much time thereunto, with all force entred the citie Victoria. The emperor now, when the enemies were entred, left the campe and came to Dominium, who when they had killed and slaine a great number of the emperors soudiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same campe Victoria, came againe to Parma. The emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, thereby the enemie had vnderstanding as wel of the emperors absence, as also of the negligence of his soudiers, imprisoned certaine of chiefest about him, amongst whom also was Petrus de Vineis. Yet whilest he was at Dominium, gathering together his soudiers & residue of his bands; Encius getteth a great victorie of the Spaniards, who comming to the rescue of Parma, lost fiftie of their ships, and all that they had in them.

The negligence of the soudiers offereth an occasion to the enimie.

The discomfiture of the emperour at the siege of Parma.

The emperour vpon disposition of treason imprisoneth diuers of his captains.

After this also, Frederike in another conflict in Picenum, discomfited the popes soudiers, and slue their captaine Hugolinus, besides 2000. others slaine and taken prisoners. When now Fredericus had gathered againe, and new murthered his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona: and notwithstanding that there he vnderstood of the good successe and victorie of his soudiers had at Rhegium, yet did not he perceiue the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardie from him, he determined to take his iournie into Apulia: and when he had there leuied a strong and sufficient power, he purposed to make his speedie returne againe into Lombardie. Therefore, in his iournie through Vetruria into Apulia, he tooke Spoletum for his sonne Fredericus, which besieged Capuam, and tooke the same vnder with him diuers of the chiefest captains prisoners, and after that subduing vnto the obedience of the empire Spiniatum, he came into Apulia.

The emperour thirsteth to go to Lions to the pope.

Capuam besieged and taken of the emperor.

When newes was brought him thither, that Encius his sonne (comming to aid the Sutinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Spatina; and that in his absence, the popes captains with their bands and garrisons lwent throughout all Lombardie, Emilia, Flaminnia, and Vetruria, to stir and procure the cities to reuolt from the obedience of the emperor; and the same, partlie working by subtill policies, and partly by force and sinister means to bring them to his purpose: determined with himselfe, that with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make, to bano begun afresh, and prosecuted this war to the vttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolphus Colonacius writeth) but that he would haue wrought some marueilous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) preuented by beleeued for death. For when he fell into this agne, being at a certain castell of his in Apulia called Florentinum, and saw by the extremity thereof his dates to be shot, he remembred that which was once shewed him, how hee should die at Florence; whereupon, hee made and ordained his testament. And when vnto Conradus and others of his children he had giuen and appointed the great and innumerable nuttle of monie which he had collected and leuied for the maintenance of his wars, and godly purpose (as it is called) and vnto them also had giuen all other his kingdoms and dominions (to euery one according to their ages and pers) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

The emperour vpon disposition of treason imprisoneth diuers of his captains.

Capuam besieged and taken of the emperour.

The emperour purposeth to make some great attempt.

The emperour preuented by death.

Pandolphus writeth, that Fredericus was very willing to die, and as they made certaine report to him which were sent at his death, that his mind was altogether set and bent on the heauenly ioy and felicitie. Which thing also Guilelmus Putteanus, Andreas Pandalus, and Manardus the bishop, being Italian writers doe all affirme, of whom this last writeth, that he all redie beleeueth Frederike to be one of the number of Gods elect.

Frederike one of Gods elect.

The writers not withstanding are of sundrie iudgements and opinions touching this good emperors death. Some write that he was traitorouslie poisoned by his cupbearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow of Manfredo the sonne of Pherus. But Pandolphus as

Sundrie opinions of the death of Frederike the emperour.

good

god a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but only that he died of an ague. The last opinion of Manfredus he manifestly refuteth, and that there is no manner of likelihood of the same: and further, that the contrarie is affirmed by diuers other writers that were of that time. He died in the yeere of our Lord 1268. the thirteenth day of December, in the fourtéenth and fiftith yeere of his age, and fourth and thirtith yeere of his raigne, whole corpse was brought to Panormum, and there interred.

The issue of Frederike the emperour.

Frederike had three wiues, the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon, of whom he begat Henrie the duke of Suecia and king of the Romans: the other Ioane the daughter of Johannes Brennus king of Hierusalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Hierusalem, Naples and Sicile, of whom hee begat Conradus duke of Suecia, king of Hierusalem and Naples, being Cesar: the third Isabell the daughter of king Iohn of England, by whom he had a sonne named Henrie, which is said to doe in his childhod. This Frederike Frederike a man pollitique in matters of warres.
deserues had not his peere in martiall affaires to be compared vnto him, and warlike policies amongst all the princes of that age: a wise and skilfull souldier he was, a greater indurer of painefull labors & trauels, most bold in great & perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that hee tooke in hand, and in aduersitie most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature, few there be that attaine perfection, neither yet is there any prince almost of such gouernement as godly institution, both in life and doctrine as is required of them: so either was this Frederike Frederike was not without his fault of humane fragilitie.
without his fault & humane fragilitie, for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not all cleare therof, for somuch as by sundrie concubines he had sundrie children; as Encius the king of Sardinia, Manfredus the prince of Sarentium, and Frederike king of Antioch. And this is all that I find of the discription of Frederike by Columnus, though hee affirmeth to haue gathered out of good and probable authors. But as touching the hainous acts and flagitious deedes, which the pope burthened him withall, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of; Fredericus not only purgeth himselfe thereof, but also diuers historicians (as well Germane writers as Italians) affirme the same to bee false and of the popes owne braines, to doe him stath and téene withall, inuented. Of which matter those things which Pandolphus touching the commendation or dispraise of Fredericus writeth) I thought good out of Italian to translate, whose woords be these.

The words of Pandolphus touching the praise and dispraise of the emperour.

Albeit the emperour Fredericus was indued with many goodly gifts and dertues, yet notwithstanding was he accounted an enemie of the church, and a persecutor of the same: of which, both Innocentius the fourth in his sentence hath pronounced him guiltie, and the same sentence haue other popes registred in their fire bokes of decretals, and stablished the same for a law, how that he ought to be taken for no lesse. Heresie peraduenture it should not become me to iustifie or call in question that, which others haue confirmed, or els to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet notwithstanding as much as his acts and deeds in writing declare, and the bokes of the chiefest authors affirme, as also his owne epistles doe testifie: I cannot precisely say, whether the bishops of Rome so call him and vrge him therefore. Or else for that hee was sometwhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reprouing the ecclesiasticall order of their great abuses. Or els, whether for that he would haue had them gone somewhat more nere the conditions and lines of the ancient fathers of the primitiue church and disciples of Christ. Or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the prerogatiue and dignities belonging to the empire, or not. Or else whether they stood in feare and awe of the great power he was of in Italie (which thing indeed Gregorie the ninth in a certaine epistle of his confesseth): but of these things let them iudge and discerne, that shall read the monuments and histories of Frederike. Truly (saith he) when I consider with my selfe that Christ whose vicar the Romane bishops boast themselues to be) said vnto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitat his example, as of their maister and teacher: and commanded them furthermore, how they should not beare the sword, but put vp the same into the slabberd: and further gaue them in precept that they should not only forgiue iniuries seuen times, but seuentie times seuen times to those that offended them; and when I now compare the liues of the bishops of Rome, how neere they follow him whose vicar they say they be: and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, dissolaties, lyings in wait, and treacherous deuises, so many legats of the popes (being ecclesiasticall persons) which will néeds be called the shepheards of Christs flocke, to be sent with warrios and captains of bridders in all ꝑ parts of Italie, Campania, Apulia, Calabria (being the emperors dominions) in Picenum, Emilia, Flamminia, and Lombardie, to be sent out against him; and also when with my selfe I meditat the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subuersion of such commonweales, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much christian blood; and lastly when I behold so victorious, prosperous and fortunat emperors to be, and so many miserable, vnfortunat and vanquished popes put to flight: I am perswaded with my selfe to thinke and beléeue, that the iudgements of God are secret and marueilous, and that to be true which Aeneas Sylvius in his historie of Austria writeth: that there is no great and marueilous slaughter, no notorious and speciall calamite (that hath happened either to the publike weale, or els to the church of God) of the which the bishops of Rome haue not bin the authors. Nicolaus Machiauellus also saith, that all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances that the whole christian common weale and also Italie hath suffered, haue bene brought in by the popes and bishops of Rome.

Many epistles of Fredericus there be, which he wrote vnto the bishops of Rome, to the cardinals, and to diuers other christian princes, al which I haue read: and in them is to be seene nothing contrarie vnto christian doctrine, nothing wicked and vngodly, nothing iniurious to the church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederike. But indeede I deny not the same to be fraught and full of pitifull complaints and lamentations, touching the anaricious ambition of the ecclesiasticall persons, and pertinacie of the bishops of Rome, and that he would receiue and take no satisfaction no yet cease in the defence of the right and priuiledge of the empire, which he maintained: also of their manifold and infinit conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him: and of the often admonitions which he gaue to the whole multitude and order ecclesiasticall, to attend vpon and discharge their functions and charges. And who that further is desirous to know & vnderstand the truth, and coueteth to search out the renowned vertues of magnificent princes, let them reade the epistle of Frederike dated to all christian princes, which thus beginneth: *Collegarum principio, pontifices & Pharisæi &c.* and another, wherein he perswadeth the colledge of cardinals to take vp the dissension betweene the emperor and the pope, which beginneth: *In exordio nascentis mundi:* and also another which thus beginneth: *Infallibilis veritatis testem:* besides yet another, *Adreges & principes orbis christiani:* with diuers others more, wherein may well be seene the princely vertues of this so worthie a peere: all which epistles collected together in the Latine tongue, the learned lot I wish to read, wherout they may picke no little benefit and commoditie to themselues. In his epistle last recited these are his woords: *Non existimetis id me a vobis ideo contendere, ac si ex sententia pontificia priuationis maiestas nostra sit peruulsa. Cum enim nobis sit rectæ voluntatis conscientia, cùm ꝙ, Deum nobiscum habeamus, eundem testem inuocamus id nos spectasse, cùm totum ordinem ecclesiasticũ tum præsertim primores, nervis potentiæ dominationisque eorum succisis extirpatis ꝙ, tyrannidis radicibus, ad primitiuæ ecclesiæ conditionem & statum reuocaremus.* That is: Thinke ye not that wee so earnestly desire or craue this peace at your hands, as though our maiestie were terrified with the popes sentence of deprivation: when as God (vpon whom we trust and inuocat) is our witnesse, and iudge of our conscience, that when we went about to reforme the ecclesiasticall state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and should restraine their power, and extirpat their great tyrannie, and reduce the same to the state and condition of the primitiue church, we looked for no lesse at their hands. For these causes peraduenture, those which had the gouernement of the ecclesiastical dignitie, decreed and pronounced Frederike to be an enemie of the church: which I haue said & written others to iudge thereof. ¶ Hitherto Pandolphus Colonucius.

Frederike pursued with the hatred of the imperiall state to vtmost the church of Rome.

Deferreth commendation vpon the epistles of Frederike.

And doubtlesse examples to the contrary doe appeare, that Frederike was no enemie to the church of Rome, for that he both gaue large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great priuileges and immunities, which things by his owne constitutions, statutes and customs may bee perceiued and vnderstood. But rather contrariwise, that the bishops of Rome most filthilie recompenced the same his great liberalitie and princelie beneuolence against, which hee gaue and bestowed vpon the same, as partly in the discourse of this historie you haue heard: who notwithstanding they so mocked and iested him with such and so many iniuries as you haue seene, he neuerthelesse forgiuing and pardoning al the same, for the great zeale he had to the common christian wealth (whereof he more feared, then of any other thing) sought by all meanes he might for to haue peace, although it were to his owne great hinderance. Therfore seeing he was of necessitie ꝙ by the bishops of Rome prouoked to that warr, if he did them any hurt in reuenge of his imperiall dignitie, let them thanke their owne selues, which might otherwise haue remedied the same. Notwithstanding vpon this occasion diuers (both Italians and Germans writers, which at that time sought for fat benefices, and euer since euen vnto these our daies haue done the like, by flatterie rather to obtaine that which they hunted for, then to beare true and faithfull testimonie of things as they were indeed) take great occasion to write and slander this good emperour. But let vs passe ouer these parasits, and returne to those, which although they themselues were of that calling, I meane of the ecclesiastical order: yet notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the studie of veritie, and to reuerence the truth before popish

Frederike himself no enemie but a friend to the church of Rome.

Selfe doe, selfe haue, the prouerbe is. Hope of gaine allureth men, nely to flatter and to write vntruthe.



popish authoritie, and flattering fruitlesse: greatly extolled and commended this good emperor Frederike. So did Nicolaus Cusanus a cardinall in his writing affirme this emperor to be an Alter Carolus Magnus, both for his wisdome and also diligent regard to the commonweale. So also writeth Aegidius Biturigum the bishop, in his bokes of the institution and bringing vp of a prince, which he wrote to the French king, exhorting him and all others, to take a paterne of this most worthie and excellent prince: in commendation of whose worthie praise and vertue these verses are written on his tombe.

*Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,*
*Nobilitas orti possent resistere morti:*
*Non foret extinctus, Fredericus qui iacet intus.*

Wherfore, inasmuch as it appeareth by the approued writers, of whom I haue made mention; who and what maner of prince Frederike this emperor was, and for that he diligently laboured as well in the preseruation of the christian commonweale, as in the conseruation of the imperiall dignitie, procured to himselfe the great hatred and displeasure of the Romane bishops, who haue bin to all good emperors for the most part vtter foes and enemies) and with what wicked slanders and other iniuries both by them and by their ministers they continually molested him withall: this lesson ought to be ours, that hauing the same in our memorie, we imitat and follow his vertues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fathers that will so be called, and bishops of Rome; desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all kings and princes, that they may by his grace aduance and set forth his glorie, and reforme the corrupt and vicious manner and order of the church to all sinceritie and puritie both of life and doctrine.

These verses which here insue were sent and written betweene the emperor and pope Innocentius the fourth, which for that to the learned they are both commodious and profitable, at the end of this historie I thought good to place.

## Fredericus imper. Innocent. 4. Papæ.

*Fata monent stelleque docent, auiúmque volatus,*
*Totius subito mallent orbis eos:*
*Romadis tinub. m longis erroribus alta,*
*Cornua, & mundi desinet esse caput.*

### Innocent. papa Frederico imper.

*Fata silent, stelleque tacent, nil prædicat ales,*
*Solius est proprium nosse futura Dei:*
*Niteris incassum nauem submergere Petri:*
*Fluctuat; at nunquam mergitur illa ratis.*
*Fama refert, scriptura docet, peccata loquuntur,*
*Quod tibi vita brevis, pœna perennis erit:*
*Quod diuina manus potuit. sensit Iulianus,*
*Tu succedis ei, te tenet ira Dei.*
*Fre. fremi in mundo, de deprimi alta profundo,*
*Ri. mala rimantur, cui sub ipse cuncta minantur.*

### Fredericus Innocentio.

*Fata monent stelleque docent auiúmque volatus,*
*Lapsurum te max ad flygis antra nigræ:*
*Cymba Petri non est, sed Christi, qua natat vndis:*
*Fluctuat, at nusquam mergitur illa ratis.*
*Fama refert, tua scripta docent, peccata nefanda*
*Interitum ostendunt, exitiúmque tuum.*
*Strangulat Adrianum mussa, annon ira tonantis?*
*Cogitat & de te fumere supplicium.*
*Carcere suspendit se Benedictus, & alter*
*In thupro capitur, faucius ense perit.*
*Sylueftrum extinguit satan fœleratior ipse:*
*Ergo tuis factis præmia digna feres.*
*Innocuum te voce notas, cùm sis nocturnus*
*Orbi terrarum christianóque gregi.*

### Fredericus Innocentio de integro.

*Esses si membrum, non te caput orbis & vrbis*
*Iactares, cùm sis orbis & vrbis onus:*
*Nunc membrum non es, sed pœne cadauer & vlcus,*
*Ense recidendum ridiculúmque caput.*
*A Daniele Babylon, nefasque capitque malorum*
*Diceris, & Paulo filius exitij.*
*Nos solum Christum nostrum caput esse: malorum*
*Tanius orbis te caput esse facit.*
*Et caput est vnum, quod Paulus dicit vbique;*
*Tu recors balatro, die mihi quale caput?*
*Corporis ergo caput monstrosi monstra parisque,*
*Monstra paris monachos, scorta nefanda fones.*
*Est tua religio stuprum, ira, superbia, cædes,*
*Error, delicia, fulmina, turpe lucrum.*
*Ex his ergo liquet Christum te spernere: Christo*
*Hostem esse inuisum, dedecoríque Deo.*
*Rex tandem veniet cælo delapsus ab alto,*
*Tunc non defendent te, sacra, missa, cruces,*
*Non in sublimi surgentes vertice cristæ,*
*Non diplom. potens, non tua sacra cohors.*
*Nec diadema triplex, nec sedes sanguine parta,*
*Nullus honos soly, purpura nulla tui:*
*Triginta argenteis Christum vendebat Iudas,*
*Tu Christi vendis corpora plura tui.*
*Corpora tu vendis Christi paruo ære, polimque,*
*Cælestes genios, sidera, iura, deos.*

As yee haue heard of the iniquitie and raging pride of the popish church against their lawfull emperour: now shall yee heare (Christ willing) how God beginneth to resist and withstand the corruption of that vnsaintly church, by stirring vp certaine faithfull teachers in sundrie countries as in the countrie of Saxonie about the time of this emperor, Anno 1240. or more vpon the same, where were many preachers, mentioned in the chronicle of Arspergensis, and also in Crantzius, lib. 8. cap. 16. & 18. which preached freelie against the pope. These preachers (as Crantzius saith) ringing the bels, and calling the barons in Hallis of Suevia, there preached that the pope was an heretike, and that his bishops and prelats were simoniacks and heretikes; and that the inferior priests and prelats had no authoritie to bind and lose, but were all seducers. Item, that no pope, bishop or priest could restraine men from their vsuie of seruing and worshipping of God, and therefore such cities or countries as were then vnder the popes curse, might notwithstanding lawfully resort to the receiuing of sacraments as wel as before. Item, that friers, Dominike and Franciscan, did subuert the church with their preaching. And that the indulgence of the pope and his popelings was of no regard; so that remission which they did preach vnto them, they preached it not from the pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appeare how the resisting of the popes vsurped power and corrupt doctrine is no new thing in these daies in the church of Christ, &c.

Certaine preachers in Saxonie.

*Ex chro. Abbat. Vrsperg. Crantz. lib. 8. cap. 10.*

Resistance against the pope no new thing in Christs church.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose vp Arnoldus De noua villa, a Spaniard, a man famous for learned and a great writer, Anno 1250. whom the pope with his spiritualtie condemned among heretikes for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was, that Iudas had seduced the world from the truth of Christ Iesus. Item, that the faith (which then christian men were commanded taught) was such a faith as the diuels had; meaning belike (as we now affirme) that the papists doe teach onlie the historicall faith, which is the faith Historiæ, non fiduciæ. Item, that christian people (meaning belike, for the most part) are led by the pope vnto hell. Item, that al clostrers are void of charitie and damned: and that they all do falsifie the doctrine of Christ. Item, that the diuines doe euill in mixing philosophie with diuinitie. Item, that males are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to forbeare the bed. Certaine other opinions there be, which the slanderous sects of monks and friers doe attribute vnto him; but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather vpon enuious talking, then of any iust cause giuen.

*Arnoldus de noua villa condemned of heresie.*

*Vide Rhenum de rebus veteribus.*

And as this Arnoldus was condemned, so also the same time Johannes Semeca, the glosse-writer of the popes decrees, and pronoūst of Halberstat was excommunicated and depriued of his pronostship, for resisting pope Clement the fourth, gathering certaine oractions in Germanie, and therefore he appealed from the pope to a generall councell, and had many great fauorers on his side, till at last both the pope and he died.

*Johannes Semeca the glosse-writer of the popes decrees excommunicated.*

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthie and valiant champion of Christ and aduersary of antichrist Gulielmus de S. Amore, a master of Paris, and chiefe ruler then of that Vniuersitie. This Gulielmus in his time had no small aduo writing against the friers, and their hypocrisie, but especiallie against the begging friers, both condemning their whole order, and also accusing them; as those that did disturbe and trouble all the churches of Christ by their preaching in churches against the will of the ordinaries and pastors, by their hearing of confessions, and executing the charges of curats and pastors in their churches. All the testimonies of scripture that make against antichrist, he appliеth them against the clergie of prelats, and the popes spiritualtie. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the booke, which is attributed to the schole of Paris, and intituled, De periculis ecclesiæ: where he proueth by nine and thirtie arguments, that friers be false apostles.

*Gulielmus de S. Amore.*

Moreouer, he doth well expound this saying of Christ (If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me) declaring there pouerty to be inioyned vnto Christ, Non actualem, sed habitualem; not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but an inward affection of heart when need shall require. As though the meaning and precept of our Lord were not that we should call away actuallie all that we haue: but that when the confession of the name of God and the glorie of Christ shall so require, that then we be readie to leaue and renounce all things so euer for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth in plaine the like phrase, hatred of father and mother, and of our owne liues: he biddeth vs not to dislhonor father or mother, much lesse to hate them: but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the loue of Christ. Many other worthie workes hee compiled, wherein albeit he vttered nothing but what was truth, yet not

The place of the gospell expounded. Goe and sell al and come follow me.

with-

Gulielm. de S. Amore condemned of the pope for an heretike.

with stanting he was by antichrist and his rabble condemned for an heretike, cried, and his bookes burnt; whole heretical arguments, as they called them, that thou maist better iudge thereof, here vnder I thought good to place.

Against false prophets with signes to know them by, in these his words he followeth. For because these seducers (saith he) name themselues to be apostles, and that they are sent of God to preach, to absolue and dispense with the soules of men, by meanes of their ministerie, read the saying of the Apostle in his second epistle to the Corinthians, cha. 11. For such apostles are subtill and craftie workemen, disguising themselues to be like the apostles of Christ. Therefore, we meane to shew some certaine infallible tokens and probable, by the which false apostles may be discouered from the true preachers & apostles of Christ.

The first signe or marke is, that such as be true preachers do not enter into simple womens houses laden with sinne, and take them as it were captiue, as many of the false preachers do; as in the second epistle of S. Paul to Timothie the third chapter is manifest, saying: Of these sorts are they, which enter into womens houses, &c. Therfore those preachers which come into womens houses, to the intent they may take them captiue, be not true preachers, but false apostles.

The first signe and token is, that those that be true preachers doe not deceiue simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their owne trash and traditions, as all false prophets doe, as in the last chapter to the Romans apeareth, saying: By their pleasant and fugred talk, and by their blessing and crossing they deceiue and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women. Glos. With gay glorious words they extoll and set forth their traditions, whereby they deceiue simple men. Very greatly do they deceiue the soules of simple men, which cause them to enter into their sect, which they terme religion. And they which before led a naughtie life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicitie; after their entrance, become subtill and false deceiuing hypocrits, entring together with the rest into poore mens houses: yea and oftentimes become wooers for the others. Whereupon Marke 12. Woe be vnto you Scribes and Pharises, hypocrits which goe about, &c. Therefore they which doe this, are no true messengers but false apostles.

The third signe is, that the true apostles if they be reproued, suffer the same patiently, 2. Cor. 12. saying: The tokens of my apostleship are accomplished among you, in all patience and sufferance, meaning that patience, which pertaineth to the maners of the preachers. Therfore they which suffer not correction or punishment, be no true apostles, but rather they themselues to be no christians at all: 1. Cor. 12. No man can say that Iesus is the Lord, but by the holy Ghost. Glos. It is meet that christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselues to be reproued, and not to be holden by with yea and nay. And also such men do their themselues to be carnal, and not spirituall at all, although they faine themselues to be spirituall: Gal. 2. Therefore am I become an enemie vnto you. Notwithstanding the glosse saith: No carnall man will be reproued although he erre. Wherfore, those preachers which suffer not correction, seeme not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourth signe is, that true apostles commend not themselues: 2. Cor. 4. For we dare not ioyne our selues, nor yet compare our selues vnto others which commend and boast many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all. Also true preachers although they be indeed praiseworthie for their good deserts, in the conferences of men are they praiseworthie, and not to the outward eye alone: 2. Cor. 3. We commend our selues saith the apostle, to the consciences of all men. Then they doe not commend themselues in comparision of others. Wherefore the glosse saith vpon the same place: Those that deserue no commendation but in comparison of others, doe challenge to themselues other mens deserts and praise. Wherefore in the second epistle of S. Peter the last chapter it is said: Seuen as our welbeloued brother Paul, according to the wisedome that God hath giuen vnto him, hath written vnto you. Glosa: The chiefest of the apostles hath here forgotten his papall authoritie, and also his deies that were deliuered vnto him: for he is attonted as it were at the great wisedome giuen vnto his brother Paul. For indeed it is the maner of the elect children of God, to be more in loue with the vertues of other men, then with their owne. Wherefore in the second chapter to the Philippians it is written: Let those that are superiors esteeme of themselues in all humilitie. They therefore that doe the contrary, saying that their state or doings be better then others, although they bee preachers, yet are they no true apostles indeed, but false prophets.

The fift signe is, that true apostles need no letters of commendation: nor yet desire to haue themselues praised of men: as in the 2. Cor. 3. the apostle saith, We need not the letters of commendation of any man; that is to say, of false prophets.

The sixt signe is, that true apostles doe not preach vnlesse they be sent, as in the tenth chapter to the Romans: How shall they preach vnlesse they be sent? Glosa: There be no true apostles but those that bee sent: for they haue no need of signes which are true witnesse bearers, but those that be not sent and doe preach are false prophets.

The seuenth signe is, so forsomuch as false prophets haue their authoritie in their owne names: wherefore in the second epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians it is written: For we dare not boast of our selues or make comparison: Glosa: That is to say, with those that be false prophets, not taking their authoritie from God, but blurping the same, desirous to beare rule, claiming in their owne name their authoritie. And therefore although peraduenture by presumption they say that they are sent of God, as all heretikes will say: yet notwithstanding, vnlesse they shall proue their sending either by spirituall prophecie, as Iohn Baptist did, saying: I am the voice of a crier in the desert; as out of the prophet Ezay in the first chapter of S. Johns gospel is alleaged; or else by miracles, as Moses did, which turned his rod into a serpent, and againe from a serpent to a rod, as in the seuenth chapter of Exodus: they ought not to be excommunicated, till such time they ceale from preaching. Not notwithstanding a miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimonie of their sending, for so much as they be done oftentimes and that of euill and wicked men: 1. q. 1. Nec mirum. Therefore those preachers which preach for worldly gaine or honor, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles but false prophets. But if it may be aleged, how shall men vnderstand when these god fellowes preach for their owne vaine glorie sake? It may be answered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the 2. Cor. 1. Who soeuer boasteth, let him boast and reioyce in the Lord. Glosa: Which thing to do cannot be by any meanes that hath not his authoritie from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his owne glorie, and that may easily be perceiued. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authoritie of him, that is to say, of his church or congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to himselfe any dignitie, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. Glosa: He is called of God, that is lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The eight signe is, that false prophets pretending great workes done and boldnes to be in superstition, haue named their owne traditions to be religion, the which are rather to bee counted sacrilledge or church robberie, and do discerne vnto themselues for due deserts of other men by boasting and bragging among strange and vnknown people. Wherefore the apostle speaking of false prophets in the second chapter to the Colossians, saith: According to the precepts of men, which hauing a face of wisedome consist in superstition, interlaced with humilitie. Glosa: That is to say, mingled with fained religion, that it might bee called religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but sacrilledge, because it is contrary to all authoritie: that is, contrary to God himselfe, that any man should desire to haue gouernment of a multitude without publike commandement, as in Deuteronomium the three and twentith chapter: Thou shalt entred into thy neighbors vineyard. Glosa: That is to say, Into the church of another bishop. Say a man learne and admonith others, or els correct that congregation which is not subiect to him to gouerne, nor yet to take so great a charge on him: No. And that it is not lawfull to enter into another bishops diocesse, it is apparant, because it is not lawfull for the archbishop so to doe. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. q. 3. And also it is written 9. q. 2. throughout. Therefore those preachers which against God and his diuine scriptures do call their owne traditions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

The ninth signe is, by the authoritie which they haue: for so much as they be no preachers of the gospell or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will liue by the gospell, and not by the labor of their owne handes, against the text in the 2. Thes. 3. Neither haue we eaten any mans bread for nought, or of free cost. Glosa: Then those false prophets ought much more to liue by their labour, which haue not that authoritie which we ought to haue: that is to say, to liue by the gospell. And S. Augustine speaketh of this more expressly in his booke De opere monachorum, by these words, Those our brethren do claime to themselues (here truly) as mee thinketh) that they haue any such authoritie, to liue by the gospell. If they be preachers of the gospell, I grant that indeed they haue such authoritie; if they be ministers of the altar, if they bee dispolers of the sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselues this authoritie, as also manifestly to challenge the same; if at the least they haue not where withall to sustaine this present life, without labor of their handes. As though he would haue said: If they be not such maner of men, then haue they no authoritie to liue by the gospell. Therefore those preachers which haue no authoritie to liue by the gospell, or else minister the sacraments, because they haue no congregation whereby to take charge of soules; yet for all that will needs liue vpon the gospell: they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth signe is, that false teachers reioyce more to bee commended themselues, then the word of God to haue the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles, are farre otherwise minded, as to the 1. Thes. 2. Not seeking the praise of men, &c. And herein he toucheth those false prophets, which desire rather to bee commended themselues, then that the word of God which they preach should haue the commendation: but be is an apostle which not seeking the glorie of this present world, but for the glorie to come, doth abase himselfe, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to haue praise and to be commended of others, rather then that the word of God should haue the praise, be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleuenth signe is, that true apostles doe preach only for Gods cause, and for the health of soules, and for no temporall gaine, as in the 2. Cor. 4. saying: We preach not our selues, &c. Glosa: Our preaching tendeth not to our glorie and gaine, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Wherupon in the Philip. 1. is said: Whether it be vpon occasion giuen, or else for the veritties sake, let Christ be preached, &c. Glosa: False prophets do preach the gospell vpon some occasion, as either by seeking some commoditie at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honor, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be readie and willing as it should seeme to beare and sustaine iniuries: yet they seeke not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in verie deed they do their owne commoditie and gaine. Whereupon, 2. Corinth. 12. Because I seeke not the things that be yours, that is to say, not your treasure, as gold and siluer, but only you your selues. Glosa: For otherwise it could by no meanes be gathered that they should vnderstand him to speake or meane of their substance, because he more esteemeth them then their money, to the intent that they might vnderstand his great good will towards them. Therefore those euil and naughtie preachers which preach for worldly gaine or honor, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles but false prophets. But if may be aleged, how shall men vnderstand when these god fellowes preach for their owne vaine glorie sake? It may be answered thus, when they preach before they be called, as in the 2. Cor. 1. Who soeuer boasteth, let him boast and reioyce in the Lord. Glosa: Which thing to do cannot be by any meanes that hath not his authoritie from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his owne glorie, and that may easily be perceiued. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authoritie of him, that is to say, of his church or congregation, as to the Heb. 7. No man taketh to himselfe any dignitie, but he that is called of God as Aaron was. Glosa: He is called of God, that is lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The twelfth signe or token of a false prophet, is, because such prophets do counterfeit themselues to haue greater care and loue to mens soules, then those that be their verie gouernours and pastors haue, although they haue no charge at all of them, against whom the glosse speaketh, and the 1. Thes. 2. We are become meeke and louing towards you, euen as the nurse which giueth her child sucke. Glosa: A woman nurseth other mens children for wages, and not for loue alone; but she giueth her owne sucke of verie loue without respect of money. Therefore those preachers which faine themselues to haue a greater loue and affection to the soules of men, then they that haue the charge ouer them, seeme not to be true apostles. The apostles study not for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets do them both, as in the 2. Cor. 11. If the simple and vnelequent man, &c. Glosa: The apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence. Also by on the same another glosse: The Corinthians were led away from the gospell by ouer nice eloquence: 2. Cor. 7. Let vs shew our selues before all men as the ministers of God. Glosa: The ministers of God do not flatter as false prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true apostles haue not their abiding in princes courts and noble mens houses knowing this saying of Christ in S. Matthews gospell; Behold, those that are clothed with silkes dwell in kings courts. And therefore true apostles are not conuersant in princes courts and noble mens houses. Glosa: Hard and strict life with the preaching of the gospell loueth not to come neere princes palaces and noble mens houses. Oftentimes it commeth to passe that courtiers are found great flatterers, therefore those preachers that haue their abode in princes courts, or that in any other place do vse to flatter, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth signe is, that true apostles or messengers do not circumuent or subtilly go about to deceiue men, that they should giue vnto them their goods, either in their life time or else at the time of their death as in the 2. Cor. 7. We haue falsifie deceiued no man. Glosa: By the subtill and deceitful getting away of your substance as false prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours vnder pretence of great friendship. Also Matthew 22. Woe be vnto you Scribes and Pharisies, you hypocrites, which spoile widowes houses by your long prayers, which meane nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoile and rob the people, as Luke 20; Which deuour widowes houses by dissembling of your long prayer. Glosa: The which make ouer long prayers, to the intent they may seeme more deuout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sicke and troubled with the burthen of their sinnes. Whose prayers be turned into sinne, which neither are profitable for themselues nor ante other, but rather shall haue for making those prayers greater damnation, for so much as by the same they deceiue others: for by this that they receiue and take both gold and siluer, it appereth that they preach not for soules health sake, but only for filthie lucre & gaine sake: Mat. 10. Be ye possessors neither of gold nor siluer. Glosa: If they then haue these things, they cannot seeme or be thought to preach for the health of the soule, but for lucres sake. And so saith Hyerome vpon the prophet Malachie; Because some prophets take monie, their prophecie became diuination, that is to say, their prophecie appeared not to be prophecie, but diuination or inchantment: that is, that such prophecie proceedeth not from God but from the diuel. And this appereth



in 1. q. 1. hauing this beginning. Nunquam diuinatio, &c. Therefore those preachers which circumcent & beguile men, to the intent they should giue them their goods, either in their life time, or after their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth signe is, that false prophets when any veritie is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withall, or that toucheth them: then begin they to chafe and barke against the same. Whereupon the apostle in the third chapter to the Philippians, saith: Behold the dogs. Glosa: Vnderstand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their vsage and conditions, barking against the truth, to which they were neuer acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to dogs, because dogs follow rather custome then reason: so false apostles do keepe the custome of the law, and do bite and barke against the truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the second epistle to Timothie, the fourth chapter, saying; They get them into tractors according to their owne desires. Glosa: Which may teach them what things they themselues are willing to heare, because the truth seemeth nothing pleasant vnto them. Therefore those preachers which barke against the late reuealed truth, which toucheth them very neere, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept vnder, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fifteenth signe is, that the true apostles do not inforce any to receiue or heare them which be vnwilling thereunto but send them away rather, left they should seeme to seek after some earthly and transitorie thing: Matth. 10. Whosoeuer will not receiue you, get you out of that citie, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c. Glosa: That you may thereby shew that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those preachers which striue and wrestle (as it were) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true apostles, for so much as the apostle saith, 1. Corinth. 11. If any man appeare among you to be ouer contentious or full of strife, such custome haue we none, nor yet the congregation of Christ.

The sixteenth signe is, that the apostles did not procure the indignation of those princes, with whom they were esteemed and regarded, against such persons as would not receue them and heare them, according as we reade in the life of Simon and Iude the apostles. The chiefe ruler being very angrie, commanded a very great fire to be made that the bishops might be cast into the same, and all other which went about to defame the doctrine of the apostles of Christ. But the apostles fell downe before the emperor, saying: We beseech you sir let not vs be the authors or causers of this destruction or calamity; nor that we which are sent to be the preseruation of men, and to reuiue those that are dead through sinne, may be killers of those that be aliue. Therefore those preachers which seeke to stir vp the displeasure of princes against them (whose fauours now they enioy) that will not receiue and heare them, or rather whom they themselues hate, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The seuenteenth signe is, that the apostles of Christ haue not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in the Apocalypse 3. chapter: The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before. Glosa: Obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the world. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the church in the latter time which are prophecied before, or that they care not for them, or else if they know them not, they haue not eyes behind no: before, and no true apostles, therefore what time as they call themselues apostles, they are false prophets.

The eighteenth signe is, that true apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are discerned from wolues, that is to say, from false prophets: Acts 20. I haue desired no mans gold nor siluer. Glosa: By this are wolues discerned, for they desire such things. And againe in the same place: For those things which I had need of, and to those which were with me, these hands haue ministred. Glosa: This example also of labouring is a spectacle for bishops whereby they are discerned from wolues. For such as aske or beg of those to whom they preach, or set any other to aske or beg in their names, do seeme to commit simonie like Gehezi of whom it is read in the 3. booke of Kings the fift chapter, that he craued certaine apparell of Naaman the Syrian, to whom his master Eliseus had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those garments vnwitting to his master. Whereupon Gregorie Nazianzen saith, 1. q. 1. Quisti debetur. But some man perhaps will say, Cannot the preacher aske money or money worth of those to whom he preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered: If the preacher by authoritie preach and feed his flocke as a true pastor with the food of Gods word, he may take money or money worth; but then it is not begging or craning, but it is by authoritie, as the 2. to Timothie 2. chapter. It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground, should first and afore others receiue the commoditie of his increase. Glosa: Hereunteth the vertuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make merchandize of the gospell; and againe him to vnderstand, that it is lawfull for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flocke, what things soeuer he hath need of, and hath it not

in begging or craning, but by good authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the holy Scripture be found, that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the epistles of Christ, and is abhorred of Salomon, and S. Augustine, and reproued by diuers other holy men. Therefore it is manifest that the true apostles do not desire the temporall goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg or craue the same. They therefore that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or else that any other man asketh for them, or in their names, do not seeme to be true apostles, but false preachers.

The nineteenth signe is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, rather do they render euill for good: Paith. 10. Behold I send you as sheepe among wolues. Glosia: They that accepte the place of preaching, ought not to procure any euill toward their brethren, as the example of Christ teacheth, 1. Pet. 2. saying: Who when he was reuiled, reuiled not againe, but did submit himselfe to him that iudged him iniustly. They therefore that suffer not iniurie, but rather do wrong themselues, are not true apostles, but false apostles.

The twentith signe is, that true apostles at their first coming are euill intertained, as the Lord saith in the 24. of Mat. ying: He shall be hated of all men for my names sake; but yet at the length such get the victorie, according to that saying of the first of S. Iohn the 5. chapter; Euery thing that is of God ouercommeth the world. They therefore that in the beginning receiued are well intertained, but in the end are reiected, seeme not to be true apostles but false.

The twentie one signe is, that true preachers go not to preach vnto those which haue preachers appointed vnto them, because they haue not to receiue of a company belonging to another mans charge, as to the Romans the 15. chapter; I haue preached the gospell where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build vpon another mans foundation. And in the second epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, the 10. chapter, he saith; We are no boasters, nor bostle in other mens matters. Glosia: Where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same chapter: Let hauing pleasure to boast of other mens labours, that is to say, of those which be committed to the gouernment of another man. Likewise Augustinus saith; Honor ought to seeke the, and not thou honor. Also Cyprianus: Authoritie is in leue with such a man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They therefore that procure and haue a desire to preach vnto the people committed to another mans charge, which is an office of honor, especially in councels, synods and great assemblies, also in kings and princes courts, and prelats palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

The twentie two signe is, that true apostles when they know themselues to do much good in the church and congregation of God; yet not withstanding are not puffed vp with pride: Ezechiel 3. O sonne of man I haue made thy face as an adamant stone. The adamant stone when it draweth iron vnto it, is not thereby either lifted vp or altered. Likewise a true preacher when he draweth sinners vnto him by his preaching (whose hearts were as hard as iron) is neuer the more lifted vp or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke the 18. chapter, When we haue done all that we can, and as well as we can, yet say that we are vnprofitable seruants: Psal. 115. Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs, but to thy name be giuen the glorie. They therefore that do arrogantly boast themselues of the fruit and benefit that they haue done in the church of God, saying: We haue giuen light to the vnmerfull church, which was blind before our time, and we haue put out the flame of sin in the church of God (when perhaps they haue more furthered hypocrisie then either truth or veritie) they are not true prophets but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalmes, The mouth of them that speake proud things, &c.

The twentie three signe is, that true apostles do not seeke the fauour of the world, nor yet how to please men; as to the Galath. 1. If I should please men, that is to say, if I had a desire to please men, I should not be the seruant of God. Wherefore to Timothie the first epistle and second chapter; Not as men pleasers. Glosia: Seeking to please, because we haue not the pleasing spirit. Therefore those preachers that seeke the fauour of the world, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twentie fourth signe is, that true apostles when they haue meat and drinke they are contented, neither do they desire ouer daintie fare, according to the saying of Mat. 10. chap. Eating and drinking those things that are set before them. Glosia: The gospell condemneth not altogether costly and delicat fare, yet so alloweth the same, that if we haue meat and drinke, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith contented. Therefore those preachers, which although that neither they be sent, nor haue authoritie to preach, and yet are offended when they haue not fine & delicat fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twentie fifth signe is, that true apostles do loue more the law of God then their owne estimation amongst their neighbours, according to that in the 7. chapter of the Prouerbs; Keepe my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same vpon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart. Whereupon in the 119. Psalme: The law of thy mouth is dearer vnto me then thousands of gold and siluer. Glosia: Charitie doth more loue the law of God, then the desire of gold and siluer a thousand fold. He therefore that seeth the gospell of Christ troden vnder foot, which is the eternall glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and contemne the same, or else peraduenture consenteth vnto the same, to the outward appearance of the world: and yet because he will keepe his temporall dignitie and situation, refuseth not to stirre vp strife and contention about the same, and so to be euill spoken of, seemeth not to be an apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

The twentie sixth signe is, that true apostles seeke not after such fine lodgings and wealthie habitations, where they may haue all things at their commandements; but rather such be neff resting places where they may haue necessarie things for themselues, with their good wils of whom they haue it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so rich and liberall in giuing, as to thinke the one doth him more pleasure in receiuing the gift, then the other doth in giuing him the same. According to that in the 10. of Matthew, saying: Into what citie or towne soeuer ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, & abide you with them so long as you tarie in the same citie or towne. Glosia: Your host with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be euill spoken of by reason of his infamie. Neither ought such men to run from house to house. But whom shall we call worthie of good report? Glosia: Him who knoweth better to do other men good, then to receiue a good turne of another. And this is he which giueth willingly for Christs cause, and not in respect of any commoditie. Also true apostles receiue nothing of such men as lie waltering in their sinnes, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins, whereupon the 2. to the Cor. the 7. chapter; They haue giuen themselues first to the Lord. Glosia: Because they neld amending their old errors and vicious manners haue bowed themselues vnto the Lord, and afterward gaue of that which they had to their brethren: for otherwise they ought not to haue taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes; but those that giue where there is no cause of reproofe in their doings, haue no suit cause to giue. Therefore those preachers that seeke how to come by daintie fare, & do receiue bribes and rewards of naughtie men that haue this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may couer and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtiltie, which giue indeed rather to remoue the shamefull importunitie of the crauer, or else for auoiding of present shame, then for any loue they haue to God, are not true apostles, but false prophets, according to that in the 2. to the Cor. the 9. chapter; The Lord doth loue a willing giuer. Glosia: He that giueth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunacie of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit: therefore he that hath respect to these things, doth not seeke the fruit and profit of the giuer, but the gift it selfe, as the apostle to the Philippians the 4. chapter, saith; Seeke not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giuer.

The twentie seuenth signe is, that true apostles do not endeuour themselues to seeke and inioy the fruit of other mens labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the bellie is such mens god, according to that in the 2. to the Thessal. the 3. chap. We haue heard of some amongst you which walke inordinately, not labouring at all, but liuing delicatlie or idlelie. Glosia: Of other mens labours, and deserue they to be fed? The discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing: for the bellie is their god, which prouide to haue more then necessarie dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers which so do, are no true apostles, but false.

The twentie eight signe is, that true apostles do not reioyce only of the miracles or other excellent workes, which the Lord doth by them; but they reioyce rather of the saluation which they loke for, from the Lord, then that by doing those miracles they desire any honor, according to that which is written in Luke the 10. saying: Reioyce ye not for that the spirits be subiect vnto you, but because your names are registred in heauen. They therefore that boast of their owne miracles, or of any thing that belong vnto them, for this cause that they are sauced by the doing of them, as many do say, seeme not to be true apostles, but false.

The twentie nineth signe is, that the true apostles do neuer seeke their owne glorie in this life, but the glorie of Christ; as in Iohn the 7. He that speaketh of himselfe, doth seeke his owne glorie, but he that seeketh the glorie of him which sent him (that is, of whom he is sent) is a true apostle. Therefore those which seeke the things that pertaine to the glorie of this world, of the which one is; to be assistant to those that beare rule and authoritie, according to that saying of Boetius De consolatione; Those that do desire to be ertolled, either they raigne and beare rule themselues, or else do desire to be more about them that haue such dominion. Another is, they desire to haue the same and bicause of that which they haue nothing at all deserued before God. Whereupon is written that saying of the apostle in the Gal. 5. Let not vs become desirous of vain-glorie, is, to haue victorie without any merit or desert. and those, I say, that do such things seeme not to be true apostles, but false.

The



The thirtith signe is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which loue and seeke the company and fellowship of men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seeme to be true apostles, but false.

The thirty one signe is, that true apostles do not commonly resort to other mens tables, lest that they should for a meales meat become flatterers, as in the 2. Thess. 3. That we should giue an example to followe vs. Glosia: He that commeth oftentimes to another mans table being giuen to idlenesse, cannot chuse but flatter him which feedeth him; but Christs religion calleth men to libertie and to no such bondage: they therefore that resort to feastinges, and that of their owne minds, to other mens tables (liuing idlely) are not true apostles, but false.

The thirtie two signe is, that true apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught, Matthew the first, saying: Loue your enemies, do well to them which hate you; but false prophets do both hurt and defame their neighbors, according as S. Hyerome 14. saith; The prophets of Hierusalem haue defiled the whole earth. Glosia: They are not contented only to hurt their neighbours, but also whom they before this time haue hated, they defame and speake euill of in euerie place they come: therfore those preachers which hate them whom they thinke are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirtie three signe is, that false prophets when they are reuiled and proued whether they be true apostles or lers, take that verie grieuously, and persecute all those that can proue them to be so, and also do stir vp and prouoke others to persecute the same men, which also ioyne themselues together by secular power, euen as certaine false prophets did in the primitiue church against the bishop of Ephesus: to whom the Lord said, Apoc. 2. I know, that is to say, I do allow thy workes and thy labour; that is, thy trauaile, because thou canst not away with those that be euill men. Glosia: But that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expell them, and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liers, and also hast suffered this patiently. Glosia: The euils which these false prophets ioyned together by secular power do bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie fourth signe is, that true apostles go not to preach to those which are conuerted alreadie by other men, but rather do conuert those which are not yet conuerted, lest that they should build vpon another mans foundation, as S. Paul, Romans 15. saith: I haue laboured so, that from Hierusalem to Illyricus, I haue replenished the gospell in euerie place. Glosia: That is, I haue preached the same abundantly, in whom the great vertue of the holy ghost appeareth, because so many nations, that is, the Gentiles haue receiued the gospell by my preaching. But I haue preached the gospell there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build vpon another mans foundation. Glosia: I should not preach to those that were conuerted by another man. Also 2. Corinth. 10. We are not such as boast & glorie in other mens labours. Glosia: Where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast in order. Also in the same place, not thinking to boast where another man hath gouernment, but in those things which are put in experience. Glosia: Of other preachers. Because the apostle did preach, & those to whom the gospell was neuer preached that he might get praise by his owne proper labour. Therefore those preachers which go not to that people which haue need to be conuerted, but to those which are conuerted alreadie, which haue apostles of their owne, that is to say, bishops and priests, and yet do boast ouer another mans flocke, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie fifth signe is, because true apostles when they are sent, go to their owne dioceese, and not to another mans dioceese, euen as Paul being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach. Acts 13. Separat Paul and Barnabas for the businesse which I haue chosen them vnto. Glosia: According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher vnto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand vpon their feet; that is to say, those preachers which haue but smal worldly substance, for which cause they are more readie to go which way soeuer it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those which be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we reade in Ezech. 2. After that, the spirit of the Lord set Ezechiel vpon his feet, In quam spiritus venus tangitur, and he said vnto him: O sonne of man, behold I send thee to the nations which haue start backe from their profession, which haue gone from me, that is, to the Iewish herettikes, and to those nations which sometime haue been christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that obserue the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are alreadie instructed, and hauing both apostles, bishops, and priests of their owne; they go not into their owne dioceese, but into another mans dioceese, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, vnlesse they be thrust out of the same betime; euen as Jonas, which vnlesse he was sent to Niniuie of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill: that is, to the infidels we spake of before. They go not to those infidels according to the commandement of the Lord, but they turne another way, take their iourney into Tharsis, which is interpreted, fishing after top and pleasure; that is, they go vnto those which receiue them with top and gladnesse, and do well prouide for them, that is to say, to godly and deuout christians: and therefore it is to be feared, lest the ship in which they be (that is, the church) be in great perill, vnlesse they be throwne forth. And therefore the apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause, 2. Tim. 2. And thus thou shalt do. Glosia: That is, such men as those be.

The thirtie sixth signe is, because true apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute vnto themselues any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, Rom. 15. saith: I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me. Glosia: That is, I speake only those things (which by me) that is, by my ministerie Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much vnto themselues which they neuer did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie seuenth signe is, that true apostles do not applie themselues or leane to logicall or philosophicall reasons. Therefore those preachers which do indeuour themselues to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie eight signe is, that true apostles do not loue carnallie or after the flesh, but hate what thing soeuer doth resist them in the seruice of God, as Luke 14. He that doth not hate his father and mother, his sonne and daughter, and also himselfe, he cannot be my disciple. Glosia: That is, he that doth not hate whatsoeuer doth resist or let him in the seruice of God, is not worthie to be a disciple, neither can be abide in that office. Therefore for so much as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needes follow that those preachers which do prouide their nephewes and kinsfolkes (how vniwardlie soeuer they do) to ecclesiasticall promotions and liuings, contrarie to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the seruice of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirtie ninth signe is, that true apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world: for he that is the friend of this world, is the enemie of God, therefore those preachers which purchase the friendship of this world are not true apostles, but false prophets. Therefore for so much as the scripture is infallible, as in the twentie fourth chapter of Matthew, saying: Heauen and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for euer; and the holy Ghost which spake in the apostles cannot lie: for prophecie (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the holie Ghost, as if it is read in the first epistle of Peter, the first chapter: it remaineth, that all men, which are bound to defend the church, may rise vp in the defence of the same, according vnto that in the 24. chapter of the Prouerbs; Deliuer those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are drawen to destruction. Neither may he alleage saine accusations, because it is said in the same place: The say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of mens hearts, shall know it, &c. What soeuer perisheth in the church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them at the day of iudgement; as Jacob confesseth to Laban, whose sheepe he fed, Genesis 31. I did restore all thy losse, and that which was stolne I made answere for. I will demand his blod at thy hands, Ezechiel 3. This is said to the pastor or prelat. But if other things which we haue spoken of before could not moue the prelats and cardinals, this at the least should moue them; because that then the spirituall power which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and enioyning of penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piece meale doth the wolfe deuour the poore and needie man. Quest. chap. 1. When the authoritie ecclesiasticall therefore shall be quite taken from them and disposed to others, such as either by their order apostolicall grant, do challenge to haue the same; then doubtlesse shall neither the iurisdiction of ciuill causes and pleadings, nor anie authoritie that such prelats haue yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporall goods of the church, any longer remaine amongst them. Shall such haue the temporall goods of the church which minister not the spirituall treasure thereof? 1. Cor. 9. Know ye not that they which till the sacrifice, ought to eat of the sacrifice; and they that serue at the altar, are partakers of the altar? For as the bodie without the soule cannot stand, so corporall things without spirituall things cannot continue, 1 quest. 1. if any shall take away the same. Thus haue you had the 39 arguments, for the which both he the said Gulielmus was condemned, and his bookes burned.

In the dales of this Gulielmus, there was a most detestable and blasphemous booke set forth by the friers (mentioned also in Matth. Parisiensis) which they called Euangelium æternum, or Euangelium Spiritus sancti: That is, The euerlasting gospell, or the gospell of the holy Ghost. In which booke many abominable errours of the friers were contained. So that the gospell of Jesus Christ was vtterlie defaced, which this booke said, was not to be compared with this euerlasting gospell, no

to more then the shell is to be compared with the kernell, then darknesse to light, &c. Moreouer, that the gospell of Christ shall be preached no longer but fifty yeeres, and then this everlasting gospell should rule the church, &c. Item, that whatsoeuer was in the whole Bible, was in the said gospell contained. At length the friers gospell was ascribed to the pope, and six persons choisen of the whole Vniuersitie to peruse and iudge of the booke: as Christianus canonicus Baluacensis, Odo de Doaco, Nicolaus de Baro, Iohannes de Sicca Villa Anglus, Iohannes Belim Gallus. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and diuellish booke. These sir, after the perusing of the booke were sent vp to Rome. The friers likewise sent their messengers withall, where they were refuted, and the errours of the booke condemned; but so, that the pope with the cardinals commanded the said booke to be abolished and condemned not publikely (tendering the efumation of the religious orders, as of his owne most chiefe champions) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the bookes of the forsaid Guilehnus to be burnt withall.

The scholemen and their vnlearned gospell ous detractors.

The gospell and writings of the friers condemned with much ado of the pope.

Besides other his bookes, two sermons we haue of his yet remaining, one vpon the gospell of S. Luke, of the Pharisie and the Publican, the other vpon the epistle read in the church on May day: where in the first he resembleth the Pharisies to our monkes, and that he proueth by all the properties of the Pharisies described in the gospel. The Publican he resembleth to the lattie, such as for because the lower they are reduced to acknowledge their sinnes, the more hope they haue of mercie. The other, because they stand confident in their owne righteousnesse, are therefore further from their iustification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall vpon the church by these religious orders of monkes and friers.

Among the other besides of that age, which withstood the bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one Laurence an Englishman, and master of Paris. Another was Petrus Iohannes a Monoit, of whom the forsaid Laurence was about the yeare of our Lord 1260, who in his teaching, preaching and writing, did stoutly defend the part of the forsaid Gulielmus and the rest of his side against the friers. Against the which friers he wrote two bookes; one in the defence of William afore mentioned: the other vpon this argument and title: To beware of false prophets, &c. Certaine other things also he wrote, wherein by diuers proofes and testimonies he argued and proued that antichrist was not far off to come.

Laurentius Anglicus commended of the pope. Desensa Gulielmi. Contendum a friende of reformation. The pope antichrist. The synagogue of the friers to be great Babylon. Ex Nicolao Eymerico in libro suorum inquisitorum. Petrus Iohannes burned after his death.

The other Petrus Iohannes was about the yeere of our Lord 1260, which taught and maintained many things against the pope, prouing that he was antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote vpon Matthew, vpon the epistles, and vpon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Iohannes is made in Nicolaus Emericus, in libr. Inquisitionum, &c. And saith moreouer that Michael Cesenas (of whom Christ willing shall follow hereafter) toke of him a great part of his opinions: and because the pope could not burne him alive after his death he caused his bones to be taken vp and burned.

To these and with these aboue specified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being borne of a right noble parentage, for deuotion sake was made a Dominike frier, about the same yeere of our Lord aboue touched, Anno 1250. This man, as appeareth by his writing, had diuers and sundrie visions, whereof part is annexed with the visions and prophecie of Hildegardis. His visions all tend against the spiritualitie of Rome, where in the first chapter he calleth plainly the pope an idoll, which hauing eyes seeth not, neither listeth to see the abominations of his people, nor the execsiue enormitie of their voluptuousnesse, but only to see to the heaping vp of his owne treasure, and hauing a mouth speaketh not, but saith: I haue set good men ouer them (which is sufficient for me) to do them good either by my selfe, or by some other. And it followeth in the same chapter: Woe to that idoll, woe to the mighty and proud, who shall be equall in all the earth to that idoll: he that exalted vp his name in earth, saying: Who shall bring me vnder? Is not my house compared with the mightie potentats of the land? I am higher then kings, knights on their horsebacke do service vnto me: that which my fathers had not before me, that haue I done to me. My house is stroled with siluer, gold and perle are the pauement of my palace, &c.

Robertus Gallus his prophesie against the pope.

Againe in the twelfth chapter and also in the first, vnder the name of a serpent he painteth out the pope, whom he declareth to extoll himselfe aboue measure, and to oppresse the few that be godly, and to haue many false prophets about him, which neglecting the word and name of Christ, do preach and extoll him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The church of Rome and the pope he describeth in these words: I was praying (said he) on my knees, looking vpward to heauen here to the altar of S. Iames in Paris, on the right side of the altar, and saw in the aire before me the bodie of a certaine high bishop all clothed in white silke, who turning his backe on the east, lift vp his hand towards the west, as the priests are wont in their masse turning to the people, but his head was not seene. And as I was considering aduisedly whether he had any head or no: I perceiued a certaine head in him all die, leane and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the spirit of the Lord said to me: This signifieth the state of the church of Rome.

The pope described. The bishop of Rome. The state of the church of Rome disabled.

Moreouer, the same author in his visions well describing the manner of the schole sophisters and Sorbonists addeth in this wise: Another day as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit: and behold I saw a man apparelled like to the other before, which went about hauing fine bread and excellent wine that hanged about him on both sides, and the same hauing in his hand a long and an hard flint stone, was gnawing hungerly vpon the same, as one being hungrie is wont to bite vpon a loafe of bread: out of the which stone came two heads of two serpents, the spirit of the Lord instructing me and saying: This stone purposeth the friuolous, intricat, and curious questions, wherein the hungrie do trauell and labour, leauing the substantiall food of their soules. And I asked what these two heads did meane: And he said, The name of the one is vain-glorie, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of religion.

The schole-men and their friuolous questions described.

Also, concerning reformation of the church, this vision he declareth: It hapned as I was (saith he) in the same citie in the house of a certaine noble man (a Britaine) and was there speaking with certaine; I saw a crosse of siluer very bright, much like to the crosse of the earle of Tholouse. But the fiue knops apples which did hang beside in the armes of the crosse were very vile, like the apples which the sea is wont to cast vp. And I said: What is this Lord Iesu? And the Spirit answered me: This crosse which thou seest is the church, which shall be cleare and bright in pureneese of life, and shall be heard and knowne all ouer through the shrill voice of the preaching of sincere veritie. Then being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signifie? And he said; It is the humiliation of the church, &c.

The reformation of the church prefigured.

This godly man did forewarne (as in a certaine chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simonie and anarice of the clergie with such a plague that riuers should run with blood, &c. It is said that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad, for these that be abroad are but a briefe extract out of his visions and reuelations.

The simonie and auarice of the clergie de punished.

After that we haue thus long strayed in these forren stories of Frederike, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other countries, now after this sufficient digretion, it is time that we returne to our owne cauntrie againe. Where, in following the continuation of time and course of the church, we will now adioyne to these godfathers and writers, the historie of the learned bishop of Lincolne named Robert Grosthead, a man famously learned, as that time serued, in the three tongues both Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew, also in all liberall sciences: whose works and sermons yet to this day are extant, which I haue seene in the Queenes maiesties librarie at Westminster. Wherein is one speciall sermon written and exhibited in foure sundrie scrols to the pope, and to other foure cardinals, beginning Dominus noster Iesus Christus, &c. Nicolas Trinet in his chronicle writing of this bishop, affirmeth that he was borne in Suffolke, in the diocesse of Northfolke: who giuing him the praise to be a man of excellent wisdome, of profound doctrine, and an example of all vertue, withall, that he being master of arts, wrote first a commentary in libum posteriorum Aristotle. Also that he wrote tractations, De sphæra, & de arte computi, and that he set forth diuers bookes concerning philosophie. Afterward being doctor in diuinitie, and expertly seene in all the three tongues, drew out sundrie treatises out of the Hebrew glosses, also translated diuers workes out of the Greeke, as namely the testament of the twelue patriarches, and the bookes of Dionysius, commenting vpon the new translation of your owne glosse: Hæcille. Many other works and volumes besides were written by the said Grosthead, as De oculo morali, De dotibus, De cessatione legalium, paruus Cato, Annotationes in Suidam, in Boetium, De potestate pastorali, Expositiones in Gen. in Lucam, with a number more, besides diuers epistles, sermons & tractures sent to the pope for his vnmeasurable exactions wherewith he ouercharged & oppressed the church of England.

Ex Nic. Trinet.

Robert Grosthead a Suffolkeman borne.

The commendation of Robert Grosthead.

The bookes and workes of Robert Grosthead.

This godly and learned bishop after diuers conflicts and agonies sustained against the bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederike, of Guliel. de sancto amore, of Nico. Gallus, and other mainded; at length after great labors and trauels of life finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the moneth of October. An. 1252. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris, pag. 278. Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he neuer loued) was taken the holy bishop of Lincolne Robert, at his manor of Bugden in the euen of S. Dionyse, who was an open reprouer of the pope and of the king, a ruler of the prelats, a corrector of the monkes, a diuider of the priests, an instructer of the clerkes, a fauter of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a mill to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings, &c. Hitherto Matth. What a mall he was to the Romans, in the sequell hereof (Christ willing) shall better appeare. The storie is this:

§ Anno 1253.

The death of Robert Grosthead.

Matthæus Parisiensis Hist. Angl.

It so befell among other daily and intollerable exactions, wherein pope Innocent was grieuous and iniurious (manifold waies) to the realme of England, he had a certaine cosin or nephew (so popes were wont to call their sonnes) named Frederike, being yet yong and vnder yeares, whom the said Innocent

The troubles of Robert Grosthead with the pope.



Innocent the pope would needs preferre to be a canon or prebendarie in the church of Lincolne, in this time of Robert bishop of the said church; and vpon the same directed diuerse letters to certaine his factors here in England for the execution thereof. The copy of which letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of God came to my handes, as I was penning this present storie written in the end of an old parchment booke, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found, as is this.

Pope Innocent the fourth of that name.

* Ex Matthæo Paris.

*Dilectis filijs archidiacono Cant. & magistro Innocent. scriptoribus nostris in Anglia commorantibus: salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus filius noster G. Sancti Eustachij diaconus cardinalis dilecto* filio Frederico de Lauania, clerico nepoti nostro, de speciali mandato nostro canonicatum Lincolniensem, cum plenitudine iuris canonici duxerit conferendum, ipsum per suum angulum corporaliter & præsentialiter investiens de eodē, & ex tunc canonicus Lincolniensis existat, & plenum nomen & ius canonici consequatur ibidem, ac prebendam, si qua vacauerit in ecclesia Lincol. ita pro quo dictum litteræ nostræ super receptione, ac prouisione faciendis sibi in eccles. eadem de præmissis venerab. fratri nostro episcopo Lincoln. præsentatæ fuerunt, aliaqui post vacaturam conferenda filio donationi apostolicæ reseruari: decernendo irritum & inane, si quid de prabenda huiusmodi aquoquam fuerit attentatum, nec non & contradictores & rebelles excommunicationis sententiam vbique promulgando, prout in literis eiusdem exinde de* constitutis plenius cōtinetur. *Nos ipsius Frederici deuotis supplicationibus inclinati, quod ab eode cardinale factum est super hoc & ratum & gratum habentes, idem authoritate apostolica duximus confirmandū. Quocirca discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem Fredericum, vel procuratorem suum eius nomine in corporalem possessionem præditorum canonicatus & prebendæ, authoritate nostra inducatis, & defendatis inductum, contradictores per censuram eccles. facitum appellatione postposita compescendo. Non obstantibus aliquibus constitutionibus vel statutis, iuramento, vel confirmationibus sedis apostolicæ, seu quacunque alia firmitate roboratis, vel quod dictus Fredericus præsens non fuerit ad præstandum iuramentum de obseruandis cōstitutionibus eiusdem eccles' constitutis, siue si prædicto episcopo vel capitulo ipsius ecclesiæ communiter vel singulatim: seu alijs quibuscunque personis a dicta sede indultum existat, quod ad receptionem vel prouisionem aliquius compelli nequeant, siue quod nullus alius in eorum ecclesia neminj prouidere valeat: vel quod interdici, suspendi, aut excommunicari non possint, per literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborū obtent. as, vel obtinendas, etiamsi totus tenor indulgentiarum huiusmodi de verbo in verbum in ijsdem literis sit insertus, siue quibus alijs indulgentijs quibuscunque personis, dignitati, vel loco, sub quacunque forma verborum concessis aliquis apost. sedi existat non contendas, per quas effectus huiusmodi prouisionis posset impedri aliquatenus vel differri. Tamen volumus ea de certa scientia quatenus ad prouisionem factam & faciendam Frederico prædicto in ecclesia Lincoln. virtubus omnino carere. Caterum si aliqui prædicto Frederico vel procuratori super præmissis, vel aliquo præmissorum, aliquatenus duxerint opponendum: illos ex parte nostra citari curetis, vt peremptorie infra duorum mensium spacium post citationem vestram personaliter comp. reant coram nobis, eidem Frederico super præmissis legitime responsuri. Non obstantibus priuilegijs, siue quibuslibet indulgentijs personis regni Angliæ generaliter vel cuinis alij personæ, vel dignitati, vel loco specialiter à prædicta sede sub quacunq; forma verborum concessis. Quod non possint vltra mare, seu extra ciuitatem vel diocesim suam in iudicium euocari per literas apost. sub quacunque forma verborum obtentas, quod priuilegium & indulgentiæ eisdem personis de certa scientia nullatenus volumus suffragari, & constitutione edita de duobus dietis in concilio generali non obstante. Diem autem citationis & formam nobis, vestris literis tenorem præsentium continentibus fideliter intimetis. Quod si non ambo his exequendis interesse poteritis, alter vestrum nihilominus exequatur. Datum Perus. 7. Cal. Febr. pontificat. nostri anno decimo.*

Which forsaid letter is thus in English.

The pope vnreasonable letter.

Vnto our welbeloued sonnes the archdeacon of Canturburie, and to master Innocent our scribe abiding in England, greeting and apostolicall benediction. For so much as our welbeloued sonne G. of S. Eustace deacon cardinall, vpon our speciall commandement hath giuen and granted to our welbeloued son Frederike de Lauania (a clerke and our nephew) a canonship in the church of Lincolne with full power and grant of the same: inuesting him also corporally and presently with his owne ring in the said canonship, to be from henceforth canon of Lincolne, and to haue full power of the said canonship in the church, and a prebend when any shall fall in the church of Lincolne: from that time, since which our former letters of late, concerning this receiuing and prouision to be giuen to him in the said church, were presented and exhibited to our reuerend brother the bishop of Lincolne, or else after the next auoiding the said prebendship shall be giuen to any other man beside, and also denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all them that shall rebell and gainsay the same, as in the letters of the said cardinall is more fully contained.

Wherefore, egregiously inclined by the deuout supplication of the said Frederike, ratifying and gratefully approuing that which hath been done by the said cardinals in the premisses, haue thought good by the authoritie apostolicall to confirme. Wherefore we giue in commandement by our letters apostolicall to your wisedomes, that you will see the said Frederike (or his proctor in his behalfe) to be really and corporally possessed in the said canonship or prebend by our authoritie, and also defend the said partie being therein possessed, denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all such as shall withstand the same, all manner of customes or statutes to the contrarie notwithstanding, corroborated either with oth, or confirmations of the see apostolike, or by what stay or let soeuer; or whether that the said Frederike be not present to take the oth accustomed to be giuen for obseruing the customes of the said church, or whether it be giuen and granted by the said see to the forsaid bishop, or to the chapter of the said church iointly and seuerallie, or to what person or persons else, that no man by compulsion should haue admission or prouision for any person in their church whereby they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicat by the letters apostolicall obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, vnder what forme or words soeuer; yea although the whole tenour of the said indulgence bee inserted word for word in the said your letters, or by any other indulgences to what person or persons soeuer, of what estate, dignitie or place soeuer, vnder any manner or forme of words, granted hereafter by the see apostolike, by the which indulgences the effect of the said prouision may bee by any manner of waies hindered or deferred: yet of our certaine knowledge wee will that they shall want their strength in the prouision made or to be made for the said Frederike in the church of Lincolne. And if anie vpon the premisses or anie of them shall alleage against the foresaid Frederike, or his procurator, that you will cause them to be cited on our behalfe: so that they being cited peremptorilie, shall within the space of two moneths of your citation, personally appeare before vs there according to the law to make answere to the said Frederike vpon the premisses: any priuiledges or indulgences whatsoeuer giuen and granted either generally to the kingdome of England, or peculiarly to anie other person of what state, degree, and place soeuer, granted by the forsaid see, vnder whatsoeuer manner and forme of words for them not to be called vp beyond the sea, or out of their owne citie or diocesse by letters apostolicall, vnder whatsoeuer forme of words obtained, to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. Al which priuiledges and indulgences, we will in no case shall stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreouer, the day and soirne of the citation we will that ye faithfullie do intimat vnto vs by your letters containing the tenour thereof, and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithstanding that one of you doe execute the same without faile. Dated the 7. kal. Februarie, the 10. yeare of our popedome.

As there is no man which hath any eyes to see, but may easilie vnderstand in reading this letter of the pope, how vnreasonable his requestis, how vnpudently he commandeth, how proudly he threatneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the church of God, in playing boyes and strangers in the ministerie and cure of soules, and also in making them his prouisors, to raueu vp the church goods: so is it no great maruell, if this godly bishop Robert Grosthead was offended therewith, who in my mind deserueth herein a double commendation, not onelie that he so wisely did discerne error from sincerite and truth; but also that he was so hardie and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope, according as in this his answere to the pope against may appeare, as followeth.

A double commendation of bishop Grosthead.

## The answere of Robert Grosthead.

The answere of Robert Grosthead to the pope.

SAlutem. Pleaseth it your wisdome to vnderstand, that I am not disobedient to anie the apostolike precepts, but both deuoutly and reuerently with the naturall affection of a sonne obey the same, and also am an vtter enemie to all those that resist such apostolike precepts, as a child zealous of his fathers honor. And truly I am no lesse then bound thereunto by the precept and commandement of God. For the apostolike precepts are none other, no cant be, then consonant and vniforme to the doctrine of the apostles, and of our Sauiour Christ being the master and Lord of all the apostles: whose type and person, specially in the consonant and vniforme hierarchie of the church, the lord pope seemeth to beare (the lord our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ, saying) Whosoeuer is not with me, the same is against me. Therefore, against him neither is nor can be the most diuine sanctitie of the see apostolicall. The tenour then of your foresaid apostolicall letter is not consonant to true sanctitie, but vtterly dissonant and disagreeing to the same. First, for that vpon the clause of this your letter and many such other letters like, which clause alwaies ye so much do vrge (*Non obstante*) induced and brought in vpon no necessitie of any naturall law to be obserued: both swarme and flow with all inconstancie, boldnesse, pertinacie, impudencie, lying, and deceiuing, and is also a sea of mistrust in giuing credit to no man. Which as it swarmeth with these, so in like manner with vnnumerable other vices which hang and depend vpon the same:

Seeing moouing

moouing and disturbing the puritie of christian religion and life agreeable to the same, as also the publike tranquillitie of men. Moreouer, neer after the time of Lucifer, which shall be in the latter time, to wit, of antichrist the child of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth; there is not nor can be any kind of sinne so repugnant and contrarie to the doctrine of the apostles and holie scripture, and to our Sauiour Christ himselfe more hatefull, detestable and abominable, then to destroy and kill mens soules, by withstanding them of the ministerie of the pastorall office, which by the ministerie of the pastor rightlie ought to saue and quicken the same. Which sinne by reason of the great authoritie and libertie, which the pastors haue in the most eminent places of the scripture such men are deserned and become to commit, which being in the authority of the pastorall dignitie, do serue their owne carnall desires and necessaries, with the benefit of the milke and wooll of the sheepe and flock of Christ, and do not minister the same pastorall office and charge to the benefit and saluation of those their sheep. The same thers to the testimonie of the scripture is not the administration of the pastorall ministerie, but the killing and destruction of the sheepe. And that these two kind of vices be most vile and wicked (although after a differing sort) and far exceeding all other kind of wickednesse, hereby it is manifest: for that the same are directly contrarie to two verines most chiefly god (although differing in themselues) and iustlie together. For that is called most wicked, which is contrarie to a thing most best. So much the more is such the offenders, the one of their offences is directlie against the deitie, which of himselfe is alwaies essentiallie and supernaturally god: the other is against the verification and the image of God in man, which is not alwaies, but by the participation of Gods legitimate grace essentially and naturally good. And for so much as in things being good, the cause of euill is worse then the effect; and like as against in euill things, the cause of euill is worse then the effect of euil proceeding thereof: hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wicked pestors of Gods image and deification in the sheepe of Christ (that is, the church of God) are worse then those chefe destroyers, to wit, Lucifer and antichrist.

How much then and in these degrees of wickednesse how much more excellent such be, who hauing a great charge committed to them of God to edification and not to destruction) are more bound to keepe away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the church of God: so much is it also off that, that this holy seat apostolicall, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ hath giuen all maner of power (to edification as the apostle saith, and not to destruction) can commend, or will go about any such thing, by reason whereof so great wickednesse, so odible, detestable and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind should be a great defection, corruption, and abuse of the said seat and fulnesse of power, and an vtter separation from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a neere neighbourhood vnto the two most principall princes of darknesse, sitting in the chaire of pestilence, prepared to the paines of hell. Neither can any man which is subiect and faithfull to the said see (and not cut away from the bodie of Christ, and from the said holy see) with sincere and vnfeigned conscience obey such maner of precepts and commandements, or what soeuer other attempts proceeding, yea though from the high order of angels themselues, but rather ought of necessitie with all their strength to withstand and rebell against the same. Wherefore my reuerend lord, I like an obedient child vpon me bound duetie of obedience and filiolitie which I owe to both the parents of this holy apostolike see, and partly for loue of vnitie in the bodie of Christ coupled with the said see, do not obey but withstand and vtterly rebell against these things in the said letter contained, and especially which urge and tend to the foresaid wickednesse, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holinesse of the holie apostolike see, and so contrarie to the vnitie of the catholike faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine my reuerence to me, because all my doing and gainsaying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the diuine precept, and honor due both to father and mother. Wherefore repeating my words I say, that this holy apostolike see cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction: for this is the fulnesse of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these which you call promotions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The holy apostolike see therefore cannot nor ought to attempt any such thing, because that flesh and blood which cannot enter into the kingdome of God hath reuealed the same, and not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in heauen.

Then followeth it in the storie both of Matth. Parisiensis, and of Florilegus, in these words: That when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce looke and proud mind, saying: What old doting frantike wretch is this, so bold in and rashly to iudge of my doings? My maister S. Peter and Paul were it not but that vpon our whole clemencie and good nature we are refrained, we would bridle him downe to such confusion that we would make him a fable, a gazing stocke, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our baffall? and to say more, our manciple or page (to vse the very words of mine author) which may at our pleasure and becke both hamper him, vnpoison him, and put him out of hurt? This when the pope in his great fury and rage had vttered amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the pope, with milde moderation of words they said vnto him; that it was not expedient for them to proceed against that bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confesse the truth to your holines, it is but verie truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemne him therefore. For is not a catholike man, yea also a holy man? more holie and also religious then we our selues? a man of excellent wit, and excellent life? so as it is wrought, among all the prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not vnknowne both to the French and English clergie vniuersallie, neither can our contradiction preuaile against him. The truth of this his epistle perhaps is knowne now to many, and shall dir vp many against vs: for he hath the name to be a great philosopher, and singularly seene in all the tongues, both Greeke, Latine and Hebrue: zealous in iustice, a reader of diuinitie in the schooles, a preacher amongst the people, a lourer of chastitie, and a persecutor of simonie. These words spake L. Giles a Spanish cardinall to the pope, and others more mouued by their conscience to speake. And this counsell they gaue to the pope, that he should dissemble and winke at the like things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise perhaps some tumult might rise and spring thereof: especially seeing this is manifest and knowne to all men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the church of Rome.

Giles cardinall dissuadeth the pope but vnwisely to the contrarie.

The pope accused of sundrie grosse enormities.

Not long after this (about the canicular daies) this reuerend and godly Robert bishop of Lincolne lying at his manor place in Buggden, fell grieuously sicke; and thereupon within few dayes departed. In the time of his sickenesse he called to him a certaine frier of the preaching order, named S. John Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physike and diuinitie, partly to receiue of him some comfort of his book, and partly to confer with him in spirituall matters. There vpon vpon a time day, the said bishop entering with the foresaid S. John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the pope, did grieuously rebuke and reprehend his fellow brethren the preaching friers, and the other order also of the minorits; that for so much as their order being planted in wilfull pouerty of the spirit, to the intent they should more freely carpe and reproue the vices of the mightie, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharpely to rebuke and reprehend the same: the said friers contrarie to their profession did not boldly enough crie out and inueigh against the abuses of their superiours and men of power: nor did procure no detect their faults and wickednesse; and therefore, said the bishop, I iudge them to be no better then manifest heretikes. And addeth moreouer, demanding of S. Iohn, what is heresie: and that he should giue him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the frier did stay a pause, not remembring the solemne definition of that matter; the bishop thereupon inferreth, giuing this definition in Latine by the true interpretation of the Greeke word: *Heresis Grece, electio Latine, est sententia humano sensu electa, scripture sacre contraria, palam dicta, pertinaciter defensa.* That is: Heresie is a sentence taken and chosen of mans owne head, owne braine, contrary to holy scripture, openly maintained, and stifflie defended. And this definition giuen, consequently he inferred, sharpely reprehending the prelats of the church, but especially the Romans, which commit the charge of soules vnto their kinsfolkes, being both in age vnworthie and in learning vnsufficient. To giue (saith he) the charge of soules to a boy, is a sentence of a prelat chosen after a maner of mans owne head, only for carnall and worldly respect, and also is contrarie to holie Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made ministers or pastors, which are not sufficient to driue away the wolues. And moreouer it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly borne abroad and commanded, that charges imbulled both with war and lead; and finally is suffred to withstand the same, he is sus- pended and excommunicated, and open war cried out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of an heretike doth agree, he is a verie heretike. But euery faithfull christian man ought to set himselfe against an heretike as much as he may. Wherefore he that can resist him and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of Gregorie; he lacketh not conscience, of secret societie, which ceaseth to resist open iniquitie. But the friers both Franciscans and Dominikes are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them haue the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the said office, by reason of their pouertie: and therefore doe not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the apostle to the Romans, saying; Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent are worthie of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the pope (vnlesse he cease from that vice) as also the same friers, vnlesse they shew themselues more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthie of death, that is perpetuall damnation. Item saith the canon decretall, that vpon this vice of heresie the pope both may and ought to be accused. After

Bishop Grosthead's letter to the pope.

The pope accused of sundrie grosse enormities by bishop Grosthead. The craftie practise of rescriuers. 295

After this the vehemencie of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were some what longer: the third night before his departure, the bishop feeling his infirmitie to grow vpon him, willed certaine of his clergie to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Vnto whom the bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the losse of soules, though the auarice of the popes court, said on this wise, as by certaine apothegmes.

Grosthead's sicknesse and last words against the pope.

1 Christ came into the world to saue and win soules: Ergo, he that seareth not to destroy soules, may he not worthilie bee counted antichrist?

2 The Lord created the whole world in fiue daies, but in reforming of man he laboured more then thirtie yeres. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that, about which the lord so long laboured, is not he worthie to be counted the enemie of God, and antichrist?

3 The pope hath not impudently to abnihilat and disanull the priuiledges of his holy predecessors of Romane bishops, by this obstacle (Non obstante) which is not done without the preiudice and manifest iniurie of them. For in so doing he doth repugne and destroy that which so many and so holy men haue builded vp before, and thus seemeth he to bee a contemner of the saints. Worthilie therefore he that contemneth shall bee contemned, according to the saying of Esay: Woe to thee that dost despise, for hast not thou thy selfe bespoken? And who shall keepe his priuiledges, which so breaketh the priuiledges of others?

The pope abnihilateth the priuiledges of his predecessors.

4 The pope auowering thereunto thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equall, hath no superioritie ouer his equall: Therefore, no pope hath power to binde me being pope as well as he. To this answer againe (quoth the bishop) it is enough to me, that he that now presently is falling in the dangerous seas of this world, and hee that is safely arriued in the haven, hauing all at ieopardies, are not both like and equall. Graunt that some popes be saued (God forbid any should say contrarie:) Then saith our sauior: He that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then Iohn Baptist, a greater then whom there neuer rose amongst the children of men. Is not there some pope greater, being a greater and confirmer of priuiledges then this that is aliue? Truely me thinks he is greater, therefore he hath dominion ouer his inferiors.

The pope accused for abrogating the acts and constitutions of his predecessors. Proued that the pope alone is not licensed to his predecessors before him, and therefore to haue no authoritie to infringe the priuiledges of other popes.

5 Doth not the pope thus say, speaking of all his predecessors to the most part: This our predecessor, and this our predecessor of most worthie memorie, &c. And againe, (Ille, saith hee) cleauing to, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then do such popes as come after, destroy these foundations which their predecessors haue laid?

6 Many apostolike men coming after, haue confirmed some priuiledge being granted by others before; and be not many bishops being alreadie saued by the grace of God, to bee counted greater and better then one bishop which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtaine that which the other haue got alreadie?

Preuised by the example of Dennis, that men more ancient in time ought to be preferred in higher reuerence.

7 Also other former fathers and bishops of the apostolical see, in preferment of time go before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth aduance, such are we bound to esteeme and to haue in more reuerence. This did the holy man Benedict well consider, who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time, what soeuer men they were before them, which (albeit being more ancient in yeares) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their superiors, and to haue the pre-eminence. Which being so (as it is) true and certaine, how commeth then this iniurious and rash presumption, which dare reuoke and disanull the old priuiledges of many ancient holy bishops, in time and in reuerence going before them?

Heresie quid.

Definition of heresie.

The pope vpbraided for violating of Merit.

8 Moreouer, and though many popes haue been grieuous to the church, yet this pope most specialie hath brought it most into seruitude and manifold wales hath dammified the same. For these Caursini, these open pillours, whom our holy forefathers and doctors, whom we haue seene, and namely our learned maister in France preacher, alio the abbat of Flay a Cistercian, maister Iacobus de Veteri, and maister Stephan, archbishop of Canturburie in the time of his banishment, and also maister Robert Curcum, with his preaching, banished out of France, for before that time these kind of vsurers were neuer knowne in England; the same Caursini, these wicked vsurers, I say, were by this pope induced, supported and maintained; so that if any doe speake against them, hee is miserablie tolled and trounsed by his labour, whereof partly Roger bishop of London hath some experience.

The pope reuiued here an heretike.

Against vsurers.

9 The world doth know, that vsurie is counted a detestable thing in both the testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the popes vsurers or exchangers, the verie Iewes crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their vsurie, to the great damage and detriment of all ecclesiasticall persons, but especially bodies of religion, compelling such as bee in pouertie to counterfet and to put to their seales to forged writings, which is no lesse then to commit idolatrie and to abrenounce the veritie which is God himselfe. As for example: I borrowed 100. marks for a yeere in stead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled to make my writing and to seale the same, confessing that I haue receiued and borrowed one hundred pounds, to the repaid againe at the yeeres end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring againe the principall to the popes vsurer, hee will receiue no lesse notwithstanding then his full hundred pounds: which condition of vsurie is much woorse then that of the Iewes. For to the Iew what principall you bring, hee will require no more then proportionallie for the commensuration of so much time, wherein his monie hath been out of his hands.

The popes vsurers woorse then the Iewes.

10 Moreouer, to haue seene and knowne the pope to haue giuen in charge and commandement to the friers preachers, and minorits, to inquire diligently for such as lie sicke and like to die, and so comming to them diligently to perswade them to make their wils and testaments laudable to the profit and subsidie of the holy land, and to take the croise vpon them, that if they doe amend, they may bring them in the land: and if they die, they may well get the monie from their executors.

Crosse taken to the holy land, sold for money by the pope.

11 To haue known likewise and seene men that haue taken the vow and signe of the crosse vpon them, to bee sold vnto lay men, as cheape and oft as were wont in time past to bee sold in the temple.

Remission of sinnes sold for monie.

We haue seene with our eies the popes letter, in which we haue found this to be written: That they which bequeath any thing to the behoofe or subsidie of the holy land, shall receiue so much indulgence as they haue disbursed monie.

The pope accused to be vniuersall to the churches in his promotions and reseruations.

12 Ouer and besides all this, the pope in diuers and sundrie his letters, hath willed and commanded prelats to receiue into ecclesiasticall benefices, and to prouide some such liuing in their churches, as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger (being both absent and also vnknowne) which haue neither learning, nor yet the behoofe of the countrie: whereby they are neither able to preach nor to heare confessions, nor to keepe residence for, to refresh the poore and wayfarers.

The pope accused to be vniuersall to the abbat of S. Albans.

13 Item, we know and haue seene our selues, that the pope hath written to the abbat of S. Albons, to prouide for one called Iohn de Canezana whom he neuer saw, in some competent benefice. Whereupon, in few daies after, when prouision was made for him in a certaine church, worth fortie marks by the yere and more, the partie being not therewith contented, complained to the pope; who then writing to the foresaid abbat commanded him to prouide for the foresaid S. Iohn in some better thing, reserning notwithstanding the gift of the former benefice to himselfe.

The pope accused for violent exception.

14 Againe, not long after came also to the house of the foresaid abbat, two other persons like begging vagabonds, bringing with them the popes letters: in the tenor wherof the abbat was commanded, that incontinent vpon the sight thereof, he should giue and disburse to the said persons for the expedition and dispatch of his affaires ten marks in hand, without any delay or defeating: the which persons returning vnto the abbat proud and threatning words, he was faine to agree with them and send them away.

The pope accused for reuocation and confirming former acts of the predecessor with a temporall affaires.

15 Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which haue left the world for the following of God in such order as they ought not to turne backe againe, the pope of them maketh his tollers and banners to get in his monie: the which charge they are compelled against their wils to take vpon them, lest they should seeme to be disobedient. And so of spirituall men are made more secular then the most secular. And so the baseneſſe of their chimmers and scapilers which they weare, doth proue them to be liers: whilest vnder the habit of pouertie and humiliation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. And because no legat may be sent into England, but being first required of the king the pope sendeth sophisticall legats and such as bee disguised and counterfet in apparell, and are garded with great might and power: neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof: For so many such daelie do come into the realme, that to heare the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to heare.

The pope accused for vnlimited dispensations.

16 Furthermore, as we haue seene our selues: the pope graunteth to a secular fauour, that a man may haue a bishoprike, and yet be no bishop consecrated, Sed electus sempiternus, that is, elect for euer. Which is as much to signifie, to haue the milke and the wooll of the sheepe, and not to keepe the wolues away from the sheepe: to retaine the rents of a bishop, and not to discharge the function of a bishop.

And when this godly bishop had thus reproued these and such other detestable enormities of the court of Rome; as all kinds of auarice, their sturie, their simonie, their extortion, all kinds of filthinesse, fleshlie lust, gluttonie, and their sumptuous apparell raigning in that court: then saith hee, this old verse may be truelie verified vpon it:

*Eius auaritie totus non sufficit orbis,*
*Eius luxurie meretrix non sufficit omnis.*

All the world cannot suffice their greedie couetous mind,
Nor all the drabs and naughtie packs their filthie lusting kind.

Afterwards he went about more to prosecute, how the foresaid court like a gulfe neuer satisfied, euer gaping so wide, that

Two principall practises of their false, hatefull and detestable.

The pope maketh suttie Christ and his vicarich, euen as Peter and Paul.

Christ and his vicarich.

Matth. Paris. ad eundem.

Christ vnworthie mother pope.

that the flood of Jordan might run into his mouth) aspired how to vsurpe the gods of them that die vnstedfast, and of legacies bequeathed without forme of law; and whereby more licentiously to bring this to passe, they vsed to vexpe the king & his fellow and partaker with them in their spoiles, extortions, and robbing. Neither, saith he, shall the church bee delivered from the seruitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloudie sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light matters, yet shortly more great and grieuous things then these shall be seene.

The vse. Panor.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarsly could vtter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue and breath began to faile, and so the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an end both of his speech and life. Ex Matthæo Parisiensi.

The death of Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne.

And for so much as mention hath been made before of the insatiable auarice of the popes court by his inordinat prouisions and reseruations, it is testified by the said author Matthæus Paris, that the foresaid Robert Grosthead being bishop of Lincolne, caused to be viewed and considered diligentlie of his clerks what the reuenues of forreners and strangers within England sent in by the pope, came to by the yeere, and it was found and euidently tried, that this pope now present, Innocentius the fourth, did vnpourcith the vniuersall church three hundred thirteene dosme, more then all his predecessors from the time the pope first began. So that the reuenues of forreners and clerks placed by him here in England, vnto the reuenues of the seuen and ten thousand marks and aboue, whereas the mere reuenues of the crowne came not to thirty thousand.

What the reuenues of the popes of Rome yeerelie were in England in the time of king Henrie the third by the priest.

Ex Ceffrenſi. lib. 7.

Of this Robert Grosthead writeth Ceffrensis in his seuenth booke of his historie, that partly for that it grieued him to see the intollerable exactions of the pope in this realme, and partly because he refused to admit a certaine young nephue of the pope to be canon of his church (as hath been before recited) hee therefore writing vnto the pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his church, which neither knew themselues nor the tongue of the people, nor the charter knew themselues nor the tongue of the people, nor the charter committed vnto them: was called by to Rome, and there excommunicated, who then appealing from the pope, shortly after departed, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two yeeres after his decease, the said pope Innocent being asleepe, a certaine bishop apparelled bishoplike, appeared vnto him, and striking him with his staffe on the left side, said, Surge miser veni in iudicium: that is, Rise wretch and come to thy iudgement. The next day after, the pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staffe. This Robert though he was greatlie commended for his sanctimonie, and as Ceffrensis saith, for his miracles: yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to bee aduanced in the catalogue of saints. And this much out of Ceffrensis concerning this matter. But Mat. Paris and the author of Flores historiarum, prosecuting this storie more at large, addeth this more vnto it and saith, that pope Innocent the next yeere following, which was An. 1254. being passing angrie, contrarie to the mind of his brethren the cardinals, would haue the bones of the foresaid bishop of Lincolne cast out of the church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an ethnike, a rebell, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his letters to bee written and sent downe to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladlie ferue him therein, to haue the spoile of the bishop and of his church. But in the night following the said bishop of Lincolne appeared vnto him as comming in his pontificall vs, and with a seuere countenance, sterne looke, and terrible voice speaking vnto him being in his bed, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke with the end of his crosse staffe thus said: O thou seruile, lasie, old, bald, lousie, wretched, doting pope: hast thou purposed to cast my bones out of the church to the shame and slander of me? How commeth this rash vnaduisednesse in thy head? It were more meet for thee being thus aduanced by God, and honored, to make much of the zealous seruants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to haue any more power ouer me. I haue written vnto thee in the spirit of humilitie and loue, that then (houldest see my manifold errors; but thou with a proud eie and disdainfull hart hast despised my wholesome admonitions. Vnto to thee that despisest, shall not thou also be despised? And so the bishop departed from the pope, stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for halfe dead, and so living in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the pope to know what him ailed. To whom the pope much troubled and vered in his spirit, said: that great terrors in his sleepe vehemently disturbed and mol-fred him, in such sort that he thought he shuld neuer retoure it, nor bee restored to himselfe again. Oh saith he, how sore is my fire, and how egerlie it vexeth me, as being run through with a speare! Neither did the pope eat or drinke all that day, but fainting himselfe to be sicke of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the vnd gination of the vnsull hand of God (saith the storie) so left him not.

Ex Mat. Paris. Ex Flor. hiſt. Simile de papa Bonifacio.

The popes new and vniust stile giuen to the Scottish bishops by the pope of Lincolne.

The pope displeased in his mind.

For after the wholesome admonitions giuen to him by the seruant of God, the pope not regarding them, but all set vpon war, suppression of his enemies, and secular affairs, gaue his mind wholie vnto them; and yet all his labors, counsils, and deuises bestowed vpon them, could neuer prosper after that day in that he went about. For the pope the same time hauing war with the Apulians, all his armie fighting vnder the popes nephue their captaine, were slaine and confounded the number of many thousands: whose lamentable slaughter all the countrie of the Romans did much bewaile. The pope not yet quiet in his mind, directly his iourny towards Naples, although sore vexed in his side like a man sicke of a pleurisie, or smitten rather with a speare, neither could any physicke of his cardinals helpe him. For Robert of Lincolne (saith the story) did not spare him; and bee that would not heare him gentlie correcting him being aliue, his stripes did he feele when he was dead, so that he neuer after that inioyed any iuckie or prosperous day, till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet night vntill the morning. And so continued he vnto his death, which shortly after insued: he being at Naples, An. 1255.

The pope smitten to the church of England.

The death of pope Innocent the fourth.

Anno 1255

A note to the reader concerning the appearing of dead men.

Or as N. Triuet recordeth, An. 1254. And thus haue ye the whole discourse betweene Robert Grosthead and pope Innocent.

In the which storie is to bee noted, gentle reader, that although in the storie of Ceffrensis, of Matthew Paris, and of Flor. hist. it is expreslie testified and reported, that the pope was smitten with the staffe of Robert the foresaid bishop of Lincolne; yet thou must wisely vnderstand, that howsoeuer Gods hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoeuer the image of things not seene but fantasied, offer themselues to the secret cogitation of man, his senses bring a sleepe, by the operation or permission of God, working after some spirituall influence in our imaginations: certaine it is, that no dead man materially can euer rise against or appeare, before the iudgement day, to any man with his staffe or without his staffe, to worke any feat, after he haue once departed this life.

A prebendship of Paules giuen both of the pope and of the king at one time to two seuerall persons.

Differsion betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the church of Lincolne.

After the death of this Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincolne, great dissension fell betweene the archbishop of Canturburie Boniface, and the canons of the said church of Lincolne, about the right of giuing prebendships, and about the reuenues of the said church, in time of the bishops see being now vacant. Which right and power the archbishop claimed to himselfe, but the canons of that church (maintaining the contrarie side) stood against him, and for the same were excommunicated of the archbishop. Among whom one maister Woolde resisting the archbishop, to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made by his speciale to Rome, where much money on both sides was spent. At length after this Grosthead, was elected Henrie Leruton in the see of Lincolne.

Excommunication abused. Appetlers made to Rome. Henrie Leruton bishop of Lincolne.

About which time the wicked Jewes at Lincolne had crucified, whipped, and tormented a certaine child named Hugo of nine yeeres of age, An. 1255, in the moneth of August. Ex Guak. Gisburne. At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast in a pit; two and thirtie of those abominable Jews were put to execution. Whereof Mat. Paris reciteth a long tale. The same or like fact was also intended by the like Jewes at Dosweth twentie yeres before, vpon a certain child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole yeere in custodie, intending to crucifie him, for which the Jewes were sent vp to the towne of London, of whom eightene were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison: Ex Cestrenſi. lib. 7. Of this wicked Jewish people I find also in the booke Flor. hist. that about this yeere of our Lord 1255. they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandement of the French king, being then in Palestina, warring against the Turks: by the occasion that it was obieted then by the Turke against him and other christian princes, for the retaining the Jewes amongst them, which did crucifie our saiuour, and warring against them which did not crucifie him. Ex Flor. hist. For these Jewes moreouer king Henrie the same yeere, 1255. caused to be giuen vnto him eight thousand marks in paine of hanging. Who being much grieued therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leaue to be giuen them of the king, that they might depart the realme, neuer to returne againe. But the king committed the doing of that matter vnto earle Richard his brother, to inforce them to pay the monie whether they would or no. Moreouer of the same Jewes mention is made in the storie intituled Eulogium. Of the Jewes in Northhampton, who had among themselues prepared wild fire, to burne the citie of London, for the which diuers of them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said citie of Northhampton, which was two yeeres before, about the yeere of our Lord 1253. Ex Eulogio. And so forsmuch as mention here is made of the Jewes, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certaine Jew, who not long after this time about the yeere of our Lord 1257. fell into a pitte at Denkesburie vpon a sabbath day, which for the great reuerence he had to his holy sabbath, would not suffer himselfe to be plucked out. And so lord Richard earle of Glocester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to bee drawne out on sunday for reuerence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew remaining there till monday, was found dead in the dung.

A child crucified by the Jewes at Lincolne.

Two Romish clerks going to complaine, were slaine by the way.

Ex N. Triuet. Ex Ceſtrenſi. lib 7. cap. 34. Ex Flor. hiſt. The Jewes expelled out of France.

A child crucified by the Jewes, and kept a whole yeere to be crucified. The Jewes seek to depart the realme of England.

The storie of Mat. Paris here ceaseth.

Ex Eulogio. Jewes hanged at Northhampton.

A Jew fallen into a pitte would not be taken out for keeping his sabbath day.

Superstitious fasting vsed in Gilbert archbishop of Roche.

Ex Flor. hiſt.

Superstition in seeking salvation by wrongs meanes.

The popes exactions vnbridled and confused.



Anno 1253. witnessing Flores hist. Item, how the king making his voiage into Vascon, his expenses were reckoned to mount to 270000. marks, beside thirtie thousand marks bestowed vpon his brethren by the mothers side, & besides other great gifts giuen abroad. Vpreason whereof, great tares and tolonies and tenths were required of his subiects: especially of the churchmen, who were wont to receiue tithes of others, now were constrained to giue tithes to the laitie: Flores hist. An. 1254. Item, how in the yeere next following, the Londoners offring one hundred pounds for a gift to the king with a pretious cup of gold, at his returne out of France, were shortly after compelled by the king to pay three thousand marks for the scape of a certaine prisoner being a clerke condemned: which clerke being granted of the king to the bishop, and he hauing no prison sufficient for him borrowed of the Londoners to haue him kept in the prison of Newgat, who escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid. An. 1255. Item, how the king greatly complaining of his debts the same yeere, required the whole tenths which the prouost bee gathered in three yeeres, to be taken vp all at once. To whose request the nobles and commons agreed to draw themselues, so that the charter of their liberties and customs might bee ratified, and fully by him confirmed: and so for that yeere they were: Flores hist. Item, how pope Alexander the third to destroy the citie Sichera, with king Sensred the sonne of Frederike the emperor, sent forth the same yeere Octauianus his cardinall with a puissant armie, who comming to the citie with his siege, through the counsel of Parchisius one of the chiefe captains, discharged a great part of his host, whereby the most of the popes armie was slaine and destroyed, almost all, saue onely the familie of Parchisius, An. 1255. Flor. Mat. Paris.

The pope intituleth the king of Scotland his vassall.

Many other things during the time of this king might be rehearsed, as the warres of Lewlinus king of Wales, and of the Welchmen against the king, and warring the land into the towne of Shester, who destroyed diuers of the Englishmens possessions taken in the marish, with whom at length they fell to agreement by the meanes of Otobonius, that his successors should be called princes onlie of Wales, and should doe the king his homage: and the king of him to receiue three thousand marks. And this being established in writing, was confirmed by the popes seale, in the yeere of our Lord 1257. Ex Polychron.

Lewlinus king of Wales warreth against the king. Lewlinus and the king conspired.

Ex Polychro. l. 7.

About the same time, such famine oppressed the land and lacke of victuals, that a sum of come was then sold for fiue and twentie shillings, in so much that the pouerty was forced to eat nettle tops, thistell rods, and what soeuer they could get: Ex Eulogio. Although some refer this to the yeere 1262.

Ex eadem Eulogij.

Anno 1257

Pope Alexander to make spite to monsir maker the king beleeue his son should be king of Apulia.

Richard the kings brother made king of Almaine.

Hereunto moreouer might be adioyned, how pope Alexander abusing and mocking the kings simplicitie, made him beleeue that he would make his sonne Edmund king of Apulia, so that hee would sustaine the charges and cost thereof, to maintaine the war which thereto should appertaine. Whereby the king cast in a sudden hope, caused his sonne incontinent to bee proclaimed king of Apulia; and vpon the same sent vp to the pope all the riches he could well make in his realme. And thus was the realme inuaded with wastes miserable impouerished to inrich the pope: Ex. Flor. hist. About which season, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, was made king of Almaine by the electors.

What ciuill discord worketh.

Here might be shewed moreouer and added to the stories aboue, how the next yere following, which was 1259. as Nicolas Triuet writeth, the king entring into France, required the restitution of such lands in Normandie and Anion, as of old right were due vnto him, and wrongfullie withholden from him. But the French king against alleaged saying, that the countrie of Normandie by old time was not giuen away from the crowne of France, but vsurped, and by force extorted by Rollo, &c. In conclusion, the king fearing and suspecting the hearts of his nobles, and taking for none other but for rebellion at home, durst not trie with them, but was compelled to agree with them vpon such peace and conditions as hee could get, which was this: That hee should haue of the French king thirteene hundred thousand of Turen pounds, with so much landes else as came to the value of twentie thousand pounds in peerelie rent: so should he resigne fullie and purelie to the hands of the French king, all such lands and possessions which he had in France. Whereby the king giuing ouer his stile and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to bee called duke of Normandie, or earle of Anion.

Resignation of the ca. tesons of Normandie and Anion.

Albeit it be true that Gilburne writeth, the king afterward repenting of his deed, did neuer receiue the monie in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to intitle himselfe duke of Normandie. But after him, his sonne Edward and his successor in their stile left out the title to bee called duke of Normandie, &c. Ex Gisburn.

Ex Gual Gisburn.

The conflict and skirmish betweene the Northerne Welchmen, and the Southern betweene Oxford.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I ouerpasse also the sore and vehement conflict, not betweene the frogs and the mise which Homer writeth of, but the mightie pitched field fought in the yeere of our Lord 1259. betweene the young students and scholars of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, hauing no other occasion, as I read in Mat. Paris, but onelie the diuersitie of the countrie where they were borne. For the Northerne men

men ioyning with the Welchmen, to trie their manhood against the Southerne part, fell both parts together in such a battle, with their ensignes and warlike aray, that in conclusion diuers on both sides were slaine. This hearie and bloudie conflict burning and increasing among them, the end was this: that the Northerne lads with the Welch had the victorie. After that furie and fiery fiercenesse had done what it could, the victors bethinking at length with themselues, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall vpon them, especiallie seeing the brother of Leolin prince of Wales, and sonne of Simon Mountfort, was newlie dead in prison, drawing their counsell and helps together, they offer to king Henrie 4000. marks, to Edward his sonne 200. and to the queene 200. to bee released of their trespasse. But the king answering them against that hee set more price by the life of one true subiect, then by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receiue their money. And so the students without hope of peace, went home with small triumph, hearing what the common prouerbe meaneth, Dulce bellum inexpertis. Notwithstanding, the king being then occupied in great affaires and warres, partlie with Leolin and the Welchmen, partlie inwrapped with discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these Vniuersitie men, which was, An. 1259. Ex Matt. Parisiensi. Likewise concerning the dissention following the next yeare after, in the Vniuersitie of Paris betweene the students there, and the friers, the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons vneth was able to sustaine them with their almes. Also betweene the Vniuersities both of Oxford & Cambridge, for a certaine prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuarie the same yeare, as is testified in Matthew Paris, An. 1259. In like manner touching the variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie, and the chapter of Lincolne. Againe, betweene the said archbishop of Canturburie, and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the archbishop but with this exception, Saluis iure & libertate ecclesiæ Londinensis, quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus, &c: recorded in Flor. hist. All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others raigning daily in the church at those daies, if I had so much leisure to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce vs to vnderstand what small peace and agreement was then ioyned with that doctrine and religion in those daies, during the state and raigne of antichrist.

Variance betweene the students and the friers in Paris. Matthew Paris. Variance betweene the students & Canons regular of S. Frideswide in Oxford. Variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the chapter of Lincolne. Variance betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the chapter and bishop of London. Ex Flor. hist. Little peace in the popes church.

These with many such other matters more, which heere might bee discoursed and stored at large, being more foreen then ecclesiasticall, for breuitie I doe purposelie contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seeme more curious to write vpon, then necessarie to be knowne.

Discoues good rules for example.

This that followeth, concerning the pitifull and turbulent commotion betweene the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season: because it is lamentable and contayneth much fruitfull example, both for princes and subiects to behold and looke vpon, to see what mischiefe and inconuenience groweth in common weales, where ſhame of mutuall concead lacketh, that is, where neither the prince regardeth the offending of his subiects, and where the subiects forget the office of christian patience, in suffering their princes iniuries by Gods wrath inflicted for their sinnes: therefore, in explaining the order and story thereof, I thought it not vnprofitable to occupie the reader with a little more variance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the publike weale.

The occasion of ciuill discord betweene the kings and the nobles.

And first to declare the occasions and first beginnings of this tumult, here is to be vnderstood, which before was signified, how king Henrie married with Eleonor, daughter of the earle of Prouans a stranger, which was about the yeere of our Lord 1234, whereupon a great noze was opened to strangers, not onelie to enter the land, but also to replenish the court: to whom the king seemed more to incline his fauour, aduancing them to more preferment, then his owne naturall English lords, which thing was to them no little grieuance. Moreouer, before was declared how the king by Isabell his mother, who was a stranger, had diuers brethren, whom hee nourished vp with great liuings and possessions, and large pensions of monie, which was another hart sore to diuers, and also an hinderance. Once and beside hath also been declared, what vnreasonable collections of monie from time to time, as quindecims, subsidies, tenths, mercements, fines, paiments, loues, and taxes, haue been leuied by the king, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the lay sort, partlie for maintaining the kings wars against Wales, against Scotland and France, to recouer Normandie; partlie for helping the kings debts, boinges, and other expenses; partlie for the kingdome of Apulia, which was promised the kings sonne by the pope: partlie for monying and supporting the pope in his wars against the emperour. By reason of all which sundrie and importable collections, the common wealth of the realme was vtterlie exhausted, to the great impouerishment of vore Englishmen. Neither did it a little vex the people, to see the king call in so many legats from Rome euery yeere, which did nothing else but transport the English monie vnto the popes coffers. Besides all this, what variance and alteration hath been betweene the king and his subiects about the liberties of Magna charta, and De foresta, granted by king John, and after confirmed by this king, in the former councell holden at Oxford, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some peece of a cause, that the king considering and bearing in mind the old iniuries done of the lords and barons to his father king John before him, did beare some grudge therefore, or some priuie hatred vnto the nobilitie, to reuenge his fathers quarrell: but of things vncertaine I haue nothing certainelie to affirme. This is certaine by truth of histoire, that the peeple rent inuaing, which was 1260. thus writeth Nic. Triuet, that the kings iustices called Itinerarij, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled: the cause being alleaged, for that they were against the king in proceeding & enterprising against the forme of the prouisions enacted and stablished a little before at the towne of Oxford.

Anno 1260

✠ In this yeere it pleased the king after sute to him made, to licence a Vniuersitie or academicall schole to bee planted in the towne of Northhampton; and of a speciall fauour (which he pretended to beare (and like inough did indeed) vnto the scholars that went there to seat themselues, and to professe the exercises of studies, wrote his letters inmanerie vnto the cheefe officers and others of the said burrow, in the said students behalfe; the tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the record.

## The kings letter to the maior, bailiffes, and others the inhabitants of Northhampton, in the behalfe of certaine *scholars minded to plant themselues there as in an Vniuersitie.*

Turris Lond.

R*Ex dilectis & fidelibus suis, maiori, ballinis, & ceteris probis hominibus suis de Northampton, salutem. Cum quidam magistri & alij scholares proponant, &c.* In English thus.

The king to his beloued and trustie the maior, bailiffes, and other honest men his subiects of Northhampton, greeting. Whereas certaine masters and other scholars doe purpose to tarrie in your towne corporat, there to exercise scholarlie discipline, as we heare: wee heereupon regarding the seruice of God, and the greater profit of our kingdome, taking in good part the comming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, doe will and grant that the said scholars in the said towne corporat vnder our protection and defence, doe safelie and securely abide, and there exercise and doe such things, as to such scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you and straitly charge you, that when the said scholars shall come vnto you, to tarrie in your said corporat towne, you receiue them courteouslie, and as becommeth the state of scholars vse them, not doing or suffering to bee done vnto them any impediment, molestation, or grieuance. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters patents to bee made. Witnesse the king at Windesore, the first day of February, in the fiue and fortith yeere of his raigne.

Touching a Vniuersitie to bee kept at Northhampton.

It befell moreouer in the same peare, about other times (as Gualter Hemingford writeth) that a great number of aliens comming out of France and other prouinces, resorted into England, and had heere the doing of all principall matters of the realme vnder the king. Vnto whom the rewards and reliefs, and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound: which thing to see, did not a little trouble and vex the nobilitie and baronage of England. In so much that Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the realme, conferred thereof with other lords and barons vpon the matter; who then comming vnto the king after an humble suit of petition, declared vnto him how all the doings of his realme, and his owne affaires, were altogether disposed by the hands, and after the wils of strangers, neither profitable vnto him, nor to the weale publike: for so much as his treasures being wasted and consumed, hee was in great debt, neither was able to satisfie the prouision of his owne house, but driuen to tallie for his owne cates, to no small dishonor vnto his owne state. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your highnesse to be informed by our aduice, and to commit your house to the guiding and gouernment of your owne faithfull and naturall subiects, and we will take vpon vs to discharge your whole debt within one peare of our own proper goods and reuenues, so that wee within fiue yeeres may cleare our selues againe. Neither will we diminish your familie, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; prouiding so for the safetie and seeing to the custodie of your roiall person, as your highnesse shall find and vnderstand our diligence most trustie and faithfull vnto you in the end.

Strangers hauing all the wealth of the realme vnder the king. Ex Gualt. Gisburn.

The lords tender their seruice to the king.

To these words so louingly declared, so humblie pretended, so hartily and freely offered, the king as willinglie condescended, assigning vnto them both day and place where to confer and to deliberat further vpon the matter, which should be at Oxford the fifteenth day after Easter. At which day and place, all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realme, were summoned to appeare at the said towne of Oxford for the behalfe of the king and the realme commented together. Where first of the king himselfe, then of the lords, an oth was taken, that what decrees or lawes in the said assemblie should be prouided to the profit of the king and of the realme, the same vnto them should be kept and obserued to the honor of God, and vtilitie of his church, and wealth of the realme. Besides these lords and the king, were also nine bishops, which sweare ring vnto the same, did excommunicat all such as should gainstand the said prouisions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

The king sweareth to the prouisions made at Oxford.

There were at that present in the realme foure brethren of the kings (moll part of them by the mothers side) which would in no case agree heereunto, but in anger departed priuilie vnto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedie wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the citie of Winchester and for ceable keepe the same. Wherefore the lords preuenting their purpose, and seeing them stiffe to perſist in their stubborne sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but returning to Oxford again, preserued to them these conditions, that they departing the realme should repaire to their owne lands and possessions, which they had beyond the sea: and that forthwith they should put this inunction in execution. Notwithstanding that the king made for them great intercession, yet it take no place. And because this should seeme to proceed of no speciall displeasure against them, they enacted moreouer, that all strangers and aliens of what state or condition soeuer, should forthwith auoid the realme in paine of death. Diuers other prouisions the same time were ordained & stablished; that if any did hold of the king in whole or in part, and should chance him to depart (his heire being vnder age) the wardship of him should belong to the king, as hath partlie before been specified.

The kings brethren against the prouisions at Oxford.

The prouisions of Oxford.

Moreouer, it was there decreed, that the wall of England should be wrought only within the realme, neither should it be transported out to strangers.

Ex hist. Gualt. Gisburnensis. God grant this law might take place againe. God grant the like law againe for the wealth of the realme.

Item, that no man should weare any cloth, but which was wrought and made onely within the realme.

Diuers in this councell impoſed.

Item, that all excessiue and prodigall expences wasted vpon pleasure and superfluitie, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other lawes and decrees (saith the author) in this assemblie were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fiftene daies; and many of them were impoſoned, of whom was the abbat of Westminster, a man in that order, much commended. Also William brother to the earle of Glocester, also the earle himselfe being impoſoned, hardly escaped with life, his haire and nailes falling off his bodie, wherevpon the author not long after was taken, and dulie executed at Winchester. In the meane time, the nobles considering those dangers and ieopardies, were constrained to breake off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of October next following to consuent together at London with weapō and harnesse, to prosecute and finish the residue that was in the said councell to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

The king repenteth of his oth. Anno 1261

After the promulgation whereof many things therein displeased the king, and it began to repent him of his oth. But because he could not at that present otherwise chuse, he dissembled for a season. Thus time passing on, within a peare following, which was in the peere of our Lord 1261. the king seeing himselfe more and more to grow in debt, and not to bee relieued according to promise made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren taking it to stomach, sent vp to the pope, both for him and his sonne Edward to bee released of their oth made before at Oxford. The benefit of which absolution being easilie obtained (or rather bought at the popes hand) the king stepping backe from all that was before concluded, calleth another parliament at Oxford: where hee before the lords and nobles declared, how in the late councell of Oxford they had agreed among themselues for the common vtilitie of the realme and of the king, as they pretended, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt to be diminished. And therupon bound themselues with an oth, causing alſo himselfe and his sonne Edward to bee bound vnto the same. But now by experience proouing and trying the matter to bee otherwise then their promise was; and that they contrarie to their couenant made, sought not so much the profit of him and of the realme, as their owne, taking him not as their lord, but going about to bring him vnder their subiection as an vnderling; and for that moreouer his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increased, and his princely liberalitie was cut short and troden vnder foot: they should not maruell therefore, if he henceforth would bee no more ruled by their counsell, but would prouide himselfe of some other remedie, such as hee might. And moreouer, as touching the oth wherewith he and his sonne stood bound vnto them, he had sent alreadie to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him and his sonne Edward alſo, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore hee required of them to be restored againe to that state and condition he had inioyed in times past.

The popes abolition abated.

The answer of the nobles against the king.

To this againe gaue answer the state of nobilitie on the other side, being in the same place present: in the number of whom was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard Clare earle of Glocester, Humfrey Bonne earle Ferrence with a great number of barons, as lord John Fitz John, lord Hastings, lord Geffreie Lucie, lord John Uescie, lord William Segraue, Hugh Spenser, lord Robert Uesmont, with diuers and many more; whose answer to the king againe was this: That the prouisions made at the councell of Oxford (thereunto they were sworne) they would hold, defend and maintaine to their liues end: for so much as they did found, and also were agreed vpon, both to the honor of God, to the profit of the prince, and stable wealth of the realme, &c. And thus warres on both sides discording amongst themselues, would so haue departed, had not certaine of the bishops comming betweene both, laboured betweene them to take vp the matter. Vp whose meane (saith Gualter Gisburne) and procurement, the determination of the cause was brought in compromise, and referred to Ludouike the French king to iudge betweit them; who hearing both the allegations (saith he) like no equall iudge but a partiall friend, inclined wholly and fullie to the kings sentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores historiarum saith, that by the mediation of discreet men, two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom the third also was annexed, who hearing as well what was brought of the kings part, as also what was answered of the other, should define betweene them both, and so peace was betweene them concluded till the comming of Edward. All this while as yet the popes absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought downe in solemne writing, neither was prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

The centrouersie betweene the king and the nobles put in compromise.

The pope reuoketh the losing of his oth.

At length, the writing of the kings absolution being brought from Rome, the king ecclesons commanded the same to bee published throughout the realme, and lendeth to the French king and other strangers for helpe; moreouer seiseth all his castels into his owne hand, reciting the counsell of the lords, to whose custodie they were before committed; also removing the former officers, as iustices, and the chancellor, with other placed afore by the lords, hee appointed new in their stead.

To this foresaid absolution procured from Rome for the king and his sonne, Edward returning out of France, at that time did not giue his consent, but held with the lords. Who then putting themselues in armes, with a great power repaired vp to London, keeping there in the suburbs and places about, while the king kept within the towre, causing the citie gates to bee watched and lockt, and all within the said citie being aboue the age of twelue peeres, to be sworne vnto him. But at length though the meanes of certaine comming betweene, this tumultuous perturbation was some what appeased, at least some hope of peace appeared, so that the matter was taken vp for that time without war or bloudshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretenced dissemblers there were, which secretly discloſing all the counsels and doings of the lords vnto the king, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpose of the lords came not to so good effect, as otherwise it might. Ex Flor. hist.

Ex Flor. hist. in An. 1261.

Ordinances in a parliament holden at London against the kings right.

✠ In this peere the archbishop of Canturburie with his suffragans (after their wonted manner) standing against the king, had made their appeale to Rome: whereupon the king was faine to answer by proxie, as appeareth by this briefe note drawne out of record. *Rex constituit Johannē Hemingford procuratorem suum in causa appellationis, &c.* The king hath appointed and made John Hemingford his proctor in a cause of appeale which is mooued in the court of Rome, betweene the king on the one part, and the archbishop of Canturburie with his suffragans on the other part, about certaine ordinances, constitutions, and decrees lately in a councell piouincial at Londō by them published, to the preiudice of the king's right, his dignitie royall, the liberties, lawes and customs of his kingdome.

This matter no doubt was laboured verie diligentlie by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end authorised by the king to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of processe was held and maintained against him, to the impeaching of his voialtie. Wherof the king had a speciall regard, perceiuing the waiwardnesse of his owne clergie, or rather rebellionsnesse in daring to decree and ordaine lawes against him. And therefore he was the more carefull to haue all matters depending in the court of Rome concerning him and his, to be earnestlie followed. In so much as he stopped to the foresaid Hemingford in the charge of procuratie on, one Roger Louell: vnto which two residing at Rome, the king sent his letters, charging them so to manage his affaires, as that nothing might passe to the derogation of his roiall title: the copie of the said letter followeth agreeing with the prototypon or originall.

A

A sitting of the king and lords at Oxford.

## A letter of the king sent to his proctors at Rome *concerning a case of his in the said* Court depending.

Turris Lond.

*Rex magistris Johanni de Hemingford & Rogero Lovell procuratoribus suis in curia Romana agentibus salutē, &c. Cum vobis tanquam fidelibus nostris &c.* In English thus.

The king to master John of Hemingford, and Roger Lovel his proctors pleading in the court of Rome, greeting. Forsomuchas vpon our true zeale and vowed care vnto the defence of our right and honour doth lie and as we haue, certaine of our realme pleading in the court of Rome, doe moue diuers matters to the preiudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to preuaile against vs, we command you, and straitlie charge you, that on our behalfe you straitly forbid all and euery of them, that they presume not any further to vndertake such things as tend to the hurt of our maiestie, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbeare to so do, as they will auoid our indignation, and the perill of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and euery of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made knowne, and thereupon by you or some of you to bee certified of the contemners of the same. Witnesse the king at Westminster the six and twentith of March, in the six and fortith yeere of his raigne.

Against the proceedings in the court of Rome tending to the hurt and preiudice of the king.

Bishops going about to recouer benefices appropriated vnto religious houses. *Ex Herridge Hist.*

In this present yeere also (as affirmeth the forenamed author) it was rumored abroade (as Flores historiarum reporteth) that all the bishops of England went about to recouer againe out of the hands of religious men, all such churches and benefices, which were to them impropriated or appropriated: and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent vp to Rome both messengers and money, nothing mistrusting to obtaine their purpose. But as little good fruit in those daies vsed to spring out of that see, so I doe not find that goodlie suite and labour of the bishops to take any fruitfull effect. The same yeere died pope Alexander, after whom succeeded pope Urban the fourth.

Pope Alexander dieth. Pope Urban. Anno 1262. A new release of the kings oath from Vienne, with the epitaph.

*Hic pedes Hypocrita Pereūdis Gemefacta Vbiffi. Anno Christi, Mccclxxxvi. Vienne situs, Hic Treuirensis erat.*

The Welchmen breake into the borders of England. The prouisions of Oxford granted by the king.

Of the which pope Vrban the king also obtained (or rather renued) a new releasement from his oth made to the prouisions and statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, hee commaunded incontinent all the foresaid lawes and prouisions through England to bee dissolued and broken. This done, the king with the queene taketh his voiage into France, where he fell into great infirmitie of sickenesse, and the most part of his familie taken with the feuer quartane, of which many died. In the number of whom beside others, died Richard the sonne of the earle of Glocester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his sonne.

The Welchmen this yeere breaking into the borders of England, did much annoiance in the lands of Roger lord Mortimer; but mightily against hy him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the inuaders. A cert which time, the king the high sonne diuerse counsell about him, incline to peace and ordered the nobles, granting of his meere voluntarie will the constitutions and prouisions of Oxford to take place in the realme, directing his commandement to euerie shire. Albeit the realme yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

The kings palace at Westminster burnt with fire.

In the latter end of this yeere, the kings palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an euill prognostike against the king. Ex Flor. hist.

Three pointed for taking about two pence a weeke in a pound. Anno 1263.

In some English chronicles it is also recorded, that the same yeere, fiue hundred Iewes at London were faine for taking vsurie more then two pence a weeke for twentie shillings, being before forbidden by the king to take aboue that rate by the weeke.

After the Easter tide of the yeere 1263. in which the barons of England confederating themselues together, for maintaining the statutes and lawes of Oxford, and partly mooued with old grudge conceiued against the strangers (maintained by the king and the queene, and Edward their sonne, in the realme of England towned polwers in all forceable wise, and first inuaded the said strangers, namelie them which were about the king. Their goods and manors they walled and spoiled, whether they were ecclesiasticall or temporall. Among whom, besides others, was Peter a Burgundian (bishop of Hereford a rich prelat) with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled: also his countriemen, whom he had placed to be canons of the same church. With like order of handling other aliens also, to whom was committed the custodie of diuers castels, as of Glocester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, impaisoned, and sent awaie. Briefly, whatsoeuer he was in all the land that could not speake the English tongue, was of euery rascall disdained, and happie if he might so escape. By reason wherof it so came to passe that a great number, as well of other forreuners, as especiallie religious men, and rich prelats (which here had gathered much substance) were vrged to that extremitie, that they were glad to flie the land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principall, named John Mansuell, a priest notoriously growne in riches and treasures not to bee told, hauing in his hand so many and rich benefices, that neere no bishop of this realme might compare with him in riches. Who notwithstanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled priuilie to voide the realme, and was persued by Henry the sonne of Richard king of Almaine. Certaine other strangers there were, to the number of 200. and more, which hauing the castell of Windsor, there mumured and intrenched themselues, to whom at length prince Edward also adioyned himselfe.

John Mansuell a rich priest.

In the meane time while this fire was abroad, the king lucking the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his nobles and commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the barons, and was contented to assent againe to the ordinances and prouisions of Oxford; albeit the queene by all meanes possible went about to persuade the king not to assent thereto: who as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord betweene the king and the barons. Insomuch that when as the said queene Elenor should passe by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing vpon the bridge, with their exclamations, cursings, and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to returne to the Tower againe. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the sonne whereof was this. First, that Henrie the sonne of Richard king of the Romans should bee deliuered by the king and queene. Secondly, that the castles againe should be committed to the custodie of Englishmen, not of strangers. Thirdly, that the prouisions and statutes decreed at Oxford, should as well by the king, as by all others inuiolable be obserued. Fourthlie, that the realm henceforth should be ruled and gouerned not by forreuners, but by personages borne within the land. Fiftly, that all aliens and strangers should void the land, and neuer returne againe; except only such, whose abode should by the common assent of the kings trustie subiects be admitted and allowed.

The king a gaine with the nobles.

The queene a great cauſer of this debate.

The foure ſet peace betweene the king and the nobles.

Thus the king and the nobles ioyning together after this forme of peace aboue prefixed, although not fullie with heart, as after appeared, put themselues in armes with all their power to recouer the castell of Windsor out of the strangers hands. But Edward in the mid way betweene London & the castell, meeting with his father and the barons, entred communication vpon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to returne into the castell againe, by the policie of the earle of Leicester, and William bishop of Worcester, was not permitted to retorne. Whereupon the strangers within the hold (destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approching) rendred the castell vnto the king, in the forme vpon this condition: That with horse and harnesse they might be suffered safe to depart the land, not to returne any more. Which being granted, certaine of the barons conducted them in their iourny towards the sea side, and there they left them.

The castell of Windsor rendred vnto the ſelfe hands of ſtrangers.

In the same yeere about the beginning of October, the king and queene made ouer to France, with Simon Mountfort and other nobles, as heard and said to the entertainment of Lewis the French king, concerning the controuersie betweene the states of England, and all through the procurement of Elenor the queene. For she not forgetting the old contumelie of the Londoners reclaming against her vpon the bridge, wrought alwaies what reuenge she could against them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, partlie hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do also moreouer, that the king determining long in France, word was sent to him out of England, that vnlesse he returned againe to the realme, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king returning out of France to Doner, would haue entred the castell, but hee was stopped. Wherfore the king in fierce anger and great indignation prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort the sonne the earle of Leicester, though a fubtill traine was almost betrawed and circumuented in Southwarke, by the subden pursuing of the kings armie; had not the Londoners with more speed breaking bars and chaines, made way to rescue him, by the meanes of whom the earle at that time escaped the danger.

Manet alta mente repoſtum Iudicium Paridis, &c. Virg.

Simon Mount fort the younger taken priſoner.

The ſcholars of Oxford ſtont againſt the king.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king. Forsomuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified; he in a great frequence both of French and English persons about him, conferring and pecuing the cause on both sides, betweene the king and the nobles: clearelp and solemnelie pronounced on the kings side against the barons, ordaining that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that hee should be restored againe to his pristine state, notwithstanding the prouisions made at Oxford, which her ordained to be repealed and abrogated. *Ex Flor. hiſt. Ex Gisbur. & alijs.*

The ſentence of the French king, with the king of Englands againſt the barons.

The ſtudents of Oxford ſpared.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it graue to the king of England with his retinue no little incouragement, so it wrought in the nob'es hearts great indignation; which, notwithstanding that partial decreement of the French king, fled themselues home out of France to defend themselues with all their strength and power. And not long after followed also the king, by whose traine Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, (as is aboue recited) was well neere circumuented

The lords taken at Northampton.

What betwixt the king and the barons the gimmeth.



uented in Southwarke. Then the king calling his councell together at Oxford (from whence hee excluded the Vniuersitie of students for a season, who were then at Northhampton, as you haue heard before) there consulted, conferring with his friends and counsellors what way was best to be taken. And hearing that the barons were assembled in a great number at the towne of Northhampton, went thither with his host and with his banners displaied, accompanied with Richard his brother king of Almaine, also with Edward his sonne, John Cosmin of Scotland with many other Scots, John of Dalriolo lord of Galoway, Robert of Buse, lord Walter of Alnmo, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Parmion, John of Maus, Roger of Laiburne, Henrie Persie, Philip Basset, Roger of Mortimer, and William of Valence, and many others. Therefore the king commanded the barons, that were within, to yeeld vnto him presently the citie and the pledges, or else hee would immediatlie destroy them. Vnto whom they counselling with the younger Simon De Monte fort, (which by his fathers commandement had got the refidue thither to take counsell together, for his father & the earle of Glocester were not yet come) boldlie and with one mind answered, that they would not obay the kings will, but would rather defend themselues and the citie if nede were euen to the death. Which the noble men of the kings part hearing, sent word againe, that at the least they should come to the wall of the citie to speake to the king, if by any meanes peace might be made. And they suspecting no deceit, followed their counsell, and leauing their holds, came to the wall towards the medow, for there lay the king and his strong host hard by. But in the meane space, whilest diuers matters were reasoned and intreated of betweene the king and the barons, lord Philip Basset (which before was appointed to watch that feate) with mattocks and other instruments of iron and men prepared for the nonce, came to the masonrie of S. Andrew, did vndermine the wall of the citie: and by this meanes, the wall fell downe lightly, and there was made a great plaine, so that in one foresight there might haue gone together on a rou fortie horsemen. And of this subtilitie the alien monks that were there, were thought to be the workers, because they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that passed by saw this, and the kings banners were erected readie to enter in; there was a great howling made, and the noise of the people came to the eares of the barons, and they made speed to resist them: but it was all in vaine, because they were alreadie possessed of a great compasse of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the younger, after he had hallanced a while in the middell of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the kings sonne came, was by his commandement taken and led away prisoner. But the clerks of the Vniuersitie of Oxford (which Vniuersitie by the barons commandement was translated thither) did work against the kings men more hurt then the other barons, with their slings, long bowes, and crossebowes: for they had a hanter by themselues, and that was set vp on high against the king. Wherewithall the king being greatly moued, ware at his entring in, that they should all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them shaued their crownes, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could. And when the king entred the citie, many fled in their armor into the castell; others left their horse and harnesse and ran into churches; and so all were taine, and those were of the common people: but there was not much bloudshed, because all things were done as vpon the sudden. When the city was at length set in quiet, the king commanded his oth to bee executed vpon the clerks. But his counsellors said vnto him: This be far from thee (O king, for the sonnes of thy nob'es, and of other great men of thy kingdom were there gathered together into the Vniuersitie; whom if thou should suffer to be hanged as slaue, doubtles that noble stocke thy part would rise vp against thee, not suffering to the vttermost of their powers the bloud of their sonnes and kinssolks to be shed. And to the king was pacified, and his wrath against the clerks was staid.

In the same day, after little more then an houre, the kings host assaulted the castel, and the new bold keepers were afraid, for that they had not victuals and other things necessarie for their resistance, therfore they sent immediatly in messengers vnto the king, and yeelded themselues to the kings mercie. There were taken that day these knights and barons vnder written: lord William de Ferrers, lord Peter Mountfort companion of the said Simon de Mountfort the younger, lord Baldwin de Wake, lord Adam de Newmarch, lord Roger Bertram, lord Simon the son of Simon a valiant warrior, which first erected his banner against the king, lord Wergrane, lord Walter Tirrule, lord Hugo Gubium, lord Thomas Mainsell, lord Roger Bolemam, Nicholas Wake, lord Robert de Neuton, lord Philip de Dabie, and Grimbald de Pauncefot. All these aforehand did the king take prisoners and many more, of whom he committed some to the lord Nicholas of Dauersam to be kept in the same castell well defenced: some he led away with him, and some hee sent to diuers castles, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be cast into Wallingford castle. And al these things as touching the taking of Northhampton were done on the Saboath day in passion week, being the third of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1264. and the king went forward euen to Nottingham, burning and wasting the manors of the lords and others his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increased his number.

The nobles taken at Northhampton.

The king ſtirreth London.

When this ill lucke was told of them that there were run away to Earle Simon, which was comming towards Northhampton with a great host, he was in a great rage, yet was not discouraged: but immediatly going to London, caused a chariot to be made him after the manner of litters or coches, wherein he might ride as though he were sicke: for he feined himselfe to be feeble and weake, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant warrior: and there gathered to him other noble men that were confederat with him, earles and barons, euery one bringing with them their seuerall armies, and preparing their engins of wod, they went to besege Rochester: for the earle of Worcester in the kings behalfe kept both the towne and castell. When they had gotten the first gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded and compelled to retire, and there that valiant knight Roger de la Bourne was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilest they continued segge there a while, it was told them that the king was comming towards London with a mightie host. And they sat done to an other. If the king at his comming should take London, he shall be shut in as it were in a strait corner: let vs therefore recurne vnto London, that we may keepe in safetie both the place and the people. Therefore appoin.ng certaine persons to keepe the segge, they returned to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the citizens to meet him, not with bowes and quiuers in their hands, but with swords & speares. The king of Scots then, and after he had wonne the castell of Kingston, whereof was the earle of Glocesters, he went from thence to Rochester, where after he had killed a few, he brake the segge, and from thence the king went to Cunbridge, and the towne and castell now being giuen vp to him, he take there the countesse of Glocester, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberte whither she would. And he left for the custodie of the castell and citie a great part of his host to the number of aboue twentie picked out enfignes, for that it was commonly said that the earle of Glocester would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done, he continued on his iourney to Winchester, where he received to peace the seamen of the hauen townes. And three daies after, vpon the sunday following, he came to the towne of Lewis, and was received into the abbey, and his sonne Edward into the castell. Then the barons sent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

Earle Simon Mountfort taketh Rochester.

Rochester besieged by the barons.

The letter of the barons to the king.

TO their most excellent lord Henry by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his barons and others his faithfull subiects, being willing to keepe their oth and fidelitie to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honor & reuerence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of your graces affistants haue reported to your maiestie manie lies of vs, working mischiefe, as much as in them lieth not onlie against vs, but against you also, and your whole realme: be it knowne to your highnes, that wee haue beene alwaies willing to defend the health and safegard of your person with all our power & fealtie due to your grace, purposing to extend to the vttermost of our power and estate not onelie all ill willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of your whole realme. If it be your good pleasure giue no credit to them, we shall be alwaies found your faithfull subiects. And wee the earle of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of others, for vs and them haue put to our seales.

*These letters being read and heard, there was a counteell called, and the king writ backe to them, ſpecially to the two earles of Leiceſter and Glocester, in manner & forme following.*

The anſwere of the king to the lords.

HEnry by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, &c. To Simon Mountfort, & Gilbert de Clare, and their confederats. Forsomuch as by the war and generall disquietnes by your means raised vp in our whole realme, and also the burnings and other hurtfull enormities, it appeareth manifestlie that you keepe not your fidelitie to vs ward, nor care anie thing for our health or fafetie; and for that ye haue vnorderlie grieued our nobles, and others our faithfull subiects sticking faithfullie and constantlie to vs (as you haue certified vs) we accounting their losse as our owne, and their enemies as ours; and seeing thefe my aforesaid faithfull subiects for the keeping of their fidelitie, do assist vs manfullie and faithfullie against your vnfaithfulnesse: we therefore care not for your fidelitie or loue, but defie you as our and their enemies. Witnesse my selfe at Lewis the day and yeare aforesaid.

Also Richard king of Almaine, and lord Edward the sonne of king Henry writ to the barons in this wise.

The lett. of Richard king of Almaine and of the Prince to the barons.

Richard by the grace of God, king of the Romains alwaies Augustus, & Edward eldest sonne of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles constantlie and faithfullie in heart & deed cleauing to the foresaid king of England, to Simon







of that time with priuie treason conspired against the whole ci-

*rimus electos in epiſcopos, abbates, ac prælatos alios in regno no-*

Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singuler other their adherents in their conspiracie. By your letters which you sent to our lord the noble king of England wee haue vnderstanding that you desire vs, although before any such word, your defiance toward vs was apparant inough by your cruell persecution in burning our possessions, and spoiling our goods. We therefore giue you to wit, that wee all and euery one of vs, as your enemies, doe defie you all as our open enemies. And further, that wee will not cease, whersoeuer it shall lie in our power, to the vttermost of our force and might, to subuert your persons, and all that you haue. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we giue neither faithfull nor good counsell to our lord the king, you say not the truth. And if your lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirme the same in our lord the kings court, we are readie to get safe conduct for you to come to the said court, to trie & declare the truth of our innocencie, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworne traitors, by some man equall with you in nobilitie and stocke. All wee are contained with the seales of the foresaid lords, the lord Richard, and the lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid.

The battell of Lewis betweene the king and the barons begun.

With which letters being read, they drew neere to the king: for they were not farre distant from the place which is called Lewis. And for that there wanted to the kings fraie prouision for their horses, it was commanded them, on tuesday to goe forth to seeke for hay & prouender: which when they were gone forth, were presented of their enemies, and most of them killed: but the residue returning, saw their enemies comming very earlie on the wednesday morning, and making ouerres, stirred vp the king and his host to arme themselues. Then the barons comming to the full plaine, descended there, and giuing and trimming their horses, made fit their harnesse to them. And there the earle Simon made the earle of Glocester, and Robert de Vere, and many other new knights. Which being done, he diuided and distributed his host into foure seuerall battels, and he appointed noble men to guide and gouerne euery battell. And ouer the first battel were ordained captains, Henrie Mountfort the eldest sonne of the earle Simon, and Guido his brother, lord John de Beuch the yonger, and lord Humfrey de Bohun. Ouer the second battell, lord Gilbert Clare earle of Glocester, lord John the sonne of lord S. John, and lord William of Mountchersie. And ouer the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request, the lord Nicholas Segraue was assigned: which required also verie instantlie, that they might haue the first stroke in the battell, at the aduenture, come what came should. But ouer the fourth battell the earle himselfe was captaine with the lord Thomas of Pinelson. In the meane season came forth the kings host, preparing themselues to the field in three battels, of which Edward the kings sonne led the first, with the earle of Warwike, and Valence the kings brother: and the second the king of Almaine guided, with his sonne Henrie: but the king with his nobles guided the third: and the fourth leader the king appointed not, by reason that he had left many of his chiefe souldiers behind him to keepe the castell and towne of Tunbridge against the earle of Glocester. And the most part of the kings armie were but yong men, for the king thought not that his barons had beene come so nigh hand. Their armies being on both sides set in array and order, they ordeined one an other on either partie to fight valiantly: and after they buckled together, the battell was great, and many horsemen were ouerthrowne euen in a moment. But by and by Edward the kings sonne with his band, as a fierce yong gentleman & valiant knight, fell vpon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recule backe a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giuing backe, that the formost were slaine) ran many of them away, and taking water to passe ouer, were almost therefore souldiers drowned, and a few of them being slaine, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners which had aided the first fight, knowing not how the battell went, take their heeles: whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two or three miles: for he hated them because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when the was caried by barge vpon the Thames, from the Tower to Windsor: as is before touched.

Richard king of Almaine with his sonne taken prisoners.

Whilest that prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the vaward of the barons battell: in the meane time the maine battell of the barons set vpon the kings maine battell, of the which the king of Almaine the brother of king Henry had the leading, which being some discomfited, and he with his sonne Henrie and Robert de Vsus, John Comen, with diuers other Capteines taken prisoners, the rearward wherein the king himselfe fought, being immediatly sharplie beset, and seeing his knightes and souldiers on euery side about him beaten downe and slaine, and diuers others of his souldiers to forsake the field & shift for themselues, thought good to take againe the towne, and so retired into the abbey from whence he came, thrusting & ramming vp the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with souldiers. To be briefe, the barons thus getting the field, after long fight, and many men on either side slain, entred also the citie of Lewis, pursuing in chase such souldiers as thither fled for succour.

The battell at Lewis betweene the king and his barons. A peace concluded, and hostages deliuered. 303

In the meane time, prince Edward returning from the chase of the Londoners, as ye heard, who desired to gitte the first onset, and espying the charior of the earle Simon (which he caused purposlie to be made for him) and the horses in the same, without either waggoner or any other to gouerne the same, fell immediatly vpon the chariot, and brake it all in peeces, and slew two burgesses that were within the same. But when he came nerer to the place where the bloudie battell had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and ouerthrow which in his absence with great mortalitie and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismaid, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting & incouraging his knights and souldiers, of whom he had a braue companie, in battel araie he marched forward the towne against whom came the barons against with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh fight and new battell, and many men slaine on either side. But at length, the earle de Warenna, with the kings two brethren, forsooke the field and fled: after whom went more then seuen hundred chosen souldiers, which were of their house and familie, who the same day came to Bouenie, and there tooke shipping ouer the sea. Also Hugh Wegot with diuers others fled, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field: which thing he also perceiuing, tooke the towne. And when he found not the king his father at the castell, he went from thence to the abbie where he was. In the meane season the towne was diuided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties, neither could fearefully one of them know and discerne another whether he were his friend or enemy. But when within a while the barons had assembled some companie, they gaue an assault vpon the castell, thinking to haue relieued John Gifford and others lying in the kings souldiers had taken prisoners and put therein. But the souldiers within defended manfullie the same, and in throwing out bals of wild fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the towne. Then the barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to haue set vpon the abbey where the king and prince Edward his sonne was, which also was set on fire by the assault giuen to the castell: but yet it was shortly recouered and quenched. Then Edward the kings sonne perceiuing the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with curagious knights and souldiers as were yet remaining and within the abbie, to haue issued out, and to haue giuen a new charge vpon them. But the barons perceiuing that, sent vnto the king messengers to intreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talke and conclude of a further peace betweene them. This battell was fought vpon the nineteenth day of May, being the yeere of our Lord 1264.

Prince Edward returning from the first chase, discomfiteth all opposites.

The prince fighteth in a battell.

Prince Edward also put to the worst and faine to take the towne.

The castell of Lewis besieged.

A peace intreated betweene the king and the barons.

The next day which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two preaching friers betweene the king and the barons, with certaine articles and demands of peace, so that with certaine others these conditions were agreed on: that on the morrow being Friday, the prince should giue himselfe in hostage for the king his father and others of his parts. And Henrie the kings sonne of Almaine also should giue himselfe the like for his father. That those things which should be concluded vpon for the benefit and commoditie of the realme, and peaceable quietnesse thereof might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side, should be freely ransomed and sent home.

The two princes engaged in hostage.

The next day which was Saturday, the king discharged all his souldiers, and others that were with him in the abbie, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the aduice of his sonne and the barons, he gaue commandement to those which he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the preiudice or hurt of the barons; but in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart euery man to their houses and habitations. But they giuing no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to Rochester, where they kept themselues in garrison, vntill the escaping of Edward the kings sonne out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquished in battell, and that the Londoners in the rearward were put to flight by prince Edward (by a messenger that escaped from the same) and that also the same Londoners were at Croydondowne, they set vpon them in the euening tide, and taking from them much spoile, slue also many of them.

The kings Counsell in Tunbridge after they had spoiled the Londoners at Croydowne, kept themselues in garrison at Rochester.

Gerte Simon after he had slaine Richard his brother hanged himselfe to escape the hands of the kings enemies.

But when Roger Mortimers part began to decrease, and Simon the earles part on the other side to encrease, hee bare himselfe more stoute, for that both the king and all that was his, did depend vpon the good will and fauour of the earle, and led with him the kings sonne to such holds & castles as he thought to be most strong; as though all were in his hands to doe as him liked: and kept the hostages more straitlie then hee was wont to doe. Insomuch that it was bruited abroad that the kings sonne was kept as prisoner. Diuers counselled him that were his friends, that he should desire to dispart himselfe at the barriers that the people might haue a sight of him. But he being narrowlie garded as hee knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsell, and so did.

That king was in captiuitie, or Lewis prisoner, and the king came to raise the Siege.

In this troublesome yeere, which was Anno 1264, as the Londoners with the nobles were thus occupied in warre and dissention, the malignant Iewes thinking to take vantage of that time with priuie treason conspired against the whole citie and state of the nobles, who being taken with the manner, were almost all slaine that dwelt in the citie of London.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie in the kings disgrace beyond sea. Acts passed for his returne into England.

✠ In this yere also Boniface archbishop of Canturburie the sonne of Peter earle of Sauoie, and a stranger, hauing been certaine yeeres beyond the seas in disgrace with the king of England, vpon occasion of some misdemeanor belike (for he was, as Matthew Parker writeth of him, *Vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione cæteris archiepiscopis dissimilis*) howbeit the king being of a relenting nature, and bearing much with clergie mens insolencies, which for a while he might perhaps gainstand, but at last bare with them as supported by the court of Rome, did consult with his nobles about the returne of the said Boniface into England, conditionallie as followeth.

## Acts passed in the kings councell touching the archbishop of Canturburies returne into England vnder certaine conditions.

Turris Lond.

*ANno Dominj 1264, mense Martio, in præsentia illustris regis Angliæ, de concilio procerum & magnatum eiusdem regni adhuc est, quod venerabilis pater Bonifacius Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas in Angliam reuertatur, sub conditionibus infra scriptis, in regno pacifice moraturus. In primis igitur &c.* In English thus.

In the yeere of our Lord 1264, in the moneth of March, it was enacted in the presence of the renowmed king of England, by the councell of the peeres and states of the said realme, that the reuerend father Boniface by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primat of all England, should returne into England, and also be in the realme peaceablie vpon the conditions vnderwritten.

1 First therefore it is enacted, that the archbishop at his returne doo without any difficultie release in forme of law his sentences of excommunication, published against all persons whatsoeuer, accustoming much trouble in the realme of England: but put so, that they which shall be found excommunicate, be readie to make satisfaction for their excesses and defaults, and so: the same receiue as they are bound by the canonicall commandements of the archbishop, in forme hereunder in the next article contained.

2 Secondly it is enacted, that in making amends for defaults done to churches and churchmen, within such places as are immediatly subiect vnto his iurisdiction, the archbishop may arbitrate according to the counsell of all his suffragans, or the greater and sounder part, and of waightie affaires belonging to the church and realme of England, may in time to come after his returne, order and dispose likewise by their counsell, and the counsell of other discreet men of the realme.

3 Thirdly it is enacted, that he bring with him master Henrie Mortimer archdeacon of Canturburie, and Pont Sabler his familiar clerks or household chaplens, and these clerks only being strangers borne, he keepe and retaine of his counsell and household.

4 Fourthly it is enacted, that other clerks wheresoeuer, beneficed in the church of England, meaning and willing to returne with the archbishop, may safely returne and abide in their benefices, and disturbed the church goods within the realme as they are bound, carrying or sending nothing out of the realme, vnlesse necessarie occasion, and allowed of the kings councell doe so require.

5 Fifthly it is enacted, that the archbishop or the clerks comming with him shall bring nothing with them in letters, message, or commandement, nor shall procure any thing else during their abode in this realme, either by themselues or by others, whereby any damage, danger, or preiudice may redound to the king or to any of his realme. And for: memorie of the premisses, the seale of the said renowned king of England is hanged vnto these presents.

By the whole councell.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the archbishop did not presently returne, but continued in Bouuance and elsewhere, behauing himselfe imperiouslie as a prelate of the right Romish stampe. In the meane time many matters incident to his place were omitted and neglected, which personallie by him should haue been executed: but by reason of his absence the same were dispatched by deputation, and the same ordered likewise according to his owne fantasie, which he preferred before the kings authoritie and commandement. This to be true, the copie of a letter describing the contumacie of the said Boniface doth sufficientlie testifie, the same being set downe agreeable to the prototypon.

## A letter of the king to Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, charging him to returne into England, *there personallie to discharge his archiepiscopall function.*

Turris Lond.

*REx Bonifacio Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati salutem. Licet hactenus per patientiam pluries festinemus electos in episcopos, abbates, ac prælatos alios in regno nostro &c.* In English thus.

As visit the archbishop of Canturburie in foreen countries abiding.

The king to Boniface archbishop of Canturbury primat of all England, greeting. Although hitherto by patience we haue suffered oftentimes bishops elect, abbats, and other prelats in our realme, for the benefit of their confirmation to be obtained, to passe ouer beyond sea vnto you, we thought not to receiue at your hands any such reward, as that against the right and custome of our realme, to the which we meane not by this our patience that preiudice shall any way bee procured or bred, you should attempt this to be followed. We do maruell therfore and are mooued that you, at the request of vs, haue refused to commit the examination of the election of our welbeloued in Christ master Walter Gifford late of Bathe and Wels bishop elect, and the confirmation of the same election, vnto some discreet persons of our realme, we hauing detained and as yet detayning the same Gifford against his will, that he might not repaire personallie vnto you: whereunto common right and the very custome of the realme ought to haue lead you vnrequested, whilest you abide out of the realme. Left therefore our too much patience might breed in you a contempt, we will you to vnderstand that henceforward we meane to beare lesse with such dealing, specially in these daies, wherein there is no safe passage for Englishmen vnto you through the parts of France, as it is reported. Wherefore wee thought good to desire your fatherhood and also to admonish you, giuing you moreouer in charge and commandement, and vpon the fealtie wherein you are bound vnto vs firmelie inioyning, that in respect of the foresaid election, and other ceremonies, you come personallie into England to execute your office and charge, or send some other in your roome; or at least procure and cause some discreet persons of our realme, whom you shall repute more meete for this matter, to serue the turne for you in this behalfe: lest if with contumacie you refuse to heare our requests and commandements the second time, which you are by dutie bound to obay, wee bee compelled to take indignation against you, as a contemner of the rights, liberties, and the customs of our kingdome, and so to proceed against you more sharplie by way of reuenge: neither will we suffer, if you shall do otherwise, that the reuenues of your said archbishoprike shall henceforth be conueyed vnto you out of our realme; but as you refuse the burthen, so will we in like sort do what we can to withdraw hereafter the profits and commodities from you during your abode out of our land. Finally we, if need shall be, are redie to giue you a sure and safe conduct. Witnesse the king at S. Pauls of London, the 25. of June, and the 48. yeere of our raigne.

Now after all this aboue, we read that at last Boniface returned, and becomming more holy towards his end, he went with other bishops to the king, requiring him that being mindfull of the decaie of his kingdome, by ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed vpon strangers, he would hereafter preferre learned and godly men of his owne nation. To whom the king answered that he would willinglie doe it. Wherefore I thinke it meete that you, which are a stranger and vnlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onely for: kindreds sake, should first giue example to others, and so take your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answere of the king so pierced this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherefore perceiuing himselfe to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to returne into his countrey. And thereupon first selling and selling the woods, letting out the archbishoprike, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of money of the clergie of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauoy, where in the castle of S. Helens, after he had misgouerned the see six and twentie yeeres, six moneths, and sixteene daies from his consecration, being nine and twentie yeeres from his first election, he died the fifteenth kalends of August. And so ceased the troubles betweene the king and the said bishop, whose contumacie in stories, with others of the like kind, doth largely appeare in this booke.

Boniface his aduice disdained, vnmeet able to himselfe.

Boniface marieth some of the archbishoprike, he is hated, and dieth.

✠ But to leaue Boniface now dead, note ye this, that in this yeere, after the death of pope Vrban, succeeded in the said yeere of our Lord, An. 1265, pope Clement the fourth: which Clement, as affirmeth Nic. Triuet. was first a married man and had wife and children, and was the sollicitor and counsellor to the French king; then after the death of his wife, was bishop intituled Podiensis, after that archbishop of Narbon, and at last made cardinall; who being sent of pope Vrban in legacie, for reformation of peace, in his absence was elected pope by the cardinals. About this time flourished Thomas of Aquine, reader at Paris among the Dominike friers, and Bonauenture among the Franciscan friers. Ex Nic. Triuet.

The death of pope Vrban. Pope Clement the fourth. Pope Clement first a married man, and had a wife and children.

Thomas Aquin, Bonauenture readers at Paris.

Anno 1265

✠ Now after all the foresaid tumult and broile of the king and his barons to the veration of the whole land, it was thought meet and necessarie that all parties at variance should be reconciled. Wherevpon it was concluded amongst them as followeth.

## A forme of peace betweene the king and *his barons.*

Turris Lond. HEc est forma pacis à domino rege & domino Edwardo filio ejus prælatis & proceribus omnibus, & communitate totæ regni Angliæ communiter & concorditer approbata, &c. In English thus: This is the forme of peace allowed of the king our lord, of the lord Edward his sonne, of all the prelats and peeres and the whole communaltie of the realme of England with common consent and agreement; to wit, that a certaine ordinance or decree made in a parlement holden at London about the feast of the nativitie of S. John Baptist last past, for the maintaining and keeping of the peace of the realme, and the same to continue all the daies of the said king our soueraigne lord, and the time of the lord Edward, after he shall be receiued as king, euen till the end and terme that shall be thought meet and conuenient. The said ordinance or decree is thus.

For the redressing of the state of the realme of England, let there be chosen or named three discreet and trustie persons of the realme, which may haue authoritie and power from the lord the king to chuse or name in the kings behalfe, nine counsellors: of which nine, three at least by course or turnes may alwaies be present in the court. And let the lord the king by the counsell of the said nine, order and dispose of the keeping of castles, and the managing of all the affaires in his realme. Let the lord the king also by the aduice of the foresaid nine, appoint iustices, chancellor, treasurers, and other officers, greater and lesser in those matters that pertaine to the gouernment of his court and realme.

The chosers or namers shall sweare first, that according to conscience they will chuse or name such counsellors, as they verily beleeue will be profitable and trustie in respect of Gods honor, the church, the lord the king, and his realme. The counsellors likewise and all the officers greater and lesser in their creation shall sweare, that to the vttermost of their power they will faithfullie execute their offices to the honor of God and of the church, and to the profit of the lord the king and his realme, without bribe or gift; meate and drinke which are commonlie wont to be set vpon the table excepted. And if so be that the foresaid counsellors, or some or any of them, or the charge to them committed, whether they be two or three, behaue themselues ill, or that vpon some other occasion such officers are to be changed: the lord the king by the counsell of the three former chosers or namers may remoue such as he shall see meet to be remoued; and in their rooms by the same mens aduice may appoint and place other persons trustie and serviceable.

And if so be that either the greater officers or the lesser doe disorderedlie demeane themselues in their offices, the lord the king by the counsell of the foresaid nine may displace them, and without delay by the same aduice set others in their rooms. And if so be that the three first or chiefe chosers or namers, in the choice or naming of counsellors, or perhaps the counsellors in the creating of officers, or in other affaires of the lord the king and the realme to be ordred or done, shall be at disagreement, then whatsoeuer by consent of two parts shalbe concluded or decreed, let the same be firmelie kept & obserued; so that of those two parts one be a prelat of the church in the businesse belonging to the church. And if it so happen, that two parts of the said nine in some matter disagree; then shall they for their variance stand to the ordinance of the three first chosers or namers, or the greater part of them. And if so be it seeme expedient by consent to all the prelats and barons, that some or one in place of some or one of the three first namers be put and appointed: then let the lord the king by the counsell of all the prelats and barons ordaine some others, or one other. And let the lord the king doe all the premisses by the aduice of the said nine in manner aboue mentioned; or let them doe it in the lord the kings behalfe and by his authoritie by this present ordinance, to continue and hold out till such time as this agreement made and afterwards sealed by the parties, be perfected by consent, or some other prouiso be had which the parties by consent shall iudge allowable.

This ordinance was made at London by the consent, will, and commandement of the lord the king, and also of the prelats, barons, with the communaltie then and there present. In witnesse whereof W. bishop of Lincolne, and H. bishop of Elie, R. earle of Norfolke and marshall of England, Robert de Vere earle of Oxford, Humfrey de Bohune, William de monte Canisio, and the maior of London to this writing haue set their seales. Acted in the parliament at London in the month of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1264.

Reformation of the church.

It is also ordained, that the state of the English church shall be reformed into a state meet and conuenient.

It is also ordained, that the three chosers aboue said and counsellors, of whom mention is made in the said ordinance at London, and the keepers of castles, and others the kings bailiffs be homebred. And as for strangers borne, let them come, tarrie, and depart peaceablie, as well lawmen willing to dwell vpon their possessions, as clergimen residing vpon their benefices.

Strangers to be keepers of the kings castels, &c.

Merchants also, and all others, to further and set to their affaires shall come fréelie, and tarrie peaceablie: but yet conditionallie, so they come without armor and a suspected multitude. And that none of them be received in any sort, into any office or bailiwike in the realme, or otherwise into the kings house & seruice be entertained. As for the charter of generall liberties and forrests granted vnto the homebred of late by the king, and the statutes made vpon reuoking of grieuances which the lord the king the third yeere past in euery shire by his letters patents hath caused to be published, with the conuenable customs of his realme, & a long time allowed, be for euer obserued: and that it might be prouided how they may be better and more soundlie obserued: It is also prouided, that the lord the king, and the lord Edward, the barons & those that stand with them, let go all iniurie and rancor, so that they neither grieue, or suffer to be greeued by any of them, no one of them by occasion of things done in the late vnruly time past; and also cause all their bailiffes at the vndertaking of their bailiwiks, that they shall grieue none by the occasion aforesaid, but shall doe iustice and right to euery body with equalitie. And let there be good securitie prouided how all these things may be firmlie obserued.

¶ When this agreement was dispatched, to set the realme in some quietnesse, a little leisure was allowed to take into the lasts and damages of the church, whereupon it was prouided as followeth.

## Of the repairing of trespasses committed *against the church.*

IT is prouided by common assent of the king, of the prelats, earles, and barons of the land, that the trespasses which are committed against the church of England, by reason of the tumults and wars that haue béene in this realme of England, shall be reformed and amended in this maner.

There shall be chosen by the earles and great estates of the land, with the liking and assent of the prelats, three bishops authorized, and hauing full power to establish and prouide for such reasonable amends as are to be made for the foresaid trespasses committed against holie church, so far forth as shall be fit and conuenient.

Those that shall be found excommunicated, shall be absolued in forme of right, by such as haue power and authoritie so to doe.

The authoritie of the prelats shall be established in this maner. First, it shall be faithfullie vndertaken by the earles, iustices, and the other laimen of the kings counsell, and other great barons of the realme, that all those things which the prelats that shall be chosen, shall reasonablie ordaine and appoint by way of reformation, they themselues shall obserue & fulfill, and shall doe their indeuor faithfullie to cause it to be obserued by others: and thereof they shall deliuer their letters patents.

Moreouer, vnto the prelats, after they shall be chosen, full power shall be granted by the king, and the communaltie, the earles, barons, & great men of the land, to ordaine those things which are needfull and profitable to the full reformation of the estate of holie church, to the honor due to the fealtie of our lord the king, and to the profit of the realme. And that the promise made by the king, and by the earles, and barons aforesaid, and by the other great men of the land may appeare to be made in good faith, they shall thereof make their letters patents; to wit of things that haue bin done a yere past before the last Easter.

If any be found that will not stand to the ordinance and appointment of the foresaid prelats in the causes aforesaid and according to the forme aforesaid, he shall be compelled thereunto by dome of holie church; yea if need be he shall be thereunto forced by the secular power. And that it may the better be done, the iustice shall haue a hundred or more of choice men at armes, or sargeants souldiers elect, to distraine the malefactors when by the said prelats he shall be required. Those souldiers to be sustained of the common goods of holie church, during the time they shall be imployed in that businesse. And this ordinance shall continue for a peare or two, till such time as matters be quieted, and that the promisions of the prelats, and the peace of the land be well obserued.

Prouided alwaies, that the profits of benefices of holie church belonging to aliens, and others that haue béen enemies to the land, shall be collected, and safely kept in the hands of the prelats, vntill such time as order be taken by common aduice what is to be done therewithall. And for the more assurance and further testimonie hereof, the king and the high estates of the land haue vnto this writing set their seales.

¶ Besides all this it was considered, that non residencie, being a default blame worthie, deserued reformation. Wherefore of the king hauing speciall regard, bent his mind to the life of the bishop of Hereford for the redresse of the same; whose letter because it is memorable, and conuenient matter therein contained for non residents of our time, we haue héere interered according to the record.

## A letter of king Henry the third directed to the bishop of Hereford concerning non residents.

Turris Lond. R *Ex episcopo Hereford salutem. Pastores gregibus præponuntur, vt diei noctisque vigilias exercendo, &c.* In English thus.

The



Against non residence of prelats.

The king to the bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting. Pastors or shepherds are set ouer flocks, that by exercising themselues in watching ouer them day and night, they may know their owne cattell by their looke, bring the hungerstarued sheepe into the medowes of fruitfulnesse, and the straying ones into one fold by the word of salutation & the rod of correction; and to doe their indeuor, that vnitie indissoluble may be kept. But some there be, who damnablie despising this doctrine, and not knowing to discerne their owne cattell from anothers, doe take away the milke and the woull, not caring how the Lords flocke may be nourished: they catch vp the temporall goods, and who perisheth in their parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in maners they regard not: which men deserue not to be called pastors, but rather hirelings. And that we euen in these daies remouuing our selues into the marches of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the garrisons of our realme, haue found this default in your church of Hereford, we report it with griefe; for that we haue found there a church destitute of a pastors comfort, as hauing neither bishop nor officiall, vicar nor deane, that may exercise any spirituall function & dutie in the same. But the church it selfe, which in time past was wont to flow in delight, and had canons that tended vpō daies & nights seruice, and that ought to exercise the works of charitie, they forsaking the church, and leading their liues in countries far hence, hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the losse of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and louers that will comfort her. Verily whiles we beheld this, and considered it diligentlie, the pricke of pitie did moue our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardlie wound our heart verie sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great an iniurie done to our mother the church, nor passe the same ouer vncorrected.

Non residents straitlie charged to be resident in their cures and abiding vpon their cures a nere.

Wherefore we command and straitly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you indeuor to remoue your selues with all possible speed vnto your said church, and there personallie to execute the pastorall charge committed vnto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certaine, that if you haue not a care to doe this, we will wholie take into our owne hands all the temporall goods, and whatsoeuer else doth belong vnto the baronie of the same church; which goods for spirituall exercise sake therein, it is certaine our progenitors of a godlie deuotion haue bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties as we haue commanded hitherto to be gathered and safelie kept and turned to the profit and commoditie of the same church, the cause now ceasing, we will seize vpon; and suffer no longer, that he shall reape temporall things, which feareth not vnreuerentlie to withdraw and keepe back spirituall things, whereunto by office and duetie he is bound; or that he shall receiue any profits which refuseth to vndergoe and beare the burthens of the same. Witnesse the king at Hereford, the first of June in the 48. yeare of our reigne.

An all maner of vnlawfull assemblie called harlots, or meeting of men which called themselues harlots.

About this time (as appeareth by course of record, & thereby may well be gathered) a redresse of certaine seats was intended, among which, one by name speciallie occurreth, and called the assemblie of harlots: a kind of people of a leaud disposition and vnciuill. Of whose maners and life the king hauing beene informed, addressed his letters to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their euill conuersation: whose letter héere followeth.

## A letter concerning Henrie the third to the shiriffe of *Oxfordshire, concerning the banishment of an* vnlawfull assemblie called harlots, out of that countrie.

Turris Lond. Against an assemblie or meeting of men which called themselues harlots. R *Ex vic. Oxon. salutem. Quia intelleximus quòd quidam, qui se harlotos appellant, vagi & otium fouentes, in diuersis partibus regni nostri, congregationes & conuenticula, nec non contra-ctus illicitos, &c.* In English thus.

The king to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire sendeth greeting. Because we vnderstand that there be certaine vagarant persons which call themselues harlots, maintaining idlenesse in diuers parts of our realme, most shamelesslie making their meetings, assemblies, and vnlawfull matches against the honestie of the church and good maners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer; we charge thee that on our behalfe thou forbid the said harlots henceforth in the said countries to make anie more such meetings, conuenticles, or contracts; or to presume according to their leaud maner and vonted fashion to rogue about our realme: and hereto thou shalt (if need be) bind them, as by law may be done. Wherein so behaue thy selfe in this behalfe, as we may commend thy diligence. Witnesse the king at Reading the 23 of Nouember, in the 48 yeare of our reigne.

*What maner of persons these were, or what their conuersation was, it doth not further appeare: neuertheless by the premisses it may séeme to be some pretensed order of religion. And it is most probable that the reprochfull name of harlot had his beginning from hence.*

To conclude with speciall matters of the church, wherein we haue made somewhat the longer delay, by occasion of such necessarie records as came to hand, & brought with them their necessarie vse; this one remembrance notwithstanding remaineth, no lesse notworthie then the rest, and falling within the resolution of the same eight yeere of this kings reigne, a yeere of great trouble, as by the premisses may be gathered.

You are therefore to note, that at this time the prelats of England stood vpon their pantoples, and tollie fellowes (I tell you) they would be knowne to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Alured de Lincolne, being, as is supposed, a baron of this realme, there is found (Inter alia) as followeth. *Quòd prædictus Alured de Lincolne tenuit quandam particulam parcæ de Dunetisse & Tilei de abbate de Cerne, per seruicium tenendi ferepem suum, quando abbas de Cerne equum suum, & dare eidem in cenam quando præfatus fuerit.* That is: That the forenamed Alured held a certain peece of the parke of Dunetisse and Tilei of the abbat of Cerne, by seruice of holding his stirup when the abbat should take horsebacke, and to giue him place in the shire at such time as he should be present. The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giueth probable cause to coniecture that the occasion of this matter came by this meanes: viz. That whereas the said Alured was desirous to inlarge his parke, and could not so doe but by purchasing a part of some other ground next adioining, whereof the said abbat was owner: he was therefore constrained either to lacke that he lifted, or to admit such conditions as pleased my lo: abbat; who like a lord (as you see) was content to let him haue his land, reserning such seruice as is aboue said. Wherein would be noted the pompe of prelats in those daies, and how neere they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose treading they traced.

But leaning these affaires of the church and churchmen, wherein we haue béene somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporall state. You heard before of a pacification concluded betweene the king and his barons in the yeere of our Lord 1264, the same hauing beene admitted by mutuall and common consent of the temporaltie and clergie. Neuertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficiallie and ouerlie skinned, doth breake out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to passe among the lords and barons, betwixt whom no such firme reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon ensued after secret grudge and priuie hatred open armes and conflicts. For in this yeere 1265 the sonnes of Simon the earle, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puft vp, and with the pride of their late eleuated, did that which nothing contented the earle of Glocester in so much that he challenged Henry the eldest sonne of the earle Simon Mountfort at the barriers, to be tried at Northhampton. But that challenge was taken by, lest some further inconuenience might haue risen thereof. But the earle of Glocester being moued therewith in his mind, sent vnto his father the earle that he should deliuer him such prisoners being noble men, as he tooke at the battell of Lewis; among whom the king of Almaine was named first. But by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and suffice him, for that he had saued and preserued to him his lands, that day the battell was fought at Lewis; and that furthermore he would not send him such prisoners as he demanded; but that he himselfe kept more noble then they in the castell of Douer: among whom was John Wassell, which vndermined and burst downe the walles of Northhampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.

Dissension betweene the earle of Glocester and the earle of Glocester.

The earle of Glocester being hereewith displeased, so some as he heard this answer, sent incontinentlie to the lord Roger Mortimer, which alwaies tooke the kings part, desiring that they two might talke together touching the benefit and commoditie of the king. Who, doubting some deceit, desired safe ties and pledges for his safe returne, and he would come and talke with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarlie, the earle of Glocester shewed him all that he was purposed to doe: and that further he lamented he had so much and greatlie offended the king: and that he would with all his power and abilitie make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the king againe to his kingdie dignitie, as much as he possiblie might. Therefore they sent secretlie to Robert the brother of the earle of Glocester, which was nere about the earle Simon, and made him to consent with them therein. And to worke this thing more circumspectlie, when opportunitie serued thereunto, Roger Mortimer sent vnto the king some an horse excelling all others in estimation, vnto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw conuenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrined, prince Edward desired leaue of the earle to proue his courser against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they might when they listed. Assone as he had gotten leaue, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied diuers of their horses: at the last, getting vp vpon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a seruant on horsebacke coming toward him with two swords, he rauied about vnto his keeper, whose name was Robert de Rose, and to others his

The earle of Glocester and Roger Mortimer conspire together against earle Simon.

Prince Edward escapeth from out of the hands of earle Simon by a stratagem.

his plaifellowes that were with him, saying: My louing lords, thus long haue I kept you companie, and haue beene in your custodies: and now not purposing to vse your companies any longer, I betake you to God. And quickly turning his horse about, put to the spurs and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far inough behind, and ouertake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger Mortimer comming from his castell of Wigmore, accompanied with many armed men to méete him as before it was appointed, they returned against home as wise as when they came forth. And when this ꝑ princes escape was diuulgated, much people came vnto him out of euery quarter, with great ioy thereof. Amongst whom, the first was the earle of Glocester, and the other souldiers of the king, which had now long lien at Winchcombe, and therabouts, and within a fortnight space he had a great and a mightie host.

Which thing when the earle Simon vnderstood, he much doubted and mistrusted himselfe: and fleding into Wales, he got from thence a great many men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might, from euery part of England. He sent also Simon his sonne to the noble men of the north parts, that with all possible spéede he might bring them with him: who with a great companie came with him, and at Kenelworth a while they staid, and there pitched their tents. But leauing Kenelworth for a certaine time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same, and then returned againe to Kenelworth. And when this by a certaine spiall was declared to Edward the kings sonne, who then was at Worcester, which he had gotten after he came from Glocester a little before; he prepared himselfe with his souldiers, in the night season to goe to the place where the ꝑfe should bring him, which was into a deepe valley, néere vnto the place where Simon and his companie had pitched. And when in the morning they were very earlie about to arme themselues, and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies comming towardes them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselues against their comming, and so had béene betrayed; they set forth in battell aray, marching forwards, till that they met certaine of their enemies stragling in long wings, thinking to haue gone a foraging, and to haue sought for victuals; whom they take, and with their fresh horses new hoysed their souldiers that had their horses tired with long trauell. And so marching forward, came verie earlie in the morning vpon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sléeping; and laying luskishe about them, they slue diuers; some they take, the rest they put to flight; and fiftéene of their chiefest enseignes they take, with many other rich spoiles. But yong Simon himselfe lodged in the castell, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of Auguſt, An. 1265.

The first entersprise of prince Edward after his escape by the meanes of a ruse.

Yet when Edward heard that earle Simon was comming toward Kenelworth, to ioine with his sonnes battell, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at Eusham, where he diuided his host into three battels, he himselfe hauing the leading of one, the earle of Glocester the second, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came vpon their backs. The kings sonne Edward came northward, as though he came from Kenelworth to Eusham: and because he would not be descried, he caused his owne standards and enseignes to be taken downe, and yong Simons which he had taken before to be aduanced. But the earle Simons scurer, whose name was Nicolas, shewed the earle that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to haue beene Simon his sonnes power, not knowing of the ouerthrow which he had before, gaue small credit thereunto, till that the said Nicolas the better to vnderstand déeper, went vp to the abbey steeple of Eusham, where he might plainely discerne them all and their standards: for by this time they were mounted the hill which they labored to attaine, thinking to haue that vantage, when they should giue their charge as they had purposed: and had also aduanced againe his owne standards, and pulled downe Simons, whereby they were the more easier descried and knowne. Then he cried aloud to the earle Simon, and said: We are all but dead men: for it is not your sonne, as you suppose, that commeth, but it is Edward the kings sonne that commeth from one part, and the earle of Glocester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part. Then said the earle: The Lord be mercifull vnto our soules, for assuredly as our bodies and liues are yolde in their hands; cōmanding that euerie man should make himselfe readie to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wils to die for their ladues, and in a iust quarell. And such as would depart, he gaue leaue to goe their wayes, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

Prince Edward had descried, but not the earle Simon so much abashed.

Then came vnto him his eldest sonne Henrie, and comforted him, desiring him to haue no dispaire. nor yet mistrust in the god succesſe of this battell, with other such cheerefull words. No my sonne (saith he) I dispaire not: but yet, it is the presumption, and the pride of the rest of the brethren that hath brought me to this end you see: notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarell. After words of comfort giuen to all his host, and the oration made as is the maner, they all armed themselues. The king also (whom the earle alwaies kept with him) he armed in an armor of his owne; and then dyuiding their battels, they marched toward their enemies. But before they ioined, the Welshmen ran their waies, and thinking to scape ouer the riuer of Dee, were there some drowned, and some slaine. Then when the battels ioined and came to handie strokes, within short space many of the earles part fell and were slaine: and the king himselfe being stricken at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying: Kill me not, I am Henrie your king. And with these the kings words he had Adam Bonhaw knowne him, and saued him. At whose voice and crie came also prince Edward his sonne, and deliuered him to the gard and custodie of certaine knights. In the meane season the earle Simon was hard beséed and beaten downe, and also slaine before Edward the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fell, when as he sought for life, and Henrie his sonne, and other noble men on his part were about him, he beheld out into these woords vnto his enemies, saying: What, is there no mercie and compassion with you? Who againe answered: What compassion should there be shewed to traitors? Then saide he: The Lord be mercifull vnto our soules, our bodies are in your hands. And so some as these woords were spoken, they mangled his bodie, and diuided his members, and cut off his head, which head Roger Mortimer sent vnto his wife. And not far off from him also was slaine Henrie his eldest sonne, the lord Hugh Spenser, the lord Radulph Wallet, the lord Thomas de Heſtele, the lord William Mandeuile, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord Guido Bailloſer, the lord Roger Rowleie, and many other noble men besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battell was fought in the moneth of Auguſt, and continued from one of the clocke till it was night: in the which was not so much as one man on the part of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battell lost his life, more than the lord John, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten, that the same day being tuesday, at that instant houre, when the battell began, which was at one of the clocke at afternone, there was such a darknesse ouer all, with thunder and such tempest, that the like before that time was neuer séene, being verie calme and faire weather both immediatlie before and after: which séemed (saith mine author) to giue a plaine demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

King Henrie almost slaine in the battell, at length knowen by his voice, and released by his sonne.

Earle Simons sonnes, and many other lords and barons slaine in this battell at Eusham.

After this great slaughter and ouerthrow, there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earle of Glocester, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be considered, that the king although he was in the campe of the earle of Leycester, being then in custody, and his sonne Edward with the earle of Glocester, yet the king was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said parliament the king was reſtored to his kinglie dignitie, which was before that time vnder the custodie of the barons. But after the battell was ended and done, certaine of them that loued the earle, vpon an old ladder, gathered vp such parts of his bodie as remained, and couering the same with an old gowne, brought it to Eusham, where they putting the same in a faire linnen cloth, buried it in the church. But not long after, by such as thought not themselues sufficientlie reuenged with his death (to wreake them of the dead corps) take vp the same and threw it in another place, saying, that he which was both accursed, and a traitor, was not worthie of christian buriall.

Anno 1266. A parliament summoned at Winchester, where king Henry was restored to his regalitie.

The same yere died Walter Cantilupus bishop of Winchester, after whom succeded Nicolas of Elie, the kings chancellor.

The same yere the king perceiuing that vnlesse the castell of Kenelworth were recouered, and the boldnesse of them refrained that kept the same, many euils and inconueniences might ensue thereupon, to the preiudice of his kingdome; for that the number increased euery day more and more, waiting and spoiling the countrie all about: therefore he gathered an armie and came downe to Warwike, where he a while taried expecting the méeting and assembling of his marqueſſes and lords, with ensignes and other munition sauiable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after Midsummer day he displaied his banner, and began his voiage, marching toward Kenelworth, and beseged the same. During which siege, by the aduice and counsell of the king, the popes legat, and other noble men, there he prouided such lawes as seemed to him most conuenient for the ſtate of the realme, & of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who amongst other things made & eſtablished this one prouiſo, that was commonly called Kenelworth decree: That all those which had lost their lands by attendor (although yet not attainted) should fine therefore at the kings pleasure, and take their lands of him againe, paying some three yeres, some foure yeres, some two yeres reuenues of the same, according to the qualitie of the crime and offence committed. All which prouiſes or prouiſions were eſtabliſhed & confirmed as well by the corporall oth, as by signement of the same with the hands and seales of all the prelats and clergie of England, there assembled for that purpese by the popes legat vpon the feaſt of All saints. When these things were thus finiſhed, messengers were sent on the kings behalfe, as well to those that kept the castell of Kenelworth, as also to those that were assembled in the ile of Elie: willing them to come vnder the protection of the kings peace, and yeeld to the foreſaid prouiſors, eſtablished by the twelue commissioners. Who all together answered and said: that they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents not being called vnto it, and also for that the said decree was ouer strait and intolerable. Within short space after, great famin and pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the castell, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same: wherefore some after, the king sending againe to them to yeeld the castell and take their pardons, they consulting together of their owne estate, thus answered the kings messengers; If it please the king and his counsell to permit vs to send our messenger to the lord Simon Mountford, which is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certaine day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the meane space we be not disturbed by the kings army that hath inuironed vs, till the returne of our messengers: if by the day appointed he came not, we will yeeld vp the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limbe, and moueables.

Kenelworth decree gainsaid by diuers.

Kenelworth castell preſsed vp by the kinglie power for the returne of the messengers of France.

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the king their answer; he consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed vnto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclained throughout all his campe, after that sufficient hostages were on either side giuen for the performance of the same: wherevpon they for Edward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that, many of them within the castell being very grieuously vexed with the bloudie flix, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoiance of those that were diseased, deliuered vp the castell before the returne of the messengers againe, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselues, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the yeelding vp of the castell, the king committed the custodie thereof to his sonne Edmund, and so with his host departing from his siege, came vpon Christmas euen euen to Oxnie, where hee with great solemnitie and triumph kept his Christmas during seuen daies, and from thence with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few daies he marched towards Elie: in which iland he beseged those which were disherited, and sharplie also assaulted them.

The same yere, pope Clement the fourth promoted maſter Walter Giffard bishop of Bathe, to bee archbishop of Yorke.

The tenths granted to the king by authoritie apostolicall.

In which yere also the church of England began to pay the tenths of all their reuenewes, as well spirituall as temporall, to the king, to continue for three yeers space: and this was done by the authoritie apostolicall.

Within a while after, the barons which were yet remaining, gathered themselues together againe: amongst whom Iohn Daiuill (being a subtill and stout man of war) began to haue a name, in was well eſtéemed amongst them; who al together did what mischiefe they might, and in the month of May they assembled at Oxeſtercliffe, vnder the said John Daiuill and the earle of Feurarence, vpon whom the kings soudiors, comming suddenly in the night, tooke them sléeping, and slew many of them. Then the said John Daiuill quickly arming himselfe came forth, thinking with more defence both to saue himselfe and to escape. Who in the way stroke the lord Gilbert Humfard such a blow with his demilance, that he feld both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus while the poze soudiers fought and were slaine, the barons fled vp, and saued themselues. Also the earle Ferarence fled, and hid himselfe in a church; but being betrayed by a woman he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northhampton, where he disherited all those that take part with the earle Simon & all their children. Where also the popes legat Otobonus held a conuocation, and excommunicated all such bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the king: of whom diuers be sent vp to Rome, to be absolued of the pope: and further the said legat caused to be proclained certaine decrees, which he himselfe had made: and also the new grant of pope Clement, to the king and quéene, of all the tenths for seuen yeeres to come. And shortly after, a tax also was sined vpon the country of Norfolk; to the gathering wherof Walter the bishop of Norwich was appointed. Ex Scalacronicis.

A new assemblie of the barons at Oxeſtercliffe by vnder: they had the ouerthrow.

All the confederates of Simon Mountfort and his children disherited by the king.

Simon Mountfort and his confederates excommunicated by the popes legat.

Tenths granted to the pope by the king and quene for seuen yeeres.

Anno 1267. The castell of Kenelworth yeelded against the disherited.

Another assemblie of the barons at Ariolfine, and discomfiture of them.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1267, king Henry beseeged against the castell of Kenelworth, from the seuenth day before the first day of July, vntill the beginning of December: whither came Otobonius the popes legat, by whose intreatie Henry Hastings deliuered the same into the king, which doubtly had defended the same and resisted the king, hauing pardon granted both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods, and cattels. In which time also the barons against assembled, with John Daiuill in the ile of Ariolme, and to proceeded till they came to Lincolne, which they also take, and spoiled the Iewes, and slew many of them; and entring their synagogue

Kenelworth castell beseeged of the king.

Kenelworth yeeld against the disherited.

The Iewes spoiled and slaine at Lincolne.

The barons fortifie in the iland of Ely.

The ile of Ely inuaded and seized by prince Edward.

The king kept out of London fauor doubtfull by the barons and citizens.

A peace concluded betweene the barons and the king.

The statutes of Marleberge.

A conuocation held at London by Otobonius the popes legat.

The legat departeth out of England.

Excommunication of all churches by Otobonius the popes legat. Exemptions out of cathedrall and conuentuall churches paid to the popes clerkes.

Pope Clement the fourth dieth.

Pope Gregorie the tenth.

The marriage of Edmund earle of Lancaster.

Edward the king and constable shrined.

The bishop of Norwich consecrated.



tare and rent the house of their law, and burnt the same, and all other writings & obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he sent thither his sonne prince Edward: but as soone as they heard that, they fled into the ile of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarkes as strongly as they might, at euery entrance into the same. This was in the moneth of Aprill, when Edward the kings sonne came thither, who for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no meanes enter the iland, till at length by the counsell of the inhabitants of that province, hee caused with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to conuay away the water: and so long vsed the counsell of them, in making bridges with planks and burdles, till at the last they entred the iland, who as soone as they were entred, the barons fled to London, where they were of the Londoners well entertained. The rest which were in the iland yeelded themselues (amongst whom was Roger Wake, Simon the yonger, and Peches) sauing their liues and members. After this, both the king and Edward his sonne came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the citie by the barons and citizens for the space of foure daies. And Otobonius the legat (who for feare was fled into the tower) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length by the intreatie of the earle of Glocester, and other earls that were his friends, both the barons and citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the kings fauor. And foure bishops and eight other noble men were chosen, such as were at Coventry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the king and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the forme of their peace and ransome. And proclamation was made vpon the feaſt of All saints, of perfect peace and accord throughout all the realme.

In the fifty and two yere of this king Henries raigne, eight daies after the feaſt of S. Martin, he held a parliament at Marleberge, in the yere of our Lord aboue recited, where by the aduice of his wife and discreet men, and with all the consents of the nobles, he ordained and enacted diuers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the ſtate of the realme and execution of common iustice, which are called the statutes of Marleberge.

The same yere vpon S. Gregories day, Otobonius the legat called a councell at London, where were fiue archbishops, and xxiv or xxv bishops, abbots, and other prelats: which councell allo within three daies brake vp againe.

The same yere vpon S. Johns day the Baptiſt, Edward the kings sonne and diuers other noble men of England take vpon them the crosse by the legats hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the holy land, and the subuertion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. Which done, the legat the same yere went out of England, not purposing after that to returne againe. This holy legat (with mine author) which might well be resemibled to Lyne the monstrous beast, whose quicke sight penetrateth euery thing, inrolled to perpetuall memory the valuation of all the churches in the realm of England so narrowly, as by any meanes possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was he that made all the cathedrall and conuentuall churches to pay pensions: so that whole churches might long be vacant for the benefices to their clerks and strangers, should pay vnto them a certaine yerly pension, during the vacancie of the benefices which they should haue.

The same yere died pope Clement the fourth, after whose death the church of Rome was two yeres vacant: and then was chosen an archdeacon cardinall, whose name was Thedaldus, as he was taking his iourny into the holy land, and called him Gregory the tenth.

Then also did Edmund earle of Lancaster and Leicester, and second sonne of king Henry, take to wife the earle of Albemarle his daughter, and the neece of the earle of Glocester: at which marriage was the king and the quéene, and all the nobilitie of England.

The same yere was the body of S. Edward the king and Confessor, by Walter Giffard archbishop of Yorke and other bishops, intombed in a new and rich shrine of gold and siluer, beset with precious stones, in the presence of Henry the king of England. In which yere also fell a great raine and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seene, which increased and continued the space of forty daies and more.

The same yere died Walter de Lalwil, bishop of Sarum, the third day before the nones of Januarie. After whom succéeded Robert of Northhampton, the dean of the same church. And because the sea of Canturbury was then vacant, he was confirmed by the chapter of Canturbury; which chapter had alwaies the iurisdiction in spirituall causes, during the vacancie of that sea, in as ample maner as the bishop himselfe had being aliue. After this, the bishop elect comming thither, thinking to haue had his consecration, was notwithstanding put backe for two causes: one was, for that there was present then no more but one bishop: the other was, for that all the other bishops had appealed, that he might not be consecrated to their preiudice: that is, by the authority of the chapter of Canturburie, saying that they would not be vnder the obedience of the monks.

After



After this, seuerall messengers were for this cause sent to

Then said he: My lords what is this to the purpose? Are

The great re-



gouernors of their land, and that they ought alwaies to shew their ſubiection to the kings of England. Then the christians be-

ſiedly out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and said vnto him: How chéereth your grace? The prouiſe you with

After this, solemne messengers were for this cause sent to the cardinals of Rome, for that then the sea of Rome was vacant: who receiued answer, that during the vacation of that seat: who receiued answer and confirmation of the bishop elect, pertained to the foresaid chapter of Canturbury.

The death and buriall of K. Richard the kings sonne of Almaine at Hailes.

The same yere also was the lord Henry, the son and heire of the lord Richard king of Almaine, and brother to king Henry the third, slaine at Viterbium, in a certaine chapell hearing masse, by the lord Simon and Guido the sonnes of the lord Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester.

During this kings raigne, there was made a great and generall expedition of diuers and sundry christian princes to Hierusalem, taking vpon them the Lords character, that is, the crosse: among whom was also Edward the kings sonne, vnto the which expedition was granted him a subsidie throughout all the realme. And the month of May, the yere of our Lord 1270, or as saith Florilegus, An. 1269, he set forward on his iourney.

Anno 1270.

The death and buriall of Boniface archbishop of Canturbury.

About the time when prince Edward was preparing his iourny, toward Asia, Boniface, of whom ye heard before, the archbishop of Canturbury, ended his life in the country of Sabandia, going bellie to Rome, or comming thence. After whose death the monks of Canturbury proceeding to a new election granted by the king, agreed vpon the prior of their house, named Adam Chelenden. But the king and his seme prince Edward consenting and speaking in the behalfe of Robert Burnel their chancellor, did solicit the matter with the monks, partly intreating, partly threatning them, to chuse the said Robertto be archbishop. Notwithstanding the monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous request, nor yet bow to their boisterous threats, but constantly persisting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the pope. Prince Edward being now on his iourny, and seeing himselfe thus frustrated of the monks, writeth back to the king his father; deuoutly praying and beseeching, in no wise to admit the election of the foresaid monks. And so passing to Douer with Henry, the sonne of Richard his vncle king of Romans, with the 3 bishops, take their passage in the month of August. After this, the prior thus elected, as is foresaid, but not admitted by the king to be archbishop, went by to Rome.

Appellation from the doings cater made by the monks of Canturbury.

Adam Chelenden goeth by to Rome.

In the meane time, the monks in the absence of their elect, ordained one Geffrey Pouncrall to be their officiall, who being himselfe aduanced to that dignity, and bearing backe some old grudge against the prior of Douer, caused him to be cited by to appeare in the chapter house of Canturbury. The prior of Douer being this citation to be preiudicial to him and to the church of Douer, whereas the monks of Canturbury haue no such iurisdiction (the sea of Canturbury being vacant) but that all things appertaining to that church, ought to be reserued whole to the consecration of the new archbishop, therefore, for the state both of him and of his church, he appealed by also vnto Rome. But for want of the archbishops against.

Variance between the officiall of Canturbury, and the prior of Douer.

Appellation to Rome.

The second yere after, Chelenden the foresaid archbishop elect remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned vp his election to the popes hand, being Gregory the tenth; who then gaue the same to Robert Kilwarby. Who then comming to Douer, rested againe the prior of that house, being before excluded vpon certaine causes. By these contentions ouer god reader of the religion of these men, and of these times. And now to returne our former storie.

Adam Chelenden resigneth his election to the pope, who bestowed the same vpon Robert Kilwarby.

The emperor dieth.

About this time came out the great concordance by an English frier, called John Derrington. Ex Eulogio.

It was about declared, how a generall voyage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a subsidie being collected in England vpon the same: prince Edward with others was appointed to take their voiage, and now were toward in their armes. Who at Michelmas following, with his compame came to Sgermouth, which is from Marsilia eight leagues westward: and there taking ship againe (hauing a merrie wind and prosperous) within ten daies arriued at Sunes at Dunicum, where he was with great ioy welcomned and entertained of the christian princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French king, whose father Ludouicus died a little before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings Hanse and Aragon. And as the lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage, was slaine in a chapell at Viterbium hearing masse, by the lord Simon and Guido, the sonnes of the lord Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe and said: The prince of this citie, said they, and the prouince adioining to the same, hath ben accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicilia euery yere. And now, for that the same hath ben for the space of seuen yers vnpaid and more, therefore we thought god to make inuasion vpon him. But the king hearing the same tribute to be iustlie demanded, hath now according to our owne desires fortified for the time past, and also paied his tribute before hand.

Then said he: My lords what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and haue taken vpon vs the Lords character to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should doe so, for now the land is plaine and bare, so that we may approach the holy city Hierusalem. Then said they: How haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawfull for vs to breake the same: but let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past, we may well take shipping to Acra. But this counsell nothing at all liked him, neither did he shew himselfe well pleased therewith: but after that he had made them a princely banket, hee went into his closet or priue chamber from amongst them, neither would he partake of any of that which had many which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next merrie wind take shipping, and for want of ships, left two hundred of their men afhore, crying out and pitiously lamenting for the perill and hazard of death they were in. Where with prince Edward being somewhat moued with compassion, came back to the land, and receiued and bolsted them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboord. Within seuen daies after, they arriued in the kingdome of Sicilia, ouer against the citie Drapes, casting their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burthen, throughly fraught. And from the hauen of the citie they sent out barges and boats to receiue and bring such of the nobilitie to land as would: but for their horses for the most part, and all their armes they kept still within board. At length towards the euening the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mightie, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against another, and sore brused; and drowned there were of them at that tempest lying at anchor, more then an hundred and twentie, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable soules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before likewise perished and was drowned. What the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number thirteen, nay not yet had one man lost thereby, for that, as it may be presupposed, he constrained not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 200, besides the common sailers, there were no more saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise. There was in that ship a good and wise matron (a countesse or an earles wife) who perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the master of the ship, and asked whether in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to saue themselues? Who answered, that to saue the ship it was impossible, but bolt the men that were therein, for he hoped they should not. Then said the countesse,

For the ship force no whit, saue the soules therein, and haue to the double the value of the ship. Who immediatly hoising the sailes, with all force ran the ship a ground to nere the shore as possible was. Thus with the vehemencie of the weather and force he came withall, brast the ship, and saued all that was within the same, as the master of the same ship had shewed and said before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe euen by one vnto their owne lands; onely Edward the kings sonne remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserued. Then prince Edward (renouating his purpose) take shipping againe, and within fiftene daies after Easter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and left there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this, he take with him fiue or seuen thousand souldiers and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth: and thole that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to Acra. Vnto their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some strait or other aduantage, were by the prince premonished thereof, and returning againe vpon them, gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cachboth, which was forty miles from Acra: he marching thither, set vpon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more then a 1000, the rest he put to flight, and take rich spoiles, in marching forward till they came to a straight named Caffrum peregrinorum, situat vpon the sea coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acra. In the meane season, the king of Hierusalem sent vnto the neighbours of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the christians; but they would not come, saying, they would keepe their owne land and gee no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they woon'd come and ioine in aid with him. Who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying, that at his common indement they were bound to doe no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes gouer-

The great expedition made by the Saracens against prince Edward. Ex Gilb. Scala mundi.

The Saracens send to the French king against the Turkes, drawen into many matter.

The discourse of prince Edward to the pope touching.

The messenger searched before he came to the princes presence.

A great ship wracke of the princes ships, being a meruailous number, and a great losse. Nauis Edwardi cum tribus aliis quæ ad Salamonis. Ex Guali. Gisburn. Ex Flor. Ips.

Prince Edward wounded and hurt with an vnaduised stroke by the Turkes messenger.

Prince Edward wounded and his man presented from the emperor.

The interpretation of prince Edwards wounded and recouerie of God.

Prince Edward ordaineth a watch and diligent regard.

The prince in perill of death by reason of his hurt, is comforted of the physicians.



gouernors of their land, and that they ought alwaies to shew their fidelity to the kings of England. Then the christians hearing herewith animated made a third voyage or more, and came as far as the fort called Vincula S. Petri, and to S. Georges: and when they had slaine certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they returned againe from thence they came.

When thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him: they deuised among themselues, how by some policie they might worke him some displeasure. Whereupon, the great emperour of Babylon sent vnto him, fayning himselfe vnder great deceit to become a christian, and that hee would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honorably entertained and vsed of the christians. This tallie pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun, by writing againe vnto also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, saith mine author, was one Excaute nutritus, one of the stony hearted that neither feared God, nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched, according to the manner and custome what weapon and armor he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had vp into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered to the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight daies after Whitsuntide, vpon a tuesday, somewhat before night; at which time the prince was laid vpon his bed bare headed in his kerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

What the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The repoit of these newes by the prince to the standers by liked them well, drawing some what backe to consult thereof amongst themselues. In the meane time, the messenger, kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince (quickly preuenting him) put his hand to the belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters; and suddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince against with his left hand caught him such a blow, that he fell backward to the ground. Whereupon the prince gat him vp by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith in the forehead, and immediatly drawe the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The princes seruants being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the bustling, came with great haste running in. And finding the messenger lying dead on the floor, one of them take vp a stole, and beat out his braines; whereat the prince was wroth, for that he struck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumor hereof, as it was strange, so it some went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people: wherefore they were very heauy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the captaine of the temple, and brought him a costly and pretious drinke against poison, lest the venome of the knife should penetrat the liuely bloud, and in blacking the same. Who when he did not then vpon your grace before of the deceit and subtiltie of this people: perswithstanding, saith he, let your grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound; my life for yours. But straightway the surgeons and physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within a few daies after the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke; whereupon they that were about the prince began to murmur amongst themselues, and were very sad and heauy. Which thing he himselfe perceiuing, said vnto them; Why matter you thus amongst your selues? What see you in me, can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, ye are not afraid. Whereupon one said to him; and like your grace you may bee healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering, saith he againe, restore health? Yea, saith the other, no paine of losing no health. Then said the prince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good. Then said one of the physicians; Is there any of your nobles in whom your grace reposeth speciall trust? To whom the prince answered, yea, naming certaine of the noble men that stood about him. Then said the physician vnto the two whom the prince first named, the lord Edmund, and the lord John Mosile: And doe you also faithfully loue your lord the prince? Who answered both readily. Then saith he; Take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, vntill such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they take her out of the princes presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then said they vnto her; Be ye contented good lady and madam, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season. Then vpon the morrow they cut out all the dead enuenomed flesh out of the princes arme, and their withall from them, and said vnto him: Now therefore your grace may be of good comfort, in these fiue daies you shall haue your selfe abroade (if God permit) vpon your horse backe, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, he came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects. When the great Sodan heard of it, and that the prince was yet aliue, he would scarsly beleeue the same; and sending vnto him three of his nobles and princes, erected hand, the by them, calling his gods to witnesse, that the same was done neither by him, nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings lodge, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground. But (saith the prince) doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an interpreter. Neuertheless, he honorably entreated them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had bene eight & fiue moneths in Acra, he take shipping about the assumption of our lady, as we call it, returning homewards, and after seuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence trauelling through Palestina and Bethnes, and so through the midst of Apulia, all he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honorably entertained, from thence he came into France, where, whole fame and noble prowesse was there much buted among the common people, and enuied of the nobilitie, especially of the earle de Chalons who sent vnto him and required him that he might breake a staffe with him at the tilt in his country. Which thing to doe, for that the prince would not hinderlie his honor and fame (although he might haue well alleaged a sufficient cause and excuse by reason of his trauell) yet he would not, but willingly consented the same: thereupon it was proclaimed, that prince Edward by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all commers at the tilt and barriers. Whereupon great assemblies were made in the country all about, and diuers, as well horsemen as footmen, had comforted amongst themselues and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armors aforehand, and binding one to another in bonds one of the spoile of them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the meane time sent into England for diuers earles and barons, which came vnto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more then one thousand horsemen, which were knights, besides his footmen, but yet there was as many more on the other side both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties should meete, the French footmen which had before espyed, began both to spoile, riffle, and kill. The Englishmen resisted and defended themselues both with bowes and slings, many of them they slew, and draue them to the gates of their citie, the other they chased ouer a riuer, where many of them were drowned. In the meane season the earle with fiftie of his knights which followed him, came forth and ioined together so many for so many, and a long time together they cried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the earle perceiuing himselfe not able to match with him at the armes end enclosed with him, and taking him about the neck, held him with his armes very strait. What meane you my lord, saith the prince? thinke you to haue my horse? Yea marry, quoth the earle; I meane to haue both thee and thy horse. Hereat prince Edward being ashamed, lifted vp himselfe, and gaue him a blow that therewithall he forsaking his horse, hung still about the princes neck, till that hee throwe him off to the ground. Herewith the prince being somewhat in a heat, left the preasse to take the aire, thereby to refresh himselfe. But when he saw the iniurie of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slaine many of them, he then said vnto them, that they vsed rather the exercise of battell, then of tourney. Spare not, saith he (saith he) from henceforth none of them all, but giue them againe as good as they bring. Then they afraied to kill each other fraily on either part, and let their swords walke.

And when by this time the Englishmen were againe returned, and saw the conflict of horsemen and many other Englishmen ouerthrowne, they put themselues amidst the preasse, some punching the horses, some cutting asunder the girths of the Frenchmens saddles, ouerthrew the riders and gaue them hold bread. Then when the foresaid earle was hoised againe by some of his men and amongst the throng, prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and roped against with him: to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yeeld himselfe as vanquished: but th at he would not doe. Finally, when his strength began to faile him, he was fame to yeelde himselfe vnto a simple knight, according as prince Edward him had, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saued themselues. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slaine, and our men returned hauing the victory. But when after this they thought themselues to be quiet and at rest, they were killed by two and by three at once as they went in the streets of the citizens. Which thing when the prince heard he sent for the maior and burgesses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediatly: for otherwise, of his knighthood he assured them, that vpon the morrow he would fire the citie, and make it to well with the ground. Wherewith they

Prince Edward enuenomed.

A counterfeit of the Frenchmen vsed by Englishmen.

Exercise of hard fight in one of Englishmen and Frenchmen.

The victorie of the prince and Englishmen against the earle of Chalons and the Frenchmen.



they went their waies, and set watchmen in diuers places of the

Almaine died at the castell of Berkhamsted, and was buried at the abbay of Hailes, which he built out of the ground. The same

Richard king of Almaine.



and his swoord put vp, without any stroke giuen. And so both returned to their game, good friends againe. Auesb. Nico.

David earle of Huntington, brother to Dauid K. of Scot. in the daies of king Henry the second. This earle Dauid had

they went their waies, and set watchmen in diuers places of the saine to keepe the peace, by which meanes the prince and his men were in safetie & quiet. Thus in this pastime of tourning and barriers, much blod was spilt, wherevpon the name of the place was changed: so that it is not called Torniamentum de Chalons, but Paruum bellum de Chalons.

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the French king honorablie entertained: and after certaine daies, he went from thence into Gascoine, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

In the yere of our Lord 1272, died pope Clement the fourth: after whom succeeded pope Gregory the tenth; who in the next yere following, which was the yere of our Lord 1273, called a generall councell at Lions, about the controuersie betweene the Greeke church and the Latin church, and for the vanite of the sea apostolicall, &c.

Prince Edward made in Gascoine at the time of his fathers decease.

Anno 1272

Pope Clement the fourth dieth.

Pope Gregory the tenth.

## Certaine notes of other occurrents chanced in foren countries abrode, within the compasse of the yeres and raigne of the foresaid king Henry the third.

HAuing thus accomplished the life and history of king Henrie the third, with such accidents as happened within this realme, I thought good to adioine vnto the same some other foren matters not vnworthy the note, incident in other countries during the time of the said king: namelie from the yere of our Lord 1217, vnto this yere 1272, which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that euen from and about the beginning of this kings raigne, sprang vp the verie welsprings of all mischiefe, the seeds of monkish religions and other swarmes of popish orders, which with their grosse and horrible superstitions haue incumbred the church of Christ euer since.

First, to omit the repetition of pope Innocent the third, the great grandsire of that foule monster of antichristian blasphemie and auricular confession, with the friers Dominicke, and Francis-can friers, Thomas Aquinas, Iacobus de Voragine, Vincentius, with pope Honorius the third, corner of the canon law, and the cardinall Hostiensis, as also Bonauenture, Albertus Magnus, with pope Vrban the fourth, first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the sacrament, besides Durandus and many more: followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarians about the yere 1240, issuing out of Muscouia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendome, so much the rather because the princes about Polonia being at variance amongst themselues, vsed none other remedy for their defence, but heaps of masses, innocents of the dead, and worshipping of images, which indeed did nothing relieue them, but rather increase their trouble.

Ex Annalibus Silesiæ. The Tartarians make great spoile in Christendome.

The next yere following, the whole nation of the Scythians (mustering like locustes) inuaded the parts of Europe with two mightie armies; wherof the one entring vpon Polonia, made great hauocke and carried away many christians from thence captiues, the other ouerrunning Hungaria, made no lesse spoile there. Adde hereunto another fresh army of Tartarians, to the number of 500000, who at the verie same time ioining themselues together, entred into Muscouia and Cracouia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sex nor age, noble nor vnnoble within the land. From thence passing to Trattlania, made great spoile there also, and thinking there to win the castel, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and praiers of good people discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thundering and lightning falling vpon them from heauen in most terrible wise.

The Scythians verie like locustes.

The same yere immediatly after Easter, another army of Tartarians were gathered against Lignicium, drawing neere to Germany, by the brute whereof, the Germans being put in great feare, were altogether animated, but yet not able to helpe themselues, by reason they lacked a good guide and gouernor amongst them. All which came to passe, specially by the mischieuous practise of the Romish popes, raising variance & discord among them. Notwithstanding Henry prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did incounter with him: but in fine, his whole army was vanquished, and the king himselfe slaine. Notwithstanding which ouerthrow of christians it pleased God to strike such a feare into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approach any further or nerer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country againe: who recounting their victory by taking each man but one care of euery of the christians that were slaine, found the slaughter so great, as that they filled nine great sacks full of eares. Neuertheless, after this in the yere 1260, the same Tartarians hauing the occasion to their gaines returned againe into Polonia and Cracouia, where in the space of three moneths, they ouerran the land with fire and sword euen to the coasts of Silesia. And had not the princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had vtterly wasted the whole land of Polonia and the coasts thereabouts.

King Henry slaine, and his army vanquished.

Nine sacks full of christians eares being slaine.

This yere also in the moneth of Aprill, Richard king of Almaine died at the castell of Berkhamsted, and was buried at the abbey of Hailes, which he built out of the ground. The same yere also at Norwich there fell a great controuersie betweene the monks and the citizens, about certaine tallages and liberties. At last, after much altercation and wrangling words, the furious rage of the citizens so much increased and preuailed, and so little was the feare of God before their eies, that all together they set vpon the abbey and priory, and burned both the church and bishops palace. When this thing was heard abrode, the people were verie sory to heare of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At the last, king Henry calling to certaine of his lords and barons, sent them to the citie of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest malefactors; insomuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawne by the heeles with horses throughout the streetes of the citie, and after in much misery ended their wretched liues. The same yere Adam the pius of Canturbury, and bishop elect, in the presence of pope Gregory the tenth, refused to be archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the pope gaue the same archbishoprike to frier Robert Kilwardby the prouoll of the preaching friers, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canturbury the fourth day of March, by sir bishops of the same prouince. The same yere also at Michaelmas, the lord Edmund, the sonne of king Richard of Almaine, married the sister of Gilbert earle of Glocester. Also in this yere of our Lord 1273, the sixteenth day before the kalends of December vpon S. Edmunds day, the archbishop and confessor, died king Henry, in the 57 and fifty yer of his raigne, and was buried at Westminster, leauing after him two sons and two daughters, to wit, Edward the prince, and Edmund earle of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the king of Scots. This king Henry in his life time began the building of the church and close at Westminster, but did not throughly finish the same before his death.

Richard king of Almaine died.

A great wind ouerthrew the monks church of Norwich.

Execution done vpon the commandment of king Henry the third.

Adamus pius of Canturbury, refused to be archbishop of Canturbury. Robert Kilwardby archbishop of Canturbury.

Vaine prophecies not to be sought vnto.

## King Edward the first.

IN the time of the death of king Henry, Edward his eldest son was absent in Gascoina, as a little before you heard; yet notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby archbishop of Canturbury, and other bishops and nobles, he was ordained here and successor after his father; who, after he had heard of his fathers death, returned home to his country, and was crowned in the yere of our Lord 1274, who then laid downe his crowne, saying he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the same. This Edward as he had alwaies before been a louing and naturall child to his father, whom he had deliuered out of prison and captiuitie: and afterward hearing both together of the death of his sonne, and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father then for his sonne, saying to the French king (which asked the cause thereof) that the losse of his child was but light: for children might after increase and be multiplied, but the losse of his parent was greater, which could not be recouered: Robert Auesburie. So almighty God for the same his pietie to his father shewed, rewarded him againe with great successe, felicitie, and long raigne: insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at chesse with a certaine souldior of his, suddenly hauing occasion giuen, rose vp and went his way; who was not so some voided the place, but incontinent fell downe a mightie stone from the hault above, directly vpon the place where he sat, able to haue quashed him in peeces. If hee had tarried neuer so little more. In the preseruation of whom, as I see the present hand and mightie prouidence of the liuing God: so in the kings order againe, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension: for that he receiuing such a liuely benefit at the hand of the liuing Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gaue thanks not onely to our Lord, but rather to a rotten blocke. Ibidem. Of the gentle nature of this courageous prince, sufficient proofe is giuen by this one example: that what time he being in his disport of hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell about his hawke; the gentleman being on the other side of the riuer, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the riuer was betweene them. With this answer the courageous blod of this prince being mooued, vpon present heat he leaped straight into the flod, both of a swift stream & of a dangerous deepnesse, and no lesse hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his owne life, or neglecting the danger present, but hauing a good horse, ventureth his owne death to haue the death of his man. At length, with much difficultie recouering the banke, with his sword drawne pursueth his prouoker. Who hauing not so good an horse, and seeing himselfe in danger of taking, reineth his horse, and returning backe barehead vnto the prince, submitteth his necke vnder his hand to strike. The prince, whose feruent stomacke the water of the whole riuer could not quench, a little submission of his man did so fetche that the quarrell fell, his anger ceased, and

Edward the first.

Piteous reuengement rewarded of God. Ex Chron. Tho. Walsingham.

A miracle of God in preserving king Edward.

False worship reprehended. God giueth the benefit, and a dumbe blocke hath the thanks.

Example of princely clemencie to be learned of kings and princes.



Rochens. Nic. Triuet. & Tho. Walsingham.

and his sword put vp, without any stroke giuen. And so both returned to their game, good friends againe. Auesb. Nico. Triuet.

In the first beginning of his raigne, the king had much ado in Wales, where he had diuers conflicts with the Welshmen, whom at last he subdued and cut downe their woods, suppressed rebellions, and vanquishing their kings, Leweline and his brother, ordained his eldest sonne Edward, borne in the same country, to be prince of Wales. This Lewelin captaine of the Welshmen here mentioned, rebelling against king Edward, asked counsell of coniuration, what euent should come vpon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should get Edward boldly, for doubtlesse he should ride through Chepeside at London, with a crowne on his head. Which to came vse at London, with a crowne on his head. Which to came vse at London, with a crowne on his head. Which to came vse

First, that when king Henry the father of this king, receiued aid of Alexander king of Scots in his warres against Simon Mountford, he recognised and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he receiued the same of king Alexander, not of any duty, but of speciall fauor.

Item, when the said king Alexander coming to England, did homage to the said king Henry: he did it not as king of Scotland, but only for certaine lands of Cyndall and Penreth, lying in England.

Item, after the said king Alexander left behind him Margaret his heire, being neere to the king of England, and yet vnder age; yet the tuition of the said Margaret was committed not to the king of England, but to certaine lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreouer, when any legacie was directed downe from Rome to the realme of England, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the sa d legacie toke no place in the realme of Scotland, and might well be resisted (as it was in king Alexanders his daies) except another speciall commission touching the realme of Scotland, were ioyned withall. Whereby it appeareth, these be two seuerall dominions, and not subiect vnder one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdome of Scotland first was conuerted by the reliques of the blessed apostle saint Peter, through the diuine operation of God, to the vnitie of the catholike faith.

Wherefore vpon these causes and reasons, pope Boniface in his letters to the king, required him to giue ouer his claime, and cease his wars against the Scottish nation: And to release all such both of the spirituality and laity, as he had of them prisoners. Also to call home againe his officers and deputies, which he had there placed and ordained to the grieuance of that nation, to the slander of all faithfull people, and no lesse preiudice to the church of Rome. And if he would claime any right or title to the said realme, or any part thereof, he should send vp his procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himselfe alleage, vnto the sea apostolike, there to receiue what reason and right would require.

§ Anno § 1301 §

The king replieth to the pope.

The king, af.er he had receiued these letters of the pope, assembled a councell or parliament at Lincolne: by the aduice of which councell and parliament, he addressed other letters resp nsall to the pope against him, in first all reuerend manner hee desireth him not to giue light eare to the sinister suggestions of false reporters, and imaginers of mischiefe. Then hee declareth out of old records and histories from the first time of the Britaines, that the realme of Scotland hath alwaies from time to time been all one with England, beginning first with Brutus in the time of Helie and Samuel the Prophet: which Brutus comming from Troy to this Ile called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three sonnes: Locrinus, to whom he gaue that part of the land, called then of h m Loegria, now Anglia: Albanactus his second sonne, to whom he gaue Albania, now called Scotia: and his third sonne Camber, to whom he gaue Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

Brutus. Locrinus. Albanactus. Camber.

And thus much concerning the first diuision of this Ile, as in ancient histories is found recorded. In which matter, passing ouer the death of king Humber, the acts of Dunwalde king of this realme, the diuision of Belyn and Brene, the victories of king Arthur, we will resort (saith the king) to more neerer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient authors, as Marianus Scotus, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoro and other. All which make speciall declaration, and giue manifest euidence of the execution of this our right (saith he) and title of superioritie, euer continued and preserued hitherto.

And first to begin with Edward the senior, before the conquest, sonne to Aluredе king of England, about the yeere of our Lord 900. it is plaine and manifest, that he had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marianus Scot writing that story in those daies, granteth, confesseth and testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state 22 yeeres. At which time, Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, hee made one Constantine king of that party, to rule and gouerne the country of Scotland vnder him, adding this princely word: That it was more honour to him to make a king, then to be a king.

Alias 907.

Twenty foure yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 947, Eldred king our progenitor, Athelstanus brother, tooke homage of Irife then king of Scots.

Thirtie yeeres after that, which was the yeere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessour tooke homage of Kynald king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of saint Edward king and martyr, destroied by the deceit of his mother in law, but yet within memory.

Forty yeers after the homage done by Kynald to king Edgar, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, Malcolme the king of Scots did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done, the Scots vttered some peece of their naturall disposition, whereupon (by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor, thirty and nine yeeres after that homage done, that is to say, the yeere of our Lord 1056) Malcolme king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland giuen to Malcolme his sonne by our said progenitor saint Edward, vnto whom the said Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within fortie yeeres after that, William Conqueror entred this realme, whereof hee accounted no perfect conquest, vntill hee had likewise subdued the Scots: and therefore in the said yeere (which was in the yeere of our Lord 1068) the said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said William the Conqueror, as his superiour by conquest king of England.

Twenty and fiue yeers after that, which was the yeer of our Lord 1093, the said Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Rufus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet after that, was for his offences and demerits deposed, and his sonne substituted in his place, who likewise failed in his dutie, and therefore was ordained in that estate by the said William Rufus, Edgar brother to the last Malcolme, and son to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordingly.

Seuen yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1100, the said Edgar king of the Scots, did homage to Henry the first our progenitor.

Thirty seuen yeers after that, Dauid king of Scots did homage to Matild the Emperatrice, as daughter and heire to Henry the first. Wherefore being after required by Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to make his homage: he refused so to doe, because he had before made it to the said Matilde, and thereupon forbare. After which Dauids death, which ensued shortly after, the sonne of the said Dauid made homage to the said king Stephan.

Fourteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1150, William king of Scots, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to Henry the second his sonne, with a reseruation of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

Twentie sue yeeres after that, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their naturall inclination, (king Henry the second then being in Normandy) knowledged finally his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fifteene yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of Scots came to our citie of Canturbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard the first.

Fourteen yeeres after that, the said William did homage to our progenitor king John, vpon a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth vpon the crosse of Hubert, then archbishop of Canturbury, being there present, and a maruellous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Twenty six yeeres after that, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1230, Alexander king of Scots married Margaret the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who raigned in this realme 56 yeeres. And therefore betweene the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to the said king of Scots, to vs at our coronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie yeeres. At which time, the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the said feast of our coronation, and there did hee his dutie as is aforesaid.

¶ **Besides these letters of the king, the lords temporall also in the name of the whole communalte and parliament, wrote another letter to the pope, answering to that, where as the pope arrogated to him to be iudge of the title of the realm of Scotland, which the king of England claimed vnto himselfe: which letter I thought good also here to annex, containing, as in the words of the same here followeth to be read and seene.**

## The lords temporall, and the whole Barony of *England to the pope.*

A letter of the lords temporall to the pope.

THE holy mother church, by whose ministery the catholike sea is gouerned, in her decrees (as wee throughly beleeue and hold) proceedeth with that ripenesse in iudgement, that shee will be hurtfull to none: but like a mother would euery mans right to be kept vnbroken as well in other, as in her selfe. Whereas therefore in a generall parliament called at Lincolne of late by our most dread lord Edward, by the grace of God the noble king of England: the same our lord caused certaine letters receiued from you to be read openly, and to bee declared seriously afore vs, about certaine businesses touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland: wee did not a little muse and maruell with our selues, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange, as the like we haue



haue not heard at any time before. For wee know most holy father, and it is well knowne aswell in this realme of England (as also not vnknowne to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England; the certaine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall causes, from time to time belonged to the kings of the same realme of England, and realme of Scotland: as well in the times both of the Britaines, as also of Englishmen. Yea rather, the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the ancestors of our foresaid lords kings of England, yea and to himselfe. Furthermore, the kings of Scots, and the realme, haue not been vnder any other then the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered, or ought to answere for their rights in the foresaid realme, or for any his temporalities afore any Iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of free preheminence of the state of his royall dignitie and custom kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agreeing and consent with one mind, and shall bee without faile in time to come by Gods grace: that our foresaid lord the king, ought by no meanes to answere in iudgment in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt: nor ought not to send any proctors or messengers to your presence: specially seeing that the premises tend manifestly to the disheriting of the right of the Crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrow of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customs and lawes of our fathers: For the keeping and defence of which wee are bound by the dutie of the oth made. And we will maintaine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength. And further, we will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to doe, or by any meanes to attempt the premises, being so vnaccustomed, vnwont, and not heard of afore. Wherefore, we reuerently and humbly beseech your holinesse, that ye would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world, sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to enioy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes afore said: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnesse whereof wee haue set our seales to these presents, aswell for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foresaid realme of England. Dated at Lincolne in the yeare of our Sauiour 1301. *& anno Edwardi primi* 28.

The pope sendeth all one with England.

§ Anno § 1301 §

The pope setteth king against king.

Ex R. Auesb.

The yeare following, which was from Christ, Anno 1303. the said pope Boniface the eight of that name, taking displeasure with Philip the French king; did excite king Edward of England to warre against him, promising him great aide thereunto. But he (as mine author saith) little trusting the popes false vnstable affection toward him well pyzed before, put him off with delaies. Ex Rob. Auesb. Whereupon, the French king fearing the power of king Edward whom the pope had set against his friendship; restored vnto him againe Wascone, which hee wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance heere mentioned betweene the pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out; the sequell hereof (Christ willing) shall declare, after that first I haue finished the discourse begun betweene England and Scotland.

Another Scottish rebellion suppressed.

In the yeare 1303. the foresaid William Waleis, which had done so many displeasures to the king before (continued still in his rebellion) gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king: till at length, the peare following he was taken, and sent vp to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the king then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the bishop of saint Andrewes, Robert Wise aboue mentioned, earle of Dunbarre, earle of Arles, and sir John Comming, with diuers other: The which voluntarily were sworne to be true to the king of England, and to keepe the land of Scotland to his vse against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Wise, who, as is said, married the second daughter of earle Dauid, forgetting his oth before made vnto the king; within a yeare or two after this, by the counsell of the abbat of Stone, and bishop of saint Andrewes, sent vp vnto pope Clement the fifth, for a dispensation of his oth made: insinuating to him, that king Edward vexed and grieued the realme of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the pope wrote vnto the king, to leaue off such doings. Notwithstanding which inhibition of the pope, the king prosecuting his owne right, after he had the vnderstanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischiefe of Robert Wise, (who had claine with his owne hands sir John Comming, for) not consenting with him and other lords at his parliament) arrered his power and strength of men, preparing himselfe toward Scotland: where he forning with the said sir Robert of them were slaine to the number of 7. thousand. In the which victorie, such bishops and abbats as were taken, he sent them to the pope; the temporall lords and other Scots hee

The pope disperseth both the and true obedience of subiects to their prince.

The popes inhibition neglected in England.

Another rebellion of the Scots repressed.

sent vnto London, &c. Sir Robert Wiseaker this discomfiture, when hee had thus lost both the field and chiefe friends, seeing himselfe not able to make his partie good, fled into Norwaie, where hee kept his abode during the time while king Edward liued. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yeelded thanks to God for his victorie, and so setting the land in a quiet, and an order, hee returned vnto London, which was the 35. yeare and last of his reigne, &c.

Pope Boniface the eight of that name.

Th. Scots againe subdued.

A grieuous variance betweene Philip the French king and pope Boniface.

Pope Nicolas the 4. Pope come vacant two yeers.

Pope Celestine 5.

Celestine tempted many pop o s to cardinals. *Ex Matteo.*

Pope Boniface 8.

Celestine resigneth the popedome. *Ex Matteo.*

Celestine's two factions in Rome.

Guelphes and Gibellines two factions in Rome.

Iubile first began in Rome.

The pope exalteth and pulleth down princes at his pleasure.

Pope Boniface 8 author of the book of decretales.

Now returning to that which I promised before touching the variance and grieuous dissention betweene Philip the French king, and pope Boniface the eight of that name: After the bishoppike of Rome had been long voide through the dissention of the cardinals, for the space of two yeares and three moneths; at length, pope Celestinus was chosen successor to pope Nicolas the fourth. Which Celestinus in his first consistorie, began to reforme the clergie of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches. Wherefore, he procured to himselfe such a hatred among his clergie men, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a reed by his chamber wall nightly admonished him, as if had been a voice from heauen, that he should giue ouer his papacie, as being a burthen bigger then hee could wield.

This pope Celestine after hee had sat sir moneths, by the treacherie and fallhood of this Boniface, was induced to giue vp and resigne his bishoppike, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for feare: being told of certaine craftie suborned in his chamber, that if hee did not resigne, hee should lose his life. Who then after his resignation going to liue in some solitarie desert (being a simple man) was vilely taken and thrust into perpetuall prison by pope Boniface: craftilie pretending that hee did it not for any hatred vnto Celestine, but that seditious persons might not haue him as their head to raise vp some stirre in the church. And so was brought to his death. Wherefore, this Boniface was worthilie called the 8 Nero: of whom it was rightly said, He came in like a Fox, he reigned like a Lion, and died like a dog.

This pope Boniface succeeding, or rather inuading after Celestinus, behaued himselfe so imperiously, that hee put downe princes, excommunicated kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Diuers of his cardinals he draue away for feare, some of them as schismatikes hee deposed and spoiled them of all their substance. Philip the French king hee excommunicated, for not suffering his money to goe out of the realme, and therefore cursed both his and him, to the fourth generation. Albertus the emperour not once nor twice, but thrice sought at his hands to bee confirmed, and yet was refused, neither could obtaine vnlesse first vnto promise to driue the French king out of his realme.

In the factious discord in Italie between the Guelphs and Gibellines, which the part of a good bishop had beene to extinct; so little he helped to quench the smoake, that hee of all other was chiefest firebrand to increase the flame. Insomuch that vpon Ashwednesday, when Portchetus an archbishop came and kneeled downe before him to receiue his ashes; pope Boniface looking vpon him, and perceiuing that hee was one of the Gibellines pari, cast his handfull of ashes in his eyes, saying: Memento homo quòd Gibellinus es, &c. That is: Remember man that a Gibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt goe. This pope moreouer ordained first the Iubile in Rome: in the solemnizing whereof, the first day hee shewed himselfe in his Pontificalibus, and gaue free remission of sinnes to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The second day (being arrayed with imperiall ensignes) he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice: Ecce potestatem vtriusque gladij: That is, Lo heere the power and authoritie of both the swords, &c.

From the which very peare (as most stories doe record) the Turkes doe begin the first count of their Turkish emperours, whereof the first was Ottomannus, as you shall heare discoursed hereafter by Gods grace in the historie of the Turks.

By this said pope Boniface, diuers constitutions extrauagants of his predecessors were collected together, with many of his owne newly added thereto, so made the booke called Sextus decretalium, &c. By whom also first sprang vp pardons and indulgences from Rome.

These things thus premised of Boniface the pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife betweene him, and the French king. Concerning which matter, first I find in the historie of Nicolas Triuet, that in the peare of our Lord, 1301. the bishop of Oppanuham being accused for a conspiracie against the French king, was brought vp to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope hearing this, sendeth word to the king by his legat to set him at liberte. The French king not daring to the contrarie, loosed the bishop. When hee had done, hee discharged both the bishop and the legat, commanding them to voide his realme. Whereupon pope Boniface reuoketh all the graces and priuiledges granted either by him or his predecessors before time vnto the kings of France: also not long after thundring out

Romish parliaments first begun by pope Boniface.

*Ex Hist. Nic. Triuet.*

Philip the French king excommunicated.

the sentence of his curse against him. Moreouer, citeth all the prelats, all diuines, and lawyers both ciuill and canon, to appeare personally before him at Rome, at a certaine day, which was the first of Nouember. Against this citation, the king ageine prouideth and commandeth by strait proclamation, that no maner of person should export out of the realme of France either gold, or siluer, or any other maner of ware or merchandise, vpon forfeiting al their goods, and their bodies at the kings pleasure: prouiding withall, the waies and passages diligently to be kept, that none might passe vnsearched. Ouer and besides, the said French king defeated the pope in giuing and bestowing prebends, and benefices, and other ecclesiasticall liuings, contrarie to the popes profit. For the which cause, the pope inciteth to the foresaid king in forme & effect as followeth.

## Boniface bishop and seruant to Gods seruants,
*to his beloued son Philip, by the grace of God, king of*
France, greeting and Apostolicall blessing.

For S. Stephans seruice.

BOniface the seruant of Gods seruants, &c. feare God, and obserue his commandements. We will thee to vnderstand, that thou art subiect to vs both in spirituall things, and temporall. And that no gift of benefices or prebends belongeth to thee: and if thou haue the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reserue the profits of them to the successors. But if thou haue giuen any, we iudge the gift to be void, and call backe how far soeuer thou hast gone forward. And whosoeuer beleeueth otherwise, we iudge them hereticks.

Vnto this letter of the pope, king Philip maketh answere againe in maner and order as followeth, which is this.

## Philip by the grace of God king of France,
*to Boniface not in deeds, behauing himselfe*
for pope, little friendship or none.

A letter of king Philip of France to pope Boniface.

TO Boniface bearing himselfe for chiefe bishop, little health or none. Let thy foolishnesse know, that in temporall things we are subiect to no man, and that the gifts of prebends, and benefices made and to bee made by vs were and shall bee good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the possessor of the said benefices, and we thinke them that beleeue or thinke otherwise, fooles and mad men. Giuen at Paris the wednesday after Candlemas, 1301.

After these aforesaid and other writings passing to and fro, betweene the French king and the Pope: within a peare and a halfe after, the king summoneth a parliament, sending vnto his letters to his sheriffes and other officers to summon the prelats and barons of the realme, vnto the said court of parliament, according to the tenor of the kings letters here following.

A parliament summoned by K. Philip at Paris.

PHilip by the grace of God king of France, &c. Whereas we would take counsell with the prelats, barons, and other our faithfull, about waighties matters and hard, and such as belong greatly to our right and touching our honor, state, liberties and lawes of this our realme, churches, and ecclesiasticall persons, and would also go forward and proceed in the foresaid matters according to their counsell: Wee command you, that ye diligently in our behalfe require and straitly charge all the prelats in your bailiwicke, and also all and singuler abbats and priors of the same your foresaid bailiwicke, (to certaine of the which we haue directed downe our speciall letters for the same cause) that as they fauour our honor, the good state both of the realme, of themselues, and of the church, they repaire to vs in their owne persons, all lets and delaies set aside, and all other businesse left off. Shewing to them moreouer, that wee can iudge none of them to be either to vs faithfull subiects, or friends to the realm, which shall faile herein, or withdraw himselfe in the foresaid businesse, counsels, and helpes in time. Wherein if peraduenture any shall slacke or refuse to resort and come toward vs within eight daies from the time of this charge giuen by you, or your commandement: That then, you to seise all his temporall goods into our hand, and so seised to hold them vntill you receiue other commandement from vs. Giuen at Paris the monday before the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, in the yeare of our Lord 1303.

## A declaration of master William Nagareta,
*made against Pope Boniface the eight, with his*
appellation also made at Paris, afore
the king and his counsell in the
*church of Paris.*

The appeale of Nagareta made against pope Boniface the 8.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of our Lord 1303. Indictione secunda, the 12 day of March, and the ninth yeere of the popedome of the most holy father the L. Boniface the 8. by Gods prouidence pope; and in the presence of 1 common notaries, and witnesses written vnder, the nob man master William Nagareta knight (a worshipful professour of the lawes) standing afore the most excellent prince the lord Philip, by the grace of God most noble king of France; spake with lowly words, and gaue in writing these things that follow.

Ex Regist.

There haue been false prophets among the people, as there haue been also among you false teachers, &c. Saint Peter the glorious prince of the Apostles, speaking to vs by the spirit, told vs things to come: that likewise as there were false prophets aforetime, so there should come among you false teachers, bringing in sects of destruction: by the which the way of truth shall be defaced: and couetousie they shall make merchandise of you with fained words; and further addeth, that such masters did follow the way of Balaam, of Bosor, which loued the reward of wickednesse, and had his bridled Asse to correct his madnesse, which speaking in a mans voice did stop the foolishnes of the Prophet. All which things as they be shewed to vs by the greatest Patriarch himselfe: your eyes see them fulfilled this day according to the letter. For there sitteth in saint Peters chaire the master of lies, causing himselfe to be called Boniface i. a well-doer, where he is notable in all kind of euill doing, and so both he hath taken to himselfe a false name; and where he is not a true ruler and master, he calleth himselfe the lord, iudge, and master of all men. And comming in contrarie to the common order appointed by the holy fathers, and also contrarie to the rules of reason, and so not entring in at the dore into the Lords sheepefold, is not a shepheard nor hireling, but rather a theefe and robber. For he (the true husband of the Romish church yet liuing) deceiued him that was delighted in simplicitie, and enticed him with fained flatterings and gifts to let him haue his spouse to bee his wife, against truth, which is eieth: Those whom God hath coupled, let no man separate: and at length laying violent hands vpon him, persuading him fally that thing which the deceiuer said to come from the holy spirit; was not ashamed to ioyne to himselfe with wicked practise that holy church, which is mistresse of all churches, calling himselfe to her husband, whereas he cannot bee: for Celestinus the true Romish bishop, agreed not to the said diuorce, being deceiued by so great subtiltie; nothing is so contrarie to agreeing as errour and deceit, as mans lawes beare witnesse, that I need not to speake of his violence. But because the spirit inspireth where he will, and he that is led with the spirit, is not vnder the law, the holy vniuersall church of God, not knowing the crafts of the deceiuer, stumbling and doubting whether it came from the holy Ghost that Celestinus should leaue off his gouernment, and the sinnes of the people deseruing it, for feare of a schisme, suffered the foresaid deceiuer: although according to the doctrine of our Lord, by his fruits hee might be knowne, whether he came to the said regiment by the holy Ghost or otherwise: his fruits (as it is plainely here written beneath) are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparant to the world, that hee came not in by God but otherwaies: and so came not in by the sheepefold. His fruits are most wicked, and his end is death, and therefore it is necessarie that so euill a tree (according to the Lords saying) should be cut downe and cast into the fire. This cannot auaile to his excuse, which is faid of some men, that is, that the cardinals did agree vpon him againe, after the death of the said Celestinus the pope, seeing he could not bee her husband, whom it is manifest that he defiled by adultery, her first husband yet liuing, and shee being worthie to haue the promise of mariage kept vnto her: therefore, because that which is done against the Lord, turneth to the wrong of all men: and specially in so great a mischiefe, by reason of the consequence by which shee is iudged of the people both a woman adultres or defamed: I, like a bridled Asse by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, being not able to beare so great a burthen, take in hand to rebuke the madnesse of the said false prophet Balaam, which at the instance of king Balac, 1. of the prince of diuels, whom he seeueth, and ready to curse the people blessed of the Lord, I beseech you most excellent prince, and lord Philip by the grace of God king of France: that like as the angell of God in time past met in the way with a sword drawne, the prophet Balaam going to curse Gods people: so you (which are vnwilling to execute iustice; and therefore like the angell of the Lord, and minister of power and office) would meet with a naked sword this said wicked man, which is far worse then Balaam, that he performe not that euill which he intendeth to the people.

An inuection against the placing of Boniface 8. in the papall seate.

The pope likened to Balaam which was wont to curse Gods people for reward of money.

Articles propounded against pope Boniface.

Firſt, I propound that the foresaid man, that nameth himselfe Boniface, is no pope, but wrongfully keepeth the seate which he hath indeed to the great dammage of all the soules of Gods holy church. I say also, that his entring was many waies faultie, and he entred not in at the dore, but otherwaies, and therefore is to be iudged a theefe and a robber.

2 I propound also, that the said Boniface is a manifest heretike and vtterly cut off from the body of the holy church, because of many kinds of heresies, which are to bee declared in conuenient time and place.

3 I propound also, that the said Boniface is an horible simonicall, and such a one as hath not been sithence the beginning of the world: and the mischiefe of this sin in him is so notorious to all the world (which thing is manifest to all that will plainely vnderstand) insomuch that he being openly slandered, said openly that he could not commit simony.

4 I



The nature of this pope and all popes by his image painted out.

4 I propound also, that the said Boniface being wrapt in infinite manifest hainous sinnes, is so hardened in them, that he is vtterly not possible to be corrected: and lying in danger of mischiefe so deepe, that hee may not bee suffered any longer without the ouerthrow of the state of the church. His mouth is full of cursing, his feet and steps are swift to shed blood. He vtterly teareth in pieces the churches, which he ought to cherish, wasting wickedly the goods of the poore, and making much of wicked men that giue him rewards: persecuting the righteous, and among the people not gathering but scattering, bringing in new sects of destruction that haue not been heard of. Blaspheming the way of truth, and by robberie thinking himselfe equall to the Lord Iesus Christ which is blessed for euer. And he being most couetous thirsteth for gold, coueteth gold, and by some deuice getteth gold of euery people: and vtterly not regarding the worshipping of God, with fained words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes by threatning, sometimes by false teaching, and all to get money withall, he maketh merchandise of vs all; enuying all things but his owne, louing no man, nourishing warre, persecuting and hating the peace of his subiects. Lyre is rooted in all vnspeakeable sinnes, contraying and striuing against all the waies and doctrines of the Lord. He is truely the abomination of the people which Daniel the Lords prophet described.

The pope thinks himselfe equall with Christ.

Abominatio desolationis Papæ.

Therefore I answere, that lawes, weapons, and all the elements ought to rise against him, which thus ouerthroweth the state of the church; for whose sins God plagueth the whole world. And finally, nothing remaineth to him being so insatiable to satisfie him withall, but onely the insatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot bee quenched, continuing for euer. Therefore, seeing that in a generall councell it is determined, and I see this wicked man to be damned, which offendeth both God and all men: I aske and require, as instantly as I can, and beseech you my lord and king aforesaid, that ye would declare to the prelats, doctors, people, and princes your brethren in Christ, and chiefly to the cardinals and all prelats, and call a Councell. In the which (since this foresaid wicked man is condemned) by the worshipfull Cardinals; the church may be prouided of a shepheard: and so that Councell I offer my selfe readie, lawfully to pursue the foresaid things. And whereas the said man being in the highest dignitie, in the meane time cannot be suspended of his superior, therefore hee ought to bee taken, suspended indeed for the things aforesaid, seeing his state is called into iudgement, by the meanes aforesaid.

I beseech and require the said cardinals by you, and I presently require them and the church of God, that this wicked man being put in prison, the Church of Rome may bee prouided of a vicar, which may minister those things that shall appertaine, vntill the church of God be prouided of a bishop, vtterly to take away all occasion of a schisme. And lest the said wicked man should let and hinder the prosecuting thereof, I require these things of you my lord king aforesaid, affirming you to bee bound to doe this for many causes. Firſt, for the faiths sake. Secondly, for your kingly dignitie, to whose office it belongeth to rent out such wicked men. Thirdly, for your oth sake, which ye made for the defence of the Churches of your Realme, which the foresaid rauener vtterly teareth in pieces. Fourthly, because ye be the patron of the Churches, and therefore yee are not bound onely to the defence of them, but to the calling for againe of their goods, which the foresaid man hath wasted. Frithly, ye following the footesteps of your ancestors, ought to deliuer your mother the Romish church, from so wicked a band, wherein by oppression shee is tied and bound. I require that a publike instrument may be made of these requests by the notaries here present, vnder the witnesse of the worshipfull men that be here present. These things were done and spoken as is aforesaid at Paris in the Kings house of Lupara.

After this protestation of master Nagareta, immediately insued the appeale of the king, pronounced and published against the said Boniface, in forme as followeth.

## The appeale made by the king and the louers
*of the realme against Boniface.*

The appellation of the French K. and Nobles against pope Boniface 8.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeare of our Lord 1303. *Indictione prima*, 13. day of June, and the ninth yeare of the popedome of Boniface pope the 8. By the tenor of this publike instrument bee it vnto all men knowne, that the most noble prince and lord Philip by the grace of God, king of France, the famous and reuerend fathers in Christ, archbishop and bishops, religious men, abbats and priors here vndernamed, in the presence of vs common Notaries here vnder written, especially called and required for this purpose, as it is contained in the subscriptions here vnder, the famous and noble men, the lord Lewes, sonne of the French K. Guido of S. Paul, and Iohn Diocem carles, and William of Plesiano lord of Vitenob knight: Moued as they said with a feruent faith, with affection of sincere loue and zeale of charitie to bee shewed to the holy Romish church, and hauing pitie from their heart, on their mother the vniuersall church, which, as they said, is oppressed dangerously vnder the rule of the said lord Boniface, and suffereth outragious defacing and losse: and pitying the right faith (as they say) in which stands the saluation of soules, and which (alasse for pitie) in their times miserablie pineth away, and perisheth for the lacke of wholesome gouernment of the church through all christendome: and earnestly taking paines, as they said, for the repairing and enhansing of the catholike faith: especially seeing it was necessarie for the same church, for the foundation of the faith, and health of the soules, that none should rule the fold of the Lords flocke, but the true and lawfull sheepheard: and also because the same church was the spouse of Christ that hath no spot nor wrinkle, all errour, offence, wickednesse and wrong should be put away, and saluation, peace and quietnes through Gods mercie might bee procured to the whole world, which, they say, lyeth in warres and darkenesse by the wicked deeds, cursed workes, and hurtfull examples of the said Boniface: They said and laid against the said Boniface, heresie, and other diuers horrible and cursed faults, wherein they affirmed him to be tangled, and commonly and notoriously reported, the king himselfe being present, with archbishops, bishops, and other prelats and churchmen (which were assembled for to intreate of their own matters, and matters of their churches) beside barons, earles, and other noble men, whose names are vnder written.

The said William propounded and obiected against him, swearing by the holy Gospell of God which hee corporallie touched, that he could proue all and euery the premises to be true. And the said William of Plesiano sware further this oth, that hee beleeued hee could proue the premises, and that hee would pursue to the full end against the said Boniface in the generall Councell, where, when, and afore whomsoeuer of right it ought to be done; requiring earnestly the said lord K. as a champion of the faith, and defender of the church; that for declaring of this truth to the praise of Gods name, to the increase and promoting of the catholike faith, to the honour and wealth of the vniuersall church and of all christian people, and the congregation of the said generall Councell; that he would helpe and bestow his profitable labour, with souldiers and other like, for the loue of men, and zeale to iustice (because his kingly house was euer a ruler of the truth) and that he would earnestly require the archbishops, bishops, and other prelats, and that hee would be effectually instant with them. The earles and knights themselues besought earnestly many of the same prelats (as they were pillers of the church and the faith) that they would helpe and effectually bestow their labour to the calling and assembling of the said councell, by all waies and meanes lawfull, according to the ordinances of the holy fathers and decrees of the canons. But when the prelats heard and fully vnderstood such obiections, oppositions, and requests, as is aforesaid; and considered that such a matter not onely was most hard, but needed wise counsell, they departed out of the same place. But on the Friday next following, the 14 day of the same moneth of Iune, the foresaid lord king being present, and also the lords, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and many witnesses here vnder written the same time being present, and in the presence of vs common notaries here subscribed, and being specially called and required for this purpose: the foresaid William of Plesiano knight said, propounded, affirmed, obiected, and read, as was contained more fully in a certaine paper which hee held in his hand, whose tenor was after this sort.

Pope Boniface had rather be a dog then a Frenchman.

I William of Plesiano knight, say, propound, and affirme, that Boniface which now ruleth the Apostolicall see is a manifest heretike in heresies, and by heresies, outragious deeds, and wicked doctrines hereafter to be declared, which things to bee true, I beleeue I am able to proue: or else, such things as these shall be sufficient to proue him a full heretike, in a conuenient place and time, and afore whom of right this can or ought to be done. This thing I sweare on the holy Gospell of God presently touched of me.

Firſt, that hee beleeueth not the immortalitie of men and of christian soules, but thinking much like as the Sadducees did beleeue, that there is no euerlasting life, and that men can not get at the length ioy, but all the lot and part of comfort and gladnesse to be in this world: and by this meanes hee affirmeth, that it is no sinne for the body to liue daintily in all daintes. And out of the abundance of this leuen he was not ashamed to say and openly to confesse, that hee had rather bee an asse or a dogge, or any other brute beast, then a French man; which thing hee would not haue said, if hee beleeued a Frenchman had a soule that could enioy euerlasting life. This thing hee taught many men, which knowledged this at the point of death, and the common report goeth on him thus in these things.

2 Also, he beleeueth not faithfully, that by the words ordained of Christ, and spoken ouer the host, after the fashion of the church by a faithfull priest that is lawfully ordered, the body of Christ to be there: & therefore it commeth to passe, that hee

giueth no reuerence to it (no not a little) when it is lifted vp of the priest, yea he riseth not to it, but turneth his backe to it, and makes himselfe and his seat to be honored where he sitteth, rather then the altar where the hoste is consecrate: and hee is commonly reported to doe this.

3 Also, hee is reported to say that whoredome is no sin, no more then rubbing of the hands together, and thus commonly runs the voice and brute.

4 Also, hee said often, that to driue downe the king and Frenchmen if it could not be otherwaies done) he would ouerthrow himselfe, the whole world, and the whole Church. And when he had said so, some that stood by said, God forbid, he answered God grant. And when good men that heard the words replied against him, that hee should not say so, because the Church of God and all Christian men should suffer great slander so: he answered, I care not what slanders soeuer come, so that the Frenchmen and their pride bee destroyed: for it is necessarie that slanders and offences come.

5 Item, he called againe and allowed a booke made by M. Arnold of Newton, containing and smelling of heresie, condemned by the bishop of Paris and reproued by the masters of diuinitie, and burned openly by Boniface himselfe; and in the full consistorie of Cardinals being likewise reproued, condemned and burned, yet he allowed it being written againe, and containing the same fault.

6 Item, that hee might make the most damnable remembrance of him perpetuall, hee caused his images of siluer to be set in the Church, by this meanes bringing men to Idolatrie.

7 Item, he hath a priuate diuell, whose counsell he vseth in all things, and through all things.

8 Item, he said once that if all men were on one side, and he on another, they could not preuaile him neither in law nor in deed, which thing could not be done except hee vsed a diuelish Art: and of this he is openly thus reported.

9 Item, hee is a witch, asking counsell at such sayers both men and women, and thus he is commonly iudged.

10 Item, he said openly, that the Romish pope could not commit simony, which is heretical to say. This is a sinne reproued as well in the old Testament, as in the new, and generally in the holy Councels. Also he is wont to make merchandise of prelats liuings, dignities, superiorities, and benefices, to the which holy orders bee necessarilie ioyned: and of absolutions and dispensations, like as diuers and merchants vse to buy and sell common things in the market, and of this the common brute reports him.

11 Item, he letteth with all his might among Christian men the speciall embassade of Christ, made to his owne serues, saying: Peace I leaue to you, and so doth discord and warre: Wherefore once it was said afore him, that certaine parties would friendly agree after a good sort, but hee let it to the peace: and when the other part did humbly beseech him, that he would giue licence to agree (he said) he would not: yea if the sonne of God or Peter the Apostle would come downe into the earth and command him; he would say, I will not beleeue thee.

12 Item, because the French nation (being manifestly a most Christian nation) followeth not his errours in the faith: he reckoneth and openly calleth all and euery of them Paterniani.

13 Item, he is infect with sodomitical sinne, keeping with him boyes for Concubines, and of this fault hee is most commonly and openly reported.

14 Item, he hath caused many murthers of clerkes to bee done in his presence, and commending it reioycing at their death: and if they were not deadly wounded at the first by his seruants, as oft as he saw them smiting, he said, smite, smite: by which example many were slaine.

15 Item, when he had condemned a certaine Noble man, he forbad the Sacrament to be giuen him at the point of death, desiring it and being penitent: saying, that the Sacrament of penitence was not necessarie to saluation.

16 Item, he compelled certaine priests to shew vnto him the confessions of men, and bee published them openly afterward contrarie to the will of them that were confessed, to their shame and confusion, and compelled them to redeeme their sinnes. Insomuch that once hee deposed a certaine Bishop of Spaine, for the faults that hee confessed to a certaine Cardinall, confessing vnto him a certaine priuie horrible fault vnder Benedicite, and compelled the Cardinall against his will to declare his confession: and yet afterward hee restored the same Bishop againe to his place for a little money. Wherefore he is thought to play the heretike in the Sacrament of penance.

17 Item, he faseth not on the fasting daies, nor Lent, but eateth flesh indifferently, and without cause suffereth his household and friends to eate, saying, it is no sinne. Doing in this thing against the generall state of the holy church.

18 Item, hee oppressed the order of the Cardinals, and hath oppressed the order of blacke and white monks, of gray Friers and preachers: and said oft, that the world was destroyed by them, and that they were false hypocrites, and that neuer god could chance into any that would bee professed to them, or would be familiar with them, or would keepe them in their house, and he neuer said good word of any prelate, religious man, or clerke: but euer rebuketh and slandereth them, taking away their good name, and to compell them to redeeme their faults, he is glad of their accusations: and this is the common voice and report of him.

19 Item, of old time hee going about to destroy the faith, conceiued a hate against the French king, euen to the abhorring of the faith: because of the light of faith which is there, and because of the great witnesse and example of Christianitie, as hath been there. And before hee had this state he is proued to haue said, that if hee were Pope, hee would ouerthrow and destroie the Nation, which he called the pride of the French.

20 Also, he is reported, that when the Embassadors of the king of England, in the name of the said king did require and intreat for the tenth of the Realme of England to bee giuen him: hee answered, that hee would not giue them the tenth, but on this condition, that he would make war with them against the French King. And besides this, he is reported to haue giuen great summes of money to certaine persons, to hinder that peace should not bee betwixt the saide kings. He himselfe also with all his might hath letted it, by messengers, letters, and otherwaies that he could, yea by giuing bribes.

21 Item, he is reported also to haue commanded Fridericke which keepeth the Ile of Cicill, that if he would betray Charles the king and breake the peace which he made, and sweare that he would keepe with him, and would stir against the king, and kill the Frenchmen: that then hee would giue him aide, helpe and counsell, and so in doing he would giue and grant him the said kingdomes.

22 He constrained to the king of Almaine to be Emperor, and said openlie that he did it to destroy the nation, which he calleth the pride of the Frenchmen: which say, that they are subiect to none in temporall things. Wherein saith he, they lied on their heads, declaring moreouer, that whosoeuer (yea if it were an angell from heauen) would say, that all kings of the world were not subiect to the same king of Almaine, he were accursed. Pope Boniface enmitie to the Frenchmen.

23 Further, he brake the agreements of peace betwixt the king of Almaine and the French king: in which, either of them should haue their owne saued. And what enrochings soeuer had been on either side, should be brought to a due state, and vnder an oath ouerlie giuen and taken: hee is reported to haue commanded the same king of Almaine, that he should not keepe these conditions of peace, but be an enemie, and goe about to sow debate among christian men. Pope Boniface an enemie to peace.

24 Item, he is openlie reported, that the holie land was betrayed through his fault, and came to the enemies of God and of faith: and that he suffered this for the nonce, and denied to giue aide to the christians which defended it: spending the treasures and money of the Church (which should haue been bestowed on that vse as the patrimonie of Christ) in persecuting of faithfull Christians and friends of the Church, and therewith would enrich his friends.

25 Item, he is openlie reported to vse simonie, not onely in bestowing of benefices, but in giuing of orders, and making dispensations. He hath set to sale all benefices of the church, and would bestow the church commonly on him that would offer most: and he made his seruants prelats of the church, not for wealth of the faith, nor to driue downe infidels, but to oppresse the faithfull, and to enrich his kindred by the Church goods and of the patrimonie of him that was crucified: and presumed to make them Marquesses, Earles, and Barons, and was not afraid to build them strong holds, rooting out and oppressing many noble men and other.

26 Item, it is commonlie reported, that he hath diuorced many marriages lawfullie made, to the contempt, hurt, and slander of many: and he did promote his nephew to a cardinallship, being married, vnlearned, and altogether vnworthie to liue; and openlie married one that was diuorced, and compelled him to make a bois of chastitie, and after that he is reported to haue had two bastards by her, and so goeth the common brute of him.

27 Item, he is commonlie reported, that he handled vngentile his Predecessour Celestinus of holie memorie, leading a holie life (peraduenture knowing in conscience that he could not forsake his Popedome, and therefore Boniface himselfe had no lawfull entrance to the Seat) and prisoned him, and there quicklie and priuie caused him to die. And of this the common brute and report is through all the world, that he caused many and great learned men hating a regular life (which disprised of this, whether hee might renounce the Popedome or not) to be set in prison, and there to die. Pope Boniface murderer of his predecessor.

28 Item, he is reported to haue railed at religious persons leading a regular life, without a reasonable cause to the world, to the slander of many.

29 Item, he is reported to haue said that he would within short time make all the Frenchmen either Martyrs, or forsakers of their faith.

30 Item,



30 Item, he is commonlie reported, that he seeketh not the health of the soules, but the destruction of them.

These things being propounded and read, the same William protested, said, declared, appealed, and added these words, reading them in writing:

The protestation of William Plesiano.

I William of Plesiano knight, protest that I do not propound nor speake the foresaid things for any speciall hate of Boniface himselfe (for I hate not him, but his foresaid euill deeds) nor I seeke not his infamie nor slander, nor any mans else: but I speake it for the zeale of the faith, and for the reuerence that I haue to the holie church of God, and the holie Romish see, as well for those things that I haue seene and heard of credible men of his doings, and by likelie presumptions gathered of the foresaid things, and many diuers other things to be declared in his due place and time. And I sweare by the holie Gospell of God (which I touch with my hand) that I beleeue him to be a ranke heretike, and that I also beleeue that the foresaid things and such other, may preuaile against him according to the state of the holie fathers. I sweare also that I will pursue against him by the lawes, the foresaid things in the generall councell that shall bee assembled, in a place that shall be safe and sure for me, to the honour of God, and increase of the christian faith, hauing the right honour & state of the holie Apostolicall see, in all things. Wherefore, earnestlie and with reuerence, I require you my lord the king (to whom belongeth the defence of the holie mother the Church, and the catholike faith, for of that pe shall make account in the last iudgement) and you my lords the Prelates which be the pillers of the faith, and which ought to be iudges of the foresaid things, together with other reuerend fathers, the catholike prelates of the holie church, in the generall councell to be assembled: that ye would prepare and take diligent paine that a generall councell may be gathered in a fit and safe place, and conuenient time, afore which the foresaid things may be propounded, brought forth, and proued against the said Boniface, as is premised. And I earnestlie also require you my lord king, that ye would require the same prelats present and absent, in what countrey soeuer they be, to whom it belongeth: and that ye would effectuallie induce them manfullie to labour, and to require other faithfullie, that the foresaid councell for the foresaid matters might be gathered in such sort as is aforesaid. And because so long as this is deferred to proue, I suspect Boniface himselfe, lest hee seeing angrie and moued for the foresaid things against me and my partakers, procurers and helpers, my friends and familiars, should goe about by some meanes, subtlie to stop and stop my good purpose and theirs by going forward: therefore, by these writings afore you my lord the King, and diuers Prelates, and afore your common notaries here present, I protest and appeale to the said holie generall councell Apostolicall and catholike that shall be, and to the holie apostolicall see, and to him and them to whom of right I may or ought: and I earnestlie require, once, twice, and thrise, and of testimoniall letters may be giuen me from you: supposing my selfe, my followers, fauourers, familiars, friends, my procurers, and all them that will hereafter follow me, my goods and theirs to be vnder the protection and keeping of saint Peter and Paul, and the said holie councell to be assembled by the holie Romish see, and the Catholike Apostolicall pope that shall bee: sticking neuertheless and willing to stand to the appellation and appellations, protests and processes made hereupon, by the noble man master William of Nagareta knight, in as much as they shall be found and made lawfull, and yet not forsaking this present appellation.

When these things were thus read and done, the foresaid king answered and required the foresaid prelats, prouoking and appealing and making request, prouocation and appellation, as is contained in the paper vnder written, both there and then with other prelats: which things all are more fullie contained in these writings following, and were read to them that heard it, whose tenour is such.

The kings answere. The appeale of Philip the French King from the Pope.

Wee Philip by the grace of God, hearing and vnderstanding the obiections propounded by our beloued faithfull knight, W. of Nagareta, against Boniface now hauing the regiment of the Romish church: although we would gladlie couer with our owne cloke, the filthie parts of such a father: yet for the loue of the catholike faith and great deuotion that wee beare to the holie Romish and vniuersall church our mother, and all faithfull men and spouse of Christ, following the steps of our ancestors, which doubted not to shed their owne bloud for the increase and defence of the churches libertie and the faith: and couueting to prouide for the puritie of the faith and state of the church, as also to auoid the hurt of the generall slander, beeing not able to passe ouer any longer the premisses with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driuing to the same, seeing this estimate and opinion of him in these matters, is not rashlie of vs conceiued, but vehementlie and plainlie increased, by many and continuall cryings of credible men, and great authoritie oft and oftentimes beaten into vs, fearing moreouer the destruction of the faith, both of vs and of all other subiects, and specially of Kings and princes of the world, which ought to reproue negligence, which acknowledge that we haue receiued power giuen vs from the Lord, to the promoting and increasement of it; wee agree to your requests in this behalfe, and to the calling and assembling a councell for the glorie of God (sauing the honour and reuerence that is due to the holie Romish church in all things) whereby the truth may appeare in the premisses, and all error auoided: that the state of the vniuersall church and all christianitie and the matters of faith, and the holie land may be prouided for, and the slanders and ieopardies hanging ouer vs may be withstanded: we be readie and offer our selues gladlie, as much as in vs is, to bestow our labour & diligent paine thereabouts. Earnestlie requiring & beseeching in the mercifull bowels of Iesu Christ, you archbishops and other prelats here present, as children of the church and pillers of faith, called of the Lord to the promoting, increase and preseruing thereof, to care for the same; that with all diligence ye would giue heed, as becommeth you, and effectuallie you would labour by all waies and fit meanes, to the calling and assembling of this councell, in which we intend to be personallie present. And left the said Boniface, which hath boldlie and wrongfullie many times threatned to proceed against vs, stopping and hindring our purposes and intent: left any of his works of darkenesse (if there bee any) should come to light, directlie or indirectlie hindring the calling and gathering of this councel: or left any state being in the same realme that will indeed proceed against vs, or our state, churches, prelates, barons, and other faithfull vassals, our subiects, our lands, or our realme, and the state of the realme; by abusing any spirituall (sword, in excommunicating, suspending, or other waies by any meanes for vs and our well willers, and them that will follow vs: we prouoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid generall councel (which wee instantlie desire to be called) and to one lawfull chiefe Bishop that shall be, or to any other to whom we should appeale: and yet not going from the appellation made by M. William of Nagareta, to whom we sticked then, and also yet stick: requiring earnestlie of you the tenour of our appellation of you prelates and notaries, expressedlie to renew such prouocation and appellation when and afore whom it shall be thought meet to you.

Pope Boniface prieth an heretike.

Then the Archbishops within written, Bishops, Abbats, and Priors, answered the premisses (as it is found in the same) touching the appellation, agreement and protestation, as is contained more fullie in a certaine paper there openlie and plainely read, whose tenour followeth with these words.

The protestation of Prelats.

We Archb. of Nicosen, Remen, Senoren, Narbonen, Turonen, and bishops of Landuren, Behacen, Carolacen, Antisiodoren, Meldinen, Nurmen, Cameracen, Aurelianen, Ambianen, Morinen, Silanen, Andegauen, Abricen, Constant, Ebroicen, Lexouicen, Sagien, Caloromont, Lemouicen, Auicen, Masticoren: And we abbats of Cluniac, premostraten of the greater monasterie of the court of S. Dionyse in France, Canped S. Victors, S. Genoueue, S. Marten, Landmoen, Figiacen, & Bellicen in Lemouiuic, and frier Hugh, visitor of the houses of the order of knights of S. Iohn in Ierusalem in France, & the father prior of S. Martin in the fields, hearing these things which were said, propounded, & obiected yesterday, and to day by you the lords, earles, & Wil. aforesaid, against the lord Boniface the 8. and pope, being moued with such sayings, purposes, assertions, and your othes, your requeste and other lawfull causes: and were compelled by need, confidering that the matter of our faith which is Christs, is handled in the premisses: Wee that be called to part of this care, to the defence and maintenance of the faith of soules of the realme, although vnworthy, yet couueting to withstand the ieopardies that hang ouer vs by reason of the premisses & other causes, thinking the calling & gathering of the said councel profitable & necessarie that the innocency of the L. Boniface himselfe may clearely be and then with other prelats: which things all are more fullie discussed, as we desire (our consciences bearing witnes) that it may be determined on him by the Councel, touching such things as are laid against him, & that may be done which they decree according to the Canons: Wee answer you our lord king, and you our Lords, Earles, and William, that (the honor and reuerence of the holie Romish church saued in all points) we agree to your due requests in this behalfe for the calling of the councell, and are readie to giue help and diligent labour to the calling and gathering of the said Councell, according to the decrees of the holie fathers, and to the lawfull orders of the Canons: not intending by any meanes, to make parties of this matter, nor to sticke to any that maketh parties. Yet left the said Boniface being mooued or prouoked by these things, as we feare by likelie coniectures and threatnings made against vs for the foresaid things, that hee will inuasion against vs for the foresaid things, that hee will proceede against our parish Churches and our subiects by some meanes, or cause to proceed against vs by some authorisome meanes, or cause to proceed against vs by some authorisome meanes, or cause to proceed against vs by some authorisome

iudge and doe all other things, that belong to the office of Prelats: that our friends that sticke to vs and would sticke to vs in all things may remaine safe, for our selues, our parish churches, our subiects, friends, and them that sticke to vs, or would sticke to vs in this behalfe: wee prouoke and appeale in writing to the foresaid councell, that is to bee gathered, and to him that shall bee the true and lawfull highest bishop, and to him or them to whom of right wee should appeale to, and earnestly require our appellations, committing vs, our parish churches, our subiects, friends, and them that sticke to vs, our state and theirs, our right, goods, to the godly defence of the foresaid councell, and of him that shall bee the true and lawfull highest bishop: and wee protest to renew this appellation, where, when, and afore whom, it shall bee thought meet.

This was done at Paris at Lupara in the chamber of the said lord our king, Indictione prima, the ninth yeare of his poyedome, the daies of thursday and friday aforesaid, these noble men being present; The lords of Auia and Bolone, the lords Martins and other earles named afore, Matheiu Dotera, Peter the lord chamberlaine, Philip the lord of Tiermos, and Henric of Bologne knight, and also M. Philip archdeacon of Longen, Nicolas archdeacon of Reim, scrittinian treasurer of Amop, Philip Beaspeare, Arnold of Bourbon and John Montagre, and many moe both clerkes and other specially required and called to bee witnesse to this.

After these things thus in the parliament decreed and agreed, the prelats of the clergie consulting with themselues what was to be taken so bonibefull a matter, and dreading the popes displeasure, for this which was done afreadie, to cleare themselues in the matter contriued among themselues a letter to the pope, partly to certifie him what there was done, and partly also to admonish him what he should doe: the tenor of which their letter contained these words following.

## The forme of a letter which the prelats of France as well secular as religious sent to Boniface, that hee should cease his enterprise, wherein he proceeded against the king.

*To the most holy Father and their dearest beloued Lord, the Lord Boniface the chiefe bishop of the holy Romish church and the vniuersall church: his humble and deuout archbishops, abbats, priors, conuentuals, deanes, prouosts, chapters, conuents and colledges, of the cathedrall and collegiate churches, regular and secular of all the realme of France, being gathered together, doe offer most deuout kissings of your blessed feet.*

The letter of the French prelats to pope Boniface.

WE are compelled, not without sorrow of heart and bitter teares to signifie vnto your holinesse, that themost famous Prince our most deare lord Philip, by the grace of God, the nobleking of France: when hee heard and saw the Apostolicall letters sealed, which were sent to him of late, from your behalfe by the worshipfull man the cardinall of Narbo your notarie and messenger, and were presented by the same cardinall to him, and certaine other of his barons. Vpon the sight and perusing of which so bloodie letters being read and declared to them sitting by him: both our lord the king and the barons themselues were highly moued with great maruelling and great trouble. Insomuch that the said our lord the king by the aduice of his barons, commanded to be called afore him the other barons then absent, and vs also: that is to wit, All archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, communals, deanes, prouosts, chapters, conuents and colledges, as well of cathedrall or collegiate churches, regular and secular, and also all the Vniuersities and communities of the townes of his realme: that wee prelates, barons, deanes, prouosts, and two of the learnedst of euery collegiate and cathedrall church, should appeare personallie, and should procure the rest likewise to appeare, by their stewards, officers, and sufficient proctors, with full and sufficient commission at the appointed place and terme. Further, when wee and the other Ecclesiasticall persons aforesaid, and also the barons, stewards, officers, and proctors, and other of the communalitie of the townes that were thus called: and when according to the forme of the foresaid calling by the kings commandement, wee stoode afore the king this Wednesday, the tenth of this present of Aprill, in saint Martins church in Tiris: Our lord the king caused to bee propounded openly and plainely to all men, that it was signified to him, from you among other things by the foresaid cardinal and letters: that for his kingdome (which hee and his ancestors hitherto doe acknowledge they hold of God onely) now ought in temporalties to be subiect to you and hold of you, and that yee were not content with these so marueilous and strange words, and not heard of from the beginning of the world of any dwellers within the same realme, but that ye went about to put them in practise. And that yee called to appeare afore you the prelates of the said realme, and doctors of diuinitie, and such professors of both lawes, as were borne within the said realme, for the correcting and amending of such excesses, faults, arrogancies, wrongs, and harmes, as ye pretend to bee done to the ecclesiasticall prelates and persons ecclesiasticall both regular and secular, abiding within the realme and elsewhere, by our lord the king himselfe and his officers or bailiffes, by his peeres, earles, barons, and other nobles, with the communalitie and people of the said realme: To the intent, by this meanes, the foresaid realme might bee made strong, with precious iewels and durable treasures, which are to bee preferred before the bucklers or any armour of strong men, that is to say, by the wisedome of prelats, and wise men, and others: through whose ripe faithfull counsell, and circumspect foresight, the realme might be ruled and gouerned, the faith might be stablished, the ecclesiasticall sacraments might bee minisired, iustice might bee executed: which by them being robbed of their goods and riches, and vtterly spoiled, is in a doubtfull case, and in ieopardie of miserable decay, and for euer to be destroyed.

Among these and diuers other grieses, which were done by you and the Romish church, to him, to his realme, and the French church, both in reserving and wilfull ordering of archbishopriks, bishopriks, and bestowing of great benefices of the realme vpon strange and vnknowne persons, yea and oft vpon suspect persons, neuer being at the churches or benefices aforesaid. By reason whereof the decaie of Gods worship ensued, the godly wils of the founders and giuers are defrauded of their godly purpose: the accustomed almes-giuing is withdrawne from the poore of the said realme, the powerishing of the realme followeth, and churches runne in danger to bee defaced, while they remaine destitute of seruice: the prophets being taken away, and the fruits of them that serue them, bee appointed to the commoditie of strangers. And such prelates haue not to giue, yea to reward men for their deserts: noble men (whose ancestors founded the churches) and other learned men, cannot haue seruants: and that for these causes, deuotion began to bee cold, there was none at these daies that would stretch out a liberall hand towards the churches, and furthermore by the premises an euill example was giuen. Also hee complained of new taxes, of pensions, new by laid on the churches, of innumerable bondages, exactions, and diuers extortions with other preiudiciall and hurtfull nouelties, by which the generall state of the church is changed, in giuing suffragans, as helpers to the higher prelats, whereby neither the bishops themselues nor the suffragans can doe their duties, but for them they might runne with gifts to the Apostolicall see. He complained also of diuers causes and some articles long since, but true in the time that they were presented, that were done and bee done continually: and also not purposing to suffer so great a disheriting of him and his successours from the realme, and so manifest a griefe, they could not suffer any longer the euident losse of the honour of him and the realme, and said: that hee was certaine, that it was knowne to the whole world, and that he did maintaine in this matter a iust cause, as he had learned by the agreeable sentence of doctors in Diuinitie, and matters of both lawes, that were borne within his realme and others, which among the doctors and cunning men of the world were counted of the learned sort and more famous. Therefore he required vs, all and euery one, both prelats and barons, and other earnestly as our lord: he prayed and gently begged as a friend, to consult and take diligent paine, that hee might ordaine wholesome things, both for the keeping of their old liberties, the honour and state of the realme and of the inhabitants thereof, for the easing of the griefs aforesaid, for redressing of the realme and the French church, by our counsell and his barons, to the praise of Gods name, the encrease of the catholike faith, the honour of the vniuersall church, and promoting of Gods religion: specially seeing such griefes were done by his officers and others of the realme, to the churches and churchmen, for the which hee purposed a remedie of wholesome correction, afore the comming of the foresaid cardinall, and would now haue put it in execution effectuallie, but that he might be thought to haue done that for feare, or at your commandement, which thing yee cannot ascribe to your selfe. Furthermore, he would spend not onely his goods but also his realme, yea his children if the case required: and therefore wee should in regard to bee readie with counsell and helpe in season as wee are bound by the dutie of fidelitie in these things: wherein it is manifest, that as all and euery mans case is handled, generallie and particularly their case is promoted, and euery mans owne interest is touched. And then he demanded by and by to bee answered plainely and finally in these things, of all and euery one.

Then the barons sitting aside with the officers and proctors aforesaid, at the length after they had taken counsell, comming to our foresaid lord the king, and praising greatly, and heartilie thanking him, for his laudable purpose and good will, answered with one voice: that for those things they were ready, not onely to spend their goods, but offered the same goods, riches, and also their persons to death, and not to flee any kind



kind of torment. And said further with one voice, that if our foresaid lord the king would (as God forbid) suffer, or else willingly passe ouer those, they themselues would in no case suffer it.

Then when answere was asked of vs afterward, although we desired longer respite of deliberation of the king himselfe our lord, and of the greatest of the aforesaid barons, and that for this intent; that in the meane while the popes letters might haue come to our lord the king, wee answered that we would not offend against the libertie of the realme, or by some means to innouate things contrary to the kings honour in this behalfe.

Wee went about also to informe him with many godlie words, with earnest perswasions, and with many kinds of help, and by sundry waies to bring him to keep the speciall bond of vnity, which is known to haue continued to these present daies, betwixt the holy Romish church, and his predecessours. But when wee were denied any longer delay, and it was plainly and openly told to all men, that if any man were of a contrary mind, from thenceforth he should be manifestly counted for an enemie of the king and the realme: We considering warily, and seeing plainly, that except our lord the king, and the barons aforesaid were content with our answere, beside other dangers and great offences (whereof there could neither be number nor end) and that the deuotion both of the Romish and French church, and also the whole obedience of the laitie, and all the people from thenceforth should be taken away without recouery, not without great feare and doubt, we thought good to answere thus:

That we would helpe our lord the king with due counsell and conuenient helpe for the preseruing of his person, and of his earthly honour, and the libertie and lawes of the said realme, like as wee were (certaine of vs) by the duty of allegiance bound to him, which hold of him dukedomes, earledomes, baronies, fees, and other noble parts of the said realme, by the forme of the oth, as all our other doe: yet wee made humble sute to the same our lord the king, that seeing wee were bound to obey the popes holinesse and your holy seete, he would suffer vs to goe according to the tenor of your foresaid calling.

Then on the kings and barons behalfe followeth answere; that in no case they would suffer vs to goe out of the realm, and that by no meanes they would leaue to be handled so dangerously, yea rather to be altogether wasted.

Then we considering so great an anger, and trouble so ieopardous, and so great that none could be greater, both of the king, the barons, and other lay people of the realme: and now knowing plainly, that the old enemy of peace, which goeth about from the beginning of his fall with sowing of darnell, to breake the vnity of the church, by troubling of peace; would breake charity, and infect the sweetnesse of good works, with the poison of bitter enuie, and would ouerthrow mankind vterly, and would trouble with wickednesse the band of louely vnitie, and singular friendship, which hitherto haue had a happie increase betwixt the Romish church & our Lord the king, and his predecessors, and the realme, to the praise of the highest God, the increase of our Christian faith, and the seeing foorth the honour of the church, of the king and the realme. But now (alas) a doore was open to the lamentable breaking and pitifull separating of great offences to rise on euery side, dangers are attempted against churches and churchmen, to spoile their goods and riches, with ieopardie of life, seeing that the laitie now doe abhorre and vtterly flee the obedience of clerks, vtterly banishing them from their counsels and doings, and haue taken courage to condemne the Ecclesiasticall censure and processe. All which ieopardies, with other sundry & diuers dangers (which neither tongue is able to tell, nor writing can declare) wee seeing at hand, thought good in this point of greatest necessitie, to runne with weeping voice, and lamentable sighes to the circumspect wisdome of your holinesse. Beseeching your fatherly mildenesse, and humbly praying you, that some wholesome remedy may be prouided in the premisses. By which, the sound profitable agreement and mutuall loue, which hath continued so long time betwixt the church, the King, and the realme, might bee maintained in that old sweet concord; the state of the French church might continue in godly and quiet peace: that yee would vouchsafe to foresee how to withstand the dangers and offences aforesaid: that we and our states may be prouided for, by the foresaid commandement of your calling, by the studie of your Apostolicall wisdome, and fatherly loue. The Almightie preserue your holinesse to his holy church a long time.

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the

5 Anno 1304 Pope Boniface buryed.

peere of our lord 1304. In the which peere, about the natiuitie of our Ladie, came a garrison of harnessed soldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French king, partly by the cardinals of Colimpna, whom the pope before had deposed, into the gates of Anagium, where the pope did hide himselfe, because hee was borne in the towne. The captaines of which army was one Sciarra, brother to the foresaid cardinals: who another William de Longareto, high Steward to the French king. Who hauing the popes towne, and finding the gates open, gaue assault to the popes treasure: where the pope was, his nephew a marquesse, and three other cardinals were annexed. The townes men seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the pope, caused the common bell to bee rung, and assembling themselues in a common councell, ordained Adolphus, one of the chiefest rulers of the towne for their captaine: who vnknowing to them was a great aduersary to the pope. This Adolphus hauing with him Reginaldus de Supine, a great Lord in Campania, and the two sonnes of John Cetan a noble man, whose father the Pope had then in prison: at length ioyned with the French company against the pope, and so beset his palace on euery side. And first, setting vpon the palaces of the three Cardinals, which were then chiefe about the Pope, rifled and spoiled all their goods. The Cardinals by a backe doore hardly auoided their hands: but the Popes palace, through munition and strength of the Marquesse, was somewhat better defended. At length, the Pope perceiuing himselfe not able to make his partie good, desired truce with Sciarra and his company, which was to him granted, from one till nine. During which time of truce, the Pope pitifully sendeth to the townesmen of Anagium, desiring them to saue his life: which if they would doe, hee promised so to enrich them, that they should all haue cause neuer to forget or repent their benefit receiued. To this they made answere again, crauing themselues that it lay not in their ability to doe him any good, for that the whole power of the towne was with the Captaine. Then the Pope all desolate and desolate, sendeth vnto Sciarra, beseeching him to draw out in articles, wherein hee had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the vttermost. Sciarra to this maketh a plaine answere, signifying to him again, that hee should in no wise escape with his life, except vpon these three conditions. First, to restore againe the two Cardinals of Colimpna his brethren, whom he had before deposed, with all other of their flocke and kinred: secondly, that after their restitution, hee should renounce his papacie: thirdly, his body to remaine in his power and custodie. These articles seemed to the pope so hard, that in no case hee would agree vnto them: wherefore the time of truce expired, the Captaines and Souldiers by all feeble meanes bending themselues against the Bishop, first fired the gates of the palace, wherein the traine hauing a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoile the house. The Marquesse vpon hope to haue his life, and the life of his children, yeelded him to the hands of Sciarra and the other Captaine: which when the Pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, though windowes and doores, at length with much adoe they brast into the Pope, whom they intreated with words and threats accordingly. Vpon this he was put to his choice, whether hee would presently leaue his life, or giue ouer his papacie. But that hee denied flatly to doe, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue: Ecco col, ecco cape: That is, lo here my necke, lo here my head: protesting, that he would neuer while he liued renounce his papedome. Then Sciarra went about, and was readie to slay him, but by certaine that were about him, hee was staied: whereby it happened that the Pope receiued no harme, although diuers of his ministers and seruants were slaine. The souldiers which ranged in the meane time through all the corners of the Popes house, did leaue themselues with such treasure of gold, siluer, plate, and ornaments, that the words of my author (whom I follow) doe thus expresse it: Quod omnes reges mundi non possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra vnum annum, quantum fuit de papali palatio asportatum, & de palatijs trium cardinalium, & Marchionis. That is, that all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasurie in a whole yeare, as then was taken and carried out of the Popes palace, and of the palace of the three Cardinals, and the Marquesse. Thus Boniface bereaued of all his goods, remained in their custodie three daies. During which space, they had set him on a wilde and vnbroken Colt, his face turned to the horse taile, causing the horse to runne and course, while the Pope was almost breathlesse. Moreouer, they let him so without meat, that he was therby neere famished to death. After the third day, the Arragians and people of the towne murdering themselues together (to the number of tenne thousand) ferretted him into the house where the Pope was shut, and so hauing the keepers, deliuered the Pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the towne, gaue thanks with weeping teares to the people for his life saued: promising moreouer, that forsomuch as he was out of all his goods, hauing neither bread nor drinke to put in his mouth. Open blessing and his, to all them, that now would receiue him with any thing, either to eat or drinke. And here now to see what pouertie and affliction can worke in a man: The Pope before in all his pompe and most ruffling wealth was neuer so proud, but now was as humble and lowly, that euery poore peasant, but now was as humble and lowly, that euery poore peasant, but now was as humble and lowly, that euery poore peasant

in that great distresse of famin, was not so greedy of their bi-
cuaile, as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon, the
woman and people of the towne came so thicke, some with
bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat,
some with one thing, some with another, that the popes cham-
ber was to little to receiue the offering, insomuch that when
there lacked cups to receiue the wine, they powred it downe on
the chamber floore, not regarding the losse of wine to win the
popes holy blessing. Thus pope Boniface being refreshed by
the towne of Aruagium, tooke his iourney from thence, accom-
panied with a great multitude of barnelled soudiers to Rome,
where he shortly vpon the same, partly for feare which he was
in, partly for famin, partly for sorowe of so inestimable treas-
sure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedictus the 11. of
whom these verses are written: *A re nomen habe, benedic, be-
nefice, benedicte. Aut rem peruerte, maledic, malefac, maledicte,
&c.* And thus haue ye the whole storie of pope Boniface the 8.
author of the Decretals. Which storie I thought the more dili-
gently to set forth, that all the Latin church might see what an
author he was, whose lawes and decretals so deuoutly they
follow.

Pope Benedictus 11.

Now after the long debating of this matter betweene the
French king and pope Boniface, let vs proceed in our Eng-
lish storie. About this time, in the dayes of king Edward, the
church of Rome began daily more and more to rise vp and
swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no king al-
most in his owne country could doe any thing, but as pleased
the pope; who both had, and ruled all in all countries, but chief-
ly here in England: as partly by his intollerable tallage and
pillage before signified may appeare, partly by his iniunc-
ions and commandements sent downe, also by his donations
and reseruations of benefices and church liuings; also in de-
posing and disposing such as him liked, in place and office to
beare rule. In so much, that when the king and the church of
Canturburie in their election had chosen one Robert Burnel
bishop of Bathe, to be archbishop of Canturburie, pope Boni-
face of his owne singular presumptuous authoritie, ruling the
matter after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust
in another named John Pecham. For among all other, this
hath alwaies been one practise of the court of Rome, euer to
haue the archbishoppe of their owne setting, or such one as
they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the king
and other, what soeuer need should happen. To this John Pe-
cham, pope Boniface directed downe a solemne bull from
Rome, as also vnto all other quarters of the vniuersall church.
In the which bull was contained and decreed, directly against
the rule of scripture and christian obedience; that no church,
nor ecclesiasticall person, should henceforth yeeld to his king or
temporall magistrate, either any giuing or lending, or promi-
sing of tribute or subsidie, or portion what soeuer, of the goods
and possessions to him belonging; but should beclerely exempt
and discharged from all such subiection of tallage or subiec-
tion to be exacted of them in the behalfe of the prince and his
affaires. Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the com-
manded ordinance of God, and the apostolicall canon of Saint
Peter, and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there
is no word in the Scripture that releaseth spirituall men
more then temporall from obedience and subiection of princes:
so if it chance the prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cru-
ell in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempted,
but to beare the common burthen of obedience, and to pray to
God to turne and moue the princes mind, and so (with praier
and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to helpe and a-
mend that which is amisse. Concerning the bull of Boniface,
if any there be that either do not credit the same, so to containe,
or would for his mind see and reade the same, the words there
of here follow.

Ecclesiasticall persons exempted by the pope, for not paying tribute to the king.

The pope proceeded against the monkish world in forcing the clergy free from the kinges tributes.

## The copie of the popes bull, wherein the clergy is exempted from giuing tribute to kings and princes.

Ex Chron. Rob. Gisburnensis.

BOnifacius, &c. *Ad sempiternam rei memoriam. Clericis, laicos infestos oppido tradidit antiquitas. Quod & præsen-
tium experimenta temporum manifestè declarant, dum suis fi-
nibus non contenti nituntur in vetitum & adilicita sua frena re-
laxare, nec prudenter attendunt quomodo sit eis in clericos eccle-
siasticasue personas, & bona interdicta potestas. Quinimo ec-
clesiarum prælatis, ecclesijs ecclesiasticisq; personis regularib.
& secularibus imponuntur onera grauia, ipsos tallant, & eis
collectas imponunt, & ab ipsis suorumque prouentuum, vel bo-
norum dimidium, decimam, seu vicesimam, vel quamuis aliam
portionem, quotam exigunt & extorquent, eosq; molestiæ mul-
tiphariæ subijcere seruituti, quæque subdere attioni. Et quod
dolenter referimus, nonnulli ecclesiarum prælati, ecclesiasticaque
personæ trepidantes, vbi trepidandum non est, transitoriam pa-
cem quærentes, plus timentes maiestatem temporalem offen-
dere, quam æternam, talium abusibus non tam temerarie, quam
improuide acquiescunt, sedis apostolicæ authoritate non ob-
tenta. Nos igitur talibus abusibus obuiare volentes, de fratrum
nostrorum consilio* Apostolica authoritate statuimus: quod
quicunque prælati, ecclesiasticaque personæ, vel seculares, quo-
cunque ordinum conditionis, seu status, collectas vel tal-
lias, dimidiam, decimam, vicesimam, seu centesimam suorum
& ecclesiarum suarum prouentuum vel bonorum laicis solue-
rint, vel promiserint, vel se soluturos excesserint, aut quamuis
aliam quantitatem, portionem, aut quicquam ipsorum prouen-
tuum vel bonorum æstimationem vel oblationem ipsorum subven-
tionis, subsidij, vel doni nomine, seu quouis alio tenore, vel modo,
vel quæsito colore absque auctoritate sedis eiusdem: Nec nomi-
natores, reges, seu principes, duces, seu comites, vel barones, po-
testates, capitaneas, officiales vel rectores quocunque nomine cen-
seantur, ciuitatum, castrorum, seu quorumque locorum constitu-
torum vbilibet, & * quis alius cuiuscunque præeminentiæ, con-
ditionis & status, qui talia imposuerint & exegerint, vel recepe-
rint, aut apud eos sacras deposita ecclesiarum vel ecclesiastica-
rum personarum vbilibet * arestauerint, sayserint seu occupare
præsumpserint, vel arestari, saysiri, aut occupari mandauerint,
aut * occupata, saysita, seu arestata receperint: nec non omnes qui
scienter in præmissis dederint consilium, auxilium, vel fauorem,
publice vel occulte, eo ipso sententiam excommunicationis * incur-
runt. Vniuersitates quoque quæ in his culpabiles fuerint ecclesia-
stico supponimus interdicto: prælatis, & personis ecclesiasticis
supradictis in virtute obedientiæ & sub pœna depositionis distric-
te mandantes, vt talibus absq; licentia expressa dicta sedis nulla-
tenus acquiescant. A supra dictis autem excommunicationis &
interdicti sententijs nullus absolui valeat, præterquam in mortis
articulo absque sedis Apostolicæ autoritate & licentia spe-
ciali, &c.*

Magna charta. charta de foresta. Custome for woll.

* Quinq; fere quisquis, beda. ejfimus. Apostolicus.

* Flores Anrici ex ipso Historiæ descripti. Inferni electores.

* Tanti comparabant the bull of Rome.

The kings answere to the petitions of the barons and the commons.

The clergy refuseth to giue tribute to the king.

This bull being directed (as is said) from Rome to the archbishop of Canturburp, and likewise through the whole vni-
uersall church, vnder the popes authority; it chanced not long after, the king held his parliament at Saint Edmundsbury, where was grãted to him of all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commõs a tiuelfth of their goods. Only the clergy by vertue of his bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselues vpon the matter; and af-
ter long abatement, so to giue him answer thereof against the next parliament, which should be holden the next Hillary terme at London.

The clergy refuseth from the king's protection.

The archbishop of Canturbury for his subiournes, had his goods confiscat to the king.

In conclusion, the parliament came, the clergy perstiseth still in the denial of their subsidie, alleaging the popes bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the king like wise se-
cludeth them from vnder his protection & safegard of his lawes. And as concerning the archbishop of Canturbury, aboue men-
tioned, because he was found more stubborne then the rest, and was the inciter to the other, he seazed vpon all his goods, and caused an inuentory of the same to be inrolled in the exchequer. Notwithstanding, diuers of the other bishops relented some af-
ter to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods vnto him, and were received against to fauor.

The parliament betweene king Edward and his barons and commons.

In the life of this kings father, it was declared before how the said king Henry the third, father to this king, after diuers wars and commotions had with his barons, had granted cer-
taine liberties and freedomes written and contained in Mag-
na Charta, and in Charta de foresta. Concerning which mat-
ter, much businesse happened in this kings daies also in the realme, betweene the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A packe of woll which before paied but a marke to the king, was now by this king raised vp to forty shillings. After this, the king hauing a iourny to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and diuers other to giue their at-
tendance, and seruice in the same, which they refused and denied to doe. Notwithstanding (the king perstiting in his purpose) with such a power as he had, prepareth toward his iourny. To whom being in his way at Winchelsey, the foresaid earles and barons, and commons, sent certaine petitions contained in writing vnder the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbats and priors, earles & barons, with the communaltie of the realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redresse and amend certaine greuan-
ces among them. And first declared in the name of the whole commons, that the premonition or writs directed to them for their attendance vpon his grace into Flanders, was not sufficient: for that there was no certaine place in the said writs specified vnto them whither to come for making their prouision, and preparing money and other things according to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet because none of their ancestors euer serued the king ouer in-
to Flanders before, the commons therefore thought them-
selues not bound to any seruice in that country. And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to doe it, being so heauily oppressed with so many tallages, tax-
es, tolles, customes, and prices of corne; otes, tinne, woll, leather, oxen, kine, flesh, fish, &c. And besides all this, ha-
uing no pennie of wages giuen them to releeue their char-
ges: Diuers and besides, the lacke of the kings wages not paied them, their owne pouertie like an heauie burthen did so misse-
rably lie vpon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their owne ground. They alleaged moreouer, that they were not now bounded after the

Petitions of the barons and commons to the king.

Agreement confirmed and sealed betweene the king and his barons.

The moderate and good nature of king Edward noted.

Rob. Winchelsey archbishop of Canturbury.

K. Edward was troubled with two seuerall bishops of Canturbury.



side lawes and customes of the land, as their ancestors were
wont. Many also found themselues grieued in that they were
not vsed according to the articles contained in charta magna,
nor against that the Charta de foresta, was not obserued nor
kept as was wont to be. Wherefore most humbly they beso-
ght the king, both for his owne honor, and for the wealth of his
people, that of these things they might vnderstand. For the
custome more of woll, the whole commons bewailed to
the king their griefe, in that for euery packe of woll, was ti-
ned to the king xls. and for euery sacke of tolde woll, seuen
marks: The which woll of England, as it doth rise vp to the
value of halfe the realme: so the tollage of the same surmount-
eth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land. And be-
cause therefore the commons wished the honor and preseruati-
on of their king, (as they were bound to doe) they thought it
not good for his grace to faile ouer to Flanders, vnlesse he had
better assurance of their fidelitie, especially at this time the
Scots being so busie: who if they began to rebell, he being at
home in his land, much more were they like to stir, he being a-
brode out of the land. And that not only for the Scots, but also
for that the like perill was to be doubted of other forraigne na-
tions and kingdomes, which as yet were in no firme peace
with England, &c.

To these petitions, the king said that he could as yet make
no resolute answer, for that his councell, some was gone ouer
already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwith-
standing, at his returne againe from Flanders (which he trus-
sed should be speedily) they should then heare his answer, and
know more of his mind concerning the same. In the meane
time this he required of them, to keepe good rule at home while
he was forth. What answere the king had minded to make
them at his returne, it is vncertaine, which peraduenture him
turned to a bloudy answer: but occasion serued otherwise, and
turned all to agreement. For the Scots with their Captaine
William Waleys aboue specified, in the time the king being
absent, inuaded the realme with such violence, that prince Ed-
ward the kings sonne, who was left to rule in his fathers
stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the
earle of Hereford, the earle of Northfolke, high marshall of
England, earle of Essex high Constable, with other earles, ba-
rons, knights, and esquires, to intreat peace and concord be-
twixt his father and them. Who comming vp to London
with 1500 well armed souldiers, and obtaining the gates of
the citie with their owne men, fell at length to agreement with
the prince, vpon composition to haue the Articles of Magna
Charta, and of Charta de foresta, confirmed, and that by his
meanes and mediation they might be assured of the kings dis-
pleasure to be remooued from them. The which forsaid articles
of Magna charta, with the other articles aduised withall, here
follow hereunder written.

Humfrey Bonne, Roger Bigot.

The articles contained in Magna charta.

First, no tollage or subsidie by the king or his heires to be
imposed or leuied hereafter within the realm of England, with-
out the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbats and
other prelats, earles, barons, knights, burgesses, and commons
of the realme.

Item no taker or seruitor of the king or of his heires hence-
forth within this realme, to take graine, woll, leather, or any
goods of any man, without the will and consent of him which
is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any pack
of woll.

Item, to be granted by the king and his heires after him,
both to the clergy and laity of this foresaid realme: to haue and
to inioy their lawes, liberties and customes, in as ample man-
ner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or statutes shall hereafter be made and
set forth contrary to these foresaid articles, the same to stand
void and of no effect for euer.

Besides these articles also, in the same composition was
contained, that all grudge and displeasure betweene the king
and the barons for not going to Flanders ceasing: the earles
and barons might bee allowed to be receiued againe into the
kings fauor.

These things thus agreed vpon, and by mediation of the
prince also confirmed and sealed with the kings seale his fa-
ther: so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of
the people, and no lesse strength of the realme against their ene-
mies: and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and
wise nature of the king; who as he was gentle in promising
his reconcilement with his subiects, so no lesse constant was he
in keeping that which he had promised.

After the death of John Pecham archbishop of Canturbury,
aboue mentioned, who in the parliament had resisted the king
in the right of certaine liberties pertaining to the crowne,
touching patronages and such church matters: succeded Ro-
bert Winchelsey, with whom also the king had like variance,
and accused him to the pope for breaking the peace, and take
part with them that rebelled against the king about wages
and liberties of the realme. Wherefore, the king being cited
vp to the court of Rome, was there suspended, by the meanes
of the said archbishop, directed his letters against the pope,
taken out of the parliament rolles, where I finde diuers let-

ters of the king to pope Clement, against the said Robert arch-
bishop of Canturbury, the contents whereof here followeth,
videlicet qualiter idem. And as this king was troubled in his
time with both the archbishops, John Pecham, and also Robert
Winchelsey, so it happened to all other kings for the most part,
from the time of Lanefrancus (that is, from pope Hildebrand)
that euery king in his time had some businesse or other with
that sea. As William Rufus, and Henry the first were trou-
bled with Anselmus; Henry the second with Thomas Bec-
ket; king Richard and all England with William bishop of
Ely, the popes legat; king John with Stephan Langthon;
king Henry the third with Edmund archbishop, called saint
Edmund. Polic. lib. 7. Likewise this king Edward the first,
with John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey aforesaid. And so
other kings after him, with some prelat or other: wherein by
haue to vnderstand, how and about what time the church of
Rome, which before time was subiect to kings and princes, be-
gan first to take head about, and against kings and rulers, and
so haue kept it euer since.

The church of Rome and the prelats like against kings and rulers.

Kings of England cõtinually troubled with archbishops of Canturbury.

By this John Pecham afore mentioned, was ordained,
that no spirituall minister should haue any more benefices
then one, which also was decreed by the constitutions of Oc-
to and Otobonus, the popes legats the same time in Eng-
land.

Pluralitie of liuings but one by order.

About the beginning of this kings raigne, after the de-
cease of Walter archbishop of Yorke: William Wareuan-
ger succeeding in that sea, minding to go on the visitation, came
to Durefme to visit the church and chapter there. But the cler-
gie and people of the citie shut the gates against him, and
kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The arch-
bishop let the his curse of excommunication and interdiction
against them. The bishop of Durefme against with his cler-
gie, displaced all his curisings, grounding themselues vpon the
constitution of Innocentius the fourth, De censibus & exacti-
onibus. And so they appealed to Rome, saying: that he ought
not to be received there, before hee had first begun to visit his
owne chapter and Diocese, which hee had not done. For so
saye the words of the constitutions: Tele ordaine and decree,
stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the
that euerie archbishoppe that will visit his prouince, first
must procure to visit his owne Church, Citie, and Dio-
cese, &c.

Variance betweene the archbishop of Yorke and the clergy of Durefme.

Among other things in this king to be noted, that is not to
be passed ouer; that where complaint was made to him of his
officers, as iustices, maiors, sheriffes, bailiffes, archers, and
such other, who in their offices abusing themselues, extortioned
and oppressed the kings liege people, otherwise then was ac-
cording to right and conscience: the said king not suffering
such misorder to be punished, did appoint certaine officers or
inquisitors, to the number of twelue, which inquisition was
called Traibaston, or Traibastoun: by meane of which inqui-
sition, diuers false officers were accused, and such as were of-
fenders were either remoued from their place, or forced to buy
againe their office at the kings hand; to their no small losse,
and great gaine to the king, and much profit to the common-
wealth.

Inquisition made against ill rulers and false officers.

Traibastoun.

In the chronicle of Robert Amesbury, it is recorded of the
said king, that he being at Amesbury to see his mother (who
was then in that monastery professed) there was a certaine
man that fained himselfe blind a long time, brought to the pre-
sence of the said Alinor, the kings mother, saying, how that he
had his sight againe restored at the tombe of king Henry her
late husband, insomuch that the was easily perswaded the
miracle to be very true. But king Edward her sonne, know-
ing the man a long time to be a vile dissembler, and a wicked
person, vsed to lying and craftie deceiuing, disswaded his mo-
ther not to giue credit to the vile bagabon, declaring that he
knew to well of the iuffice of his father, that if he were aliue,
he would twice rather plucke out both his eies, then once re-
store him one. Notwithstanding, the queene the mother remai-
ning still in the former fond perswasion, would heare of beleeue
nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her sonne,
that shee bid him depart her chamber; and so he did. By the
example whereof may easily be conceiued, how and after what
sort these blind miracles in those daies, and since haue come
vp among the blind and superstitious people. For had not the
king here been wiser then the mother, no doubt but this would
haue been rung a miracle, and perease king Henry bin made a
saint.

Ex Chron. Thor. Walsingham.

A false miracle inuented out of the king.

Ex eodem chron.

But as this was a fained miracle, and false no doubt, so
in the same author we reade of another manner of miracle,
sounding more neere the truth, and so much the more likelie,
for that it serued to the conuersion into christian faith: to which
we properly, all true miracles doe appertaine. The miracle
was this. In the raigne of this king, and the latter yeere of
his raigne, Cassanus king of the Tartarians (of whom
commeth these whom now wee call Turkes) vpon fighting
against the Soudan king of the Saracens, in the plaine of
Damascus, slew of them a hundred thousand of Saracens:
and against at Babylon, fighting with the said Soudan, slew
him in the field, and 200000 of his Saracens, calling vpon
the helpe of Christ, and thereupon became christian. This Cas-
sanus Isay, had a brother a Pagan, who being in loue with

A true miracle.

Victory against the Saracens.

the

the daughter of the king of Armenia a christian woman, desired of her father to marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, vnlesse he promised to be a christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power & threatning to get her by war; the king at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child being borne betwixt them was auergrowne, and all rough with haire, like the skin of a beare. Which child being brought to the father, he commanded it to be throwne into the fire and burned. But the mother desiring first to haue the child baptised, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being thrée times in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptisme receiued; in continent was altered and turned from all his haire rough-nesse, and grew as faire and smooth skinned as any other. The which thing after the father saw and beheld, was chiefly end him-selfe and all his house, &c.

Merton colledge builded in Oxford. 3. Scotus, Dunst.

In the raigne of this king, Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, builded Merton colledge in Oxford. In whose raigne also lined Henricus de Gandauo, Arnoldus de villa noua, Dan-ter, and other mo. And Scotus called Dunss. Who in his fourth booke of Sent. Dist. 18. complaineth of the abuse of excommunication and of the popes bées. Whereas before, excommunication was not vsed, but vpon great and iust causes, and therefore was feared: now, saith he, it is brought forth for euerie trifling matter, as for not paying the priests wages, &c. and therefore, saith he, it groweth in contempt. Vnder the same king, about the beginning of his raigne, was the yeere so hot and so dry, that from the moneth of Maie vntill the moneth néere of September, fell no raine in so much that many died for heat, and the vulgar people in their reckoning of yeeres, did count the time from the said dry yeere long after.

Pope Clement 5. The pope remoueth from Rome into France.

After pope Benedictus aboue mentioned, succéeded pope Clement the 5. who translated the popes court to Auinion in France, where it remained the terme of 74. yeeres after. At the coronation of this Clement, was present Philip king of France, Charles his son, duke Iohn duke of Britanny, with a great number of other men of state and nobilitie. At which coronation they being in the middle of the pompe & procession, a great wall brake down and fell vpon them: by the fall whereof, duke Iohn with twelue other were slain, king Philip hurt and wounded, the pope stricken from his horse, and lost out from his mitre a rich stone called a cascle, esteemed to the value of 6000 florence. Plat. de vit. Pont. By this Clement was ordained, that the emperor, though he might bee called king of the Romans before, yet he might not inioy the title and right of the emperor before he was by him confirmed. And that the emperors seat being vacant, the pope should raigne as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the orders of the Templers were put from all their possessions, and abolished in the councell of Vienne, as hereafter Chrill willing shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, assigning indulgences to such as heard the seruice thereof. And as pope Bonifacius afore heaped vp the boke of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium, so this Clement compiled the 7. boke of the decretals, called of the same Clement, the Clementines. In the time of this pope Clement the 6. that name emperor was poisoned in receiuing the sacrament, by a false dissembling monke called Bernard, that fained himselfe to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the popes legat. The emperor perceiuing himselfe poisoned, warned him to flie and escape away: for else the Germans would sure haue slaine him; who although he escaped himselfe, yet diuers of his order after that with fire and sword were slaine.

Anno 1306

As this pope Clement the 5. had well prouided now, as ye haue heard, against the empire of Rome to bring it vnder his girdle, insomuch that without the popes benediction, no emperor might take the state vpon him, &c. now he procéeded further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. Where he first exercised his tyrannie and power of excommunication against Andronicus Palelogus the emperor of Constantinople, an. 1306. declaring him as a schismatike and heretike, because he neither would, nor durst suffer the Grecians to make their appeale from the Greeke church to the pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior, &c. Whereby it may appeare, that the Greeke church did not admit the popes superioritie as yet, nor at any time before. Saue onely about the time of pope Innocent the 3. an. 1202. at what time the Frenchmen with their captaine Valdoinus, earle of Flanders, ioined together with the Venecians, were set against the Grecians, to place Alerius to the right of the empire of Constantinople, vpon condition as writeth Platina) to subdue the Greeke church vnder the church of Rome. Which Alerius being restored, and shortly after slaine; the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the space of 58. yeres, till the comming of Michael Palelogus in the dates of pope Gregory the ninth, who restored the empire from the Frenchmen, vnto his pristine state againe. During all which time of the French emperors, the Greeke church was subiect to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the ninth may appeare. Then followed after this, that the foresaid Michael emperor of Constantinople, being called vp to a councell at Lions by pope Gregory the tenth, about the controuersie of proceeding of the holy Ghost (as is aboue specified) and obedience to the church of Rome: there, because the said Michael the emperor did submit himselfe and the Grecians to the subiection of Rome (as testifieth Baptist Egnat.) he thereby procured to himselfe such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The sonne of this Andronicus was Michael Palcologus aboue mentioned: who, as ye haue heard before, because he was constrained by the Grecians, not to admit any appellation to the bishop of Rome, was accursed by the popes censures for an heretike. Where-by appeareth, that the Grecians recouering their state again, refused all subiection at this time vnto the church of Rome, which was the yeere of our Lord 1327. &c. After this Clement the 5. followed pope Iohn the 22. with whom Ludouicke the emperor had much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded pope Benedict the 12. Which Benedict vpon a time, being desired to make certaine new cardinals, to this answereth again: that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is so: these cardinals that be made already. Ex scripto Engethusensis. And thus much of the popes: now to returne a little backe to the kings story again.

Baptist. Egnat. Rom. princip.

The Greeks church denieth subiection to the church of Rome.

In the yeere of our Lord 1307. which was 34 of the raigne of this king, in the beginning of Hillary Terme, the king kept a parliament at Carliel, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancients of the realme, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and eractions of money by the popes legat William Testa (otherwise termed Pala Testa) lately brought into the realme of England. The comming of which William Testa was vpon this occasion, as followeth: Pope Clement, the, as yee heard before, had translated his court from Rome into France, where he had been archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remaine at his owne sea: the Princes of Rome thought him therefore vniuo: thy to inioy Peters patrimony. And so by that meanes falling into vacancie and penurie, lined onely of such money of bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other gifts and gifts. So that by this meanes, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly vnder the name of courtesie and beneuolence, partly vnder the pretence of borrowing; he had within the first yere 9500. marks of siluer, all his other charges and expenses, which he largely that yere bestowed, cleerly borne. Besides this, he sent moreouer the foresaid legat William Testa into England with his bulls: in the which hee reserued the first fruits of the first yeere of all churches being vacant at any time, or by any man within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbies and priories within the said realmes, &c. Whereupon the king with his nobles, seeing the inconuenience and harme thereof ensuing to the whole realme: in the foresaid parliament holden at Carliel, withstood the said legat, charging and commanding him by the assent of the earles and barons, that hereafter he should absteine from all such eractions. And as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certaine his messengers vnto him, purposely for the same matter appointed: by the which ambassadors, the king wrote vnto the foresaid pope, declaring and monishing the pope, as right and reason was: that he should not erect the first fruits of churches and abbies, by his predecessors and noble men of the land, founded for the honour and maintenance of Gods seruice, for almes and hospitalitie: which otherwise in so doing, should all bee ouerthrowne. And so by this meanes, the pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning abbies. But after that, the fruit of English churches was granted to the king for two yeres: in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid churches, &c.

Ex Chron. Ang. Tribat. The popes oppressions complained of in the parliament.

Ex hist. quadripart. ab Henrico textu.

The popes getting in one yere. 9500. marks of siluer sent into England.

First fruits first brought in by the pope. King Edward withstandeth the pope and his legate.

First fruits of abbies denied to the pope.

First fruits for two yeres granted to the king.

During the which parliament afore specified, as men were talking many things of the popes oppressions, which he began in the English church, in the full of the parliament; suddenly fell downe, as sent from heauen, among them a certaine paper, with this superscription.

## An epistle of Cassiodorus to the church of *England, concerning the abuses of the* Romish church.

Ex versione Cinnico Alberensi.

TO the noble church of England, seruing in clay and bricke as the Iewes did in time past vnder the tyranny of the Egyptians: Peter the sonne of Cassadore a catholike souldier, and deuout champion of Christ, sendeth greeting, and wishing to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receiue the reward of liberue.

To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee O daughter Iesusalem? to whom shall I match thee, O daughter of Sion? Great is thy perturbation, like vnto the sea. Thou sittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heauinesse. Thou art giuen vp into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without helpe of one to lift thee vp: for the Scribes and Pharises sitting



sitting vpon the chaire of Moyses, the enemies of the Romans are as thy heads and rulers: inlarging their garded phylacteries, and seeking to be inriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heauie burthens, and not able to bee borne vpon thy shoulders & of thy ministers, and they set thee vnder tribute, (which of old time hast been free) beyond all honestie or measure. But marueil not thereat, for thy mother, which is the ladie of people, like a widow hauing married and coupled her selfe to her subiect, hath appointed him to be thy father: that is to say, the bishop of Rome, who sheweth no point of any fatherly loue towards thee. Hee magnifieth and extendeth to the vttermost his authoritie ouer thee: And by experience hee declareth himselfe to bee the husband of thy mother. Hee remembreth oft with himselfe the prophetical saying of the Prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great booke, and write therein quickly with the penne of a man; Take the spoile, rob quickly. But is this it which the Apostle saith, that hee was appointed for, where hee writeth thus? Euery bishoppe taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that belong to the Lord: not to spoile, nor to lay on them yeerely taxes, nor to kill men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sinnes, and to forrow with them that bee ignorant and doe erre. And so wee reade of Peter the Fisher (whose successour hee boasteth himselfe to be) that after the resurrection of Christ, hee returned with other Apostles, to the office of fishing: who when hee could take nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ, turned to the right side, and drew to the land a net full of fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministery of the church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the diuell is ouercome, and plenty of soules bee lucrified and wonne to Christ. But certainly, the labour on the left side of the ship, is faire otherwise: for in it the faith stumbleth, heauinesse beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by feeling, is not found. For who is so foolish to thinke, that hee can both at one time serue God and man, and to satisfie his owne will, or to sticke to the reuelations of flesh and bloud, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtlesse, that shepheard that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring Lion, and seeking whom hee may deuour. And now behold, I say, O daughter, the deedes of him that is called thy father, such as haue not been heard of before: hee driueth away the good shepheards from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead bishops, to rule, but not to profit (his nephewes, cosins, and parents, some that know no letters, and othersome dumbe and deafe, which vnderstand not the plaine voice of the sheep, not curing their wounds that bee hurt of the wolues: but like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other men haue sowen, whose hands neuertheless be alwaies ready in their baskets and pouches, but their backes are turned from their burthens. By which thing it is manifest, that the priesthood is cleane changed at these daies, the seruice of God decaied, almes diminished and brought to nought, the whole deuotion of kings, princes, and christians, is banished. May not this be thought wonderfull in the eies of all men, that whereas Christ commanded tribute to be paid to Cesar for him and for Peter, he now goeth about dominion of his stile, to subdue to him both realmes, and princes of realmes (against his will, whose vicar hee saith he is, and who refused the realmes and iudgements of the world) which this bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which hee in his stile writeth to bee his? Alacke, O daughter, what doth he yet more require of thee? marke, hee draweth from thee whatsoeuer pleaseth him, and yet hee thinketh not himselfe content, to haue the tenth part onely of thy goods from thee; except he haue also the first fruits of the benefices of the ministers, wherby hee may get a new patrimony, as well for himselfe as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wils of the first founders. Ouer and beside all this, he inferreth other execrable fees and stipends for his legats and messengers, whom hee sendeth into England, which not onely take away the feeding and clothing of thee & thine, but also teare in pieces like dogges your flesh and skinnes. May not this prince be compared to king Nabuchodonoser, which destroied the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the siluer and golden vessels thereof? The very same doth this man also; he robbed the ministers of God his house, and left destitute of due helpe. In like manner doth he. Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, then they which be pined with hunger: for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrennes of the earth. O daughter, all they that passe by the way, let them haue pitie and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker then coales, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more knowne in the streets: thy foresaid sinfull bath placed thee in darknesse, and hath giuen thee wormwood and gall to drinke. O Lord, heare the sorrow and sighings of thy people, behold Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid man is more indurate then the heart of Pharaoh. For hee will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not onely miserably vpon the earth, but also after their death, he intendeth to inrich the goods of all christians vnder the name and title to die intestate, or making no will. Therefore let the chiualry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times past, directing their greedy eies on the realme of England, labored with all their power how to bring the same vnder their subiection. But it is to be feared, lest the new deuices and practise of this new enemy, simply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the realme, and spoiling of the churches goods, the realme shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to helpe it selfe against the enemy. Therefore, O daughter, and you the ministers thereof, suffer not your selues to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the christian king and the powers of the realme, which haue indued thee with great benefits, and you also which are indued with their benefits, doe labour with all your power how to resist the deuices, conspiracies, arrogancie, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person: who not for any zeale of God, but for the inriching of his parents, and for his owne kindred (exalting himselfe like an eagle) by these and such other exactions goeth about after another kind of extortion to scrape vp and deuoure all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicitie of the realme in this behalfe doe bring vtter subuersion, and afterward be compelled to seeke remedy when it is too late: I beseech the Lord God of hosts to turne away the vaile from the heart of that man, and to giue him a contrite and an humble minde, in such sort as he may acknowledge the waies of the true God, whereby hee may bee brought out of darknesse, and be inforced to relinquish his old sinister attempts: and that the vineyard which the Lords hand hath planted, may bee replenished continually with the Preachers of the word. Let the words of the Lord prophecied by the mouth of Ieremy, stirre vp your minds to withstand and resist the subtill practises of this man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold I will come and visit vpon thee, and vpon the malice of thy studies: neither shall there be any of thy seede which shall sit vpon the seat of Dauid, neither which shall haue power any more in Iuda. So that thy nest shall become barren, and vtterly subuerted, like Sodoma and Gomer.

And if she being terrified by these words, doe not leaue off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those things which he hath receiued, then let all and singuler persons sing for him being indurat, to him that feeth all things, the psalme 108. *Deus laudem, &c.* For truly as fauour, grace, and beneuolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so against the gentle benignitie of man being too much oppressed and grieued, seeking to bee deliuered and freed from the same, striueth and searcheth to haue the truth knowen, and casteth off that yoke by all meanes possible that grieueth him, &c. *Hec Cassiodorus.*

*What effect this letter wrought in them to whom it was directed, is not in their expressed. This by the sequell may bee coniectured; that no reason or perswasion could preuaile, but that the pope retained here still his eractions, whatsoeuer was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.*

A parliament in France assembled, wherein is intended the vtter destruction of the templers.

How farre it extendeth.

Anno 1307

*And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England: now to slip a little into the matters happening the same time in France, vnder the raigne of the foresaid king Philip aboue mentioned: forsomuch as about this time, an. 1307. was commenced a parliament by the said king of France, against the pope, touching the iurisdiction both temporall pertaining to princes, and ecclesiasticall belonging to the church: I thought it not vnprofitable for the reader to heare and learne the full discourse and tractation hereof, according as we haue caused it to be exerpt faithfully out of the true copie and records of Peter Scrtrand bishop of Ebuerin, and chiefe doer and prolocutor in the said parliament vpon the popes side, against the king and state temporall.*

Anno 1307

*For so much as the high prelat of Rome, otherwise called Antichrist, being then in his chiefe rule, extolling himself aboue all princes and potentates of the world, as in other countries, so also in France extended his vsurped iurisdiction, abusing the princely authority of the king, claiming to himselfe full gouernment of both the states, as well secular as also ecclesiasticall: the king therefore not suffering the excessiue proceedings of pope Clement the 5. aboue specified, directeth his letters manifestory to the prelats and barons of the realme of France, to consult and assemble themselues together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the yere aboue prefixed. The tenor of which letters of the king directed to the prelats, followeth in this forme and manner.*

### *The summons of a parliament by Philip the French king.*

The letter of Philip king of France, to the bishops and prelats.

PHilip by the grace of God king of France, to our welbeloued bishop of Eduens, greeting and salutation. Reuerend Father in God, right trusty & welbeloued, we greet you wel. The more sight and knowledge you haue in diuinitie and the holy Scriptures of God, with the practise and experience of other good qualities and vertues: you know the better a great deale, how that the clergy and laitie of this our realme (as members of one body) ought to cleaue and sticke together: and how by their

their helping hand, vnity and peace should be maintained of all, and the contrary eschewed and auoided, euery state contenting it selfe, and not incroching one vpon another. And because we are aduertised, how that our barons and officers (as well in time past as of late) haue diuerslie in diuers points iniuried you, as lykewise you and yours in many causes haue wrongfully damaged them: by occasion whereof, the knot of vnitie and concord, which ought to haue flourished among you, is quite loosed and vndone. To the end therefore by Gods grace some good reformation and redresse may be had herein: We moſt studious of vnitie & concord require you, and by these our letters command you, to appeare personally before vs at Paris the 15. day of December next ensuing the date hereof, and there before vs to make relation of such wrong as ye haue receiued at the laities hands. And we likewise straitly charge and command you our barons, bailiffes and officers, not to faile, but to make your personall appearances before vs, the day and place aboue written, and there to exhibit before vs a bill of such complaints, wherewith you burden our prelats and clergie, with their officials: that we with our counsell consulting thereupon, with due regard may see redreſſe therein: whereby perpetuall loue and charitie may euer hereafter raigne and remaine among them for euer. Giuen at Paris the first day of September, an. 1329.

The preface contained.

At the day in the letters aboue specified, the prelats and clergy assembled themselues before the king at his palace in Paris, that is to wit, the lord Bituricen, the lord of Auritan, the lord Turonen, the lord Rothom, and the lord Senon, all archbishops: the lord Belnacen, the lord Cathalen, the lord Laudun, the lord of Paris, the lord Noutonen, the lord Carnoten, the lord Constan, the lord Andegauen, the lord Pictauen, the lord Spelden, the lord of Cameracen, the lord of S. Feri, the lord Mince, the lord of Cabulion, & the lord of Eduen, all bishops. Where after due reuerence done vnto the kings grace, there sitting in his owne person, with his barons and councell about him; a certaine noble and wise person, lord Peter de Cugnerijs, (being one of the kings counsell, rose vp and openly in the parliament house spake in the kings behalfe on this wise, taking for his Theame, Reddite quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, & quæ sunt Dei, Deo: which is to say; Giue and render vnto Cesar which is his, and vnto God which is Gods: which hee very artificially prosecuted and applied, diuiding it into three parts. First, that obedience and reuerence is due vnto the king. Secondly, that there ought to be a difference betweene the iurisdiction of the clergy and laity, so that spirituall matters should be defined and ordered by the prelats and spirituall men, & temporall causes ruled and determined by the king, his barons and temporall men. Which all he prooued by many reasons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth hereafter in the antecedent of the 6. of the affirmed not to appertaine to the order and iurisdiction of the spirituality, but onely to the temporality, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding the premisses, and for all this his complaint, he said that the prelats should haue time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the king. The copie of which articles, with answer ensuing vpon the same, and the greeuances of the kingdome of France, wrought by the clergie, and exhibited to the king, hereafter followeth.

Said Peter the writer in the parliament. Three Lines of Diuision.

The partition betwixt Church and State.

Difference betweene the iurisdiction of the State temporall and ecclesiasticall.

Articles in the parliament wherein is vnderstood the controuersie betweene the temporall iudges and the clergy.

1. First, the cognition of causes reall, whether they touch possession or not, by common law appertaineth to the iurisdiction temporall. Wut the prelates with their officials to the end to inforce the temporall iurisdiction, take vpon them the determination of such causes reall, especially concerning possession and all other interdicts.

Cases reall.

2. Item, when a temporall man is sued by any clerke or spirituall man for the possession of his land, obtaining an addomnament of the secular power, in the cause of nouite or otherwise: the prelats officials stopping hereby the temporall iurisdiction, at the instance of the clerke called by practise before them, both the secular iudge and the party, inhibiting them to proceed any further in the cause, vnder paine of excommunication and forfaiture of a certaine sum.

Wakts to intermeddle in temporall mens matters.

3. Item, although the secular iudge haue the cognition of all lay mens matters (except in spirituall causes) yet will the bishops officials at the instance of anyparty, call such before them. And if the temporall iudge not doe except against their iurisdiction, alleaging the incompetencie of the iudge, or else if they require the cause to be remitted to them (vnder whom they are) as the right iudges, yet doe the Officials refuse this to doe, yea and by excommunication compell the parties to proceed before them.

4. Item, the bishops officials at the instance of the clerks, alleaging that they are iniuried in matters of inheritance by a lay man, call by processe the laity. And if it be alleaged that these causes stand vpon reality, being so indeed, and for that consideration the cause to be remitted to the temporall law: this notwithstanding, the Officials prohibit them vnder paine of excommunication, or some great forfeit, not to proceed but before them.

5. Item, the Bishops Officials take vpon them to heare the plea of such contracts, as either be conceiued in writings or made by word of mouth in the temporall law, sending out their monition of excommunication against them that stand bound concerning the same contracts.

6. Item, the bishops and prelats decree prouincial councels and synodall statutes, enacting and ordering therein many things to the high and great preiudice of the temporall iurisdiction, wherein they ought to haue no cognition at all, neither to intermeddle themselues therewith.

7. Item, the foresaid Officials take vpon them, before Notaries to sweare persons for performance of contracts and bargaines (made by them in places vnder the iurisdiction temporall) concerning the sale of inheritance or otherwise, incroching thereby vpon their iurisdiction, when verily they haue nothing to doe with any contracts and obligations, but with such as are made and agreed vpon within the compasse of their owne seat and iurisdiction.

8. Item, the said Officials of their meere office, call before them the laity, to answer to such matters of correction as shall be laid to their charge, the cognition whereof, as they say, both appertaine vnto them. And when the said persons doe appeare before them, and deny the crime obiected against them, the Officials detaine them and put them in prison, although in such cases they are to be released; and that imprisonment appertaineth only to the temporall power, and not to them.

Ex Officio.

Imprisonment pertaineth not to the clergie.

9. Item, in the cases aforesaid, although by making of their purgations and other the processe therein, they be found cleere of that which is laid to their charge, and are acquitted; these yet the said Officials will in no wise discharge & dismisse them, before they haue to the vttermost paied for the writings and processe in that behalfe, a good peece of money, when by law it ought to be done gratis, and in nothing.

10. Item, it must not be forgotten to talk of the sentence of excommunication, which is decreed by vertue of one only citation, so often times as a man faileth in his appearance.

11. Item, mention is to be made of those kind of obligations Demsi. Whereby a man is excommunicated by and by, if he make not payment at the day prefixed, although he be not able so to doe.

12. Item, whosoeuer by vertue of excommunication in the bishops court is excommunicat, and he so excommunicat, doe not satisfie the summe due about the excommunication, by and by the sum is doubled. And the secular power charged by the Bishops or their Officials, that they vnder paine of excommunication compell the excommunicat by attaching their goods, to pay the said sum, and not to misse a iot: which monition, if the latter sufficiently put in execution, they themselues are then excommunicat, and in no wise to be absolued, before they disburse that money, the which the principall excommunicat person should haue paied.

13. Item, if the bailiffes, headboroughs or other the kings officers & iudges of the temporaltie, receiuing the foresaid monitions, do put the same in execution, and finde that he be excommunicat, to be beggerly and nothing worth; the said officers are bound at their owne proper costs and charges, to resort to the bishops sea or consistory, where soeuer it is, and there to take a corporall oth, that the parties excommunicat, are nothing worth. This if they faile, those officers are sure to be excommunicat, and thereby inforced to disburse the due of the first excommunicat persons.

14. Item, if two men be in suite together before a temporall iudge, about an action either reall or personall, and one of them after contestation of law, and great processe there in, do appeale vnto an ecclesiastical iudge, he will presume then to detaine before him the plea of such cases and actions, both reall and personall, causing by vertue of his monitions and authoritie, the temporall iudge to cease and leaue off from medling therein: which if the secular iudge obiecth not, he is pronounced excommunicat and compelled to make satisfaction; by occasion whereof, the temporall iurisdiction is much annoied and cleane lost the prerogatiue thereof; because by law no man may appeale from a spirituall iudge, to the temporall law.

Action reall, personall.

No man may appeale from a spirituall iudge to the temporall law by the popes bulls.

15. Item, if a lay man, inhabiter of any of the kings townes, procureth his debter, being also a lay man, to be arrested by vertue of secular iustice in that place; and he vpon his so arrested appeareth, and causeth also his creditor to be arrested, the officials will take vpon them to heare this matter: and if any thing be attempted concerning the appeale, they misse not to demand coſt and satisfaction both of the iustice, and also of him to whom the arrest was made. And if any of the princes retinew compelleth them to resist this iniurie, they are straightwaies pronounced excommunicat.

16. Item, of the said Bishops haue a number of Officials vnder them, whom they terme deanes of the clergie, which vsually



Deanes of the clergie

swallie causeth all sorts of people through the kings dominions one like by word of mouth to come afore them, and that sometime without commission: when that in euerie diocesse there ought only to bee but one seate or consistorie, wherein matters should bee heard and decided. And hereby it happeneth diuers times, that manie are wrongfully and without cause cited, and to the end, that they may pay money enough, to rid themselues thereof: which is to the no small preiudice of the kings maiesties subiects and the temporall iurisdiction.

17 Item, the said rulers of the clerkes, seale vp the houses of their clergie, which are situate in the kings townes, and other of his noble mens villages, to the preiudice of the kings maiesties iurisdiction, and other of his nobilitie: for that in such kind of places the bishops haue no such kind of iurisdiction.

Maried clerkes.

18 Item, the said prelats or their officials, do presume to seale vp the moueable goods of married clerkes, and of merchants, where in such cases, the order thereof appertaineth to the temporall law.

19 Item, they compell the laytie to put in suretie to answere clerkes before them in the spirituall court, yea and chiefe lie the kings owne seruiters.

20 Item, they presume to heare and haue the cognition of actions, which are reall, or at leastwise mixt, that is, both reall and personall.

21 Item, the said prelats go about to haue cognition of such temporall mens matters as dwell in hospitals, almes houses, and the kings peculiars, and in villages of his subiects, although the plea thereof appertaineth to the king himselfe, and his subiects: forbidding vnder paine of excommunication and great forfeits, no man so hardie to commence any suite against any of them, but before themselues, in paine of a great summe of money.

22 Item, to the end the clergie and ecclesiasticall rule should be multiplied, they confer a number of Tonsures to children vnder age, some of them being sonnes of bondmen, other some bastards borne, yea and to many more married folkes insufficient, vnable and vnlearned.

23 Item, they do cause by the gouernors of their clerkes, widow women to be inforced and defiled, and will haue the discussing thereof: as in like manner, they will determine the matters of pupills, applying their goods when they died, as they do the goods of them which die intestate, to their owne vse, the cognition whereof belongeth to the king himselfe: because those kind of persons with their goods are ward to the king and vnder his tuition.

Gifts to get mariage.

24 Item, they procure through the said deanes of the clergie, of maides, temporall men of the kings dominions or otherwhere (without all order of law) to be apprehended: obiecting against them that they haue strayed from some article of christian faith, and therewith shut them vp: when that their imprisonment appertaineth to the king, while they be conuicted thereof.

25 Item, they exercise their iurisdiction in all places, hauing no regard, neither to the kings peculiar townes, nor yet to his subiects: but runne in euerie hole, when by law they ought to haue no iurisdiction, without their owne limits and precinct.

26 Item, when these prelats or their officials by vertue of their monitions do charge the kings officers and his iustices to execute any thing; if they do not performe that, which is prescribed vnto them, the forfeit, which the monition containeth is taken vpon and excommunication denounced. And this is a new inuention sprung vp of late amongst them, much to the preiudice of the king and his subiects.

27 Item, when the bishops or their officials do prosecute a matter of office before themselues against any temporall man, and haue no power thereof; they compell many of the laytie to be deposed therein what they know, hauing no respect whether they be the kings burgesses, or no, or what they be; and yet will they not allow any charges and expenses for their paines taken in that behalfe. But if they appeare not at their day, they are sure to be excommunicat.

28 Item, if malefactours be apprehended by any of the kings iustices, and indited of theft, and he (whose goods they were which were stolne) commeth before the kings sheriffes and prooueth them to be his, and therefore the matter to be ordered by them: if afterward the bishops or their officials affirme the said felon or malefactor to be a clerke, they will by vertue of their decrees or monitions compell the kings sheriffes to restore and bring in the stolne goods: and if they do it not, they are pronounced excommunicate.

29 Item, if it happen the kings sheriffe or bayliffe to take an offender for his offence, and he affirmeth himselfe to be a clerke: although he neuer take any kind of tonsures or orders, wearing no habit appertaining thereunto: yet the bishops or their officials will cause the detainers of them by their censures to deliuer vnto them the said malefactour as their clerke.

30 Item, if it happen the kings sheriffe or other his iustices to take a theefe or murderer, which beareth a clerkes marke and tonsure, and therefore deliuereth him to the clergie to be ordered: it shall not be long before he be acquitted by them, although he afterward recognise his fact; yea and notwithstanding his fellowes and partners of that office being mere temporall, receiued iustice for the same, and appeached him thereof, and so the like malefactors to be incouraged thereby to commit after the like.

31 Item, if any complaineth and saith that he is spoiled, by and by the officials will decree a monition against the spoiler: by vertue whereof, some one of the deanes of the clergie shall monish him, to restore the things comprised in the monition, and also minister to him an oth whether he hath not spoiled the plaintiffe of such things, as he saith he was spoiled of. Wart if he refuse to take an oth before him, then the deane will straightwaies seale vp the monition, and excommunicat him, and by no meanes shall be absolued before he restore and satisfie the contents in the monition, whereof the plaintiffe said first he was spoiled of.

32 Item, if any for his offence be call into prison by the secular power, although at the time of his taking he weare temporall habit, and was in no orders, but all the daies of his life liued like a temporall man: yet if he shall auouch and vow himselfe to be a clerke, to the intent to haue more expedition at the clergies hands, and to escape vnpunished; the clergie will incontinent giue to the laytie in commandment to restore vnto them the malefactor, or else suspention to be denounced throughout the whole towneship where the said malefactor shall be so imprisoned. And for auoiding the leopardie which might arise of the said fealsement; the secular iudge of necessitie is compelled to deliuer them the offender, to the great preiudice of the kings temporall iurisdiction, to whom the cognition thereof might appertaine, in case of refoat and prerogatiue.

Reformation.

33 Item, when any offender is deliuered by the temporall magistrates to the clergie, as their clerke; his friends will make sute to the bishops officials for him, and compound with them; by reason whereof they dismisse them vnpunished, and so do worse and worse, although their fact was neuer so notorious.

34 Item, so some as any married clerke being a merchant or of whatsoeuer other science he be of, for any his offence by him committed, is called before the secular iudge: the said clerke obtaineth of the officials a monition, bringing with them some priest, who doth inhibit the secular iudge vnder paine of 100. or 200. markes, yea and of excommunication to, not to proceed further, nor to meddle in such causes, and not to molest such parties, neither in bodie nor goods: But if the iudges obey not, they shall be suspended from hearing of masse in that place, although the matter concerneth the fact of merchandize.

35 Item, the said officials grant citations without number against the laytie in cases of warrenties personally to ascite before them persons vnknowne. But if they be knowne, it is contained in the citation, that in no wise, and that vnder a great paine, he cause his aduersary to be called before a secular iudge, during the returne of the citation.

36 Item, when one is excommunicated in any place, the officials grant out personall citations against them, which do participat and are conuersant with the excommunicat: causing a whole countrey by the space of eight miles about to be cited together. And further, the friends and acquaintance of the partie so excommunicat (sometime by 40. sometime 60. yea and sometime by a 100. at once) are compelled to make their purgation before them, that they do not participat nor keepe companie with their friends the excommunicats. Whereby infinite that many honest, old and ancient men, for auoiding of troubles and vexations, do pay some twelue pence, some two shillings. By occasion whereof many vines are vnlaked to, much ground vntilled, yea and many good men constrained to lay the key vnder the doore, and run away.

37 Item, the said officials do burden many persons of good name and fame, to be vsurers; whereby they are constrained to agree with them, for auoiding the infamie that thereby might insue.

38 Item, the foresaid officials call by citation afore them, the honest wedded (as well man as woman) charging them, that they haue committed adulterie to the perpetuall infamie of their husbands and wiues. And for nothing else but by extortion to wring money from them.

39 Item, mention must be made of the multitude and number of notaries, which cast and deuoure vp all the wealth with their exactions: catching vp clients, and keeping abroad in the countrie courts and assises, who for money returne not the citations, which by extortion they receiue of them which are cited.

40 Item, there be manie other grieues and enormities, which the Chapters, Abbats, Priors, Priouors, and other ecclesiasticall persons in the realme of France, practise against the people. As when they cause to be cited before them, many of the kings burgesses, and other in diuers places being priuiledged: that is to say, Baiocenses, Pannetarius in Vitaine, the Lugdons, Pasticons, with other more. But specially the





prooust of hospitals, vse more commonly this tricke, then any

heare any rich or fat cob to die, or thinke that he will not liue



where it is written: Submit your selues vnto euerie creature, for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the su-

bilitie ought in manner to prescribe this law to himselfe, to thinke himselfe bound to giue, when he giueth freely: and vn-

prouoft of hofpitals, bfe more commonly this tricke, then any other bo: whereby the people is much indamaged, and will be euery day more and more, if remedie be not had therein.

41 Item, eccleſiaſtical magiſtrates labour to haue cognition of cauſes of iniurie, in whatſoeuer cauſe it be: whether the iniurie be committed by word or fact. Likewiſe, they take vpon them to heare the cauſes of married clerkes, and of their wiues although they both vſe merchandize. And if at any time ſuch couples be taken by the ſecular magiſtrates, the officiall cauſeth a ſuſpenſion to be denounced in that parith, by force of the councell Situanenſe.

42 Item, they challenge to haue cognition concerning widowes goods, both moueable and immoueable. And if it happeneth at any time that a merchant widow, in any of the kings peculiars by way of reſt, procureth any temporall man to be conuented before the ſecular iudge: and the matter ſo farre vniſed, that he ſhould haue bin condemned by the ſentence of the ſecular iudge, and then come to the care of the eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, how and before whom the widow bid conuent him: the ſaid temporall iudge ſhall be conſtrained, to withdraw the ſame. And by their monitions and cenſures to correct the ſame: and this of entimes happeneth.

43 Item, many of the tenants and inhabiters of the biſhops landes, calleth one another to the court of the officials, by a kind of appellation: by vertue whereof, the officials take vpon them to proceed in the ſame, and to haue cognition thereof, to the preiudice of the temporall iuriſdiction of our ſoueraigne lord the king.

44 Item, if any man be apprehended by ſecular iuſtice in the dedding of blod: by them if he be lay, he is to be ordred: if he be a clerke he is to be reſtored to the eccleſiaſticall iudge. But whether he be a temporall man or clerke that is ſo taken, and appealeth to the off cials court; they will be ſo bold to haue cognition thereof, requiring by reaſon amends of the ſecular court, which enterpriſed the foreſaid apprehenſion. If this be ſuffered, the malefactor ſhall neuer be puniſhed. For by and by they will appeale, and immediatly after the appellation flie and auoid away.

45 Item, when they cauſe many of office, to be cited before them, they will admit them to haue no procurs: to whom when they come at the day of appearance, they obiect the crime of uſury. And except they anſuere as the promoters will themſelues, they are trodden vnder feet (although they be mere lay) and ſhall not be diſmiſſed, before they fine euen as the officials liſt themſelues, although they be no vſurers. But if any be vſurers, they take of them ſatisfaction and bribes: and ſo be permitted to vſe their vſurie, no leſſe then before. So that, they may haue their old ſies and bribes.

46 Item, they procure their officers to apprehend clerkes in whatſoeuer ſoile they be found: albeit by iuſtice, they may appeale therefrom. But if by any they be let of their will herein, they do forthwith by ſentence of excommunication, cauſe them to deſiſt therefore.

47 Item, as oftentimes as any temporall magiſtrate doth apprehend any perſon, which afterward being required of the clergie, is quietly deliuered vnto them: yet for all that, the officials cauſe thoſe magiſtrates to be denounced excommunicat by law.

48 Item, the prelats giue order of tonſures as well to men of thirtie yeares vp ward, as alſo to married men, when they come vnto them, for feare of impriſonment and puniſhment due vnto them for their criminall offences, before committed: And this is oftentimes put in practiſe.

49 Item, if it happen any of the kings ſeruants or any other to be excommunicat, and would faine be abſolued, being glad to pay reaſonable for the ſame: the clergie will not receiue but ſuch ſatisfaction, as ſhall pleaſe them, whereby many of them remaine ſtill excommunicat.

50 Item, when two perſons haue bin at ſtrife and law together for the poſſeſſion of land, and the matter contentious be put into the handes of the king by ſome ſeruant or officer of the king, for the taking vp of the matter: then do the prelats adminiſtre vnto one part, not to trouble the other which is in poſſeſſion. Otherwiſe if he do, they do excommunicat him.

51 Item, the foreſaid prelats, deanes, chaplaines, and other the rout of the clergie, put the kings officers to ſo much trauell and expences in trying out the kings vſurped iuriſdiction, as they learne it; that oftentimes many of them ſpend and conſume in the trauell of the right and title thereof, all that they haue and more to.

52 Item, if any ſecular iuſticer in a true and iuſt cauſe, at the requeſt of the partie, putteth in his helping hand concerning the inheritance of clerkes: the eccleſiaſticall iudges and their miniſters, ſend out monitions in writting againſt the ſaid iuſticer: yea vnder paine of excommunication and ſuſpenſure, to take away his hand and leaue off. Enioyning him further to ſuffer the other partie quietly to enioy the ſaid things. Otherwiſe they denounce him excommunicat, and ſhall not be abſolued before he haue well paid for it, euen as pleaſeth maiſter officiall to the high preiudice of the authoritie of our ſoueraigne lord the king.

53 Item, the eccleſiaſticall magiſtrates, ſo ſone as they heare any rich or fat cob to die, or thinke that he will not liue long: ſend out forthwith letters vnder ſeale to their chaplaine, commanding him in any wiſe not to preſume to burie him, although he made his teſtament, and receiued the rites of the church. And when afterward, the friends and kinſfolkes of the dead reſort vnto them to know the cauſe of their inhibition; they declare vnto them that he was an vſurer, and that he kept not the commandements of holy church: and ſo long keepe they the corps of the dead vnburied, while the friends of him buy it out with good ſtore of money, heaping and heaping by theſe meanes abundance of riches.

54 Item, if there be any violent ſhedding of blod in any churchyard, whereby the interdict taketh place: the clergie cauſeth a certaine impoſition to be leuied of the parſhioners there, for the ſalarie towards the reſtoring thereof. Although ſome of the parſhioners be of an exempt iuriſdiction: yea and although he which ſhed the blod be able to pay the whole taxe which they leuied and impoſed.

55 Item, certaine chaplaines affirme to haue certaine apoſtolicall priuiledges, by vertue whereof they may appoint what iudges they will (yea and oftentimes of their owne houſe) and ſo be iudges in their owne cauſe, which is plaine againſt the law. Whereby oftentimes it happeth, that after great proceſſe and expences had and made in any great cauſe of inqueſt (more often about realitie then otherwiſe) when they haue notice by the procters and aduocats that they ſhall haue the ſolle therein; they reuoke forthwith thoſe named iudges, and ſo the kings ſubiects are damaged, and can haue no iuſtice nor redreſſe at their handes.

56 Item, if any temporall man call a clerke before a ſecular iudge in a cauſe of inheritance: the eccleſiaſticall iudge procureth a ſtop to be made therein, attributing to themſelues the cognition thereof: and ſo by adiourning and remouing, the lay man is conſtrained to make ſatisfaction.

57 Item, the clergie challengeth the cognition of ſuch cauſes as married clerkes being merchants and artificers do commence: when by law it doth appertaine to the temporaltie, eſpecially about the trade of merchandiſe.

58 Item, they oftentimes make interdictions in many of the kings townes and holds, and cauſe the diuine ſeruice to ceaſe: againſt the priuiledges granted by many of the high biſhops of Rome to our ſoueraigne lord and maiſter the king.

59 Item, to and for the maintenance and keping of their temporalities, they appoint baſtifes and other officers: who if they do offend, may not condignely be puniſhed according to law and iuſtice.

60 Item, the eccleſiaſticall iudges haue promoters belonging vnto them: who when any man is excommunicated (be it right, or be it wrong) they cauſe to be made, that no man ſhall wooke or do any thing for him that is excommunicate: whereby the lands and vines are oftentimes vnlooked to and battiled, to the no ſmall preiudice of the king and his common people.

61 Item, the foreſaid promoters cauſe citations to be made out, by vertue whereof they call in one citation, twentie, thirtie, fortie perſons to appeare, for participating with ſuch interdicted perſons: taking of ſome ten, of otherſome twentie ſhillings, as much as they be able to make: whereby the common people are much oppreſſed.

62 Item, the eccleſiaſticall iudges cauſe all the aduocats of their courts to be ſworne, that none ſhall retaine them of their counſell againſt any of them, without their licence: whereby oftentimes the poore man quite loſeth his right, and the kings cauſe is delayed: becauſe his ſolicitours cannot freely retaine counſell, without ſpeciall licence.

63 Item, they will make inuentories of their goods which die inteſtate, or without making of Will: and will haue the poſſeſſion of their goods, as well moueable as immoueable in their owne hands to diſtribute to the heires, or to whom they liſt.

64 Item, the execution alſo of teſtaments they take to their owne hands, taking inuentories of dead mens goods, and keping and diſpoſing them to the heires after their pleaſure. And haue officials properly deputed for the execution thereof.

65 Item, they will not giue credit (ſometimes) to teſtaments made before witnelle, vnleſſe they be ſtrift by their owne officials approued.

After he had thus ſpoken, the prelats required to haue time to anſwere thereunto. Whereupon was appointed for the ſame the Friday next inſuing. On the which day, the biſhop Ebrard, and archbiſhop of Senon elect in the name of the whole clergie, anſwered for them all before the king, holding his parliament as that day at Vicennes, and thus he there propounded: For ſo much as the lord Peter Cugner of late propounding againſt the church of France, tooke to his theme that is written in the 22. of Matthew: Render vnto Ceſar, that which is Ceſars, and vnto God that which is Gods: by which words he ſaid, two points were to be noted: Firſt the reuerence and ſubiection of the prelats, that they ought to haue to the king their ſoueraigne: Secondly the diuiſion of the temporall iuriſdiction from the ſpirituall. The which firſt part he proued out of the firſt epiſtle of Peter in the ſecond chapter, where

Note the ſpecial cauſe of eſtates to be conſidered.

Luke 22.

Math. 17.

Two gifts giuen, prieſthood, empire.

Prou. 22.

Diſt. 10.

The clergie priuiledged to common iuſtice.

Ex officio.

Office craftily obiected by the clergie againſt laymen.

The prelats make the church a den of theeues.

Bishop Ebrard archbiſhop of Senon elect ſpeaketh for the prelats.

Repetition of the lord Peters oration aboue touched, pag. 324.



where it is written: Submit your ſelues vnto euerie creature, for the Lords ſake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the ſuperiour, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are ſent of him: for the puniſhment of euill doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. The ſecond point he proued by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt in the two and twentith chapter of Luke, where the Apoſtle ſaith: Lord behold, here are two ſwords. And he ſaid vnto them, it is enough, ſignifying by the two ſwords the two iuriſdictions. And in likewiſe out of the ſeuentenith of Matthew, where Chriſt would pay tribute for him and Peter. Giuing hereby an example, how that eccleſiaſticall perſons were bound to pay and yeeld to the temporall power the temporalities; which alſo is proued in the 11. quæſt. prim. cap. Si tributum, & cap. magnum.

And further, becauſe this is proued by mans law, where it is ſaid, two great gifts are beſtowed, prieſthood and empire: the prieſthood to rule ouer matters diuine, the empire to beare domination ouer humane matters. Whereby he concluded, that when theſe iuriſdictions are diſtincted of God; the one being giuen and limited to the church, and the other to the temporalitie: that it no wiſe the church ought to intermeddle, or to haue any thing to do with the temporall iuriſdiction. For it is written in the two and twentith of the Prouerbs, Pou ought not to paſſe the old limits and bounds, which the forefathers haue ſet. And well by the way he bringeth in this word, old and ancient: Becauſe cuſtomes brought in to the contrarie, be of no force, but rather are counted abuſes and corruptions. Neither can preſcription take place, for that ius fiſci is imprſcriptible, neither can the king abrogat from himſelfe ſuch law, nor renounce his right, pronuing the ſame by many chapters contained in the 10. Diſtinct. Wherefore ſeeing the king at what time he was crowned, ware not only not to alienate or infringe the lawes of his realme, but alſo to call in ſuch lawes as were alienated and diſturped either by the church, or by any other: the king was bound by his oth to reuoke the ſame abuſes.

In eſpeciall he did exhibit many articles in writing, wherein (as he ſaid) the church did diſturpe vpon the iuriſdiction temporall. To anſwere theſe premiſſes with conciling of the places (vnder proteſtation whatſoeuer I ſay or ſhall ſay) it is not to ground or make any ſmall iudgement or determination herein: but only to informe the conſcience of our ſoueraigne lord the king and his aſſiſtants here aſſembled, alleaging the firſt epiſtle of Peter the ſecond chapter, where he ſaith: Feare God and honor the king. By which words, the holy Apoſtle Saint Peter teacheth vs two things. Firſt, that loue, feare, and obedience, is due vnto God for the mightineſſe and puiſſance of his Maieſtie; ſaying, Feare God. Secondly, how eſpeciall honor and reuerence is due to the king, for the excellencie of his dignitie; ſaying, Honor the king. But note pon by the way, how the Apoſtle placeth his words: Firſt hee faith, that feare is due vnto God, becauſe principally and in chiefe we ought to feare God: For if the king or any other ſhould command things cotrarie to God, we ought to haue no regard therof, but to contemne the king and feare God. For it is written in the fifth of the Acts of the Apoſtles; We ought rather to obey God then men: and alſo in the ſeuenth chapter of Dachabees the ſecond booke, where it is ſaid, I will not obey the commandements of the king, but the law.

The reaſon whereof S. Auguſtine giueth both in the Gloſſe vpon the Romans, and alſo in the 11. quæſt. 1. He that reſiſteth the ſuperiour power, reſiſteth the will and ordinance of God. But put caſe thou art commanded to do that which thou ought not do, or not to do that which thou ought eſt to do. Doubteleſſe, thou muſt neglect the leſſer power, and feare the higher, learning the degrees of worldly things.

If for example, he it ſo that a proctor commandeth thee any thing, which if the ſame be againſt the Proconſull) thou ought not to follow it. Yea am further, put caſe the proconſull commandeth one thing, the emperour another, and God willeth the third: Thou muſt not care for them, but obey God, for God is the greater power: For they may threaten thee with priſon, but God may threaten thee with hell fire: they may ſlay and kill thy bodie, but God may ſend thee bodie and ſoule to perpetuall hell fire. And therefore worthily it is put firſt, feare God. And here the place in the laſt of Eccleſiaſticus is to be adioyned, where it is written: Feare God and keepe his commandements.

And me thinketh that man is bound to feare God chiefely in three ſorts. That is to ſay: Firſt in the bountifull beſtowing of his gifts and benefits. Secondly, in the prudent promoting of his ſeruants: and laſtly, in the full rendring and reſtoring vnto man that is his.

Firſt, I ſay in the bountifull, &c. and for this cauſe the emperour Iuſtinian writeth: Although there is nothing to be accounted good, which doth exceed and is to great, yet for a prince to beſtow accordingly vpon the church, it is verie good. For why, the king and emperour is bound to beſtow ſo much the more ſubſtance, how much the more God hath giuen to him, and to beſtow the ſame both frankelie, and eſpecially to famous churches, wherein the beſt and greateſt meaſure is of the lords gifts, that is, a great gift. And to this end Gregorie enacteth a law, cap. 1. de extra, de donationibus, that nobilitie ought in manner to preſcribe this law to himſelfe. to thinke himſelfe bound to giue, when he giueth freely: and vnleſſe he increaſe in giuing ſtill, to thinke that he hath giuen nothing.

Wherefore Abel, as appeareth in the 4. chapter of Geneſis, who offered of the beſt to the Lord, was bleſſed of God. And therefore other kings, the more they offered to God, the more they were both ſpirituallie and temporally bleſſed of him: As we reade of Joſua, Dauid, Salomon, and others in the booke of the kings: and therefore it is ſo written in the 18. of Numbers: And ye ſhall ſeparate vnto the Lords treaſurie, things that be cheefeſt and moſt principall. Likewiſe Dauid ſaith in the firſt of Paralipomenon laſt chapter: I haue giuen all this with a glad heart, euen with a good will, and now haue I had ioy to ſee thy people which heere are preſent, offer with a free will vnto thee. And no marueil, for Dauid ſaith in that place: For of thy hand we haue receiued all, and to thee we giue. And therefore it ſeemeth to me, that becauſe the kings of France and barons of the ſame, more then any other haue giuen to God and his church: therefore they were happie and bleſſed aboue all other kings, and the more they did giue to God, the more they receiued at his hands.

Examples wherof we haue of Clodoue, Charles, and S. Lewes: the more one giueth to God, the more he receiueth of him: For he in the firſt of Luke hath promiſed, Giue and it ſhal be giuen vnto you. Wherefore, a gift that a prince beſtoweth vpon the church is requited againe with triple encreaſe, and that no leſſe in time of warre then in time of peace. I ſay in warre time, becauſe victorie proceedeth of no other but only of God, for it is written in the 1. Machabees the third chapter: The victorie of the battell ſtandeth not in the multitude of the hoſt, but the ſtrength commeth from heauen. And likewiſe, in the ſeuenteenth chapter of Exodus it is declared, that when Moſes held vp his hands, Iſrael had the victorie: but when he let downe his hands, Amaleck had the victorie. To this end alſo ſerueth the laſt chapter of Machabees 2. Where Judas being at the point to haue the victorie, thought he law Onion and Jeremie (which had been high prieſts and verie vertuous men) holding vp their hands toward heauen, and praying for their people and all the whole cite, &c. Likewiſe in peace time now, the long dates of the king and of his ſonnes, their peace, proſperitie, and obedience (by the prayer of the church) is maintained and ſupported in the realme. For as long as Salomon was bent and giuen in building the houſe of God, ſo long he had peace: who thus in the ſeuenth chapter of the Prouerbs teacheth vs: When a mans waies pleaſe the Lord, he maketh his verie enemies to be his friends: And alſo in 1. Eſdras the firſt chapter, where it is read, how the prieſts were commanded to offer ſweet ſauours to the God of heauen, and pray for the kings life and his children. And well therefore may it be called a gift both ſauourable and irreuocable, whereby victorie is giuen, life granted, and peace with ſecuritie confirmed. To ſerue therefore God, and liberally to giue toward the worſhipping of him, is the cheefeſt ſigne and token of diuine feare and loue. Eccleſiaſt. chap. 2. Dye that feare the Lord, beleeue him, and your reward ſhall not be emptie.

Secondly, concerning the feare of God, I do put to vnderſtand, that among the precepts of the Lord, the firſt and cheefeſt commandement of the ſecond table is, To honor thy father. Which precept is verie well expounded to the Hebrewes in the twelfth chapter. Where it is not only meant of the fathers of our bodies, but alſo of the father of ſpirits. For as ſpirituall things farre excede temporall matters: ſo much more a great deale the ſpirituall ſonne is bound to reuerence the ſpirituall father, and to be in ſubiection vnto him, that he may liue. And that the prieſts and prelats be the ſpirituall fathers, it is proued in the fourth booke of the kings, the firth chap. Where the king of Iſrael called Eliſeus father, ſaying: My father ſhall I ſmite them? Tinde this effect ſerueth the tenth of Luke, where our Sauiour ſaid to the Apoſtles (whoſe ſucceſſours the biſhops are) He that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me. Alſo in the firſt to the Theſſal. the fourth chapter, He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth not men but God. Wherefore Juſtinian the emperour in another place ſaith: We haue great care to the church of God, that therein may be true doctrine and integritie of prieſts life. Which hauing, we truſt that for our great gifts we ſhall receiue ſuch rewards at Gods hands, both as be durable, and ſhall remaine: yea and alſo that hitherto haue not hapned. Bleſſed Saint Hierome in his regiſter writing to a certaine emperour, which is alſo to be ſeene in the decrees. Decret. 11. quæſt. 1. ſaith: Let not the emperour diſdaine prieſts, but haue ſpeciall regard on them for his ſake whoſe ſeruants they be: and ſo let him rule ouer them, that doe and condigne reuerence be giuen vnto them. For they in diuine Scriptures are ſometime tearmed Gods, ſometimes named Angels, Exodus 22. Then ſhall both their cauſes come before the gods. Alſo Malachie the ſecond, the prieſts lips ſhould bee ſure of knowledge, that men may ſeeke the law at his mouth: For he is a meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts. And therefore is it no marueil, if we ſhould vouchſafe to honour them, when God himſelfe in his ſpech attributing to them honour, teacheth them Gods and Angels. And here is to be noted,



Honor to be giuen to prieſts.

Luke 10.

1. Theſſ. 4.

4. Kings 6.

Exod. 22.

Malach. 2.

Decret. 11. quæſt. 1. Sacerdotibus.

What benefit commeth by giuing to the church.

Luke 6.

Time of warre

1. Mach. 3.

Exod. 17.

2. Mach. 2.

Time of peace

Eſdras 6.

Eccleſ.

The ſecond part of louing God.

Hebr. 12.

Honoring of ſpirituall fathers.

Fear of God handeth in three points.

how Constantine the emperour, when certaine of his subiects presented vnto him libels accusatorie against the bishops, receiued them at their hands. But calling before him those bishops which were accused therein, cast in their sight those libels into the fire, saying: depart you hence and discusse these matters with in your selues: For it is not conuenient and meete that we iudge Gods, because it is written: God stood in the synagogue of Gods, and in the middest of them he did iudge Gods. In which chapter it is declared, how that the Pagans who worshipped golden and wodden gods, attributed great honor to the priests: What marueil is it then, if the godly and great and christian emperours doe honor and reuerence the priests of the true God? And doubtlesse, it is their dutie so to do. And it is reason which the lord Peter the last day said, in this point: That there are two powers, priesthood and dominion, the one spirituall, the other temporall: which no lesse differeth one from the other, then the Sunne from the Moone, the heauen from the earth, and gold from lead. And therefore if honor is due to be giuen to the lesser power, by them that be vnderneath him: be that is chefe of the higher power, of right good dutie is to be honored, and reuerenced of all vnder him, as expresselye is declared, Can. Solit. Decim. & ob. In which chapter answere is fully made to the allegation of the lord Peter (alleged by him to make for his purpose) that is to say: Vse yee subiect to all creatures for Gods sake, &c. There hee speaketh of the subiection which standeth vpon the merit of vertue, and not vpon the dutie of necessitie. For else if hee should speake of the subiection which is by dutie of necessitie: then must it needs follow, that euery bishop ought to be subiect to euerie beggerly rascall in the citie of Paris. For the text is, Vse yee subiect to all humane creatures: but a rascall is a humane creature: Ergo, bishops must be subiect to a rascall. Of the dignitie of a bishop Ambrose teacheth in his pastorall. The honor, saith he, and the maiestie of a bishop is without all comparison. If you compare it to the royaltie of a king, it is euen as you would compare mettall or lead to the beautie of gold. For that is to be seene, that kings and princes stooping vnder the knees of priests, and kissing their right hand; thinke themselues to be defended by their prayer. And because the kings of France haue more then other, honored and reuerenced the prelats, they haue aboue all other flourished and prospered. It is said in Ecclesi.4. He that honoreth his father, shall reioyce in his sonnes. And it followeth there, He that honoreth his father, shall liue a long life. This is therefore the signe of the feare of God. And as it is written in Ecclesi. 4. He that feareth God honoreth his parents.

Two powers, temporall and spirituall, and what difference betweene them both.

De mai. & obed. cap. Solit.

Double subiection vpon merit of vertue, and vpon dutie of necessitie.

The authoritie of a bishop and a king compared.

The pride of the prelacie.

Stoop kings. Eccles.4.

Eccles.4.

Thirdly I say, that a man ought to feare God, in the full reuerencing and reseruing vnto man that is his: For he that doth not giue to another that is his, but goeth about to vsurpe, doubtlesse he feareth not God. Contrarie, he that reuerenceth all

The threefold part of feasing God.

Eccles.18.

men, he is said to loue and feare God. Ecclesiast. 18. He that feareth God shall do good things. And in the Psalme, I haue been afraid of thy iudgements, and haue done iudgement and iustice. For as the lawyers say, which is true: A thing may be made mine diuers waies, as by succession, connatation, prescription, or any other acquisition, either by law or custome: And so of the rest. And whereas the Lord Peter the last day, by distinction of iurisdiction temporall and spirituall, endeuored to proue that he which had spirituall iurisdiction, ought not to haue temporall; otherwise there were no distinction thereof, but rather a confusion of iurisdictions. I will therefore proue the contrarie, that these iurisdictions are compatible both in one person, especially in an ecclesiasticall man. And this will I proue by the law of God, by the law of nature, canon law, ciuill law, by custome and priuiledge. But first I alleage, that accidentall formes (some of them are so distincted, that they are not cleane contrarie, but dissalike, as whitenesse and sweetnesse. Other formes there be which are so distincted, that they are cleane contrarie one to the other, And are not compatible in one subiect. For one contrarie expels another, and importeth the negatiue of the other. Wherefore these things be contrarie, which one from another are most of all distant and disagreeing, and in one subiect while may come one after the other, but not together, as the philosopher teacheth in the Predicaments. But those formes which are so distincted, that they be not contrarie but dissalike; are compatible in one subiect, as quantitie and qualitie, which being distinacted in respect of their Genus generalissimum, yet may be in one person. And fortitude and temperance being vnder one kind of morall vertue, are found to be in one man, as Logicke and Grammar, which are also species and kindes in one genus, viz. of intellectus. Therefore it is no good argument: These formes be distinacted, Ergo, they be not compatible in one subiect. And therefore that the iurisdictions temporall and spirituall are so distincted, that they are not contrarie but compatible, it is euident hereby, because things contrarie be so that the one cannot be ordained to concurre with the other, but rather confoundeth and destroyeth the other: but in this case iurisdiction temporall is ordained for the spirituall, and contrarie, the spirituall for the temporall. Or rather, the one so dependeth of the other, as the clearenesse of the Moone doth of the brightnesse of the Sunne. Also the one iurisdiction so helpeth and comforteth the other,

Sixe processe. 1. Diuine law. 2. Byrde law of nature. 3. De canon law. 4. Bye ciuil law. 5. By custome. 6. By priuiledge. Formes being distincte and not contrarie, may be compatible in one subiect.

that there is no contrarietie in them. And therefore it is no good consequence, because they are distincted: Ergo, they are not compatible in one person. This also is to be proued de facto. For the earth is the Lords, and the plentie of the whole vniuersall world, and all that dwell therein. It is proued in likewise by this reason. For if the iurisdictions were not compatible; it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should haue any iot of temporall iurisdiction: neither land, tower, castle, lordship, or any other thing else, which is most absurd: and so by this meanes it should follow, that no ecclesiasticall person should bee in subiection vnto the king, which were to the great derogation of the kings maiesties crowne and dignitie. It must needs bee therefore that these iurisdictions bee compatible, notwithstanding the distinction of them one from another. And thus for answere to all these reasons, by the which lord Peter proued the distinction of these iurisdictions.

These things premised, thus I proceed further to proue that a person ecclesiasticall, which hath iurisdiction spirituall, may also haue temporall iurisdiction: and that the iurisdiction temporall may bee in an ecclesiasticall person, I will proue it by the Scriptures: and first out of the old testament: to the euident probation whereof, it is to bee vnderstood: That God, after the creation of the world and man, euen vnto Noes time, would gouerne the world himselfe as king by the ministerie of Angels. By reason whereof he gaue and pronounced sentence himselfe against Cain, Genesis the fourth. Noe also which offered burnt offrings vnto the Lord, and built an altar, as teacheth the eight of Genesis: (which thing appertained onlie vnto the priests) had the gouernment and rule of all things, as well spirituall as temporall, which were in the Arke of Noe. Melchisedech in likewise, the which was the priest of the most high God, and also king of Salem, as appeareth in the fourteenth of Genesis, and had both the iurisdictions in his owne hands. For Magister Historiarum, in the said fourteenth of Genesis declareth, that after the first floud of Noe, euen to Aarons time hee was priest: which at meales and offrings vsed to bless the people, and which only had the Ius primogeniture, whereby the regiment of others was due vnto them. Moses in like manner (of whom it is said in the Psalme, Moses & Aaron in sacerdotibus eius) consecrated Aaron and his children to bee priests, which Aaron did indge the whole people in temporall matters, yea and that in causes of inheritance and more reall, as appeareth in the seuen and twentith chapter of Numbers, and many other places. To which purpose seemeth the seuentenith chapter of Deuteronomie: where it is said; If a matter be too hard for thee in iudgement betwixt blood and blood, betwixt plea and plea, betwixt plague and plague; then shalt thou arise and go vp to that place, that the Lord thy God hath chosen: and thalt come to the Priests, the Leuites, and to the Iudge then being, and shalt aske, who shall shew vnto vs the truth of the iudgement; and follow their sentence. And if any man presumptuously shall refuse to obey the priests commandements and decree of the iudge, the same shall die. Behold how manifestly it doth appeare, how not only the iudgement appertained to a priest, betweene plague and plague, concerning the circumstances and irregularitie of the law: but also betwixt blood and blood, in matters criminall: yea and betwixt plea and plea in ciuill matters: Which thing both appeare to be in many iudges out of the boke of Iudges. For Samuel, which was both a prophet and priest, was appointed iudge of long time ouer the people in matters temporall: And when the people desired a king, the Lord was highly offended with them, and said vnto Samuel: They haue not refused thee but me, that I should not be king ouer them. Furthermore, as long as kings among the people of God, vsed the aduice and counsell of priests and bishops; it was well with them and their kingdome: But when they forsooke and left the counsell of bishops and priests, then was their kingdome diuided, and finally they brought into captiuitie. In which captiuitie, the people were altogether gouerned and ruled by the priests and prophets, as by Esdras and Nehemias: And last of all by the meanes of the Machabees, the kingdome and gouernment was deuoluted and brought into the priests hands, who were the kings and captaines ouer the people: and had the gouernment as well of spirituall matters as of temporall, as is read in the first boke of Machabees the second chapter: Of Mathatia and his sonnes, videlicet, of Iudas Machaby, Jonatha, Simon, and John the son of Simeon ruling in all spirituall and temporall matters, were gouernours ouer the people of God. Moreouer, the first chapter of Jeremie declareth, which was one of the priests, after this manner: I haue set thee ouer the people and kingdomes, that thou maist root out, breake, destroy, and make waste, and that thou maist build vp and plant, Ierem. capite primo. Besides this, in time of Judge Eliach, a priest in like maner had the iudgement of temporall matters. And so much concerning the proofe hereof, out of the old Testament.

Proofes out of the old Testament.

Melchisedech was both king and priest, Ergo, the pope may haue both iurisdictions. Genes.14.

Samuel was iudge in temporall matters, Ergo, the pope may haue both iurisdictions.

1. Mach.2.

Ierem.1.

Secondlie, I proue my former proposition by authorities taken out of the new Testament. For Christ had not only by diuine nature both the powers, whereby he created all things of nothing, and by consequence was God of all, but

Proofes taken out of the new Testament.



but also by his humanitie had both powers. For he was the priest, secundum ordinem Melchisedech (as it is said in the Psalmes, and also is alleaged to the Hebrewes) which had both in his vesture and thigh written: King of kings and Lord of lords. By this vesturient or thigh was meant his humanitie, which was coyned to his Diuinitie, as the garment is to him that is vested with it. He said of himselfe in the last of Matthew: Giuen is vnto me all power both in heauen and in earth. As also to the Hebrewes the first chapter, Whom he made and constituted heire of all vniuersall things. And likewise in the second chapter to the Hebrewes: He hath made him not much inferiour to the Angels: he hath crowned him with glorie and honor, and hath set him aboue the workes of his hands: Thou hast put all things in subiection vnder his feet, sheepe and oxen, and all the whole cattell of the field. When therefore it is said, he made all things subiect to him, he excludeth nothing as the Apostle there saith. Whereby it is apparant, that as concerning his humane nature, in the which he was made lesse then the Angels, all things were subiect to him. Also this appeareth in the second chapter to the Philippians: He humbled himselfe, wherefore God exalted him, &c. And it followeth, that in the name of Jesus should euerie knee bow, both of things in heauen and of things in earth, and of things vnder the earth. Behold here, that by nature by which he did humble himselfe, he was exalted because euerie knee should bow vnto him. This in like manner hath Saint Peter in the tenth chapter of the Acts, where he saith, he was constituted of God the iudge ouer the quicke and the dead: And he speaketh of the nature which God raised vp the third day, as the whole Scripture proueth. And likewise Saint Peter had this power giuen him, whom Christ constituted and made his vicar, who also condemned by sentence iudicially Ananias and Saphira for lying and stealing: Acts chapter 5. Paul also condemned a fornicatour conuicted, 1. Corinthians 5. And that Christ would the correction and iudgement of such matters to appertaine to his Church, a text in the eighteenth of Matthew expresselye declareth, where it is said: If thy brother trespasse against thee, go and tell him his fault betweene him and thee: if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother: But if he heareth not, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established: If he heare not them, tell it vnto the congregation: If he heare not the congregation, take him as an heathen man and a Publican. Verily I say vnto you; what soeuer you bind on earth, the same shall be bound in heauen, and what soeuer you loose on earth, the same shall be losed in heauen. Behold how expresselye it is commanded, that whensoeuer in any matter one offendeth the other, he being first charitable admonished, the matter must bee published and referred to the order of the church and congregation. But if the offender do not obey and heare the admonition, he is to be taken as an heathen and a Publican: which is as much to say, like one that is excommunicat by the church and congregation. So that he may haue no communion or participation with it. And that this was the intention of Christ, this seemeth much to proue it, where in giuing the reason hereof, he immediatly addeth: Verily I say vnto you, What soeuer, &c. (where note this terme distributiue, what soeuer) so as the apostle argueth to the Hebrewes the second chapter, that if he ordained all things to be subiect vnto him, he excludeth nothing vnsubiected. Wherefore thus I may argue; If all things that the church and congregation doth lose, be loosed, and euery thing that the church bindeth is bound: There is nothing that the church may not loose and bind. Or by logicke thus I may reason: There is nothing bound by the church, that is not bound in heauen: which argument is good by a certaine rule of logicke which saith: that contraries if the negation be put after, are equiualent. For euery thing and nothing, what soeuer thing, and no manner of thing, be contrarie one to the other. And so nothing not, is as much to say, as all things. Secondly, I do proue it out of another text of Saint Luke, chapter 22. Which place alleaged to make for his purpose. I will strike him with his owne weapon. For where he said, that by the two swords the two powers temporall and spirituall were to be vnderstod, it was so indeed: but to whose hands would he (I pray you) haue these two swords committed? Truly to the hands of Peter and other the Apostles, &c. But the holy father the pope succeeded Peter, and the other Apostles, the bishops disciples, curats, parsons, as in the Glosse appeareth, Luke 10. whereby thus I argue: That by the two swords, the two powers are meant: But Christ willed those two swords to be put into the churches hands: Ergo, he would likewise the two powers. But you may replie and say, that Christ did reprehend Peter because he strooke with a temporall sword and cut off an eare, saying vnto him put vp thy sword, &c. Which reason is of no force. For Christ did not will Peter to cast away quite from him the sword, but to put it into the scabard and to keepe it, giuing to vnderstand thereby, that such power, although it be in the churches hands: yet the execution thereof (as much as appertaineth to bloodshedding in the new law) hee would haue to appertaine to the secular iudge: notwithstanding yet perhaps, according to the discretion and will of the clergie.

Apoc. 19. Christ by his humane nature had both powers.

Psalme 8. Hebr. 2.

Philip. 2.

Act. 10.

Matth. 18.

Luke 22.

Omnia terminus distributiuus.

Thirdly, I proue this by the intent of Saint Paul in the

1. Corinth. 6. where he saith: that they which haue secular businesse, and contend one against another, ought to be iudged by the Saints. And that they should iudge therein, therefore he made this argument: Know you not that the Saints shall iudge the world? And if the world be iudged by you, are ye not good enough to iudge small trifles? As though he would say, Do yee not know how that yee shall iudge the Angels? How much more then may you iudge things secular? And it followeth: If you haue iudgement of secular and worldly matters, take them which are despised in the church and congregations, and make them iudges. Neither doth it make any thing against, because the Apostle in the same place inferreth: Ad verecundiam vestram dico: I say it to your shame. For that is to be referred to those, where hee saith, Appoint those which are despised. Wherefore the Apostle speaketh ironically in this matter, as meaning thus: Sooner and the rather you ought to run to the iudgement of the despised which be in the church, then to the iudgement of those which be out of the church.

1. Cor. 6. I.

Ergo, the rather to resort to the iudgement of the wise, who remaine in the church and congregation. Wherefore the Apostle by and by added when he said, I speake to your shame: What not one wise man amongst you that can iudge betweene brother and brother? Meaning thereby that there was some. By these therefore and many other like reasons it appeareth (which to breuitie I omit) that both the powers may be in an ecclesiasticall mans hand: and that an ecclesiasticall man is capax both of the temporall and spirituall iurisdiction. Notwithstanding matter fit to be obserued, that Peter and other Apostles and Christ himselfe, bled little the temporall power. For in them was not the like reason as now is in vs, as is proued in the 22. quæst. 1. cap. and in many other places of the law. The Apostles at the first beginning tooke no receit of lands and possessions, but the price only thereof; which now the church with verie good reason doth receiue: and that to the great merit both of the giuer and offerer, as it appeareth of Constantine and others: In the which forsaid 1. cap. the reason of diuersitie is well proued. For that the Apostles did so, for that the church should be among Gentiles, and not one to be in Iudea, &c. And further, at the beguning Christ and his Apostles were vnlolie bent and giuen, to our health, saluation and erudition: little sticking or standing vpon the exercise of euerie churches iurisdiction, hauing regard to that which is written in the first chapter to the Corinthians: All things are lawfull vnto men, but all things are not expedient. And likewise in the eight chapter of Ecclesiastes it is read, that euerie thing hath his time. But now (through the grace of God) the whole people of the realme of France haue submitted themselues to the Christian faith; wherefore the church is certainly minishing of iudices and punishing of vice: for peace shall be the worke of iustice, Esay the 32. chapter. And in these iudgements this only is to be considered, that the life of man bee reformed, &c. Thus you see, how this our conclusion somewhat is confirmed by the Scriptures. Now will I proue it by naturall law and reason, and first after this manner: He seemeth most fit to play a good iudges part, which followeth neerest God: for properly God is the ruler and director of all iudgements, who saith, Prouerb. capite octauo, By me the law-maker shall decree iustice and iust things: but ecclesiasticall persons, follow next to God, and be neerest him: For that they be elected of God into a peculiar people, where of it is said, 1. Peter 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall priesthood, a holy nation, and a peculiar people, that you should shew the vertues of him that called you, &c. Ergo, it is most fit that persons ecclesiasticall, and churchmen, should iudge of such matters. Moreouer, none doubteth, but that the correction and punishment of sinne, belongeth to ecclesiasticall persons; wherefore, when such things be not committed without sinne and offence of the one partie, it is euident that the church may haue cognition thereof. Also, whom hath power to iudge of the end, hath also power to iudge of things ordained to the end; for the consideration of the things ordained to the end resteth of the end. When therefore the bodie is ordained for the life and soule, and temporall things for spirituall, as to the end: the church which doth iudge of spirituall things, may in like manner iudge of temporall things. All which is sufficiently confirmed In extra. c. Iudicijs. Where it is fair, that the Ecclesiasticall followeth the nature of the principall, which appeareth sufficiently by example. For so much therefore as these two iurisdictions be compared to two lights, that is to say, to the Sunne and to the Moone, and all the whole clearenesse and brightnesse of the Moone both in forme and vertue, dependeth of the Sunne, and in the Sunne: And that the brightnesse of the Sunne is not of the Moone, or in the Moone, it is plaine, that spirituall iurisdiction (which is compared to the Sunne, hath in it both in forme and vertue, the iurisdiction temporall: and not contrarie. Manie other like reasons might be brought. But for that the time wareth short, I will omit them.

Secondly, I proue it by the ciuill law. Auth. Desse. Iud. ¶ Si tamen ix. col. where it is said, If a secular iudge be despersed, let the bishop of the citie be ioyned vnto him. But if hee be negligent, then let the whole iudgement be referred to the

Hh. ij. bishop.

M. Diuision, by ciuil law and reason.

bishop. In like sort Theodosius the emperour enacted such a law, that whatsoeuer suter being plaintiffe in any kind of matter, whether at the beginning thereof, or after contestation of lain, or when the matter came to confirmation, or to sentence: if the plaintiffe had once chosen the court and iurisdiction of the holy se; there without all doubt, though the defendant resisted and diliented, the matter before the bishops and other ecclesiasticall iudges should bee determined and ended. Which law afterward Carolus the great, who was king of France, confirmed in these words: Wee will and command that all our subiects, as well Romans and Frenchmen, as others vnder our dominion whatsoeuer, bee by law and custome henceforth bound and charged to keepe this for a perpetuall and prescript law: That whosoeuer began or commenced a sute, &c. as is aboue mentioned, &c. 11. quæst. 1. Quicunque, &c. 2. But you may obiect and say, that this law is abrogated, as the Clossе seemeth there to touch. But all will not serue: For although this law is not reuoked into the bodie of the law, yet for all that it is not abrogated. But surely it is a priuiledge honorable granted to the whole vniuersall church, which the emperour cannot take away no more then any other liberties of the church. By the canon law also this priuiledge is confirmed, extra. de iud. c. timor Nouit. and moreouer seemeth to be confirmed by the ciuill law, C. de sacrof. Si quis presbyterum, ecclesiasticum. although it be not expressely, but generally named. And so it is cleare by the ciuill law, that such iurisdiction doth pertaine to ecclesiasticall persons. By canon law in like manner in places infinite: Distinct. 22. cap. Omnes Patriarchæ. 2. quæst. 5. cap. Si quis presbyter. 11. quæst. 1. cap. relatum. 25. distinct. cap. ecce. Extra de iudicijs. Nouit. De competenti foro. cap. licet. With many other places infinit; yea and further the canon law so farre proceedeth, that whatsoeuer goeth about by custome to interrupt or hinder any thing such iurisdiction, incurreth sentence (ipso facto) of excommunication, as is proued cap. quoniam intelleximus de immunitate eccle. lib. sext. Which is most plaine by the notorious custome, time out of mind, in the daies of the good and christian princes, where to violate such custome, it is plaine sacriledge: 11. quæst. 1. tit. 1. &c. 2. For by law, custome winneth and gaineth iurisdiction, especially to him that is Capax thereof: yea and further, custome (time out of mind) is a meanes all persons in place of written and constituted law. Now seeing the church of France, hath in common vsed with the temporalitie to iudge and decide both of actions personall and reall touching the church: it is plaine, that such custome winneth iurisdiction to it. Ergo, &c. But the lord Peter auouched, that the custome could not preuaile in this case, because here lacked true dealing. Besides, the lord lain is called inpossessible; for that it is lus fisci. But this maketh nothing against vs. For the church of France rather challengeth this law by custome, then by prescription. Which custome seemeth rather to be brought in of the free will and election of the people, frequenting more the ecclesiasticall Consistories, then the secular courts. Besides this, custome in that it hath been oftentimes decided in iudgement contradictorie, (many of the barons dilenting, and not consenting thereunto) is much thereby confirmed. This custome I say of the church, hath been fast established by the consent and assent of the prelats, and then confirmed by the kings of France your predecessours, and so peaceable obserued of the church.

And yet may the church challenge this by prescription; For that there are but three things which are required in prescription: that is to say, title, true dealing, and continuance of time. And it is without doubt that the churches hath purely haue, and in time past had a good title, as appeareth by the priuiledge granted of Theodosius the emperour, and confirmed by Charles, who gaue in commandement, to keepe the same inuiolable; which title it hath both by diuine, naturall, and humane law, as before is mentioned. Wherefore it must needs haue true dealing, when so many great and cleare titles are knowne to condescend thereunto. Also there concurreth such continuance of time, that euen against lus fisci, it is prescriptible. For it hath not only continued by the space of 100. yeares, but also more then six hundred yeares last past. Neither is this allwaies true, that this lain is impe scriptible, especially of the church; the which in as much as it appertaineth to the spiritualtie, is not subiect to the king, but is much more noble, and far excelleth: Euen no lesse then the Sunne doth the Mone, gold, lead, and heauen, the earth. And this is certaine, and no lesse reason, that the higher and equall may duely prescribe lain against him, that is either equall or lower in degree. As one king may do to another. Wherefore it appeareth, that the church may prescribe this, although it were lus fisci, as indeed it is not.

Finally, this is proued by priuiledge granted by Carolus the great king of France, as before, and by Ludouike the second, and by Philip your vncle, and Ludouike and Philip your kinsmen, which priuiledges we haue here readie to shew. But perhaps you will say, that these things cannot agree: that the church hath this iurisdiction, both by law, custome, and priuiledge, which all cannot well hang together. For if the church haue it by one of these, it should follow that the church lacketh it by another. But this may I answere two manner of wayes: First, that the priuiledge may be double, one as a confirmation of a new law, and thus it cannot be reconciled: the other as a confirmatiue and declarative of the old law; and this way it may well be agreed: which distinction may also take place in custome. Wherefore it may thus be answered, that although this iurisdiction is due vnto the church by law, it appertaineth also vnto the same by priuiledge and custome; but yet not by both kinds of custome and priuiledge, which indeede a new lain; but which declareth and confirmeth the old law. And if any will replie, demanding wherefore the church of France should more challenge this, then any other churches in other realmes, which haue no such prerogatiue: I can soone answere them. If the kings of France (whom God with singular grace, honor, and priuiledge, farre aboue all other princes, hath blessed and indued them for three speciall causes, to wit, for their great faith and deuotion vnto God, for their honor and reuerence to the church, and for their good iustice thrived vnto the people) haue granted to the church speciall liberties, or haue permitted those which before were granted, peaceably to bee kept and obserued: why then they should haue them, it is no marueil. Yea and further, their deuotion vnto the church hath been such, that the neerer the churches were vnto them, the more liberties they enioyed: and yet had these princes neuer themselfe, therefore, but rather the more: which is cuident, and redoundeth to the great honour and nobilitie both of the king, and his realme.

I haue oftentimes heard of other, how that Saint Lewis fiue things doe especially nobilitate and aduance this realme.

Firstly, their sincere and inuiolable faith: for it was at no time read, that the kings of France (since the receiuing of the faith) did euer swarue from the same.

Secondly, the nobilitie of blood which descended from Priamus the king of the Troians, and succeslively from Carolus and other royall kings.

Thirdly, the vnitie and peace of concord, which especially alone all other reigned and flourished in the realme of France.

Fourthlie, the solemnitie and pompe of the prelats and clergie.

Fiftly, the good disposed readinesse of the barons and subiects to obey.

If therefore the prelats of this realme should not haue this law and priuiledge, but should be deprined thereof: then should the king and his realme lose one of his noble estates, whereby they are highly magnified (I meane the kinarie, sollemnitie, and royalitie of the prelats). For then, they should not only bee neither pompous nor royall, but more beggerlie and miserable then any other, the most part of their liuing consisting herein. I doe conclude therefore, to bee proued both by diuine law, naturall law, canon law, ciuill law, custome and priuiledge; that the right of determining such temporall matters of the church, map of right appertaine to the church of France: so I returne the lord Peters reason against himselfe. Besides this, will I propound that whic is most plaine and manifest: that whatsoeuer things be offered vp to the church, and are conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the same, bee Gods and appertaine to him: for so much as they are said, to be dedicated and sanctified by him, as sufficiently throughout the Leuites map appeare: as is declared in the 21. cap. 1. regum, concerning the bread offered to God, where it is said: I haue no common bread vnder my hands to eate, but holy bread. Wherefore, it was not lawfull for the laitie to eate of the same bread, but in time of great necessitie: which is also proued in Daniel the fifth chap. where it is read: Because king Balthazar and his lords with his queene, dranke in the golden and siluer vessels, which his father Nabuchodonoser had taken out of the temple of Jerusalem; in the same verie houre there appeared fingers as it had been of a mans hand, writing right ouer the candlestickе vpon the plaine wall in the kings palace: And the king saw the palme of the hand that wrote, and that which was written was Mane, Thecel, Phares: the interpretation whereof is this, as there it appereth: Mane, God hath numbred this kingdome and brought it to an end: Thecel, thou art weighed in a balance and art found to light: Phares, thy kingdome is dealt in parts, and giuen to the Medes and Perses. The verie selfesame night was Balthazar the king of the Caldes slaine, and Darius succeeded in the kingdome of the Medes: the Monarchie of the Assirians being then translated vnto the Medes. Whereby it appeareth, that these things which are offered vp to the church, belong to God, and so dedicated to him, that no lay man may vse them: which if they doe, they must looke to receiue vengeance at Gods hand, as Balthazar did. These things noin ended, I will argue out the lord Peters theme (which was) Giue vnto the emperour, that is the emperours, and vnto God, that is Gods. But this iurisdiction, which (as I proued before) is directlie conuerted to the dominion and propertie of the French church, is noto Gods; and therefore to be reserued to and by him. Wherefore, whensoeuer anie goeth about to take away the same: the god and godly ought to answere

Alwerin

Probation by the canon law. N

Custome.

O

Sufficium contradictorium.

Three things pertaining to prescription: 1. Titulus. 2. Bona fides. 3. Temporis continuatio.

Ius fisci.

The church not subiect to the king.

Diuersion.

1. Fiue things doth nobilitate the realme of France.

The blood of France come out of Priamus king of Troy.

3. Reg. 21.

Nabaoth denieth to the king his vineyard.

The French king more bid ded then other christians: 1. For his zeale to God. 2. Honor to the church. 3. Iustice to the people.

Gen. 48.

Matth 17.

Offence how it ought to be auoided.

Rom. 14.

Matth. 16.

The third note of the feare of God.

Eccles. 15.

Honour of the king.

Eccles. 10.

Two kinds of honor.

Matth. 17.

Double honor, with lips and with heart.

A prince rather to be beloued then feared. Seneca de clemē. lib. 2. Neronem.

Alwerus.

1. Reg. 21

The king is to be honoured. Double honour. Alteration breedeth discord. A dreaming fable. 331

Ambrose in case where as Ambrose did to the Gothen souldiers sent to him by the emperour, which was to this effect: If the emperour (quoth he) had requested that which had been mine, I would not haue denied him, albeit that whatsoeuer I haue, all is the popes: But because he demanded those things which belong to God (wherein hee hath no right or interest) I had rather hee should imprison mee, yea and cut off my head, then to condescend to his request therein: alluding to the historie of Nabaoth, which is to be seene in the 21. chapter, 3. Reg. How Nabaoth the holy man, possessor of his vineyard, was requested by the king to giue by his vineyard: who made answer, I will not giue vnto thee the inheritance of my fathers: at which answere the king was maruellouslie offended: wherefore (quoth Ambrose) if Nabaoth would not deliuer his vineyard, shall ine deliuer to you the Church of Christ? No, God forbid that I should deliuer you Christs heritage. Nabaoth did not deliuer the vineyard, no? surely will I deliuer Christs Church. And further he addeth a good saying: I can neither diminish, no? adde any thing to the church of God, for that I take not vpon me the charge of keeping it: besides this, it is my duetie and office to consult with the high emperour of saluation, in this matter what is to bee done: and doubtlesse I may not deliuer any thing to him, no? yet bee receiue any thing of me, as is proued 24. quæstione vltimo capite conuenior. qui. Wherefore by these and the like reasons it appeareth, that not anelie iurisdiction spirituall (as the Lord Peter saidie hath suggested) doth belong to God: but also, all other kind of iurisdiction whatsoeuer touching the Church: whether it be by law, custome, or priuiledge: inasmuch that neither may wee surrender the same to any, no? yet may the king at our hands take the same. Further the Lord Peter affirmed, that Christ for example sake did pay tribute, which is untrue, as appeareth in Genesis the foztie eight chapter. For the land of priests were free from paying of all kind of toll and tribute. And if the lord Peter well considered the seuenteenth of Matthew, hee should haue found there, how that Christ did not only pay tribute for example sake: but rather prooued, how hee was not bound to pay any at all. To conclude therefore, the children be free: but pay, to auoid slander and offence: wherefore the text saith: Lest wee should offend them, goe to the sea, &c. But peraduenture it may bee answered, that by the example of Christ (to auoid offence) wee ought to pay. But this is untrue, because there is double offence of the weaklings and of the Pharisies: for as concerning the offence of the weaklings, which commonly of ignorance was not of malice, some things are bee omitted for a time, while they bee instructed: as the Apostle saith to the Romans in the fourteenth chap. But for the offence of the Pharisies, which commit and offend of a pretensed malice; there is nothing to be omitted, as Christ saith in Matthew 16. Where to his disciples saying: Doo you not know how that the Pharisies hearing this word are offended? answered: Behold, suffer them, they are blind, and leaders of the blind: For that in the time of Christ, the offence then was of verie malice. But now in the absence of the Pharisies? Wherefore, then it was not to be paid for auoiding of offence: but now not so. Now therefore it is apparant that the third token of the feare of God consisteth in the whole true reckoning of goods: And of him, which hath such feare: whereby he refraid to God his owne, it is spoken of in Eccle. 15. chap. The seed of the man that feareth God shall bee brought to honour: but the seed which transgresseth the commandement of the Lord shall be shamed. And thus it is fully appeareth, how louing feare and obedience is due vnto God, for the excellencie of his maiestie: because the words be: Feare God.

Secondly I doe say, that especiall honor and reuerence is due vnto the king, for his dignitie sake: which followeth in the theame. Now if it is said, Honour the king. I will alleage the 10. of Ecclesiast. where it is specified: In the middest of the brethren, the ruler is holden in honour among them. Wherefore it seemeth to me, y there are 2. kinds of honors, one which proceedeth from the lips, and that is named flatterie, wherof it is spoken in Matth. the 17. chap. This people doth honour me with their lips, but their hearts are farre from mee. There is another kind of honour which is real, and commeth from the heart. And this is the very true honor indeed, wherewith the king ought to be honored. But me thinketh that he doth really, and de facto in very deed honor the king: which willeth and counselleth him, to keepe and do these things, whereby his dominion is beloued, his royalty not diminished, his honor and fame preserued, and his conscience not burthened: and he that perswadeth him contrary to these, I thinke doth not honor the king. To proceed therefore further: I say first, that he doth de facto honor the king, who perswadeth him those things, whereby he may be beloued of his subiects. For a prince ought to studie rather to be beloued, then feared. And what more greater treasure can a prince wish, then to haue the hearts of his subiects? According to the saying of Seneca: The loue of the citizens, is a fortresse inuincible, and a bulwarke not saitable. What thing is more to be wished for? what better then to liue and raigne, euery man willing and reioycing therefore? And in my opinion, there is nothing which causeth more a prince to bee beloued, then if hee keepe and maintaine his ancient liberties, and bring into alteration: Wherefore it is said in the 22. chapter of Deu. Thou shalt not remoue the land markes, which thy forefathers haue set. This place the Lord Peter alleaged to make for his purpose: which I will proue to make against him, and that by this reason, he ought not to transgresse the old limites and bounds which the fathers haue set: For mouttie and alteration doth ingender discord. And for this cause in making of new alterations there ought to be both cuident vtilitie, and vrgent necessitie. If therefore the prince will abrogate and take away the liberties granted by his forefathers and predecessours: he shall not be of his Realme beloued, as it appeareth by Roboam in the 11. chapter of the 3. Reg. All which likewise is to be seene in the Chronicles, how that by these meanes many kingdomes and dominions were translated from nation to nation, and from their owne native regiment to the rule of strange people. And now for this time certaine it is, that your grand predecessors Charles the great, Saint Ludouich, Philip the faire, Ludouich and Philip his sonnes, with many others, haue sealed and confirmed this liberrie of the Church. Wherefore for a man to counsell and persuade your highnesse to spoile the Church of any thing: it is euen the next way to spoile and vndoe your selfe, and to bereaue you of that, by which your dominion is beloued. And so for this cause I thought good to put your grace in remembrance of the 20. of Matthew, where it is written: Remember the workes of your forefathers, which they haue done in their generations, and you shall receiue great glorie and renowme for euer. Note heere your highnesse by the way, how that king Philip grandfather to Saint Lewis, suffered and kept in his realme Saint Thomas archbishop of Canturburie: who for that he did stoutly defend the liberties of his Church, was banished out of England. How much more therefore are you bound to defend and maintaine your owne prelates, in their liberties ratified and confirmed by your graces predecessors, according to the saying of Gregorie in 25. quæst. cap. Si. If I should destroy and pull downe those things which my predecessours haue built and ordained, I should not bee called a builder and maker, but iustlie accounted a stroy god and puller downe, as the voice of the Lord saith: Euerie kingdome diuided within it selfe shall bee confounded: All knowledge and learning diuided one against the other, shall bee destroyed: In another place he saith: It is ouer sharpe, and against all good manner and ciuilitie (vpon what reason and excuse so euer) to breake and subuert those things which are well ordained: or by his example, to teach others at their pleasures to subuert old constitutions. Marke here a storie about a castle which was giuen to Saint Remige, to the Churches vse, by Clodouy the king, which afterward king Pipine desired to haue by exchange and recouerie. To whom the said Saint Remige appeared in his dreame, and highly blamed him therefore, saying: A better man then thou gaue it mee, and yet wilt thou take it away from me? And with that hee smote him, who the next day was all blacke. Since which time, no king of France durst euer lie in that Castle. Verily therefore he doth not honour the king, which goeth him counsell to passe the old limits that his old fathers did set. Yea rather the kings maiestie ought to say vnto them, which is written in Saint John eighth chapter; I do honour and glorifie my Father; that is, in keeping the liberties of the Church, as they did which granted them: but you haue dishonoured mee, in counselling mee that, which seemeth best to please your selues, as it is written in Ecclesiast. 4: The worship of a mans father is his owne worship, and where the father is without honor, it is the dishonour of the sonne.

Secondly I say, that hee truelie doth honour the king, who counselleth him: whereby his power and dignitie is not diminished. For as it is great honour to the kings highnesse to encrease and augment his power: so is it as much dishonour for him to diminish any iot thereof. And therefore, the Emperours were wont to call themselues vicarious, of augmenting and encreasing their common wealth. And to say that you and your predecessors could not grant these things to the Church, it were to so absurd, and to the so much derogation of your Maiesties most honorable estate. And therefore you (most soueraigne Lord) who hold and possesse so ample right and title in the realme of France, both by elexion and inheritance; not to grant and leaue this to your posteritie, it were to the great debasing of your maiesties honour, crowne and dignitie. Yea if it were, as God forbid it would follow, that your predecessors lived continuallie in sinne: yea and further, if it were as much to say (which were to vile) that blessed S. Lewis, by whom all France is beautified could not be fully canonized.

For as the Lord scaler declared, if he take his oth at his coronation both to alienate nothing, and also to call in that which was before alienated, which is inseparable from the crowne: it should follow that he was forsworne, and consequently committed deadly sin, so could neuer be canonized, which is to too absurd to bee talked of. And if replie be made, that he might haue repented: It is soone to be answered: That his sinne is read of, but of his repentance it is not found, as it is said of Salemon

Ecclesiast. 4.

John 8.

A dreaming fable.

Deuteron. 27.

Matth. 20.

25. Quæst. 2. cap. 21.

Salomon. But put case it be true that the lord Peter said then it muſt needs follow, that your grace could beſtow nothing, it muſt needs follow, that your grace could beſtow nothing, neither countrie, town, nor tower. And yet there be few, which neither countrie, town, nor tower. And yet there be few, which willingly would not receive them, notwithſtanding their allegiance and homage, which they pretend to your highneſſe. Keepe therefore and confirme (moſt renowned prince) that which was granted by your noble progenitors: otherwiſe, your regall honor ſhall decreaſe, that it may bee certified in you which is read of, in the 11. to the Rom. I will honor my miniſterie.

Rom. 11.

Thirdly, I doe affirme, that hee rightfullie honoreth the king, which perſwadeth him that, whereby his honor and renowne is preſerued. For in matters of weight, and of great importance, next after conſcience wee muſt haue regard to name and fame, as it is written in the 22. of Prou. It is better to haue a good name, then riches. A good name farre paſſeth all things, and is about ſilver and gold. And Saint Auguſtine ſaith, two things are neceſſarie for the, conſcience and name: Conſcience for God, and name for thy neighbour. And therefore it is written in the 4. chapt. of Eccle. Labour to get a good name, for that will continue further then the, then a great treaſures of gold. A good life hath a number of daies. Which renowne and name, the Lord (who annointed your grace with the oile of gladneſſe) hath in ſo little time more abundantlie bleſſed you withall, then any other prince; wherefore you ought to be more diligent and carefull, how to keepe and enioy the ſame ſtill: For it is no leſſe vertue, to keepe that which is gotten, then to get and get: whereby not onely while you liue, but alſo when you are dead, your glorious renowne may liue for euer: yea and farther, that by you nothing be done, whereby any blot or foile ſhould creep into that your ſo great renowne: alluding that to your grace, which is ſaid in the tenth of the Prouerbs, &c. The memorial of the iuſt ſhall haue good report, &c. Beware therefore moſt noble prince, and take heed that in your daies and time, the liberties of the Church bee not taken away (which God forbid) or diminiſhed in any iot. For if your glorious name ſhould be blotted therewith, there be thouſands, which would chronicle the ſame to perpetuall memorie. Wherefore moſt Chriſtian prince, if ſuch (as truſted after their death to no other life, but onelie for fame and renowne) liued a life moſt godly and vertuous: how much more ought we Chriſtians, which looke after another life, by our well doings here, to win vs a perpetuall name and memorie after our death? And you beſides, if you ſhould diſhonour your name and fame; that a matter were it for conſecrating vnto the kings of France, were euer counted the moſt chriſtian princes, and moſt bountifull towards the Church, giuing examples to other princes, how to enrich their churches and liberties therof. And now eſpecialie, if your grace, the church in ſome places being in great perſecution (which God forbid) ſhould ſhew light to other to pull and take away that which was giuen by your forefathers to the Church; what might the world ſay? For then by the like reaſon, might the Emperour beginne the church of all, which was giuen to it by Conſtantine the emperour. Alſo other kings would doe the like in their realmes. God forbid that your highneſſe ſhould giue ſuch example. And for my part, I would rather with my ſelfe to bee dead, then giue you ſuch counſell, that in ſo pernicious and naughtie a matter, you ſhould bee example to other: eſpecialie, when the kings of France your predeceſſors, were defenders alwaies againſt ſuch as ſeint about to take away the liberties from the church which is the office of a king. Hieronymus ſaith vpon Jeremie, which is found alſo in the 24. quæſt. 5. cap. Regnum & Cæſar. princeps, after this manner: Let the princes of the world know and vnderſtand, how they are bound to make an account to God for the church which they take vpon them to keep. Note you alſo, and reade ſome examples out of ſtories and Commentaries, what regard the kings of France had in obſerving thoſe things; and ſee you by their example, to follow and doe the like: and then ſhall it bee verified in your grace, which is written in the 27. chapter of Eccle. A wiſe man ſhall obtaine honour amongſt his people: As alſo in the third of the ſame: He that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure together.

24. q. 1. cap. Regnum.

Eccleſ. 27. Eccleſi. 3.

Fourthly I ſay, that he indeed doth honour the king, which perſwadeth him to doe that whereby his conſcience is not hurt. For aboue all things a Chriſtian man ought to behaue boldly to doe that thing, which ſhould bee a grudge vnto his conſcience, becauſe the life is more then is meat: Pſal. 6. chap. And aſſuredlie I beleeue, that your grace would not commit that thing willingly, wherewith your conſcience ſhould bee burdened, for all the worlds good: and that iuſtlie. For the more miraculouſlie God hath called your highneſſe to ſ ſtate of a K. and hath endued you with his grace: ſo much the more care ought you to haue, and take heed that you offend him not. For is it to be doubted, whether in doing the contrary, hee will not bee the more grieuouſlie diſpleaſed with you, as he was with Saul, 1. Kaing. chap. 15. Conſider therefore moſt ſouereigne Lord, that at that time you were crowned, you ſware onelie theſe things following, and no other. Firſt, that you would defend and maintaine the canonical law, priuiledge and iuſtice, granted to the biſhops and the church: and as much as in you did lie, to enlarge and amplifie the ſame. Alſo that by your arbitrement, all chriſtian people at all times ſhould keepe the true peace of God and his Church. Alſo that you ſhould forbid to all nations, all kind of ſacrileges, ſpoilings, and iniquities. Alſo that in all kind of iudgements, you ſhould will and command equitie and mercie. Alſo that throughout your whole territorie and iuriſdiction, you ſhould ſtrenctly with all your endeuour, labor to exterminate and cut off from the Church, the noted heretickes: which all, and no other, your maieſtie ſware to fulfill, at the time of your Coronation: vnder the leaue and correction of the Lord Peter, which affirmed you were ſworne to none other thing beſides. Now therefore, ſeeing it is a canonicall priuiledge of the Church, and in the heart of the whole Cano. 6. qu. 1. Quicunque item habens, incorporate: when alſo by cuſtome which is canonicall, it came in, that the church and ſpiritualtie, may haue cognition in a number of caſes, againſt which diuers articles haue been here laid in: If this amongſt the laitie ſhould not bee obſerued in the church, your graces conſcience thereby might ſomewhat bee burdened. In like manner, if you be bound with all your whole might and power to procure, that all whole Chriſtendome ſhould keepe the true peace of God and his church: much more haue you to procure the ſame amongſt your owne Barons and people, who euermore were all one with the Church. And alwaies where any Church was in honor and eſtimation, there were belonging to it, twentie ſtout barons and knights: whoſe office, as it was to defend the Church, ſo was it the part of the Church to pray for them, and to offer ſacrifice for them vnto God. And to this end, that bleſſed S. Ieroes ſo much laboured in his time, who when the greateſt barons of his realme had conſpired to ſuppreſſe theſe liberties of the Church, and had conſulted to giue him (to that end) the hundreth part of their goods, would neuer condeſcend thereunto, but alwaies diſſwaded them therefrom: and finallie by his authoritie, ſtaied and confirmed theſe liberties of the Church. Conſider heere your maieſtie, how that pope Innocentius at that time proceeded againſt thoſe Barons, &c. I dare be bold to ſay, that if there ſhould be now diſſention betweene the prelates and barons: it would not bee long before the communaltie would ſeeke to rule and beare domination. As by experience it hath been ſeene in many places, and likewiſe by practiſe wee of late time might haue ſeene: at what time the people Romaking the ſpiritualty in the parts of Campania and Burgundie, at laſt role and made inuaſion, and followed a long ſuite therwith all cauſed the officers which brought citations and abſolutions, from the pope and other, to be well banged: and not long after, made inſurrection againſt the lords temporall, and ſerued them with the like ſauce: inaſmuch that by the kings power they were ſuppreſſed, & many of them hanged. And this doubtleſſe was in the dateſe of K. Lewes laſt king of that name. Truelie the noble men ought not to be grieued with that that the Church it ſelfe hath warrantie for. For that there be ſeiſin of them, who haue not their brothers and kinſfolks, which line and are maintained by the goods and reuenues of the Church. Amongſt whom if they ſhould diuide their inheritance, perhaps they would bring a little to nothing at all. Let the barons aſſo conſider how that there are but few, which beleeue not in the church. For the Church is one, as in the ſet of Canticum: By whom and by earthing is one. Wherefore without great perill of tranſgreſſion can they not perſwade and counſell ſuch liberties of the church to be abrogated and taken away.

The oth of the French kings.

Arg. by the peſſeſſions of the church many brethren and kinſmen of the nobles be maintained.

Ergo, ſuch poſſeſſions are not to be grudged at.

To beleeue in the Church, is not in our faith.

That therefore your Maieſties conſcience may remaine pure and immaculate: pleaſeth it your highneſſe by your authoritie, to ſeale and confirme this good ancient and Canonicall priuiledge. And contrary attempts, (if any be made by ſoap of proclamation or otherwiſe) to reuoke and call them in. And further, to keepe your mother the church of France in her ancient franke choice, libertie, and cuſtoms. And then by you in all things God ſhall bee glorified and honoured: to whom be honour and glorie for euer and euer, Amen. Who then will honour you, as is ſaid, 1. Reg. 2. Whoſoeuer ſhall honor me, I will crowne him with that glorie, in which conſiſteth the true honor, and is granted to none vnworthie. Whereunto alſo none is admitted but worthie, as bleſſed Saint Auſten ſaith: which honor, grant he vnto you and his, who eſtabliſhed world without end, Amen. And becauſe a bill of many articles was exhibited, wherein part did infringe the whole eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction: to the defence therof, we will according to the fourth chapter of Eccleſiaſticus ſtand euen to the death. Where it is ſaid: For the truth ſtriue thou vnto death, and God ſhall fight for the againſt thine enemies. Some other of them containe onely abuſe, which we beleeue none ſuch to be. But if there be, we will ſee redreſſe therein. Therefore for the honour of God, for the vnburdening of our conſciences, for the kings maieſties reuerence, and for the peoples profit and peace: All ſuch here aſſembled, haue concluded to ſee remedie, that the aforeſaid abuſes, if any ſuch be, ſhall be left, to the quietneſſe of the people, and praiſe of almightie God. To whom be honor and glorie world without end, Amen.

2. Reg. 21.

To the bill of articles exhibited.

Another ſitting in the parliament.

The next Friday following, being the 29. of December, the



Another daies ſitting in the parliament.

the prelats aſſembled themſelues againe together at the kings palace in Paris, where the reuerend father the lord Peter Bertrand, by Gods permiſſion biſhop of Eduen, ſpake openly there before the king, ſitting with his counſellors and Barons about him: taking to his theame that which is written in the 18. of Geneſis, O Lord be not angrie, that I ſpeake yet more, &c. The which he applied to this end: that for the maieſty of the king, the prudencie of his counſell, and inſufficiencie of himſelfe (conſidering the weightines of the cauſe) hee trembled and was afraid to ſpeake: yet neuertheleſſe, truſting vpon his accuſtomed clemencie, take to him audacity, and preſumed that which was appointed to him by the prelats. Beginning with the 89. pſalme: Lord thou art our refuge, &c. Which hee proſecuted in extolling the king his perſon, and his miraculous attaining to the crowne of France: preaching further, how he ought to be the champion and defender of the faith: all which he proued in few words by many reaſons and authorities. Afterward, he touched thoſe propoſitions which were propounded by the foreſaid lord Peter of Cugner, and for no other only cauſe as he proteſted, but to inſome the conſcience of our ſouereigne lord and king, and to aduiſe his grace concerning the ſame: for going about to make any finall iudgement, determination, or anſwer, whereby either ſentence, order, ſtatute, right to any man, or other proceſſe, might thereof enſue or bee grounded. And namelie he firſt beginning with the theame of the lord Peter: firſt affirmed (render vnto the Emperour, which is the Emperours, and vnto God which is his; Mark. 12.) By which words was ſignified the obedience and ſubiection to the king, with the difference of the ſpirituaitie from the temporaltie: whereof the firſt member is prooued by the 1. Peter 2. Where it is ſaid, Be ye ſubiect to euery humane creature, &c. Alſo by the Cap. ſolite, extra. de maio. & ob. And by the c. nouit extra. de iudicijs cap. de facerdotibus 10. q. 1. with the notes about the ſame. Moreouer, as touching the diſtinction of both iuriſdictions: whereof the lord Peter prooued the temporall iuriſdiction to pertaine to ſecular men, the ſpirituall to the clergie, by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, Luke 22. where he ſaith: Behold two ſwords. Alſo for that Chriſt did pay tribute; Teaching thereby, how that the temporalties were to be referred to the temporall men: Mat. 17. 11. q. ca. Si tribut. ca. Magnum.

Matth. 22. Mark 12.

1. Peter 2.

Cap. ſolite extra. de maio. & ob.

c. nouit extra. de iudicijs cap. de facerdotibus 10. q. 1.

Matth. 22.

Another daies ſitting in the parliament.

Another biſhop of Eduen againſt ſpiritualtie.

Matth. 26.

Eccleſ. 6.

Speciall anſwere to the articles preſented by biſhop of Eduen.

Another daies ſitting in the parliament.

Eccleſ. 6.

Another daies ſitting in the parliament.

Eccleſ. 6.

Another daies ſitting in the parliament.

Eccleſ. 6

Sext. Decretal. cap. 22 verum. Shauing of clerks crowns abhorred, 22. quæst. 2.

elite. And besides his other reasons he alleaged the 86. dist. declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the clerkes crowns were shauen; in signe that they should be free from all worldlinesse, and forsake all temporall things. Alleaging to that end the 12. q. 2. Furthermore hee declared, that the bishops had cognition in certaine cases expressed by law. Wherefore, these said causes, mainteined a certaine rule against them, alleaging for the proofe thereof, De reg. iuris ff. de lega. 2. L. licie textoris. Also hee affirmed, that by reason of sinne, the decretall Nouit could not make for them. For the same did speake of the king of France his state, which hath no superiour: but in other persons it was (hee said) otherwise. And these things thus leaning pleased, then said hee, and concluded: That neuertheless, their lord and king was ready to heare the information of them, which would instruct him of any custome: and those customes which were good and reasonable hee would obserue. Which answer, because it did not seeme to please and suffice the prelates, incontinently the bishop Eduen answered for them all in manner following: First, commending the good and generall answer, he spake in this wise: The prince of the people (said he) shall be praised, for the prudence of his tallie, commending therewith as touching the former good generall answer of the king, his purpose and talke propounded. But as concerning the words of the lord Peter, which engendred and brought darknesse and obscuritie, and might giue occasion to their temporall lords, to breake and infringe the rites and customes of the church: Wherefore his answer seemed not full and plaine to the prelats. Speaking moreouer to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her sonne: Sonne why did you so to vs? And so proceeded to the same, both marueiling with himselfe, and yet couertly complaining of his answere. Afterward answering to those things which the lord Peter affirmed, and first to the chapter, Aduerum, he said, that it was before answered, touching the diuision of the two iurisdictions, that they may be in one subiect as before is proued. Neither doth let it which the lord Peter said, these two iurisdictions could not be in one subiect, because that things which be in themselues diuers, and be vnder one Genus, as a man and an asse, cannot bee in one subiect. But if they were vnder diuers kinds, as whitenesse and sweetnesse in milke, they might be well in one subiect. It was answered, that this rule was not true: because iustice and temperance are two diuers vertues, and vnder one kind, and yet be in one subiect. Besides these differing species, a man and an asse be not compatible in one subiect. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shauing of the crowne, it was answered, that the crowne did betoken rule and excellencie: and the shauing did signifie, that they ought not to heape vp store of temporall things, so to applie their hearts thereunto. But that the temporall things ought to be subiect to them, and not they to the temporalitie, as is proued in the said chapter, duo sunt genera. Also as concerning the thing, which was talked of de regula: he answereth, that this maketh for the church, as before was proued: yea also, the custome doth make the rule for the church. Also laws in all kind of sense doe alwaies except the custome. And therefore, his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the lord Peter spake about the decretall Nouit. That the case was onely in the kings person, yet for all that it is expressly said in the same text of euery christian man. And although their law doth speake onelie of the pope, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their dioces. Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king that it would please his grace to giue vnto them a more plaine and more constable answere: and that they might not depart from his presence all pensiue and sad, whereby occasion might be giuen to the laitie to impugne the rites and liberties of the church. And that they doubted nothing hereof in the goodnature and conscience of their sourraigne lord and king. In the end it was answered to them in the behalfe of the king, that his mind and intent was not to impugne the customes of the church.

The bishop of Elie doth furre with the king as an Asse.

The gentle answere of the king to the bishops.

The Sunday following the bishops assembled themselues againe before the king at Vicenas, where the lord bishop of Eduen repeated their last supposition, with the last answer made vnto them in the behalfe by the king, when the bishop of Yorke had giuen them to vnderstand how the king willed them not to feare: For that they should suffer no hinderance or damage in his time, yea and would defend them in their rights and customes, because it should not be said that he would giue example to others to impugne the church, adiuring them, that euen the kings grace him willed to declare vnto them. The said lord bishop of Senon in the name of the whole prelates gaue humble thankes to the king therefore, and the said bishop of Senon beseeched that such proclamations which were made to the preiudice of the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, might be repealed, and called in. Hereunto the king himselfe answereth with his owne mouth, that they were not published at his commandement, neither did hee know of this, nor ratifie them. Thirdly, the bishop proposeth that those abuses which the temporalitie complained of, should be so ordered and reformed, that euery man should bee well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the kings highnes, that he would of his gracious goodnesse giue them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the lord Peter in the name of the king: That if the prelats and bishops would sir reformation of those things which were to be amended (there abouts he would take respite betweene this and Christmas next following) his grace would ianonate nothing in the meane season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reforme that which was amisse, his maiestie would appoint such order and remedie, that should be acceptable both to God and his subiects. After this, the prelats had leaue of the king to depart and went home.

The finall answers of the king to the prelates.

## *A briefe recapitulation of the bishops answere, with certaine notes answering to his popish reasons vnto the reader.*

Notes vpon the bishops discourse, pag. 330. col. 2.

THe answer of bishop Eduen in the name of the other prelats, to the oration and articles before obiected by the lord Peter, consisteth in two parts. First, in declaring the feare due to God. Secondly, the honour due to the king. Whereof the first is, the feare of God (he saith) consisteth in three things. 1. In giuing to God. 2. In honouring his ministers. 3. In reforming that which hath been taken away, &c. The 2. which is, the honouring of the king, he saith, consisteth in a double sort, that is: In words only, wherein is flatterie: And in deed: which he diuideth into 4. members: First, when a man counselleth a king to that whereby his dominion his loued. 2. When the king is counselled to that whereby his honour and excellency is not diminished. 3. Thirdly, when the king is counselled to that, whereby his fame and renowne is maintained. 4. Fourthly, when a king is counselled to that, whereby his conscience is not wounded, &c. And this is the order of his whole tractation. Now remaineth with like breuitie to recite the reasons and arguments in order, whereby he proueth the premisses, with the subdiuision of euery member and part thereof. Wherein the studious reader may note both the subtile proceedings of these popish prelats, and also the feeble & impotent ground whereupon they build. Whose building (as by this discourse and many other may appeare) is vainly and finally tendeth to this, to maintaine their liberties, pompe, and estimation aboue all other secular princes and persons.

Pa. 327. col. 1.

First, as concerning feare to be giuen to God, which hee diuideth into three parts, in giuing, in honoring, and reforming: for the first, hee prooueth that princes ought to giue largelie and without measure to the church by these arguments.

Pa. 361. col. 2.

By the testimonie of Iustinian: Although nothing is good which is too much, yet, &c, pag. 327. col. 1. Answer, that in the time of Iustinian, goods then giuen to the church, were the goods of the poore. Wherein was vsed faithfull distribution, voluntarie giuing, and necessarie charitie. But now in our popish churches, reuenues and lands giuen, neither are distributed to the poore: and yet are men compelled against their will to giue still. And againe, so little necessitie is now to giue to such, that the most wealth of realmes almost is in their hands and houses: insomuch that they flowing in such wealth, are now woxen so proud, that kings can scarse beare any rule for them, as was prooued before, pag. 320. col. 1. that the popes reuenues heres in England, mounted to more then three times double the stint of the kings crowne. Wherefore by the counsell of Iustinian, it was so then, and then might stand, *quod Religio peperit diuitias*: But now as the time is altered, so that counsell holdeth not, *postquam nunc filia deuorauit matrem*: That is, after that the daughter hath deuoured the mother. Finally concerning mens giuing to the church in these our popish daies, foure faults I note.

Religio peperit diuitias: nunc filia deuorauit matrem.

First, that they giue superfluously more then sufficient is to necessitie of life.

Secondly, that they giue to such as abuse it wickedly.

Thirdly, that in giuing to them that need not, noble men in meane time defraud their poore neighbours, which need indeed, and yet doe not complaine.

4. Incommodities that come in giuing to the church.

Fourthly, because of this title of giuing, men haue vsed, and yet doe vse to put great hope of saluation therin, contrary to the testament of God in Christs death, wherof examples are before.

Pa. 327. col. 2.

Pag. 327. col. 2. Abel offered of the best to the Lord, and was blessed of God. Ergo, euery great man, that would be blessed of God, must offer of the best he hath vnto the church. Answere: This argument as it is farre fet: so it is soone answered, wherein three notes are to be obserued.

First, that he which offereth vnto the church of God, doth not therein offer vnto God immediatly as Abel did.

3. Things to be noted, in offering to God, & to the church.

Secondly, neither is this to be granted, that he which offereth to all churchmen, offereth by and by to the church of God. For many times the churchmen are one; and the church of God is another. Laurence the martyr, shewing forth the church of God, brought out the poore of the parish, and not of the priests of the church. pag. 65. col. 1.

Rom. 13.

The third note is this: that if noble persons should offer vnto God (by the example of Abel) that which is the best and fattest of the flocke: then should they offer vnto the Lord, of their flocke only, and not of their lands. Yea, and to note the very truth, they are taught thereby to offer to God, neither cattell nor lands, but that which is the very best, that is, their owne bodies for a liuely sacrifice to God. Hee that offereth vp to God a proud heart, and killed it with the axe of humilitie, giueth vnto him the best and fattest bullocke he hath in all his flocke. With like reason also I answer the place of Num. 18. and of Paral. cap. vlt. that to offer vp, or to separate vnto the Lords treasurie, is not now to giue to priests and chaplaines of the church, which peraduenture haue more then they doe well occupie: but to giue liberally to the communion of Saints, which are needy, and are the true treasury of the church indeed, as Laurence the true treasurer said, supra, pag. 65. col. 1.

Rom. 12.

Pa. 327. col. 2.

Pag. 327. col. 2. By Gods commandement wee are bound of duty to honour our temporall fathers. Ergo, by the same dutie wee are bound much rather to honour our spirituall fathers, that is, priests and prelates. Answer. A father in common speech is diuersly taken, as by age, by nature, by office. And to all these we of dutie, are bound to yeeld honour, reuerence, obedience, submission, albeit not all after one sort, nor in like degree. For as we are bound to honour our fathers and mothers: so aged men and elders haue also their honour and name of fathers: So Magistrates and spirituall teachers in their kind, haue their honour and reuerence. And saint Paul saith, that such are worthie of double honour, *qui bene præsunt, & qui laborant in sermone*. But in this two things are to bee noted, wherein this honour consisteth, and how farre it extendeth: These spirituall fathers of the church, thinke they bee not honoured enough, vnlesse kings and emperours giue and surrender vnto them all the temporall rule and gouernement, to doe what they list, and none to controll them. And vnlesse noble men and subiects indue them with temporall lands and possessions, so much as they would haue. And this they call honour, which they define onely by giuing temporally: where indeed it rather consisteth in giuing spiritually, as to haue a reuerent opinion of their ministration, to yeeld a prompt obedience to their doctrine, to reuerence them as the ministers of God, and not to despise, defame, or molest their persons, whereof saint Paul also about the same place speaketh, writing to Timothie: Let no man despise thy youth, &c. Also to Titus, Let no man despise thee, &c. And this is to honour our spirituall fathers.

1. Tim. 5. Two things to be noted in giuing honours, wherein consisteth honour giuing to priests.

1. Tim. v. Titus 2.

Qui bene præsunt.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Secondly, to consider how far this honour extendeth: as no man doth deny, but these pastours are worthie their double honour, which rule well: so if they administer not their office well, they are vnder the ouersight of the king, bearing the temporall sword, worthie of double punishment. And yet to consider this double honor in them that rule well, how farre it doth extend: if it bee compared to the honour due to our parents, case of necessitie will soone decide it. For be it, that our parents, on the one side, and pastor of the other, stand in extreaine need of the somes supportation, wherein he can helpe but the one: nature, I suppose, will and ought sooner run, and the word of Christ will sooner driue vs to our father, then to the priests Corban. Mark. 7. So that this distinction here may haue place: that as the one standeth vpon merite of vertue, so the other standeth vpon mere dutie of necessitie.

How farre honour giuen to priests extendeth.

Mark 7.

Pa. 328. col. 1. These iurisdictions temporall and spirituall are compatible in one person. Answer. I grant *pro ratione subiectis*: That is, in the subiect it selfe there is no cause to the contrarie, but these vocations may bee exercised both of one person, as they haue bin of the pope, one after the other, (and so may contrary formes also) and yet the popes person hath been able to sustaine them both. But now here is to be considered not what the nature of the subiect is able to beare by Logicke, but what order is taken herein by the wil of God, whose order is this: That they, which with Peter are called to the feeding of the flocke, should leaue their fishing nets, and fish for men: and that they which labour in the warfare of the Lord, should not intangle themselues with the businesse of this life, whereby they may be more free to please him, whose souldiers they are: Tit. 2. &c.

Pa. 328. col. 1.

Pag. 328. col. 1. The iurisdictions temporall and spirituall are so distincted that they are not contrary, &c. Answer. And what let is there then, but our Queene now, and other kings hereafter may haue the gouernment of both states, as well Ecclesiasticall as temporall? Seeing both the formes being compatible, may concur both in one subiect: why not as well in the person of the king, within the realme, as in the person of the pope without the realme?

Tit. 2. Pa. 328. col. 1. Two formes not contrary may be compatible in one subiect.

Pa. 328. col. 2.

Pag. 328. col. 2. God after the creation of the world, &c. vnto Noes time, &c. Answer. If God vnto Noes time gouerned the world as king, gaue sentence himselfe against Cain (as wee say) how then did he that by the ministerie of angels? If he did it by the angels his ministers: whether is more like then that to make for the pope, or rather for kings and princes, whom the scripture thrice in one chapter calleth the ministers of God to execute punishment to him that doth euill, Rom. 13?

Pa. 328. col. 2. How was a priest, and high both in one, diuersus in the Arke.

Pag. 328. Noe also which offered, &c. Answer. If offering of burnt sacrifices to God doe make a priest, then was Caine also, Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and all patriarchs priests. If he had both temporall and spirituall iurisdiction vpon them, which were in his Arke: I maruell why he did not curse then the disobedient crow that returned not to him againe.

Pag. 328. col. 2. Melchisedech likewise, &c, Answer. Melchisedech properly did beare a figure of Christ, both king and priest, and of none other.

Pa. 329. col. 1. A.

Pag. 329. col. 1. A. I haue giuen to me, &c. Answer. That Christ hath all power giuen him, no man doubteth: but yet the same Christ saith, that his kingdome is not of this world: Neither would he be made a king in this world, &c. *Non eripiet mortalia, qui regna dat celestia, hymn. &c.*

Pa. 329. col. 1. B.

Pag. 329. col. 1. B. Whom Christ made his vicar, &c. Answer. Here in one line be two lies. For neither had Peter the very same power in heauen and earth as Christ had, neither was he the vicar of Christ.

Pa. 329. col. 1. C.

Pag. 329. col. 1. C. As the offence of Ananias and Saphira was not temporall but spirituall: so did Peter kill them not iudicially, that is, as a temporall iudge, but spirituallie, that is, by the power of the spirit, which spirit wrought by him, not as by a iudge, but as a minister. And although this act of Peter was extraordinarie for a singular example: yet notwithstanding let any prelate with the like power of spirit, so doe, and none will blame him.

Pa. 329. col. 1. D. E.

Pag. 329. col. 1. D. And so likewise the condemnation of Paul against the Corinthian, was only spirituall and not temporall.

Pag. 329. col. 1. E. must be referred to the order, &c. Answere, Christ would these causes to be referred to the hearing of the Church, for spirituall admonition, but not for temporall iurisdiction of the prelats.

Pa. 329. col. 1. F.

Pag. 329. col. 1. F. All things that the true church doth truly bind are bound, I grant: but first let the pope proue his church to be the true church, and himselfe to be the vniuersall head thereof, and then let him claime the keies.

Pa. 329. col. 1.

Ibid. The two swords doe as much signifie the two regiments: as doe the two fishes wherwith Christ did feed foure thousand men.

Ibid. Christ had Peter put vp his sword, and not to cast it away: Ergo, the church may haue the temporall sword. Answer. God giue you good morrow, I haue brought you a capon.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Pag. 329. col. 2. I. Know ye not the saints, &c. Answer. Saint Paul here willing the Corinthians to plead their matters not before the heathen, but before the saints, meaneth the faithfull of the congregation: not onely prelats.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

K. In them was not the like reason, &c. Answer. I grant, for Christ and true Christians is one thing: antichrist and his church is another thing.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Ibid. As yee say, the Apostles had no leasure to take lands and possessions, for preaching: but now, for lordly loitering you haue leasure enough.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Pag. 329. col. 2. M. They are most fittest to beare temporall rule, which follow neerest to God. Prelats of the clergie follow neerest to God. Ergo, Prelats of the clergie are most meetest to beare temporall rule.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Resp. If God here bee taken for that God, which is called the beslie: I grant they seeme to follow neerer. But if it be taken for the true God, not I, but their owne fruites, life and doctrine, and Esay also would deny their minor, and say, that this people draweth neere to mee with their lips, but their heart is farre from me.

Pa. 329. col. 2.

Pag. 329. col. 2. You are a chosen generation, a royall priesthood, &c. Answer. This place of Peter was written not only to persons ecclesiasticall, but to the whole congregation of the Saints dispersed, as the words following may declare: *Qui eratis quondam non populus, &c.*

And thus much concerning French matters, which because they be Ecclesiasticall, and beare with some vtilitie to the diligent Reader (such as lift to search, note and obserue the acts of men, and course of religion) I thought therefore here to place and adiopne next after the other contention before proceeding betweene Philip the French king and pope Boniface. Albeit as touching the perfect keeping of peeres and time, I am not ignorant that this foresaid parliament thus summoned and commaunded against the French prelats, falling in the yeere of our Lord 1329. was to bee referred rather to the raigne of king Edward the second. Of whom now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) to order of histories to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father giuen to him in the time of his nonrising. The yeere of our Lord 1307. and the last yeere of the king, the foresaid king Edward in his iourney marching toward Scotland, in the North fell sicke of the flire, which increased so feruently vpon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore calling before him his earles and barons, he caused them to be sworne, that they should crowne his sonne Edward in such conuenient time after his death as they might, and keepe the land to his vse, till hee were crowned. That done, hee called before him his sonne Edward, informing and lessoning him with wholesome precepts, and charged him also with diuers points vpon his blessing: first that hee should bee curteous, gentle, vpright in iudgement, faire spoken to all men, constant in deede and word, familiar with the good: and especiallie to the miserable to bee mercifull. After this, hee gaue him also in charge, not to be too hastie in taking his crowne, before hee had reuenged his fathers iniuries stoutly against the Scots: but that hee should remaine

Anno 1307. The firenesse and death of king Edward.

Godly lessons and precepts giuen to the young prince.

The king commandeth his bones to be carried in the field against the Scots.

remaine in those partes to take with him his fathers bones, being wel boyled from the fleth, and so inclosed in some fit vessel, should carrie them with him till he conquered all the Scots: saying, that so long as he had his fathers bones with him, none should ouercome him. Moreouer, he willed and required him, to loue his brother Thomas, and Edmund also: to cherish and tender his mother Margaret the Quéene. Ouer and besides, he straitlie charged him vpon his blessing (as he would auoide his curse) that he should in no case call to him againe, or send for Peter Gaueston: which Peter Gauestone the king before had banished the realme, for his naughtie and wicked familiaritie with his sonne Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsell. For the which cause, hee banished both Peter Gauestone vtterly out of the realme, and also put the said Edward his sonne in prison. And therefore so straitlie charged his sonne, in no wise to send for this Gauestone, or to haue him in any case about him. And finallie, because hee had conceiued in himselfe a vow to haue returned in his owne person to the holy land (which for his manifold warres with the Scots he could not performe) therfore hee had prepared 32000 pounds of siluer, for the sending of certaine souldiers with his heart vnto the holy land. Which thing he required of his sonne to see accomplished. So that the foresaid monie, vnder his curse and malediction, be not employed to other vses. But these iniunctions and precepts, the disobedient sonne did nothing obserue or keepe after the decease of his father. Who forsaking and leauing off the warre with the Scots, with al speed hasted him to his coronation. Also, contrarie to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, hee sent for the foresaid Peter Gauestone, and prodigallie bestowed vpon himall that treasure which his father had bequested to the holy land. He was moreouer a proud despiser of his peres and nobles: and therefore reigned vnfortunately, as by the sequell of the storie here following, by the grace of Christ shall be declared. This king Edward first of that name, leauing behind him three sonnes, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortall life, An. 1307. after hee had raigned neere 35. yeeres. Of whom this Epitaph was written:

The epitaph of king Edward.

Dum viguit rex, & valuit tua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas.

In the time and raigne of this king, many other things happened, which here I omit to speake of, as the long discord and strife betweene the prior of Canturburie, and the prior of Douer, which continued aboue foure yeres together: with much wrangling and vnquietnesse betweene them. Likewise an other like contention growing betweene Iohn Romain, archbishop of Yorke, and the archbishop of Canturburie vpon the occasion, that when Iohn archbishop of Yorke after his consecration returned from the pope, and comming to Douer, contrary to the inhibition of Canturbury, passed through the middle of Kent, with his crosse borne vp: although the Pope reporteth, that he had the kings consent thereunto: An. 1286.

Item, betweene Thomas bishop of Hereford, and Iohn Pecham archbi. of Cant. fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this king. Which bishop of Hereford appealing from the archb. to the pope, went vp to Rome, & in his iourney died. Whe with lette coste might haue tarried at home: 1282.

## King Edward the second.

King Edward the second.

EDward the second of that name, and sonne of Edward the first, borne, as is aforesaid, at Carnaruan in Wales, after the departure of his father, entred the gouernment of the land, An. 1307. But was crowned not before the yeere next following, An. 1308. by reason of the absence of Rob. Winchelsie, who was banished by king Edward the first. Whereupon the king this present yeere writeth to the pope for the restitution of the said archb. for that by an ancient law of the realme, the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceed without the archb. of Cant. Which Edward as he was personable in bodie and outward shape, so in conditions and full disposition much deformed: As vnstedfast of word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsell: Also refusing the companie of his lords and men of honour; hee much haunted among villains and vile personages: Giuen moreouer, to ouermuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon bee wont to ensue. And as of his owne nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsell and familiaritie of certaine euill disposed persons, as first of Peter or Pierse Gauestone before touched. Then after him of the two Spensers and other, whose wanton counsell he following, gaue himselfe to the appetite and pleasure of his bodie: nothing ordering his common weale by sadnesse, discretion and iustice: which thing caused first great variance betweene him and his nobles, so that shortlie he became to them odible, and in the end was deprined of his kingdom. In the first yeere, he take to wife Isabell daughter of Philip king of France: with whom (the yeere after) hee was crowned at Westminster, by the bishop of Winchester: for that Robert Winchelsey archbi. of Canturburie was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding, the barons and lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Gauestone from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the next parliament, to haue their requests accomplished, and so was crowned. In the meane season, the foresaid Peter or Pierse bearing himselfe of the kings fauour bold; continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and nobles of the realme, so that hee ruled both the king and the realme, and all things went as hee would. Neither had the king any delight els, or kept companie with any, but with him: with him onlie he wake all his mind, and confirred all his counsels. This as it seemed strange vnto the lords and earles, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that through the exciting of the nobles, the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gauestone, vnlesse he departed the land. Vpon the occasion whereof, the king the same first yeere of his raigne, being grieued with the bishops, writeth to the pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter, vnlesse he departed the realme within a time certaine. The which letter of the king, that answer againe the king had from the pope, I find not set downe in Stowe. Ouer and besides, it befell in the said first yeere of the king, that the bishoprike of Yorke being vacant, the king gaue the office of the treasure to one of his owne clerks: whereof the pope hauing intelligence writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withall citeth vp to Rome the said clerke, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his cardinals, vpon whom he had bestowed the said dignitie: whereunto the king maketh answere: Quòd citationes huiusmodi, & illarum executio, &c. i. That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceede to the impeachment of our kingdie iurisdiction, and to the preiudice of our lawfull inheritance and the honour of our crowne (especiallie of the deciding of such matters which principallie concerne our estate) should be prosecuted in any other place then within this our realme by any manner of (wales, &c.) Certes, although wee our selues would winche thereat, or through inferiance permit matters so to passe our hands: yet the states and nobles of our kingdome, who vpon allegeance are obliged and sworne to the protection and defence of the dignitie of the crowne of England, will in no wise suffer our right and the lawes of the land so to be violated.

Peter Gauestone or Gauestone exacted bore a-bout the king.

Besides this, the foresaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certaine counsellors of king Edward his father lying sicke, vtterlie ignorant thereof, a certaine restraint was giuen out, charging his maniors and legats (whom hee had sent for the gathering of the first fruits of the benefices vacant within the realme) not hereafter to entermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the king maketh answer: *videlicet*: Pater Sanctis. Datum fuit vobis intelligi, &c.

### In English thus

Most holy Father, it hath been giuen you to vnderstand otherwise then the truth of the matter is: for most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good act of parliament holden at Karlin, vpon certaine causes concerning the execution of such collections (the fault our father not onely being not ignorant, but also writing, willing, and of his owne meere knowledge agreeing to the same) in the presence not only of his owne earles, barons, and states, and commons of the realme, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto.

Item, vpon other letters brought from the pope to the king, for the enstalling of one Peter de Subaudis his kinsman into the bishoprike of Worcester being then vacant, and withall relating that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the prior and conuent of the same place: The king therewith grieued, maketh answer by his letters to the pope and sundrie his cardinals: *Quòd cum electiones de futuris prælatis in ecclesiis Cathedral. &c.* That for so much as elections of prelats to bee placed in cathedrall churches within his kingdome, are not to be attempted without his licence first had and obtained, &c. Therefore he could not abide, but any such strange and vnaccustomed determinations should or could take place in his realme without manifest preiudice of his kingly estate, requiring further that hee would not cause any such nouelties to be brought in into his kingdome, contrary to that which his ancestors before him haue accustomed to doe.

Thus the time proceeded, and at length the parliament appointed came, An. 1310. which was the fourth of this kings raigne. The articles were deuised by the nobles to bee exhibited to the king, which articles were the same contained in magna charta, and de foresta aboue specified: with such other articles as his father had charged him with before: to wit, that he should remoue from him and his court, all aliens and perilous counsellours. And that all the matters of the commonwealth should bee debated by common counsell of the lords both

Anno 1310



both temporall and spirituall: and that he should aske no warre out of England in any other foreen realme, without the common assent of the same. &c. The king perceiuing their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder Peter Gauestone from his company; and seeing no other remedie, but needs must paid and graunt his consent, agreed that the said Gauestone should be banished into Ireland. And to the parliament beginning vp, the lords returned to their own, wel appeased although of the other articles they could not speed, yet that they had driuen Peter Gauestone out of the realme, at this time, it did sufficethem.

Peter Gauestone.

This Peter Gauestone was a certaine Gentlemans sonne of Gascoine: whom being yong, king Edward the first (for the good seruice his father had done him in his warres) receiued to his court, and placed him with his sonne Edward now raigning. Who, in processe of time growing vp with him, incensed and prouoked him to much outrage and wantonnesse. By whose occasion first he began in his fathers daies, to breake the parke of Walter bishop of Chester, then Chancellour of England, and after executor to the king. For the which so doing, the king (as is partly touched before) imprisoned his sonne, and condemned this Peter to perpetuall banishment. Notwithstanding the yong king after the death of his father (as ye haue heard) sent for this Gauestone againe. And withall, so persecuted this foresaid bishop, that he clapt him in the tower, and seised vpon all his goods. Moreouer, caused most strait inquisition to be made vpon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might haue been found, it would haue cost him his life. And thus much of Peter Gauestone, and of his origine. Now to the matter.

The vnkindnesse of the king to Peter Gauestone.

The king thus separated from his old compeere, (that is, from the company of Peter Gauestone, now exiled into Ireland) continued in great mourning and pensiuenesse, seeking by all meanes possible, how to call him home againe, and conferring with such as were about him vpon the same. Who did insinuate to the king, that for so much as the earle of Gloucester was a man well loued and fauoured in all the realme, if a mariage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gauestone; it might be a meane both for him to obtaine more friendship, and for the king to haue his desire. To make short, Peter Gauestone in all haste was sent for, and the mariage through the kings procuring, proceded betweene the earles sister, and the foresaid Peter; albeit sore against the earles mind. Gauestone thus restored and ingrafted, wore in furquised in pride and exultation more then euer before: that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more encreased. In so much, that he hauing the guiding of all the kings iewels and treasure, conueyed out of the kings iewell house at Westminster a table and a paire of trestells of gold, vnto certaine merchants beyond the sea, with other iewels more to his behoofe: to the great impouerishing both of the king and quéene and of the land. And ouer all that, brought the king (by meane of his wanton conditions) to manifold vices, as aduoutrie, and such other like. Wherefore the lords seeing the mischiefe that daily increased by occasion of this vnhappie man; twise their counsell together at Lincolne, and there concluded to auoid him againe out of England. So that shortly after he was exiled againe, and went into Flanders: for in France nor his owne countrie he durst not appeare, for feare Philip the French king, to whom the quéene of England his daughter had sent once great complaints of the said Gauestone: who had so impouerished her and her whole court, that she had not wherewith to maintaine her state. Vpon which complaint, the French king thought all his dominions laid brait watch to apprehend the said Gauestone: but he not vnwarned thereof, secretly coasted into Flanders, from whence it was not long, but he was set again by the king, as in further procelle followeth: so much was the kings heart infatuated by this wicked person.

Peter Gauestone hated by the kings treasure.

The queene complaineth to the French king her father of Peter Gauestone.

Gauestone again retained out of the land.

About this yeere, or the next before came in first the Crossed friers. And also began first the knights of the order of saint Iohn Baptist, otherwise called the knights of Rhodes: for that they, by manly knighthood put out the Turkes from the Isle of Rhodes.

The Crossed friers. The knights of S. Iohn called the knights of the Rhodes.

In the historie of king Edward this kings father before precedent, mention was made of pope Clement the fifth, who succeeded after Benedict: also of putting downe of the Templaries, which in this yeere hapned by the meanes of the French king: who as he caused to be burned in the citie of Paris this yeare fiftie foure Templaries, with the great master of the same order: so by his procurement, the foresaid pope Clement called a councell at Vienna, where the whole order and sect of Templaries being condemned, was shortly after by the consent of all christian kings deposed all in one day. After whom the French king thought to make his sonne king of Ierusalem, and to conuert to him all the lands of the said Templaries: But Clement the pope would thereto not agree, transferring all their lands to the order of Hospitulers, for the great summe of money giuen for the same. The cause why these inuious Templaries were put downe, was so abominable and filthie, that for the reuerence of chast eares it were better not told, if it be true that some write.

Templaries burned at Paris, to the number of 54.

The order of the Templaries put downe.

The horrible sin of the Templaries.

Another matter worthie to be noted of like abomination, I thought here to insert touching a certaine Nunrie in France called Prouins, within the which at the clensing and casting of a fishpond, were found many bones of yong children, and the bodies also of some infants as yet whole vnconsumed: vpon occasion whereof diuers of the nuns of the said Nunrie to the number of twentie seuen were had to Paris, and there imprisoned: what became of them afterward I find not in mine author. A prodigious Bucket-full sooth.

In the same councel also was decréed by the said Clement, that all religious orders exempted, should be subiect vnder the common lawes as other were. But the Cistercian monks with money and great gifts redeemed their priuileges and exemption of the pope, and so had them granted: Thom. Walf. These Cistercians sped better herein, then did the Minorits of Franciscans in their suite. Of the which Franciscans, when certaine of them had offered vnto the said pope Clement forte thousand florences of gold, before other siluer, that the pope would dispence with them to haue lands and possessions against their rule: the pope asked them where was that money. They answered, in the merchant mens hands. So the space of three daies being giuen them to bring forth these merchants: the pope absolued the merchants of their bond made to the friers, and commanded all that money to be imployed and reuerted to his vse. Declaring to the friers, that hee would not infringe or violate the rule of Saint Francis lately canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggerly rich friers lost both their money and their indulgence. Ex eodem autore.

Cistercian monkes for money redeeme their exemptions of the pope.

The friers Minorites deceiued of pope Clement. Ex Chron. Tho. Walf.

Concerning this pope Clement the fifth, Sabellicus writeth that he excommunicated the Venetians, for aiding and preferring of Azoda, vnto the state of Ferrarie: and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giuing their goods as a lawfull prey vnto all men; which caused them to sustaine great harme. But Francis Dandulus a noble man of Venice, being ambassadour from the Venetians to the said Clement, for the obtaining of their absolution and safegard of their citie and countrie, and for the pacifying of the popes furie toward them, was faine to fall to humble himselfe before this proud tyrannicall prelat, that he suffred a chaine of iron to be tied about his necke, and he tobe downe flat before his table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had been a dog, till the popes furie was towards them allwaged: So that after that, he in respect (because he so humbled himselfe for the behalfe and helping of his countrie) was of some called a dog. But the citie of Venice hewed themselues not vnkind against to Dandulus for his gentle good will declared to his countrie. For as he had abased himselfe before in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his countries sake: so they extolled him with as much glorie against being returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chiefe princely ornaments of the citie, to make him amends for his former reproch receiued. Sabel. Ennead. 9. lib. 7.

Pope Clement excommunicateth the Venetians, for aiding and preferring of Azoda for making a duke.

The pride and tyrannie of pope Clement. Out of Sabellicus, and is alleaged in the booke named, the Image of tyrannie.

The pitie of Dandulus to his country. Dietie thankfully rewarded.

Concerning the constitutions of this pope Clement, and of his decretals and Clementines: and how heretikes the conuerse in his daies was poisoned in receiuing of the Sacrament, ye haue heard before. About this time Robert Winchelsey archbishop of Canturburie (whom this kings father had banished before) was released and returned home from Rome.

Robert Winchelsey returned home from banishment. Anno 1311

These things thus declared, let vs proceed (by the Lords grace) to the next yeare, which is of the Lord 1311. and the fifth yeare of this kings raigne. In the which yeare, counting the yeare from Michaelmasse, to the same feast againe, as then the vsage of the realme was: Peter Gauestone, who had wandred the countries about, and could find no safe resting place (notwithstanding he was biterly banished, vpon forfeiting life and goods, out of the realme, yet trusting vpon the kings fauor, and the good will of the earle of Glocester, whose sister he had married) secretly returning into England with a certaine companie of strangers: presented himselfe to the kings sight. At the beholding of whom, the king for ioy ran to him, and imbracing him, did not only retaine him: but also for his sake vndid all such acts as had been in the parliament before enacted. The quéene and the whole court seeing this doating of the king, made an heauie Christmas. After this returne of Gauestone was noised among the commons, the peeres and nobles of the realme were not a little stirred, casting with themselues, what way were best to take. If hee were suffered still, they said not only themselues reiected, but also that the quéene could not enioy the loue of the king, neither could there be any quietnesse in the realme. Againe, to stirre vp war in the land, it were not the best: to here of disquiet the king, also they were afraid. But for as much as they could not abide, all the nobilitie to be thrust out and bie-pended for the loue of one stranger; and also the realme so to be spoiled and impouerished by the same: this way they take, that Thomas earle of Lancaster, should be elected among them the cheiftaine, and chiefe doer in that businesse: to whom all other earles and barons, and prelats also did concordly consent and assent, except only Walter bishop of Couentrie; whom Robert the archbishop therfore afterward did excommunicat. Which Thomas of Lancaster by the publike assent of the rest, sent to the king (lying then at Yorke) humble petitions, in

The exhibition of Canturburie excommunicateth the bishop of Couentrie for holding with Peter Gauestone.

the name as well of the whole nobilitie, as of the commons: Desiring his grace to giue the forfeland Gauestō vnto them, or else according to the ordinance of the realme, that the land might be auoided of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the auoure of one stranger then by his whole realme beside; neither would hearken to their counsell, nor giue place to their supplications: But in all hastie furie remoued from Yorke to Newcastle, where he remained almost till midsommer.

In the meane season, the barons had gathered an host of sufficient and able souldiers, comming toward Newcastle: not entending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the statutes vpon the wicked Gauestō. The king not hauing where with to resist their power; remoueth in all speedie manner to Thirnouth where the queene lay. And hearing there that Newcastle was taken; taketh shipping and sailed from thence (notwithstanding the queene there being great with child, with weeping teares and all instance, desireth him to tarie with her, as safely he might) but he nothing relenting to her, tooke Peter his compere with him, and coasted ouer to the castle of Scarborough, where he leauing Peter Gauestō to the safe keeping of his men, himselfe iourneyeth toward the coast beside Warwicke. The lords hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power: so that at length Gauestō seeing no remedie but he must needs come into their hands, yeeldeth and submitteth himselfe: requiring none other condition, but only that he might talke but a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gauestō being apprehended, the king hearing thereof, sendeth vnto the lords, requiring his life to be spared: and that he might be brought to his speech; and so promised, that in so doing he would satisfie their minds and requests, whatsoeuer. About this aduisement was taken: but then the earle of Penbroke hearing the kings promise, persuaded the barons to grant vnto his petition: promising himselfe, vpon losing all his lands, to take the charge vpon him, to be brought vnto the kings speech, and so to be recommitted to them againe. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gauestō with him, to bring him where the king lay. And so comming to Dedington not far from Warwicke, leaueth him in the keeping of his souldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being from thence not far off.

Peter Gauestō taken of the nobles. The king intreateth for Gauestō.

The same night it chanced, Guido the earle of Warwicke to come to the same place where Gauestō was left: who taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carieth him to the castle of Warwicke, where incontinent they would haue put him to death: but doubting and fearing the kings displeasure, a little they staied. At what time one of the companie (a man of sage and wise counsell, as mine author writeth) standing vp among them, with his graue Oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickednesse of his olune condition, the realme by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and reiected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruine of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expences they had been at in so long pursuing and getting of him. And now being gotten and in their hands, hee exhorteth them so to vse and take the occasion now present; that hereafter being out of their hands, they afterward might seeke, and should not find it.

Guy of Warwicke.

Peter Gauestō againe apprehended by Guy of Warwicke.

Briefly, in such sort he perswaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in other stories I find to be called Gauestead; but that name (as I thinke) was deriued vpon this occasion, afterward. And thus he, that before had called the earle of Warwicke the blacke dog of Arden, was thus by the said dog worried, as ye haue heard, &c. His carcase, the Dominicke friers of Oxford had in their monasterie interred the space of two yeares: but after that, the king caused the said carcase to be taken vp and buried within his olun Sanctuar of Langley.

Peter Gauestō beheaded.

The corps of Peter Gauestō buried in the king's Sanctuary of Langley.

After this, great disturbance began to rise betweene the king and the lords: who hauing their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message vnto the king at London, to haue their former acts confirmed. Gilbert earle of Glocester the kings nephew (who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles) with the bishops and prelats of the realme; went betweene both parties with great diligence, to make vnitie. At which time also came the cardinals from Rome, with letters sent vnto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at Saint Albans: that as touching themselues, they should be at all times welcome to them: but as touching their letters (for as much as they were men vnlettered, and only brought vp in warre and feates of armes) therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent against, that they would grant at least but to speake with the popes legats, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and vnitie in the realme. They answered again: that they had bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsell they would be led only, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said precisely, that they would no forreners or aliens to be doers in their businesse and affaires pertaining to the realme. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earle of Glocester; the matter at length

The nobles of England cared not for the popes letters. The popes legats not admitted of the nobles of England.

was so taken vp, that the barons should resigne to the king, or his attourney of Saint Albans, all the treasure, horses, and iewels of the forsaid Gauestō taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

Shortly vpon the same, Isabel the queene was deliuered of a faire child at Windsore, whom Lewes the French kings sonne (the queenes brother, with other Frenchmen there present) would to be called by the name of the French king: but the English lords were contrarie, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his father. At the birth of which Edward great reioycing was through all the land, and especially the king his father so much ioyed thereat; that he began daily more and more to forget the sorowe and remembrance of Gauestons death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

Anno 1312. The king rieth by forren counsell. Strife betweene the king and his nobles.

Thus peace and concord betweene them began to be in a good towardnesse: which more and more might haue been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan the author and sower of discord, stirred vp his instruments (certaine Frenchmen, Mimiallars and make-bates about the king) which ceased not in carping and depraying the nobles, to inflame the kings hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renued afresh, the king in his parliament, called vpon the same, began to charge the foresaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and so raising Peter Gauestō. Neither were the nobles lesse stout against in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserued rather thanke and fauour with the king then any displeasure, in vanquishing such a publike enemie of the realme, who not only had spoiled and wasted the kings substance, but also raised much disturbance in the realme. And so as much as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expences; they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short, great threats there were on both parts, and a foule matter like to haue followed. But again through the diligent mediation of the queene, the prelats, and the forsaid earle of Glocester; the matter was taken vp and brought to reconciliation vpon these conditions; that the lords and barons openly in Westminster hall should humble themselues before the king, and aske pardon there of their doings, and euerie man there to receiue a letter of the kings pardon for their indemnitie, and assurance. And so passed ouer that yeare, within the which yeare died Ro. Winchelsey archbishop of Canturburie. In whose rome, Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canturburie to succeed: but the pope, calling the election, placed Walter Reinald bishop of Worcester.

Mediation for making peace.

The king reconciled againe with his nobles.

In the meane time, the Scots hearing this ciuill discord in the realme, began to be busie, and to rebell of new through the meanes of Robert Buis: who being chased out of Scotland by king Edward the first, as is aboue premised, into Norway, was now returned againe into Scotland: where he demeaned him in such sort to the lords there, that in short processe he was againe made king of the realme; and warred so strongly vpon them that tooke the kings part, that he wan from them manie castles and strong holds, and inuaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entreth the realme of Scotland. Against whom incountred Robert de Buis with his Scots at Estriuelin, where was fought a strong battell: in the end whereof, the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noblemen were slaine, as the earle of Glocester, sir Robert Clifford, sir Edmund Saule with other lords to the number of 42. and knights and barons 227. besides men of name, which were taken prisoners: of common souldiers ten thousand, or after the Scottish storie fiftie thousand slaine. After which time, sir Robert Buis raigned as king of Scotland.

The Scots after the battell in Yorkeshire.

Anno 1313. Edward disceiued both in Gascoin wale. The Scots reuelled against the realme of England.

Englishmen ouercome by the Scots.

About which time, and in which yeare, died pope Clement, who keeping in the realme of France, neuer came to the see of Rome: after whose death the papacie stood void three yeares.

Pope Clement neuer sate in the see of Rome.

The Scots after this exalted with pride and fiercenesse inuaded the realme of England, so fore killing and destroying man, woman, and child; that they came winning and wasting the North parts as farre as to Yorke. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penurie of all things so oppressed the whole land, such mozaine of chepe and oren; as men were faine to eat horseflesh, dogs, cats, mise, and what else they could get. Moreouer, such a price of corne followed withall, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his olune houshold. Moreouer, some there were that did sceale children and eate them, and many for lacke of victuall died. And yet all this admended not the king of his euill liuing.

Anno 1314. Grieuable dearth & famine in England.

The cause and origen of this great dearth, was, partly the warres and dissension betweene them and the Scots: whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chiefest cause was, the vntemperat season of the yeare, which contrarie to the common course, was so moist with abundance of raine, that the graine laid in the earth could haue no ripening by heat of the Sunne, nor growe to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat, could not be satisfied with satiritie, but oftsones were

A description of an horrible famine in the realme of England.



were as hungrie againe. They that had nothing, were driuen to steale and rob: the rich were constrained to auoid my dimi nith their housholas: the pope for famine died. And not so much the want of victuall, which could not be gotten, as the vnwholesomnesse of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quicke were not sufficient to burie the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reason of the vnseasonablenes of the ground, was so infectious, that many died of the flix, manie of hot feuers, diuers of the pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the putrifaction of the herbs and grasse fell into so great a mortalitie: so farre forth, as the eating of flesh was suspect and thought contagious. A quarter of corne and salt, from the moneth of June to September grew from thirtie shillings vnto foztie shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the pose. Many were driuen to steale fat dogs and to eat them: some were said in seuerl corners to eat their olune children. Some would steale other mens children to kill them and eat them priuily. The prisoners and theues that were in bands, such as were notable brought in vnto them, so hunger fell vpon them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them halfe aliue. Briefly, this extreame penurie had extincted and consumed (as it was thought) the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king by the statute of the Londoners giuen forth commandement through all his land, that no corne should at that time be turned to the making of drinke. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet vse, miserable creatures, in our wealth and aboundance will not surcease daily to prouoke his terrible Maiestie.

But let vs returne to the oder againe of our storie. After the Scots had thus plagued miserable (as ye haue heard) the realme of England; they inuaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued warre the space of foure yeares. But in fine, the Irishmen (by aid sent to them from England) quit themselues so well, that they banquished the Scots, and slew Edward Buis, and many of the nobles of Scotland with many other, and drone the residue out of the countrie.

The Scots driuen out of Ireland.

Anno 1317.

The king about the twelfth yeare of his raigne, assembled a new host and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Barwicke. But in the meane time, the Scots by another way, inuaded the merchants of Yorkeshire, robbing and harrying the countrie, that they slew much people. Wherefore, the archbishop of Yorke, and other abbats, priors, clerkes, with husbandmen, assembled a great companie, and gaue them battell at a place called Pitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited and many of them slaine: but the archbishop, and the abbat of Selbie, and diuers others there escaped. But because there were so many spirituall men there slaine, it was called therefore the white battell. By reason wherof, the king hearing of this, and partly because winter did approch, was constrained to breake vp his siege, and so returned not without great danger.

The white battell of the spirituall men in Yorkeshire.

Mediation for a truce.

At this time the two Spensers (Sir Hugh Spenser the father, and Hugh Spenser the sonne) were of great power in [illegible] and by the fauour of the king practised such cruelties, and bare themselues so haughtily and proud; that no lord of this land might gainsay them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation both with the nobles, and the commons, no lesse then Peter Gauestō was before.

The two Spensers.

Shortly vpon this, came two Legats from Rome, sent by pope Iohn the 22. vnder pretence to set agreement betweene England and Scotland: who for their charges and expences, required of euerie spirituall person foure pence in euerie marke. But all their labour nothing auailed: For the Legats as they were in the North parts (about Derlinghton) with their whole familie and traine, were robbed and dispoiled of their horses, treasure, apparell, and what else they had, and with on cull fauoured handling, retired backe againe to Durelme, where they staid a while waiting for an answere from the Scots. But when neither the popes legacie nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned againe to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as blacke as sat, all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses receiued, they exacted of the clergie to be giuen and paid vnto them eight pence in euery marke. But the clergie thereunto would not agree, seing it was their olune quot oulnelle (as they said) that made them venture farther then they needed. Only they were contented to relieue them after foure pence in a marke, as they promised before, further they would not grant. Wherof the king being aduertised, and taking part with his clergie, directeth his letters to the said legats in forme as followeth: Rex magistro Rigando, &c.

This legacie sent from Rome. The popes pitiage. The popes legats robbed of all their ill gotten treasure. The popes excommunicated the Scots.

The clergie of England denied to contribute to the popes legats.

Miserable dearth & famine in England.

R Ex Magistro Rigando de Asserio, canonico Aurelian. Salutem, &c.

In English thus.

The king to maister Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia; greeting. We haue taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subiects of our realme, perceiuing by the same that you practise many and sundrie inconueniences verie strange, neuer heretofore accustomed nor heard of in this our realme, aswell against the clergie and ecclesiasticall persons,

A prohibition against the legats and their petitions.

as against the laytie, euen to the vtter oppression and empouerishing of many our liege people: which if it should be winked at (as God forbid) may in processe of time be occasion of greater perils to ensue: whereat we are (not without cause) much, and not a little grieued. We forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, ne presume in any case to attempt any thing within this our realme, either against our clergie or laitie, that may any manner of way tend to the preiudice of our roiall person or of our crowne and dignitie regall. Witnesse the king at Windsour the sixth day of February in the eleuenth yeare of his raigne. Per Concilium.

A prohibition for paying the popes Peter pence.

Likewise in the same yeare the said king writeth to the same effect to the archbishop of Canturburie, as followeth: Rex venerabili in Christo Patri, W. eadem gra. archiepiscopo Cant.

In English thus.

The king to the reuerend father in God, W. by the same grace archbishop of Canturburie 1. primate of England, greeting. We are credible informed by many our subiects, that certaine strange impositions neuer heard of before within any our dominions vpon lands and tenements, goods and cattels, concerning the testaments and cases of matrimonie, are brought into our realme to be executed vpon our subiects by you or some others, which if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison of our crowne, impeachment of our crowne and dignitie regall, and the intolerable damage of the subiects of our realme (and to the due preseruation of the which you are bound by solemne oth of alleageance). We therefore command and straitly charge you, that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such letters, either in your olune person or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the same to attempt any thing that may be preiudicial or hurtfull to our crowne or dignitie regall. And if you or any other in your name haue done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that yet you call backe and reuoke the same forthwith without delay. Witnesse the king at Shene the 17. of February the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Per ipsum Regem.

The like letters in effect were directed to the archbishop of Yorke, and to euerie other bishop through England. By force of which letters the greedie legats being restrained of their rauening purpose, taking what they could get, and setting a peace (such as it was) betweene the king and the earle of Lancaster, were faine to packe.

Besides the restraint aboue mentioned for strange impositions, there followed moreouer the same yeare the kings prohibition for the gathering of Peter pence directed to the foresaid legat, the tenour whereof followeth.

## A prohibition of Peter pence.

Rex magistro Rigando, &c. In English thus.

The king to maister Rigand of Asserio Canon of Aurelia, greeting. We are giuen to vnderstand that you do demand and purpose to leuie the Peter penie within our realme, otherwise then the said Peter penie hath been heretofore accustomed to be leuied in the time of any our progenitours, exercising herein grieuous censures ecclesiasticall to the great annoiance and banishing of the subiects of our realme: for preuent remedie whereof our louing subiects haue made their humble supplication vnto vs. And for as much as the said Peter penie hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and leuied vpon lands and tenements within our realme after a due manner and forme: we not willing that any such vnaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made vpon the lands and tenements of any our subiects within our dominions; prohibite you, vpon grieuous paine straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather or leuie the said Peter penie in any other forme or manner then hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and leuied in the time of our progenitours, or since the beginning of our raigne: vntill further order to be taken in our high court of parliament by the aduice of the nobles and peres of our realme, such as may well be taken without preiudice of our crowne and damage of subiects. Witnes the king at Westminster the sixt day of March.

Per ipsum Regem & Concilium.

To the same effect letters were directed to the archbishops, deanes, archdeacons and the rest of the clergie.

Touching the first originall of which Peter pence, though mention be made before in the life of king Offa and others, yet to make a briefe recapitulation of the same according to the rolles as they come to our hands, thus it followeth: De Denariis beati Petri sic scripsum, &c. That is to say: It is thus found recorded in ancient chronicles touching the Peter pence of saint Peter, an. 187. Offa king of Mercia trauelled by to Rome in the time of pope Adrian the first, to obtaine the canonizing of S. Albone. And hauing performed his vow, visiting the Colledge of English Students which then flourished in Rome, did giue to the maintenance of the scholars of England students in Rome, one penie out of euerie tenement within this realme

Reade before in the liues of king Offa, and king Ethelwolfe.

It is that

that had land belonging to the same, amounting to the yearely value of thirtie pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of pope Adrian, that no person within his dominion publike repenting him for not performing enjoyned penance, should therfore be banished.

Anno Domini 857. Adewulfus Rex Westsaxonum tempore Leonis papæ quarti Romæ, singulis annis 300. Mancusas portari præcepit, taliter dividendas ibidem, viz. 100. Mancusas in honorem scilicet Petri specialiter ad emendum oleum, 10
das in honorem scilicet Petri specialiter ad emendum oleum, quo implerentur omnia Luminaria ecclesiæ Apostolicæ in vespera paschæ & in galli cantu: & 100. mancusas in honorem scilicet Pauli eisdem de causis: 100. præterea mancusas præcepit exhiberi Vniversali Papæ ad suas electiones annas ampliandas. Et scindum, quòd secundum antiquorum Anglorum interpretationem different mancusa, & manca: quia mancusa idem erat apud eos quod marca argentea: Manca vero erat moneta aria quadra, & valebat communiter 30. denarios argenteos.

Of which Peter pence is found a transcript of the originall Rescript apostolicall, the tenor whereof is this: Gregorius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Cantuar. & Ebor. archiepiscopis & eorum suffraganeis & dilectis filijs abbatibus, prioribus, archidiaconis, eorumq; officialibus per regnum Angliæ constitutis, ad quos literæ istæ pervenerint: salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Qualiter denarij beati Petri, qui debentur Cameræ nostræ, colligantur in Anglia, & in quibus episcopatibus & diocesi debeantur, ne super hoc dubitari contingat, & præsentibus fecimus annotari, sicut in Registro sedis apostolicæ continetur. De Cantuar. diocesi. 7. l. 18. s. sterlingorum. De London. diocesi. 16. l. 10. s. de Rossens. diocesi. v. l. 12. s. De Norwicens. diocesi. 21. l. 10. s. De Elienum. v. l. De Lincol. 42. l. De Cistrens. 8. l. De Winton. 17. l. 6. s. 8. d. De Exon. 9. l. 5. s. De Wigorne. 10. l. 5. s. De Hereford. 61. De Bathon. diocesi. 12. l. 5. s. De Saresbur. 17. l. De Coventre. 10. l. 5. s. De Eboram. 11. l. 10. s. Datum apud vrbem Veterem. 10. Kal. Maij. Pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

Summa. 30. marcæ & dimidi.

Concerning which Peter pence, it is touched in the lawes of king Edward the Saint chap. 10. when, where, of whom, and vnder what paine this Peter pence must be gathered, being but the kings mere almes, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the pope, the same yeare, for other matters, as craning the popes helpe in compounding the variance betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, for bearing the crosse from the one province to the other, thus it followeth: that the king grieuously complaineth, quòd tantæ dissensiones. 1. that such hurly burly and vproare arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place through the great multitude of armed men affiliants on both parts in the verie bearing of the crosse, to the great disturbance of the people.

Now after this long digression to turne to our English matters against mention was made before of the variance betweene the king and the earle of Lancaster, and of aptreaty concluded betweene them. But this peace did not long endure: which the king by his owne default did breake, sending to the Scots a priuie messenger (which was taken in the way) to haue the foresaid earle of Lancaster by their meanes, made away.

The pride of the Spensers. In the meane time, the lords and nobles of England detesting the outragious pride of the Spensers, whereby they wrought daily both great dishonor to the king and hindrance to the common wealth: on such wise conspired against them, that gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remoue the Spensers from his person. For the which, there was a parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great companie. At the which parliament both the Spensers were banished the land for terme of their lines: and they take shipping at Douer, and so voided the land. But it was not long after, but the king (contrarie to that ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers againe, and set them in high authoritie, and ruled all things after their sensuall appetites, nothing regarding iustice nor the common wealth. Wherefore, the barons intending against to redresse this mischefe, assembled their powers: but the king (making so hastie speed, and gathering his people so fast) was stronger then they, and pursued them so in diuers places; that the barons not fully ioyned together (some flaine by the way in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space, the foresaid Thomas earle of Lancaster was taken and put to death with the rest of the nobilitie, to the number of two and twentie of the greatest men, and chiefest captaines of this realme. Of whom only Thomas earle of Lancaster for the nobilitie of his blood, was beheaded: All the other lords and barons, were hanged, drawne and quartered, &c. Which bloodie vnmercifulnesse of the king toward his naturall subiects, not only to him procured great dishonor within the realme, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harme and hinderance, in his forren warres against the Scots: and finally wrought his vtter confusion and ouerthrow of his seat royall, as in the sequele of his end appeared, and worthilie.

Anno 1321. What Thomas earle of Lancaster came of. Edmund, one sonne of king Henrie the third. Thomas two of the greatest nobilitie of the realme put to death by the king.

After the ruine of these noble personages, the king, as though he had gotten a great conquest (who then indeed began first to be ouercome and conquered himselfe, then he so oppressed and cut off the strength and finenes of his chiualrie) began to triumph not a little with the Spensers: And to count himselfe sure as though he were in heauen, to exercise more therye security vpon his subiects, trusting and committing all to the counsell only of the foresaid Spensers: in so much, that both the quéene and the residue of the other nobles could little be regarded. Who as they grew euer in more contempt with the king: so they increased in more hatred against the Spensers: but strength and abilitie lacked, to worke their will. Anno 1321 The cruell re-ioycing of the king.

The next yere, the king being at Yorke, after he had made sir Hugh Spenser earle, and sir John Baldocke a man of euill fame, to be Chancellour of England: he then areared a mightie host against the Scots. But for lacke of skilfull guiding, expert captaines, and for want specially of due prouision of victuals necessarie for such an armie: the great multitude, to the number reckoned of an hundred thousand (wandring through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conueyed all their goods and cattell into mountaines, and marches) were so pinched and starued with famine, that a great part of the armie, there pestenlie perished: and they that returned home, as some as they tasted of meats, escaped not. The king neither hauing resistance of his enemies, and hauing such a destruction of his subiects: was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring, Sir Iames Duglas and the Scots hauing knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise; that they slew many Englishmen, and had well neere taken the king himselfe. After which discresse, the king thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would faine haue ioyned in truce with the Scots: but because they stood excommunicat by the pope, he standing in feare thereof, desired licence to entreat with them of peace. The said excommunication notwithstanding: which licence being obtained, a treatie was appointed by commissioners on both parts at Neiwcastle at the feast of Saint Nicolas next ensuing; and so truce was taken for 12. yeares. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way (gentle reader) not vnworthie of obseruation, that whereas in former times, and especially of the late king Edward the first, so long as the Scots were vnder the popes blessing, and we in displeasure with his holinesse for dealing with them, so long we preuailed mightily against them, euen to the vtter subuersion in manner of their whole estate. But now so soone as the pope take our part, and the Scots were vnder his curse and excommunication: then gate they greater victories against vs, then any time either before or sithence, in so much as being before not able to defend themselues against vs, they now pursued vs vnto the boiwels of our owne countrie. The king distressed again in Scotland.

The king purposing to erect a house of friers Augustines, within the towne of Boston in Lincolneshire, first prayed the popes licence in that behalfe.

Polydorus Virgilius among other histories of our English nation (which he interweaueth withall, prosecuting also the acts and life of this present king, and comming to write of the quenes going ouer into France: inserteth much varietie and diuersitie of authors and storie-writers, concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giueth himselfe no true certaintie of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he being an Italian and a forrener, could not vnderstand our English tongue. And partly a game being but one man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latine authors: One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latine historie faire written in parchment (but without name) belonging to the librarie of William Cary citizen of London. In which storie, the truth of this matter without all ambiguitie, is there fully and with all circumstances expressed, as heere briefly is excerpted. Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writer of our English affaires.

The king of England had been diuers and sundrie times cited vp to the Court of France, to do homage to the French king, for the dukedome of Aquitane, and other lands which the king then held of France. Which homage, because the king of England refused to tender: the French king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France: whereupon, great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length, in this yeare now present, a parliament was called at London. Where (after much altercation) at last it was determined: that certaine should be sent ouer, to wit, the bishops of Winchester, and Norwich, and the earle of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings. For the better helpe and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good aforeward; that quéene Isabel, sister to Charles then the French king, should be sent ouer. Where to is to be noted first, that the quéenes lands, possessions and castles a little before were the breach betwéene the French king and the king of England, were seised into the kings hands, and the quéene put vnto her pension, &c. Thus the quéene being sent ouer with a few, to attend vpon her, onely Sir John Cromwell baron, and foure knights, take their passage into France: by whole mediation, it was there concluded, that the king of England (if he would not himselfe come to do his homage) he should giue to his sonne Edward the dukedome of Anno 1323 The quéene sent to France.



of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Pontine, and so hee to come to make his homage to the king, and to possesse the same. This being in France concluded, was sent ouer by message to the king of England, with the kings letters patents adioyned for the safe conduct of him or of his sonne. Vpon this, deliberation was taken in the councell of England. But the two Spensers fearing to take the seas either with the king, or else without the king for meanane behind for feare of the nobles; so appointed, that prince Edward the kings sonne was sent, which hapned after to their vtter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, king Edward of England came after. Michelmasse, sendeth for his wife and his sonne againe out of France. But she sending home most part of her familie, refuseth her selfe to returne. For what cause it is not fully certaine, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the king, as is before premised: or whether for feare and hatred of the Spensers, as is likelye: or else for loue and familiaritie of Sir Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the said sir Roger Mortimer, with diuers other of the barons part, which had taken prison in England, were fled before into France, and now reposted vnto the quéene. The king seeing this, giueth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certaine day to the quéene and his sonne to returne: or else to be proclamed traytors to the king and to the realme. Notwithstanding, the quéene persisting in her purpose, denieth to returne, vnlesse the other nobles which were fled, might be permitted safely also to returne with her. Whereupon, the king immediatly caused them both to be proclaimed traytors, and all them that tooke their parts. The quéene and the prince proclamed traytors in England. The king disswaded from the death of the quéene and of his sonne.

Here then began great hatred betwéene king and king, betwéene the king and the quéene, much preparation of warre, great spoiling on the sea, much sending betweene the pope and them; but that would not serue. Then the king (by the counsell of the Spensers) sendeth priuily to procure the death of the quéene and of his sonne: which should be wrought by the execution of the earle of Richmond, the quéenes familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was preuented and vtterly frustrate. Albeit, the quéene yet notwithstanding, whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France: or whether the French king being threatned by the king of England, and by the pope, durst not detaine her: she remoued from thence, and was receiued with Edward her sonne in poolle and honorable, in the court or countrie of the earle of Henalude. Where by meanes of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded betwéene the said Edward her sonne being of the age of fourteene yeares, and Philip the foresaid earles daughter. When this was noised in England, diuers men of honor and name came ouer to the quéene. And some after the earle of Hynalude prepared a crew of fiue hundred men of armes, to set ouer the yong prince with his mother into England. Of this, the fame sprang shortly through the realme. Wherefore the king in all defensable waies made prouision to haue the hauens and ports of his land surely kept, for to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrarie side, the quéene with no lesse preparation prouideth all things to her expedition as necessarie. Who when shee saw her time, speeding her selfe to the sea coast with prince Edward her sonne, lord Edmund earle of Kent the kings brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the lord Wygmore and other exiles of England, accompanied also with the foresaid Hainaulters, of whom Sir John Hainaulde the earles brother was captaine, of Englishmen and strangers hauing with her, the number of 2757. souldiers: she take shipping in those parts, and had the winde so fauourable, that they landed in England at a port called Dwell beside Harwich in Suffolke, in the dominion of the earle Marshall the moneth of September. To whom after her landing resorted earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, with other barons, knights, and bishops also: namely of Lincolne, Hereford, Duresme, and Ely. The archbishop of Canturburie though he came not himselfe, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the quéene well furnished with plentie both of men and victuall, setteth forward toward London: so that the further shee came the more her number daily increased, and the kings power contrarie, decreased, in so much that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realme could be hired with any wages to fight on the kings behalfe against the quéene. Neither did the quéenes armie hurt any man or child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way. Anno 1324 Anno 1325 Anno 1326 Polydorus Virgilius, an Italian writer of our English affaires. The quéene returneth to England. The landing of the quéene. The king destitute of helpe and souldiers.

At the arriuing of the quéene, the king was then in London, which shee would not beleeue it to be true. Afterward (seeing and perceiuing how it was) hee afterly helpe of the Londoners. Who after mature daunsement, rendred this answere to the king againe: that as touching the king, the quéene, and their sonne (the lawfull heire of the kingdome) they were readie with all dutie and seruice to honor and obey. As for strangers and trapters to the realme, they would receiue none such within their citie gates. Furthermore, to go out of the citie to fight, that they said they would not, vnlesse it were so, that according to the liberties of their citie, they might returne home againe before sunne set. The king hearing this answere (which liked him not well) fortifieth the tower of London with men and victuall: committing the custodie thereof to John Saltham The answere of the Londoners to the king. The liberties of the citie of London in going out to war.

Peter Edward made ouer of Aquitaine and earle of Pontine.

The quéene with her sonne refuseth to returne into England.

his yonger sonne, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser his néece. And leauing Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter behind him to haue the rule of the citie of London: he hunselfe hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the quéene: for more safegard to himselfe, fled with a small companie westward toward Wales. But before his departing from London, he caused a proclamation to be made: wherein all and singuler persons were charged vpon forfeit of life and goods; to ayde him with all his power to resist and inuade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the quéene, his sonne, and his brother reserued. Also, that no man vpon paine pretended, should helpe, rescue, or relieue the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclamed, that whosoeuer would bring to the king the head and bodie either dead or aliue of sir Roger Mortimer, should haue out of the kings coffers, a thousand pound. The kings proclamation.

In contrarwise, the quéene setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden, to take or spoile violently the value of any mans goods against the will of the owner, vnder paine of losing his finger, if it were three pence: Of his hand if it were fiue pence: Of his head, if it were twelue pence. Moreouer, whosoeuer would bring to the quéene the head of Hugh Spenser the yonger, chopt off from his bodie, should receiue for so doing of the quéene, two thousand pounds. This done, the quéene sendeth her letters to the citie of London for aid and succour to subdue the oppressour of the realme: to the which letters sicll no answere was made. Againe, she wrote the second letter, which was then tacked vpon the crosse in Cheape, which was then called the new crosse. The copie and tenour of which letter was this. The quenes proclamation.

## The copie of a letter that the Queene sent vnto the Maior and citizens of *London.*

ISabell by the grace of God, Queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and Counteſſe of Pountif: And we Edward the first sonne of the king of England, Duke of Guyan, earle of Chester, of Pontif, and of Mounstrell, to the Maior and all the comminaltie of London, send greeting. For as much as we haue before this time sent to you by our letters, and how we wee come into this land in good array and good manner, for the profit of holy church and of our right dearelord and king, and all the realme, with all our might and strength, to keepe and maincaine the realme as all good people ought for to doe: Vpon that we pray you and desire you that ye would be helping to vs for the health and profit of the realme; and we haue had none answere of you, nor know not your will in that part. Wherefore we send to you againe and pray you, and charge you, that ye beare you so against vs, that ye haue nor make no cause vs to grieue, but that ye be to vs helping in all the waies that you may. And weet ye well in certaine, that we and also those that come with vs into this realme, nothing for to done, but that shall be pleasing to God, and common profit to all the realme. Not else, but for to destroy the Spensers, ennemies to the realme, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the faith that ye owe to our lord the king, to the crowne and to vs, and vpon all that ye may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the sonne our enemies come within your power, that yee do them hastilie to be take, and safely kept, till we haue ordained for them our will: and as ye desire profit and honour of vs, and of the realme. Vnderstanding well if be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you: And also we shall do you profit and worship if that you send vs hastily word againe of our will. Giuen at Baldocke the sixth day of October. The queenes letter.

These foresaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom (as ye heard) was committed the rule of the citie: sent to the Maior for their keyes of the gates, causing sharpe words in the kings name, that variance began to kindle betwéene him and the citizens; so farre forth that the commons in their rage take the foresaid bishop and beheaded him and two of his houshold at the Standard in Cheape. Then the king went to Bristow, and ordained Sir Hugh Spenser the father there to kéepe the castle and the towne: and the king with Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Baldock chancellour, and the earle of Arundell went into Wales. And the quéene so pursued them, that first they take the towne ye bord by toher: Then they take sir Hugh Spenser the father, whom being drawne and torne, they at last hanged vp at Bristow in chaines of iron. As the king was thus flying, the quéene caused to be proclamed through her armie, that the king should come and appeare, and so to receiue his kingdome against if he would be conformable to his liege subiects. Who when he did not appeare, prince Edward his sonne was proclamed high keeper of the realme. The bishop of Exeter beheaded in Cheape. The bishop of Exeter hanged in Oxford two Schollers, Exeter Colledge, and Dart taffy, whose name was Shaller Stapleton. Hugh Spenser the father taken and hanged in chaines.

In the meane time Henrie earle of Lancaster, and brother to the good earle Thomas (which before was beheaded), also lord William Souch, and maister Aphowell were sent by the quéene into Wales to pursue the king: and there take him, The king taken in Wales. Hugh Spenser the sonne taken and executed.

and sent him to the castle of Kenelworth: And take Hugh Spenser the sonne, and Sir Robert Walborbe Chancellour, and Sir John earle of Arundell, and brought them all to the towne of Hereford. And anon after, Hugh Spenser the sonne was drawne and hanged on a gallowes fiftie foote high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent to foure quarters of the Realme. Sir John of Arundell was beheaded, Sir Robert Walborbe was put in Newgate at London, where shortly after he pined away and died among the rats. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, and from whence message was sent to the king, that if he would resigne vp his crowne, his sonne should haue it after him: If not, another should take it to whom the lot would giue it. Whereupon the king being constrained to yeeld vp his crowne to his sonne, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley: where hee is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the king halfe condescending thereunto (the parliament not withstanding praescribing and going forward) there was a bill exhibited and put vp, containing certaine articles against the said king, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehauior and unprudent gouerning of the realme: which bill, openly before all the lords and commons by the speaker of the parliament house was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselues touching those articles, and also for the better and more circumspect gouernment of the realme from that time forth: it was consulted and agreed vpon by the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons there assembled; that the said Seward was a man not met to bee their king, nor from that time forth any more to beare the crowne royall or title of a king. But that Edward his eldest sonne, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as he was rightfull heire and inheritour thereunto: so sent, as he was crowned king thereof in his fathers stead, with the se conditions thereunto annexed: That he should take wise, sage, and true counsellers vnto him. That the realme might be better and more circumspectly governed, then before in the time of Edward his father it was: That the old king his father should be honorably prouided for and kept, so long as he liue, according as vnto his estate it appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the parliament breaketh vp, and all things necessarie to the coronation of a prince appertaining were in speedie wise prepared, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

A bill exhibited in the parliament house against king Edward the second.

King Edward deposed by consent of the parliament house, and his sonne Edward chosen king.

In the meane time as touching the king which was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next yeare following by the meanes of Sir Roger Mortimer he was murthered, thrust with a Spit (as is said) being thrust vp into his bodie, and was buried at Glocester, after he had raigned nine teene yeares.

In the time and raigne of this king, the Colledge of Cambridge called Michael house, was founded and builded by Sir Henrie Stanton knight, to the vse and exercise of learning: a thing in a common wealth verie profitable and necessarie to be had, the want and need wherof, many sundrie times, is sooner felt in this realme of ours, and other realmes abroad, then is the discommoditie thereof, of most men commonly vnderstood.

Michael house in Cambridge founded.

Henrie Stanton founder of Michael house in Cambridge.

About the same time also, was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinarie Glosse of the Bible. Also Guilielmus Ocham, a worthie diuine, and of a right sincere iudgement, as the times then would either giue or suffer.

Nicolaus de Lyra.

Guilielmus Ocham.

In the tractation of this kings historie, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the hearts of the barons against the king, for reuoking such acts and customes, as had been before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaueston, and for the two Spensers. Also what seuere punishment the king did execute vpon them for the same, in such crauell and tyrannous sort, that as he spared none of them, whom he could there find: so he neuer ceased all his life after to enquire out and to be reuenged of all such, as had been in anie part, or consenting to that matter. For the which his extreame and implacable tyrannie, he was in such hatred of all the people: that as he said, he could not find one of all the Commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam bishop of Hereford: who being impeached of treason with other moe, was at length arreised in the parliament, to appeare and answere to that should be to him obiected. Manie things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the king, with matters moe and haynous tenbitues, &c. When vnto the bishop a great while answered nothing.

Tyrannie odious to the people.

A spirituall bishop called and presented before a temporall iudge.

At length the bishop claiming the liberties and priuiledges of the church, answered to the king in this forme. The due reuerence of your princely Maiestie euer saued, Ego Sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei minister humilis, membrum eius, & Episcopus consecratus, licèt indignus, ad eam ardua nequeo respondere nec debeo, absque D. Cant. Archiepiscopi, post summum pontificem mei directi iudicis, cuius etiam sum suffraganeus, autoritate, & aliorum parium meorum Episcoporum consensu. That is, I an humble Minister and member of the holy church of God, and bishop consecrate (albeit vnworthie) cannot, nei-

Ex Hierin. Marie. Ecus Cranzio.

The forme of words which a new bishop doth chalenge of the priuiledge of his church against a temporall iudge.

ther ought to answere to these so high matters without the authoritie of the archbishop of Canturburie my direct iudge, next vnder the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow bishops. After which words by him pronounced, the archbishop and other bishops with him were readie to make humble intercession for him to the king, and so did. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication: the said bishops together with the archbishop and the clergie, comming with their crosses; take him away, challenging him for the church, without any more answere making: charging moreouer, vnder the censures of the church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands vpon him. The king moued with this boldnesse and stoutnesse of the clergie; commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in iudgement, and the iurie of twelue men to go vpon the enquirie of his cause: who finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guiltie, the king caused immediatly all his goods and possessions to be confiscate vnto himselfe: moreouer, made his plate and all his houshold prouision to be throwne out of his house into the streete, but yet he remained so still vnder the protection and defence of the archbishop, &c.

The king pretendeth in iudgement against the bishop. The pointedgces of the church notwithstanding to the contrarie.

This archbishop was Walter Winchelsey, after whom succeeded Simon Sepham in the same see of Canturburie, an. 1327. Ex Tho. Walsingham.

Simon Sepham archbishop of Canturburie.

After pope Clement the fifth, by whose decease the Romish see stood vacant (as ye haue heard) two yeares and three monethes, next was elected pope Iohn the two and twentith a Gascoigne: who sate in that papacie eight and eighteene yeares. He was stout and inflexible, giuen so much to the heaping of riches; that he proclaimed them heretikes, which taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their owne in this world. At this time was emperor Ludouicus Wanarus, a worthie man: who with this pope and other that followed him, had no lesse contention, then had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of king Henrie the third. In so much that this contention and variance continued the space of foure and twentie yeares. The cause and first origine of this tragicall conflict, rose vpon the constitution of Clement the fifth predecessour to this pope, by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that emperors by the Germaine princes elected, might be called kings of the Romans, but might not enioy the title or right of the empire to be administred vnto them, without their confirmation giuen by the pope. Wherefore, this foresaid emperour because he vsed the emperiall dignitie in Italie, before he was authorized by the pope: the said pope therefore excommunicated the emperour. And notwithstanding the emperour of intentines did praefer himselfe to make intreaty of peace and concord, yet the pope vnpeaceable would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said bishop both make his auaunt, that he had full power to create and depose kings and emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were diuers learned men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the bishop of Romes doings, among whom was Guillerme Ocham, whose tractations were afterward condemned by the pope, for writing against the temporall iurisdiction of their see. And another named Marsilius Patauinus, which wrote the booke intituled Defensor pacis, giuen vp to the hands of the said emperour, wherein the controuersie of the popes vnlawfull iurisdiction in things temporall is largely disputed, and the vsurped authoritie of that see set forth to the vttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the emperours secretaries, vnknowing to the emperour; in certaine of his letters, had likened the papall see to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length, when the emperour after much sute made to the pope at Auinion, could not obtaine his coronation; comming to Rome, was there receiued with great honor, where he with his wife were both crowned by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals there; and moreouer, another pope there set vp, called Nicolas the fifth. After which things done, the pope not long after departed at Auinion in France, after whom succeeded then Vrbanus the twelfth, a monke of Benedicts order, and raigned seuen yeares. Who by the counsell of Philip the French king, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and curssings that Iohn his predecessour had published against Lewes the emperour: Moreouer, deprined him of his emperiall crowne, and also of his duke dome of Bauaria. The emperour vpon this comming to Germanie, and assembling the princes electors, dukes, bishops, nobles, and the learned in a councell at Francfort: there declared before them out of the ancient lawes and customes of the empire, how it standeth only in the princes Electors, and in none other to elect the kings or the emperours of the Romanes (for in both these names was no difference) so that the same Electours in chusing the king of the Romanes, his also elect and chuse the emperour. Which emperour so by them constituted had lawfull right, without anie information of the apostolicall see, to exercise the administration of the empire. And if he were lawfullie elect, ought to bee annointed of the Romane bishop: which if he doe refuse, then might he be annointed and declared emperour and Augustus by anie other Catholike bishop there-

Pope Iohn 22. a monke Cistercian.

A new found heresie.

Heresie touching Christ and his Apostles had no worke nor possessions here.

Strife betweene the pope and the emperour.

The occasion of the trouble of Ludouicke the emperour.

Heresie of the popes making obiected against the emperour.

The emperour crowned by the will of the pope.

Pope Benedict xii. a monke of Premonstrate order.

Ludouicus the emperour deposed and deposed by pope Benedict 12.

A councell at Francfort.

The emperours protestation in the councell at Germanie.

Lewes the emperour accused by the pope for an heretike.

A good and faithfull archbishop of Mentz.



unto appointed (as by the old manner and custome hath been) especially seeing these inuentions are but certaine scismatikes added and inuented by the bishops, onely for a token of vnitie betweene the church and empire, to gouerne and defend the faith together. Wherefore in that the emperour sweareth to the bishop of Rome; in that is to be vnderstood no homage or fealtie made to the bishop, but onelie is a Sacrament and a promise giuen to defend the faith. The which oth or sacrament so giuen, giueth no maiestie to the pope in any temporall rule, but onely bindeth the emperor to be prest and readie to defend the faith and church of Christ, wherunto shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the pope sought nouelties to the clergie and iurisdictie, to make the king of Romans, and taketh vpon himselfe alone to make the emperour, that as it is newly brought in and deuised a late by pope Clement the 5. so is it contrarie both to all ancient order, and also derogatorie to the libertie and maiestie of the sacred empire. Again, neither is that also lesse absurd and contrarie to all right and reason; that the pope in time of the imperiall seate being vacant, falleth vpon him to haue the whole and full bonds of the empire, as lawfull emperour for time. Which pretogatiue and function, by ancient orders of our fore-elders, should properlie and onely appertaine to the Palatine of Rhene, the Constitution Clementine of the foresaid pope Clement to the contrarie notwithstanding. Then in the end for his owne excuse, hee in the presence of them all reciteth the publike confession of his faith, to auoyde and purge himselfe of those obiections laid to him by the pope. This did the meeke emperour Ludouicke in that councell: Yet all this notwithstanding, the said emperour remained still excommunicate, till time variance fell betweene this pope Benedict and Philip the French king. Wherefore to make his partie good, at least to haue some friends to stie to; he began to pretend fauour and absolution, rather for necessitie, then for any good will he bare vnto the emperour. But not long after, this pope died: of whom this Epitaph was made.

*Ex chron. de 6. mundi aetatibus, initiul. rudimentum nouitiorum.*

Hic situs est Nero laicis mors, vipera clero,
Deuius à vero, cupa repletamero.

Pope Clement the sixth.

After whom followed pope Clement the sixth, a man most furious and cruell. Who renuing against the former excommunications of his former predecessors, caused his letters to be set vp on church doores, wherein he threatned and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the said Lewes the emperour, vnlesse within three daies hee should satisfie to God and the church, and renounce the imperial possession of the crowne. The Emperour vpon this, commeth to Francfort, where there readie to him all things to the ordinance of the pope: sent hether his Oratours to the court of Rome, to intreat the pope of his fauour and good will towards him. To the which messengers the pope answered againe, that he would neuer pardon the emperour, before he gaue ouer and confessed his errors and hereses, and resigning vp his empire to his hands, would submit himselfe, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the bishop, promising that he should not receiue againe any part of the same, but vpon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

The other bishops electors, as the archbishop of Colen, which tooke eight thousand marks, with the duke of Saxonie, which tooke two thousand marks, being corrupted with monie by Iohn king of Boheme; elected Charles the sonne of the said Iohn, whom pope Clement elsewhere in his constitute did approoue. Who seeth not here what matter was wrought by the pope of Warre and bloudshed betweene these two emperours, if the patience of Ludouicke had not been more prudent to quench the fire, then the pope was to kindle it? Charles then the new emperour elect, sped him to Aquisgraue, according to the custome, there to be crowned. But by the Citizens there, and the empresse (a Bauarre) his wife keeping thereabout) was repelled. All this happened in the time and raigne of Edward the third, king of England, with whom the said Charles, with the French king, and king of Boheme, set on by the pope, encountred in warre, where the king of England had against them a noble victorie, and slue a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperour to flight. In the meane time, among the princes and cities of Germanie what foreknowing what complaints were against pope Clement and those electors, it cannot bee expressed. For as they were al together at Spires congregated in a generall assemblie, so there was none among them all, that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the popes processe, promising all to abhere and continue faithfull subiects to Ludouicke their lawfull emperour. But Ludouicke remembring his oth made before to the popes bill, voluntarilie and wilingly gaue ouer his imperiall dignitie, and went to Burgraula, where shortlie after, through the procured practise of pope Clement (as Hieronymus Marius doth write) poison was giuen him to drinke. After the which being drunke, when he would haue vomited out and could not; take his horse and went to hunt the beare, thereby through the chafing and heat of his bodie he sweat in him. And there the good and gentle emperour wickedly persecuted and murdered of the pope fell downe dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous doth make a martyr, what papist can iustlie disproue his cause or faith? If persecution ioyned thereunto causeth martyrdome, what martyr could be more persecuted then he? hauing three popes like three hand-bogges vpon him, at length was deuoured by the same. The princes then hearing of his death, assembled themselues to a new election: who refusing Charles afore said, elected another for emperour, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who shortlie after falling sicke at Francfoord through his physitions seruant was likewise poisoned, whom the foresaid Charles had hired with money to make that feate. Gunterus falling of the poison, although he vsed practise cast it vp again, yet so much remained within him, as made him vnable afterward to serue that place. Wherefore for concords sake being counselled thereto by the Germaines, gaue ouer his empire to Charles. For else, great bloudshed was like to ensue. This Charles thus ambitiouslie aspiring to the emperiall seate contrarie to the minds of the Estates, and peeres of the empire, as hee did vnlawfullie come by it: so vnaduisedly he vsed the same. By reason wherof, the tribute of the countries of Germanie, which then belonged onelie to the emperour, for the sustentation of his warres; euer since to this day is dispersed diuerslie into the hands of the princes, and free cities within the said monarchie. So that both the empire being dismembred and left desolate, and the emperours treasurie drawne dry; haue neither been able sufficientlie since to defend themselues, nor yet to resist the Turke, or other forraine enemies. Wherevpon a great part, as ye haue heard, may bee imputed vnto the popes, &c. Hieronymus Marius.

Bishops corrupted with money.

The pope author of bloudshed.

Charles the new emperour put to flight by the englishmen.

Ludouicke the right emperour poisoned by his enuie.

Ludouicke the emperour poisoned.

Ludouicus emperour and martyr.

Guntherus right emperour poisoned.

*Gunterus de Monte Nigro* made emperor.

The ruine of the Germaine empire, and the first cause thereof.

This pope Clement first reduced the yeere of Jubilie to euery 50. yeere, which before was kept but on the hundred yeere. And so by long absent at Auinion (which hee then purchased with his monie to the sea of Rome) caused it to bee celebrated at Rome, an. 1350. In the which yeere were numbred of peregrines going in, and comming out euery day at Rome, to the estimation of fiue thousand. Praemonstrat. The bull of pope Clement giuen out for this present yeere of Jubilie, proceeded in these words as followeth: That person or persons soeuer for deuotion sake, shall take their peregrination into the holy citie, the same day when he setteth foorth out of his house, he may chuse into him what confessour or confessours either in the way, or where else he listeth: vnto the which confessors, wee grant, by our authoritie, plenarie power to absolue all cases papall, as fullie as if wee were in our proper person there present. Item, wee grant that whosoeuer being truely confessed, shall chance by the way to die, he shall bee quit and absolued of all his sinnes. Moreouer, we command the Angels

Pilgrimes in the yeere of Jubilee at Rome.

The abomination and blasphemous bull of pope Clement.

# King Edward the third.

The pope commaundeth the kings bul.

A blacke stamp of the pope.

Ex bulla Clementis.

Ex Clem. Magn. an. 1344.

The king refuseth the pope.

The tenths of Church goods given to the king.

Anno 1326

Odall college and S. Marie hall in Oxford builded by king Edward 2.

A rent of the commaundement for the tenths and Abbey of Burie.

Ex Latino exemplari Regiftri.

OConcerning the acts and storie of king Edward the 2. his deposing and cruell death, wrought by the false & counterfeit letter of sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the kings name to the keepers (for the which he was after charged, drawn, & quartered.) I have written sufficiently before, and more peraduenture then the profession of this ecclesiasticall historie will well admit. Notwithstanding for certaine respects, and causes, I thought somewhat to exceed my limits herein the more, thereby both kings and such as clime to be about them may take the better example by the same, the one to haue the loue of his subiects: the other to learne to flee ambition, and not to beare themselues too brag of their fortune and state, how high soeuer it be: Considering with themselues nothing to be in this world so firme and sure, that may promise it selfe any certaine continuance, and is not in perpetuall danger of mutation vnlesse it bee fastened by God his protection.

After the suppression of this king, as is aboue expressed, Edward his sonne was crowned king of England, being about the yeere of 15. and raigned the space of 50. yeeres, who was a prince of much and great temperance. In feates of armes very expert, and no lesse fortunate and luckie in all his warres, as his father was infortunate before him. In liberalitie also and clemencie worthilie commended, likewise in all princely vertues, famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable acts of which prince, bone both in warres and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France, An. 1332. won Calice, an. 1348. and translated the staple thither, tooke the French king prisoner, and how the French armes first by him were brought in, and conioyned with the English armes; also how the order of the Garter first by the said king was inuented and ordained, an. 1256. also an. 1357. how the king in his parliament at Nottingham, decreed, that all such in Flanders or other where, that had skill in making cloth, should peaceablie inhabite the land and be welcome. For those yeeres before that, it was enacted, that no woll should be transported ouer the sea. Which was to bridle the pride of the Flemmings, who then loued better the sacks of wol, then the natiue of Englishmen. All these with other noble acts of this worthie prince, although in other chronicles they be fullie intreated of: yet according to that order I haue begun (saying somethat of each kings raigne, although not pertinent to our ecclesiasticall historie) I haue here inserted the same, making but few other notes, thereby to compend the fullie abridging them out of diuers and sundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

The coronation and solemnitie of king Edward the third, and all the pomp thereof was no sooner ended: but Robert of Bruce king of Scotland, vnderstanding the state and gouernment of the realme to bee (as it was indeed) in the queene, the young king, the earle of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer: And that the lords and barons, as hee was informed, did scarslie well agree amongst themselues (although he greatlie nolo it age, and was troubled with the falling disease) yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make inuasion: Hoping for as good successe and like victorie now, as but lately before he had at the castle of Saltrinkin. Whereupon about the feast of Easter he sent his embassadours with heralds and letters of defiance to the young king Edward the third, the queene and the counsell; declaring that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and inuade the realme of England, &c. The king, queene, and counsell hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedie preparation musters to bee made throughout all the realme: appointing to euery band captains conuenient, and at the citie of Yorke by a day assigned them, commanding euery man to be with all their necessarie furniture readie and threughly prouided. They directed their letters also with all speed to sir John of Heinault, requiring him with such soldiers and men at armes as hee might conuenientlie prouide in Flanders, Heisault, and Brabant, to meet the king and queene vpon the Ascension day next ensuing at their citie of Yorke.

The king and queene made speedie preparation for this expedition: the noble men prouided themselues of all things necessarie thereunto: the English captaines and soulders (their bands throughlie furnished) were readie at their appointed time and place: sir John of Heinault, lord Beomount mustering his men as fast. was readie to take shipping: there at Wpsant (in English Wthons) there lying for him readie) hee went aboard, and with a merrie wind landed at Douer, trauelling from thence by small iournies dailie, till he came within thrée daies after the feast of Pentecost to the citie of Yorke: there the king and queene with a great power of 60000 men (within and about the citie of Yorke) expected his comming: Before whom, in curteous wise he presented himselfe, and mustred his troope, wherein he had to the number of 500. good men at armes well appointed and mounted. His comming and furniture was well liked both of the king



king and queene, and was by the Harbinger, appointed to be lodged with his houshold retinue in the abbie of white monks. Mo be sticke, such grudge and variance fell betweene some of the kings souldiers and his, within the suburbes of the towne being together lodged; that from the tilte to the more, whilest the king and queene with diuers other of the nobles, (strangers and others) were at dinner; the said frap so greatlie increased, that the whole armie so many as were in the towne then lodged, stod to their fence; so that there were slaine of the English archers in short space by the strangers to the number of 300. men. Wherevpon grew (after the frap was with much difficultie both of the king and queene ended) such heartburning betweene the parties; as that the number of 6000. conspired together against them: thinking to haue burnt them in their lodgings, had they not ben by the great grace of God and discreet handling, otherwise preuented and let. Whereupon the Heynoulders were faine to take and keepe the field, vsing as diligent watch and ward, as though they had ben among their hostile enemies. After this, the king set forward his armie toward Durham, and encamped himselfe neere about the same: who also sent the lord Mowbraie and the lord Spounley to Carell with a sufficient companie to keepe that entrance: and also the lord marshall of England to keepe the towne of Newcastle with a sufficient companie to defend the same, and the countrie adioyning. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries, the Scots must passe into England, standing both of them vpon the riuer of Tine, 24. miles distant.

But the Scots priuilie with their armie passed the riuer betwixt the two townes into England, few vnderstanding thereof, till that the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England bewraied them: who came burning and destroying the countrie all about as farre as Stanop parke. This thing being declared to the king, hee commandeth his host with all speed to march towards them, which so long trauailed that they came in sight each of other. The king also commanded the passages of the riuer to be so straitly and narrowly garded, that by no meanes the Scots could retire and haue escaped backe againe into Scotland, without battell giuen them of the king. But the Scots vnderstanding the great power the king was of, kept alwaies the aduantage of the hils, retiring in the nights from one to another: that without great odds and aduantage in the one side and hazard to the other, the king could not set vpon them.

Thus in the day time the Scots keeping the aduantage of the hilles, and in the night times retiring to the aduantage of such other like, came neere against that riuer where they first passed ouer, where they made a shew to offer battell to the king vpon the morrow. Whereupon the king being busied in putting his men and battels in a readinesse to fight the next morning, being almost forewearied in pursuing the Scots from place to place: the Scots in the meane season gat ouer the riuer and escaped the danger of the king. Which thing as it could not bee done, without great treason of some neere about the king, so sir Roger Mortimer was grieuously suspected thereof, and after was laid vnto his charge. But to be short, by this meanes the Scots escaped the riuer, after whom it should haue availed the king very little to haue made pursuit, as the wille Scots knew full well. For the loy whereof, the lord William Douglas one of the Scots Generals, with 200. horses gaue a larum in the kings campe: and came so neere, that he cut certaine of the lines of the kings tent in sunder with his sword, and retired to his companie without great losse of any of his men. Then on the morrow the king perceiuing the Scots to be gone, came to the place where ouer night they lodged, where were found 500. great orcn and nine readie hilles: fiue hundred Cauldrons made of brasse skimmes full of flesh, ouer the fire seething: a thousand spits full of flesh ready to bee rosted, and more then 10000. shoes of raw leather (the haire still vpon the same) which the Scots had left behind them: and fiue poore English prisoners tied to trees and their legs broken. All which the king seeing returned with his armie, and left any further pursuing the Scots) to Durham: where hee dismissed his armie, and came againe to London, sending with sir John of Heinault two hundred men at armes for their better safegard against the English archers (with whom at Poyk, as you haue heard, they fraied) till they had taken shipping, and so returned home.

The king then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the Citizens, and ordained that the Maior should sit in all places as cheefe Justice within the liberties of the same. And that what alderman soeuer had ben Maior before, should be a Justice of peace within his alderward.

Then the king, the queene, and the counsell sent ouer to the Earle of Heynault certaine embassadours, touching the solemnization of the marriage betweene the king and the ladie Philip his daughter: who in such sort sped their message, that the was same after conueied ouer to England very honourablie, and at Douer arriued. And from thence came to London (some chronicles affirme to Poske) where vpon the day of the conuersion of S. Paul, the rere above specified, the marriage and cozonation of the queene was with much triumph during the space of three weekes solemnized.

After which cozonation and marriage, the king let common his parliament to be kept at Northampton: whereat by the meanes of sir Roger Mortimer and the old queene, a peace was purchased for the Scots (who had so that purpose sent their embassadours, so foure peeres to indure. Also the king (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their homage and fealtie which vnto the realme of England by their charter enfeoffed they were bound: as also their indenture, which was called the Ragman Role, wherein was specified the foresaid homage and fealtie to the king and crowne of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and prelates to be made: hauing all their seales annexed to the same. Also there was then deliuered vnto them, the blacke crosse of Scotland, which king Edward before so: a rich Jewell and relique had conquered and brought from Scone Abbey: with all such rights and titles as any the barons else had enioyed in the said realme of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great preiudice both of the realme and discontentation of all the nobles and barons for the most part, more then the old queene, sir Roger Mortimer, and the bishop of Elie. Who in such sort ruled the roft, that all the rest of the nobles and barons, cast with themselues how best they might redresse and remedie the great inconueniences, that vnto the realme by meanes of them grew and happened. Whereupon the king and queene and sir Roger Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at Salisbury, where the said sir Roger Mortimer was made earle of March, against all the barons wils, to preuent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the Earle Henrie of Lancaster with others, would not bee at the same: wherefore it was said vnto their charges, that they went about to conspire the kings death.

And further, for that the king was as well vnder the gouernment of the earle of Kent his vncle, as the queene his mother, and the earle of March: and for that they could not doe in all things as they listed for the said earle the kings vncle, who tuned the king and the realme: enuie began to rise betweene the earle Mortimer and him, and by Isabell the queenes practise, he found the meanes to perswade the king: that the earle of Kent (to inioy the crowne, as next heire vnto the king) went about to poison him. Whereunto the king giuing light credit, caused his said vncle to bee apprehended: and without anie making to his accusation and accusers, to be beheaded at Winchester, the third of Maober, and third yeere of his raigne. But the iust iudgement of God not permitting such odious crimes in him to be vnpunished, nor detected, so in fine fell so:th, that Isabell the old queene the kings mother, was found and vnderstood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of the killing of king Edward his father, and of the conspiracy of him against the earle of Kent the kings vncle before put to death: Whereupon, diuers other articles laid against him and manifestlie read in the court, he was arraigned and indited, and by verdit found guiltie: hauing his iudgement as in cases of high treason, and suffered death accordinglie at London: where, vpon London bridge next vnto Spenders, his head obtained a place. The queene his mother alsa (by good aduice of his counsell) was restrained of her libertie, and within a certaine castle not permitted once to come abroad: Vnto whom the king her sonne, once or twice a yeere would resort, and visit.

This yeere, prince Edward was borne at Windsocke, who in processe of time and yeeres grew to be a most valiant prince, and was before hee died, accounted throughout the world the follower of chiualrie.

After this, the king prepared another armie into Scotland in the yeere prefixed. But first hee summoned king Dauid of Scotland, who had in the last truce, foure yeeres to continue as you heard, his father then liuing) married the ladie Jane, sister to the king (termed Jane make peace) to do his homage to the king: but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting there with all the scalding teares, which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouthes: he did so much, that with an armie well furnished, hee entred Scotland by the riuer of Ewede, for the Scots had then the possession of the keies of Barwicke: the Scottish gigges and rymes were these: Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse, Gay coats gracelesse, Gates England thriftlesse. To be short, the king wasted the land, burnt, destroyed, and tooke townes and castles with small resistance or none: in the space of fiue moneths together did in that land what him listed without any battell offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child and not aboue the age of 15. yeeres, and wanted good captains that should haue defended the realme: insomuch that they were all faine, sauing those that kept in holds for their defence, to take the forest of Godwoorth, and there kept to themselues so long as the king remained in Scotland. Who at length when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned toward Barwicke, about the which he bent his siege, bowing not to remoone the same till he had gotten the towne.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certain time & many assault

A parliament at Northampton.

The Ragman role deliuered vp to the Scots.

The blacke crosse of Scotland.

The barons giue vp their titles in Scotland.

A parliament at Salisburie.

Earle Henry of Lancaster resisteth to come to the parliament.

The earle of Kent put to death vniustlie.

The queene with child by sir Roger Mortimer.

Sir Roger Mortimer earle of March arraigned, condemned, and put to execution.

The queene put in prison and is kept a long time.

The birth of prince Edward.

The expedition of king Edward into Scotland.

The Scottish rymes.

King Edward wasteth and destroieth the realm of Scotland.

Barwicke besieged and yeelded vp to the king.

assaults made, were contented vpon certaine conditions to haue deliuer. d vp the towne: But that the king refused, vnlesse that all conditions set apart, they would with bagge and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certaine time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render vp the towne, and with bagge and baggage depart: and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and reskue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entred the towne and tarried there the space of twelue daies: the after hee had appointed sir Edward Bailleu captaine ouer the towne, and leauing also behind him other knightes, squires, and souldiers, as well to keepe the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and frontiers thereof; hee returned with his people towards London, permitting euery man to depart and goe what way them liked.

The king entreth the towne of Berwicke and appointeth the captaine thereof.

Then sir Robert de Artois, a noble man of France, and which defended of the bloud royall, being in England vith the king, ceased not at ventimes to aduertise the king, and put him in mnemonic of his god and right title to the inheritance of the crowne of France. This sir Robert for a certaine displeasure that Philip the French king tooke against him for a certaine plea which by him was moued before the king, was fain for the safegard of his life to flee the realme of France, and so come to the kings court. King Edward was not vnwilling at all to heare thereof, but tooke delight at ventimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crowne of France. But yet notwithstanding hee thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without aduised and circumspect counsell, for that it contained matter o&n small, but most difficult importance: neither yet hee tooke it to deserue the fame either of wisdome or prowesse to let so good a title die, or so fit opportunitie to passe. Wherefore hee calling together certaine of his counsell, vsed their deliberate aduices touching the seriousnesse of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good, that the king should send certaine embassadours our to the earle of Heinault, whose daughter hee had married, as well to heare his aduice and counsell herein: as also of what friends and aid, by him and his meanes, in this so great an expedition hee begun in the empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescended, and appointed for this embassage the bishop of Lincolne with two other Barenets, and two doctors: who in such speedie wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned againe to the king with this answer: That not onely the earle his counsell and aduice, should be herein prest to the king of England their master, but also the whole countrie of Heinault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, hee said, the province of Heinault was but a small matter to make account of; hee would procure for the king greater aid and friendship in the empire, as the duke of Brabant his cosin germane, and a puissant prince, the duke of Guerles, the archbishop of Colovne, the Marques of Iulliers, &c. which are all good men of warre, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. Which answer well liked the king, and made him ioyous thereof. But this counsell of the king as secret as it was, came to Philip the French kings eares: whereupon hee staied the voiage of the Croise which then hee had in hand, sending forth counternands to stay the same, till hee knew farther the purpose of the king of England.

Embassadours are sent to the Earle of Heinault concerning the matter.

The Embassadors returne with answere from the earle that pleaseth the king.

King Philip of France heareth of the kings purpose and therefore his voiage of the Croisie.

The king herupon himself taketh shipping accompanied as to a king appertained: and when hee had consulted with all the foresaid lords of the empire in this matter and vnderstood their sidelitie; hee made his repaire to the emperour, at whose handes he was well intertained and honorable received, whom the emperor appointed to be his lieutenant generall, hauing thereby more authoritie both to will and command such as for this his expedition hee trusted vnto, and had made conuention with. This hearing Philip, prepared his armie and rigged his nauie, that so soone as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

King Edward appointed lieutenant generall of the empire.

The king of England, after the feast of S. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things readie to such an expedition, conducting his armie and gathering a greater strength in the empire, as before to him was promised, being the emperours authoritie therein, as his lieutenant generall, the bowbreit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king as soone as king Edward had landed his armie at Mackline in Flanders, and hearing of the defiance, which the king and other noble men of the empire had sent vnto him: sent certaine ships lying readie thereunto, and waiting for such opportunitie vpon the coast of England, did so much, that vpon a sunday, whilest the townes men were at the church little looking for any such matter, entred the hauen of Southhampton, tooke the towne and spoiled the same, deflowred maidens, enforced wiues, burnt, kild, tooke captiues, and carried away rich spoiles and great buties to their ships, and so againe departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himself with the noble men of the empire, and had the friendly fauour of the emperour also thereunto: so the French king made the like league and alliance with Dauid the king of Scots, whom the king had so hardlie dealt withall in Scotland (as partly before you heard) and kept the most part of Scotland vnder his subiection: Minding the said Dauid as well by writing as oth and pledge, that without his consent hee should make no peace nor concludo any truce with the king of England. Who againe assured him of aid, and reskue, and helpe, and to recouer his kingdome and dominion to his vse: and forthwith sent certaine garisons and bands into Scotland to keepe play with the Englishmen, and there to fortifie diuers places till further opportunitie serued. He also fortified with men, mony, victuall, and munition, the towne of Cambrey: which hee suspected would be besieged, lying so neere vpon the empire as indeed it came to passe. For, king Edward departing from Dacheline, set forward his host towards Heinault, and by the way assembled such power, as in the empire hee looked for, marching forward still till that they came to Cambrey, and it besieged with 40000. men: while that with another companie, the Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders, went to S. Quintin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambrey nor else where, any thing notorious was atchieued. But the summer being well spent and little preuailing in the siege of Cambrey, being of situation strong and well defenced therewithall with men and munition; brake vp the siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards Sutterell. Which thing the French king hauing vnderstanding of, prepared himselfe to giue battell to the king of England, who with another great armie came to Viromfolle, where daies were appointed to meete in battell: but in the end, nothing was done nor attempted betweene the princes. And the king of England (without any battell either giuing or taking) returned with his armie from thence to Gaunt. Concerning the cause of the sudden remouing of the king out of France, it seemeth most specially to rise of the pope: which at the same time sent downe his legats, for the order of a peace to be taken betweene the kings. At Gaunt were gathered by the kings appointment all the nobles & well of England, as of the empire in counsell together what was best to be done. Where plaine answere was made to the king of England, that vnlesse hee would take vpon him the claime and title of France, as his lawfull inheritance and as king thereof prosecute his warres; it might not bee lawfull for them any further, to aide the king of England, or to fight with him against the French king: for that the pope had bound them in two millions of florences of gold, and vnder paine of excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawfull king of France. Whereupon, the king thought good therefore presently to make open challenge to the realme and crowne of France: and further, to quarter and intermingle the armes of France, with the armes of England in one Scutchen. Whereupon eftsoones king Edward made answere vnto the pope againe, directing vnto him his letters, wherein hee declareth at large his right and title vnto the crowne of France, purging thereby himselfe and his cause vnto the bishop. The copie and tenour of which letter, because it is so long to expresse, it is to be found in the storie of Thom. Walsingham remaining in the librarie of I. Stephenson citizen of London, who so hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this letter to the pope he directed another to the peeres and prelats of France (he remaining yet at Gaunt) in tenour as followeth.

The Scots stirred by the French king.

Note the greatest of this time when the bloud of Christ was thought but only ordeined to the holy land.

The very cause of the kings remouing out of France.

Anno 1340

The king of England sendeth the title of France.

## The letter of king Edward to the nobles *and commons of France.*

King Edward to the nobles and commons of France.

EDward by the grace of God king of France and of England, lord of Ireland. Vnto all prelats and the ecclesiastical persons, to the peeres, dukes, earles, barons, and to the commons of France, greeting. The high lord and king aboue, to whom although his will be in his owne power, yet would that power should be subiect vnto law: commanding euery thing to be giuen vnto him which is his, declaring thereby that iustice and iudgemēt ought to be the preparation of the kings seat. Wherfore seeing the kingdome of France through the prouidence of God by the death of Charles last king of France of famous memorie, brother germane to our ladie mother, is fallen vnto vs by laland and manifest law: And forsomuch that lord Philip de Valois, being the sonne of the vncle of the foresaid king, and so being farre from the crowne by a farther degree of consanguinitie; through force and vsurpation hath intruded himselfe in the foresaid kingdome (whilest wee were yet in our minoritie) and so contrarie both to God and to iustice doth detaine and occupie the same: And left wee should seeme to neglect our owne right and the gift giuen vs of God, or not to submit our will to Gods ordinance: We haue thought good to acknowledge the title of France, and by supportation of the almightie king haue taken vpon vs the defence and regiment of the said kingdome: Firmely purposing with our selues (as euery good man ought to doe) great iustice to minister iustice to euery one, according to the rites and laudable custome of the foresaid kingdome. Also to renew the good lawes and customes which haue been in the time of Ludouicke our progenitour, adding to moreouer, that which shall seeme expedient according

The tenour of the letter sent to the pope.

The title of France ioined to king Edward.

next about the king, bid Salsonie his fole, to insinuate the vnderstanding thereof by subtilties of couert words, which was thus: As the foresaid fole being in the kings presence, and was talking of many things; among other talke, hee sodden-ly brast out (being prompt by others) into a vehement railing of the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king not knowing whereunto the words of the foole did appertain; asked the foole, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. Why, saith the foole: Because the fearefull and cowardlie Englishmen had not the hearts to leape into the sea so lustilie, as our Normans, and gentlemen of France had. Whereby the French king began to vnderstand the victorie of his part to bee loss, and the English men to bee victorers.

The words of the foole to the French king.

This victorie atchieued, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not beleeued till letters thereof came from the king to prince Edward his son, being then at Walsham, directed to the bishops and prelats of the realme: the effect of which letters here followeth vnder written.

The letters of king Edward to the bishops of England.

THe bountifull benignitie of Gods great clemencie powred vpon vs of late, for your true certification, and reioycing wee thought good to intimat vnto you. It is not vnknown (we suppose) to you, and to other our faithfull subiects, which also haue been partakers with vs of the same, with what stormes of boysterous warres of late we haue been tossed and shaken, as in the great Ocean. But although the rising surges of the sea be marueilous, yet more marueilous is the Lord aboue: who turning the tempest into a calme, in so great dangers, so mercifully hath respected vs. For whereas we of late did ordaine our passage vpon vrgent causes, into Flanders: the lord Philip de Valois our bitter ennemie vnderstanding therof, laid against vs a mightie nauie of ships, intending thereby either to take vs, or at least to stop our voyage. Which voyage if it had been staid, it had been the cutting off of all the great enterprises by vs intended and taken in hand, and moreouer wee our selues brought to a great confusion. But the God of mercies seeing vs so distressed in such perils and dangers, hath graciously and beyond mans expectation sent to vs great succour and strength of fighting souldiers, and a prosperous wind after our owne desires. By the meanes and helpe whereof, wee set out of the hauen into the seas, where wee eftsoones perceiued our enemies well appointed and prepared with a maine multitude to set vpon vs, vpon midsummer day last past. Against whom notwithstanding, Christ our Lord and Sauiour hath rendred to vs the victorie, through a strong and vehement conflict. In the which conflict, a mightie number of our enemies were destroyed, and well neere all their whole Nauie was taken: with some losse also of our part, but nothing like in comparison to theirs. By reason whereof, we doubt not but our passage by the seas hereafter shall be more quiet and safe for our subiects, and also many other commodities shall ensue thereof, as wee haue good cause to hope well of the same. For which cause we deuoutly considering the heauenly grace so mercifullie wrought vpon vs, do render most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Sauiour. Beseeching him, that as he hath been and alwaies is readie to preuent our necessities in time of opportunitie, so he will continue his helping hand euer towards vs, and so to direct vs here temporally, that wee may raigne and ioy with him in heauen eternally. And in like sort we require your charitie that you also with vs rising vp to the praise of God alone, who hath begun so fauourable to work with vs to our goodnesse, in your prayers and diuine seruice doe instantlie recommend vs vnto the Lord, trauelling here in these forren countries, and studying to recouer not onely our right here in France: but also to aduance the whole catholicke Church of Christ and to rule our people in iustice. And that also yee call vpon the clergie and people, euery one through his diocesse to doe the same, inuocating the name of our Sauiour, that of his mercie hee will giue to vs his humble seruant a docible heart, so to iudge and rule hereupon rightly, doing that which hee hath commanded: that at length wee may attaine to that which he hath promised, &c. Which letter was written to the bishops and prelats, an. 1340.

Southhampton burnt and spoiled by the Frenchmen.

Counsell of the Archbishop giuen to the king.

Barfull vpon the sea between king Edward & French men.

The French men drawn vpon the sea.

After this foresaid victorie vpon the sea, and newes thereof, with due thanks to our Sauiour, sent into England: the king striking into Flanders, came to Gaunt in Brabant where hee had left the queene, who in safelie receiued him, being a little before purified & churched, as wee terme it, of her fourth sonne, whose name was Iohn, and commonly called Iohn of Gaunt, and was earle of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Antwerpe the king assembled his councell, whereat the noble men of Flanders, Brabant and Hennalt conioyning together in most firme league the one to helpe and defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Cambray and it to besiege. But the French king vnderstanding their counsell fortified and victualled the same before their comming thither. Furthermore the said French king the same time to stop the siege of king Edward, sent with king Dauid of

A counsel at Antwerpe.

Flanders, Brabant and Hennalt take part with king Edward.

of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make inuasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the king to remoue his siege. In the meane time while king Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valois, making vnto him certaine requests, as in the same his letters here following is to bee seene: who for that he wrote not vnto him as king of France, but by the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer him touching the same, as by their letters hereplaced may be seene.

*The letter of the king of England, to Philip de Valois, the French king, going to the siege of Turnaie.*

The letter of king Edward to the French king.

PHilip de Valois, of long time we haue gently requested you by our embassadors (yea al the reasonable meanes we might) to that intent you should haue rendred vnto vs our lawfull right and inheritance to the crowne of France, which from vs a long time you haue by great wrong and force detained. And for that we will perceiue you meane to persuere in the same your purpose and iniurious detinue, without making any reasonable answere to our demand: Wee let you vnderstand, that we are entred into the countrie of Flanders, as the soueraigne lord of the same, and so passe through the countrie. And further signifie vnto you, how that by the helpe of our Sauiour Iesus Christ and our righteous cause therein, and with the power of the said countrie, our people, and allies; we purpose to recouer the right which wee haue to that inheritance you detaine from vs by your iniurious force, and therefore approch we towards you to make a short end of this our rightfull challenge, if you also will doe the like. And for that so great an host assembled which we bring with vs on our part (supposing you also on the other part to doe the like) cannot long remaine together without great destruction both to our people and countrie, which thing euery good Christian ought to eschew: especially Princes and others which haue the gouernment of the same, auoiding by as short an end as may be, the mortalitie of Christian men, according as the quarrell is apparant between you and me. For the which causes heere touched, let the challenge (if you thinke meet) betweene our owne persons and bodies be discussed, that the great nobility and prowesse of each other, may of euery one be seene. And if you refuse this way, then let there (to finish this challenge) be an hundred of the best souldiours you can chuse out of your part, matched with so many of our liege subiects to try the same. And if of these two waies you refuse both the one and the other, then that you will assigne vnto vs a certaine day before the towne of Turney, to fight with vs power against power, which may be within ten daies next ensuing after the date of these our letters: offering the said conditions vnto you aboue specified (as we would all the world to know and vnderstand) not vpon any egeoile, presumption or pride wee take therein, but for the causes before alleaged, and to the end that (the will of our Sauiour Iesus Christ betwixt vs two herein declared and shewed) rest and peace might grow amongst Christian men: the power and force of Gods enemies abated and in fine, the limites of Christianitie enlarged and entranchised. And therefore hereupon consider with your selfe what way you will take concerning our foresaid offers, and by the bearers of these our letters send vnto vs herein quicke and speedie answere. Giuen vnder our great seale at Chyn in the plaine of Leee the 27. day of this present month of July.

*The answer of the lord Philip de Valois vnto the letter aforesaid.*

The answere of the French king to king Edwards demands.

PHilip by the grace of God, king of France, to Edward king of England. We haue seene the letters which you haue sent vnto our court to Philip de Valois, wherein are contained certaine requests which you make to the said Philip de Valois. But for that the said letters came not as directed vnto vs, neither yet the said requests seeme to bee made vnto vs (which thing clearely by the tenour of the said letters appeareth) wee therefore write vnto you no answere touching the same. Notwithstanding, this sufficeth, that we vnderstand by the said letters of yours, as also otherwaies, that you are entred into our realme of France, to the great damage both vnto vs, our realme and people (more proceeding of will, then reason) and not regarding that which a liegeman ought to doe vnto his lord. For you are entred into our homage by you lieged vnto vs, acknowledging your selfe, as reason is, a liege man vnto the king of France: and haue promised vnto vs such obeisance as men are wont to doe vnto their liege lords (as more plainely by your letters patents appeareth, enseald with your great seale) the which wee haue with vs: for the which thing wee will you to vnderstand; that our purpose is (when it shall seeme good vnto vs) to driue you out of our realme, to the honour both of vs and our kingdome, and to the profit and commoditie of our people. And this thing to doe we haue firme and assured hope in Iesus Christ, from whom we haue all our power and strength. For, by your vnreasonable demand more wilfull then reasonable, hath been hindred and staied the holy voiage to those parts of beyond the seas, where a great number of Christian men haue been slaine: the diuine seruice diminished, and the seruice of the Church lesse reuerenced. And as touching that where you say, Ye intend to haue the obeisance of the Flemmings, we thinke and beleeue that the good people and commons of that countrie will behaue themselues in such sort toward our cosin the Countesse of Flanders their Ladie, as it be not to their reprochand to vs their soueraigne lord, they will respect their honour and loyaltie. And that thing wherein they haue done otherwise then well hitherto, hath bin by the euill counsell of such people, as neither regard the weale publike, nor honour of their countrie, but their owne onelie gaine and commoditie. Giuen in the field neere adioyning to the priorie of S. Andrew, vnder our priuie seale, in absence of our great seale, the 30. day of Iulie, Anno 1340.

The Scots inuade England.

Mention was made a little before of Dauid king of Scots, whom the French king had supported and stirred vp against the king and realme of England: which Dauid (with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen) did so much preuaile, that they recouered almost against all Scotland, which before he had lost, and was constrained to line in the fastest of Gedworth many yeeres before. Then inuaded they England, and came with their armie, waisting and burning the countrie before them, till they came as far as Durham, and then returned againe into Scotland, where they recouered all their holds again, sauing the towne of Barwike. Edenbrough they took by a stratagem or subtill deuice practised by Douglas and certaine other: who apparelling themselues in poore mens habite, as victuallers with come, and prouender, and other things, demanded the porter earlie in the morning what need they had thereof. Who nothing mistrusting opened the outward gate, where they should tarrie till the captaine rose: and perceiuing the porter to haue the keies of the inward gate, threw downe their sackes in the outward gate, that it might not be shut againe, and slew the porter, taking from him the keies of the towne. Then they blew their horne as a warning to the bands, which priuilie they had laid not farre off: who in haste wise comming, and finding the gates readie opened entred vpon the sudden and killed as many as them resisted, and so obtained against the citie of Edenbrough.

Edenbrough recouered from the Englishmen by the Scots.

The Scots thus being busie in England, the French king in the meane season gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remoue the siege from Turney: and among other, sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides diuers other nobles and men of France: insomuch that the French king had a great armie, and brought himselfe able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his host. But the French king for all this his so great huge power and force, durst not yet to neere approch the king, as either to giue him battel, or else remoue his siege: but kept himselfe with his armie aloofe, in a place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England hasted, burnt, spoiled and destroyed the countrie, twentie miles in manner compasse about Turney, and take diuers and sundrie strong townes and holds, as Mortois, Arses, Grency, Archies, Odint, S. Amand, and the town of Lille, where he slew aboue three hundred men of armes. And about S. Omers, he slew and tooke of noble men, the lord of Dufluine, of Mauritelor, of Kelie, of Chastillon, of Pellie, of Fenis, of Hamelar, of Mountfaucon, and other barons, to the number of fourteene, and also slew and killed aboue 130. knights, being all men of great possessions and prowesse, and take other small cities and townes to the number of three hundred: yet for all this, Philip de Valois the French king durst neither rescue his townes, nor relieue his owne men: but of his great armie he lost (which is to be marueiled at, being in the midst of his owne countrie) by famine and other inconueniences, and for want of winter, more then twentie thousand men without any battell by him giuen. Whereupon at the treatie of the said Philip by his embassadors to the king sent, and by the mediation of the ladie Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the earle of Henault, whose daughter king Edward, as you heard, had maried: a truce cotaining the number of fifteene actes for one yeere was concluded, the king of England being very vnwilling and loath thereunto. Yet notwithstanding, partlie by the instance of the forsaid ladie, but speciallie for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England, which sent him not ouer such monie as hee needed for the continuance of his warres and paiment of his souldiers wages, the articles being somewhat reasonable) hee agreeth to the truce thereof: the conditions of which truce there concluded, here follow vnder written.

Turney besieged.

Articles of truce.

1 First, that during the said truce, no takes or mistrust of either part shall bee a detriment or cause of breach of the same.

2 Item, that during the said respite or truce, either of the princes, their helpers, coadiutors and allies whatsoeuer, shall remaine and bee in the quiet possession of all such possessions, holds, territories and lands, as at this present day they keepe and enioy within the realme and Dominion of France, in what manner soeuer they haue atchieued the same, during the said truce.

3 Item, that the said princes, their aiders, coadiutors, and allies whatsoeuer; shall passe safely from one countrie to an other, and all merchants with their merchandis, as well by sea as by land, as accustomable they haue been wont: except such banished men as haue been banished out of the said realmes, or any of them for other causes, then the warres betweene the said princes.

4 Item, that the said two princes shall not procure either by themselues or any other, any practise or other molestation to be made the one to the other, by the bishop of Rome or any other belonging to the holy church whatsoeuer: either for the wars begun, or any other cause, nor for the feruice of any of their allies, coadiutors, and aiders, or any of them. And that our holy father the pope nor any other, shall disturb or molest either of the said two kings during the said time.

5 Item, that immediatly after the truce bee proclaimed in both the hosts, that they may stand bound of either side, to keepe and obserue all and euery such article as shall be therein contained.

6 Item, that within 20 daies next and immediatly ensuing, each of the princes shall cause to bee proclaimed in Calcoyne and Guyen, and other their lands these articles of truce, to the intent they may be the better obserued, kept and knowne.

7 Item, if by any the said princes, their allies, people or coadiutors, any siege bee laid in Calcoyne, or the Duchy of Guyen or any other iles of the sea Gernesey or Oerser, or any other: that the same sieges be raised so soone as they shall heare of this truce.

8 Item, that such as are theeues and fugitiues out of the countrie of Flanders, shall not returne during the truce: and if they do, that then such as apprehend them, shall be iustice done vpon them, and forfeit all the goods they haue in Flanders.

9 Item, it is recorded, that the debts due to Arras, Tresponois, or other titles of France, shall neither bee demanded, nor executed during the said truce.

10 Item, that all such prisoners as haue been taken during these wars, shall be released out of prison and sent home vpon their faith and oth to returne, if they bee not ransomed during the said truce. And if any shall refuse so to doe, that then the Lord vnder whom hee is, shall constraine him to returne againe to prison.

11 Item, that all the bands whatsoeuer they be, which be made before this said truce in the time of war (whether they be of goods spirituall or temporall) be released without restitution, during the said truce.

12 Also, that these conditions of truce immediatly may take effect betweene the English and Scots, their lords, aiders, and allies: and the same to endure vntill the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist. And that certaine persons bee appointed by a certaine day to be at the marches of England and Scotland to confirme the said truce, vnder such conditions as haue been accustomed in those parts. And if the said Scots refuse so to doe, that then they to haue no aid out of France, during the said truce.

13 Item, that this said truce bee proclaimed in England, and in Scotland, within 26 daies after the date thereof.

14 Item, it is accepted that within this truce be contained Espaniels, Chatellon, Geneuous, the bishop and the towne of Cambzey, and castles of the same, &c.

In witnesse whereof, we Iohn by the grace of God king of Bohemia, and earle of Luxemburge, Adulph bishop of Liege, Raoule duke of Lozeine, Ayemes earle of Sauoy, and Iohn earle of Darminache on the one partie: And Edward duke of Beauant, C. duke of Geire, D. marques of Juliers, sir Iohn of Henault, and sir Beawmount on the other partie, betwixt the high and puissant princes of France and England; haue sealed this instrument of truce and peace, and deliuered the same accordingly in the church of Espleteline, on monday the 25 day of September, the yeare of grace 1340.

K. Edward returneth from Tourney.

This truce thus finished, king Edward haste by his camp, removing his siege from Tourney, and came againe to Gant. From whence (very early in the morning) hee with a small companie tooke shipping, and by long seas came to the tower of London, very few or none hauing vnderstanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with diuers of his counsell and high officers (so that though their default hee was constrained against his will, not hauing money to maintaine his wars, to condescend vnto the foresaid truce) he commanded to be apprehended and brought vnto him to the tower, the L. Iohn Stonhow chiefe iustice of England, and sir Iohn Poultnei with diuers others. And the next morning, hee sent for the lord B. bishop of Chichester and the lord Wake, the lord treasurer and diuers other that were in authoritie and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the said tower, only the said bishop excepted: whom for feare of the constitution of pope Clement, which commanded that no bishop should bee by the king imprisoned, hee let at libertie and suffered him to goe his way, and in his place substituted sir Roger Bourcher knight, lord chancellor of England.

The bishop of Winchester deposed from his office.

The bishop must be imprisoned by the popes law.

Tyrannous effects.

The bishop intreating of this matter, reporteth thus: that the king had at this time vnder him euill subdistitutes, and couetous officers: who attending more to their own gaine then to the publike honour and commoditie of the realme, left the king destitute & naked of mony. With which crime also Iohn Stratford archbishop then of Canturburie, was behemently noted and suspected, whether of his true deserts, or by the setting on of others, hereafter shall more appeare. Insomuch that the king ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falshood vsed against his person, as by these his letters written and directed to the deane and chapter of Paules against the said archbishop manifestly appeareth; the tenor of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Thon. Stratford archbishop of Cant.

Edward by the grace of God king of England and *France, and lord of Ireland: To his welbeloued in Christ* the deane and chapter of the church of S. Paul *in London, greeting in the Lord.*

The kings letter to the deane and chapter of Paules.

IT is manifest by ancient histories, but more plainely appeareth by those which daily are practised amongst vs; that many men abusing (through pride) the fauour of princes, and honour bestowed vpon them, haue maliciously gone about to depraue the laudable endeuour of kings. And now that the words which we speake may be more manifest vnto our subiects; wee suppose that neither you nor they haue forgotten, that wee being established in our kingly throne in younger yeares, and couseting euen then to guide this our regall charge taken vpon vs with wholesome counsels, haue called vnto vs Iohn the bishop of Winchester, now archbishop of Canturbute, whom we supposed for his fidelitie and discretion to exceed others: whose counsell in matters appertaining vnto the health of our soule, as in matters also respecting the augmenting & confirmation of our kingdome both spiritually and temporally we vsed: he was receiued of vs into all familiaritie. We found in him also such humanitie, that he was faluted by the name of father, and of all next vnto the king had in honor. Now afterwards, when by right of succession the kingdome of France should haue defended vnto vs, and was by violent iniurie by the lord Philip of Valois holden from vs: the said archbishop by his importune instancy perswaded vs to enter league of amity with the princes of Almaine, against the said Philip, and to commit our selfe and ours vnto the hazard of warres, promising and affirming that he would bring to passe, that the reuenewes of our lands and other helpes by him deuised, should suffice abundantly for the maintenance of our said warres. Adding moreouer that our onely care should bee for the furniture of strong and able soldiers, such as were fit for the purpose, and expert in warfare: for the rest, he himselfe would effectually procure, for money conuenient to suffice our necessitie, and the charges thereof. Whereupon (intending great exploits) wee conueied our army beyond the seas, and with marueilous great charges (as behoued) we set forward: wee became also bound in great summes of money, making sure account of the aide aforesaid promised vnto vs. But alasse, vnhappie is that man that reposeth confidence in mans deceitfull staffe of brittle reed: whereunto (as saith the prophet) if a man leane, it breaketh and pearceth the hand. Thus being defrauded of our long looked for subsidie, for very necessitie sake, wee were constrained to take vpon vs importable charges of debts by grieuous vsurie. And so, our expedition being stayed, we were compelled to retire into England, desisting from our enterprises so valiantly begun. Now when we were returned into England, we laid before our archbishop our manifold calamities and misfortunes before rehearsed, and thereupon called a parliament: wherein the prelats, noble men and other the faithfull subiects of our dominions, granted vnto vs a new subsidie of corne, lambe, woolle, &c: besides the tenth granted by the clergie: which subsidie (if it had been faithfullie collected and obtained in due time) had greatly availed for the expedition of our said warres, the paiment of our debts, and confusion of our enemies. Our said archbishop promised diligently to doe his endeuour, as well in collecting the same, as also in procuring other necessaries to serue to our purpose. Whereupon trusting vnto these faire promises, hauing all things in a readinesse, both men and furnished ships, we made saile toward Flanders, and by the way vpon the dangerous seas buckled with our enemies (sworn to the destruction of our English nation, of whom we triumphed and were victors, not by our merits (their multitude farre exceeding ours) but by the mercifull clemencie of him that ruleth both wind and sea. Which being done, we passed from thence with a mightie power for the recourie of our right, and pitched our tents neere vnto the puissant citie of Tourney: where being detained for a time in the siege thereof, wearied with continuall toile, our charges still encreasing, awaiting with silence our promised aid; day by day wee hoped from our archbishop to receiue succour in these our so great necessities. At length being frustrate of all conceiued hope, we signified vnto our said Archbishop, and other his adherents, by diuers messengers and sundrie letters, our great necessity and perils which we were in for lacke of the said subsidie granted vnto vs. We added also the vtilitie and honour, which we saw might be atchieued if we had receiued mooney in time. All this notwithstanding, we receiued from them no succour at all, for that, preferring their priuat businesse and proper commodities, they cloaked their sloth, or rather (as I may





call it, their fraud and malice with vaine excuses, and painted

full counsellers prosecutours of true iustice: openly declaring

faith the wise man, concerning counsell in this wise: Good

a good iusticer, your grace will cause to be punished according to the law: and inso much as appertaineth vnto vs therein, we

sent; whereby we may bring you both to concord and vnitie, and establish betweene you a firme peace to endure, wherunto with willing mind we would applie our selfe and bestow our painefull labour in prosecuting of the same. And herein if you will condescend and agree vnto our counsell, as weetrust you will; it may please you by your letters to giue vnto vs the like authoritie as is aboue said, to entreate peace or ordering of a truce for one yeare or two at least to continue. Neither let it moue you, that betweene vs and the said Philip of France a truce is taken. For seeing that you without our consent tooke truce with him: we by the aduice of our princes which know the bonds, deeds, and couenants betwixt vs, who also thought no lesse, but that sauing your honour we might doe the same; haue also made a league with the said Philip king of France: and for certaine causes doe reuoke and call backe the Lieutenantship which we assigned vnto you by our letters. Neuertheless giuing you for a certaine to vnderstand, that in our said treaties and peace concluded, we haue so brotherly considered you, that if you will agree and condescend vnto our counsell; your cause by our meane and helpe) shall bee brought to good passe and effect. About which things further to conferre with your brotherhood herein, we haue sent a deuout and religious man Fliathardus, reader and brother of the Heremites of saint Augustine, and chapleine of our court: whom about the premisses, we desire with speedie expedition to bee sent vnto vs again. Dated at Francklord the 14. day of Iune in the 24. yeare of our reigne, and 14. of our empire.

## The answere of the king of England, *to the empereur.*

TO the high and mightie prince lord Ludouike, by the grace of God, emperour of the Romans, alwaies Augustus, Edward by the same grace king of France, and England, and lord of Ireland: salutation and prosperous successe.

We haue reuerentlie receiued your highnes letters, amongst other things containing, that the noble Philip de Valois (to the intent a peace and concord betweene vs and him might bee concluded) hath giuen vnto you by his letters full power and authoritie thereunto at your highnesse request: And that if the same might content vs to do inlike sort, your highnesse would trauell to bring the concord to passe: And that it would not moue vs any whit at all, that your highnesse and the said Philip are in league together. For insomuch as wee without your assent and consent (you say) tooke truce with the said Philip, you haue also done the like with him (which thing you might well doe sauing your honour, by the counsell of all your nobles and princes:) and for certaine causes reuoke again the Lieutenantship which you committed vnto vs. Doubtlesse, the zeale and good will you haue to make this concord and agreement, wee much commend; letting you to vnderstand, that we alwaies haue beene desirous, and still are, to haue a reasonable peace with the said Philip; which peace, as much as to vs (our honour saued) appertained, wee haue in iustice and by law prosecuted: and in very deed, it should bee to vs acceptable, and as we would wish, if by such a Mediator as your celsitude is, it might bee brought to passe. But forasmuch as wee vnderstand the same our right and title to the kingdome of France, to be manifest and cleere enough; wee purpose not to cõmit the same by any of our letters to doubtfull arbitrement. But while we well consider and reuolue with our selues, how your highnesse vpon circumspect consideration (manifestly beholding our iust and rightfull doing, and the strait dealing and obstinate purpose and iniurie of the said Philip) with vs and in our behalfe against the said Philip, your graces highnesse made a speciall league, adopting vs of your great and bountifull loue towards our person to be one of your fomes: wherefore thus againe to alter and breake the same, we cannot sufficiently maruell. Seeing your inuincible highnes being instituted of God to the laud and commendation of good men, and reuenge of euill and wicked doers, hath made a league against vs with the said Philip de Valois our notorious and iniurious enemie. And as touching that which you say, without your assignement and consent wee tooke a truce of daies of respit with the said Philip, which wee ought not to haue done: if your grace well consider the circumstance of the matter, we haue done but as we might therein. For when wee laid our siege to Tourney, it was requisite wee followed their aduice, whose aid and societie therein we had. Besides the sudden and imminent necessitie which we there stood in, and the distance of the place betwixt your highnes and vs furthermore was such, as that by no meanes we might attaine the same, nor vse your assent therein. Yea and further, if your grace well remember your selfe, your grant vnto vs was such; that whensoeuer opportunitie thereunto should serue, we might intreate of any peace, and grant what time we thought meet thereunto, without your consent therein: So that to conclude any finall peace with the said Philip de Valois, without either your consent or otherwise making your highnesse priuie thereunto, it might not bee lawfull for vs; which thing without your said counsell, content and aduice, we neuer minded or purposed to farre as by any meanes our power would stretch: hoping likewise, that your brotherlie benevolence for a time would haue more louingly supported vs. It is thought also by some, that the reuoking backe againe, or restraint of your foresaid Lieutenantship, was prematurate or done all out of time: when as according to your promise made to vs herein by your letters imperial, you ought not so to haue done before the realme and kingdome of France (or at the least the greatest part thereof) were of vs obtained & quietly in peaceable wise enioyed. These premised therefore we desire you, according to your nobilitie duly to consider, & hereafter to do that which shall be thought both meet and conuenient, because that (God willing) wee meane to recompence and gratifie both you and yours, according to the measure of your benevolence bestowed vpon vs. The almightie grant vnto your celsitude so much felicitie as your heart desireth. Dated at London the 28. day of Iulie in the 2. yeare of the reigne of our kingdome of France, and of England 15.

*In this meane time died pope Benedict the 12. mentioned a little before: after whom succeeded in that roome pope Clement the 6. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberall and bountifull to his cardinals of Rome, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions, not of his owne, but with the ecclesiasticall dignities and preferments of th' churches of England. For so recordeth the author, that he bestowed vpon his cardinals the liuings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the churches of England, and went about to set vp new titles for his cardinals, heere within this realme. But the king being offended therewith, made void and fruitrat al those foresaid pronsions of the pope, charging moreouer and commanding no person whatsoeuer, to busie himselfe with any such prouisions, vnder paine of pvnishment and losing his life. Which lato was made the nert yeare following, which was Ann. 1344.*

Pope Clement 6.

Ex Chron. Adamæ.

The king disturbeth the popes prouisions.

*It followed then, that the said pope Clement, against began to make new prouisions for two of his cardinals of benefices and churches that should be nert vacant, besides bishoprickes and abbatships, to the extent of two thousand Marks. Whereupon the procurators of the said cardinals were sent downe for the same. But the king and nobilitie of the realme not suffering that, vnder paine of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the realme; whereupon the nobles and commons shortly after writeth a fruitfull epistle to the pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the English church. Whereunto, as saith the author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answere. The argument and tenor of which letter out of French, we haue caused to be translated into English, as ensueth.*

The popes procurators driuen out of England.

## The letter of the king of England and nobles of the *same, to the pope, against the reservations and prouisions which he had in England.*

TO the most holy father in God, lord Clement, by the grace of God of the holy church of Rome, and of the vniuersall church, chiefe and high bishop: his humble and deuout children, the princes, dukes, earles, barons, knights, estates, burgesses, and all the communaltie of the realme of England, assembled at the parliament holden at Westminster the 15. day of May last past: Deuout kissings of his holy feet, with all humble reuerence and humilitie. Most holy father, the holy discretion, gouernment and equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of dutie so to be (being so high and holy a prelate, and head of the holie church) by whom the holie vniuersall church and people of God ought to bee, as by the sun beames, enlightened, giueth vs good hope and likelihood, that the iust petitions (to the honour of Iesus Christ and holie church, and your holinesse also) by vs declared, shall bee of you gratiously heard and considered: And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remoued; in stead thereof, fruitfull exploits and necessarie remedies (by the grace of the holy spirit which you in so high an estate haue receiued) may bee by you likewise gratiously ordained & disposed. Wherefore, most holy father, all we (vpon great deliberation and common assent) come vnto your holines; shewing and declaring, that the noble kings of England our progenitors, our ancitors, and wee (according to the grace of the holie spirit to them and vs giuen, euerie one according to his deuotion) haue established, founded, & endowed within the realme of England, churches, cathedrals, colledges, abbeies, priories, and other diuers houses of religion in the same ordained: and to the prelates and gouernors of the same places, haue giuen lands, possessions, patrimonies, franchesies, aduowsons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, with many and diuers other benefices vnto them giuen: whereby the seruice of God and faith of Christ might haue beene honored and had in reuerence, that the hospitals and almes houses that are made, with all the churches and edifices, might bee honestly kept and maintained, and that deuout praiers might in those places bee made for the founders, and the poore parishioners aided & comforted. And such only ought

A letter of the nobles & commons of England to the pope.

## The letter of the king of England and nobles of the *same, to the pope, against the reservations and prouisions which he had in England.*

TO the most holy father in God, lord Clement, by the grace of God of the holy church of Rome, and of the vniuersall church, chiefe and high bishop: his humble and deuout children, the princes, dukes, earles, barons, knights, estates, burgesses, and all the communaltie of the realme of England, assembled at the parliament holden at Westminster the 15. day of May last past: Deuout kissings of his holy feet, with all humble reuerence and humilitie. Most holy father, the holy discretion, gouernment and equitie which appeareth to be in you and ought of dutie so to be (being so high and holy a prelate, and head of the holie church) by whom the holie vniuersall church and people of God ought to bee, as by the sun beames, enlightened, giueth vs good hope and likelihood, that the iust petitions (to the honour of Iesus Christ and holie church, and your holinesse also) by vs declared, shall bee of you gratiously heard and considered: And that all errours and other iniquities quite taken away and remoued; in stead thereof, fruitfull exploits and necessarie remedies (by the grace of the holy spirit which you in so high an estate haue receiued) may bee by you likewise gratiously ordained & disposed. Wherefore, most holy father, all we (vpon great deliberation and common assent) come vnto your holines; shewing and declaring, that the noble kings of England our progenitors, our ancitors, and wee (according to the grace of the holie spirit to them and vs giuen, euerie one according to his deuotion) haue established, founded, & endowed within the realme of England, churches, cathedrals, colledges, abbeies, priories, and other diuers houses of religion in the same ordained: and to the prelates and gouernors of the same places, haue giuen lands, possessions, patrimonies, franchesies, aduowsons, and patronages of dignities, reuenues, offices, churches, with many and diuers other benefices vnto them giuen: whereby the seruice of God and faith of Christ might haue beene honored and had in reuerence, that the hospitals and almes houses that are made, with all the churches and edifices, might bee honestly kept and maintained, and that deuout praiers might in those places bee made for the founders, and the poore parishioners aided & comforted. And such only ought

Decay of the church of England by the pope.

The liberall but vnwise and corrupt dealing of a worldly captaine.

*After these things thus passed ouer, the king shortly after sent ouer his Procurators, earle of Lancaster and Darbie, Hugo Spencer, lord Raph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and diuers other, to the popes court to discusse and pleade about the right of his title, before the pope. Vnto whom the said pope Clement the 6. not long after sent downe this message: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie the emperour, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himselfe to him in all things; and therefore deserued at his hands the benefit of absolution: and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored vnto him iustly and graciously the empire, which hes before vniustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did heare, being therewith moued to anger, answered against saying: That if he did agree & compound also with the French king, he was readie to fight with them both, &c.* Ex Chron. Albanen.

The popes message to the king.

The kings answere to the popes message.

*Within the time of this yeare, pence, halfe pence, and farthings began to bee coyned in the tower. And the nert yeare following, which was An. 1344. the castle of Windsor (where the king was borne) began to bee repaired: and in the same, the house called the round table was situate, the diameter whereof from the one side to the other, contained 200. feet, to the expenses of which house weekely was allowed an hundred pound, for the maintaining of the kings chiualrie, till at length by the occasion of the French warres, it came downe to nine pounds a weeke. Wherby the example whereof, the French king being prouoked, began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthod. At which time the said French king moreouer gaue free liberty through his realme to fell downe trees for making of ships and maintaining of his nauie, whereby the realme of England was not a little damnified.*

Anno 1344

The castle in Windsor enlarged. The round table built in Windsor.

Tenths granted to the king by the clergie for 3. yeares. Priuiledges granted by the king to the clergie.

*During the same yeare, the clergie of England granted to the king tenths for three yeares: for the which the king in recompence againe granted to them his charter containing these priuiledges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arreigned before his iustices, sue ad Gehan suam, sue partis, if the said clerke do submit and claime his clergie, professing himselfe to be a member of holy church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answere before the Justices. And if it shall bee laid vnto them to haue married two wiues, or to haue married a widow; the Justices shall haue no power to proceed against them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cause shall be reserued to the spirituall court, &c.*

To this it is like the priests had wiues.

Edward first prince of Wales.

*About this present time at the setting vp of the round table, the king made prince Edward his eldest sonne the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betweene the*

The Scots practise and breaking thereof.

*and in their owne naturall tongue, otherwise meet to inuite and teach their parishioners. And forsomuch as (most holy father) that you cannot well come to the state of diuers such errours and defaults, neither yet vnderstand the condition of the places being so farre off, vnlesse your holinesse bee informed and aduertised: Wee hauing the perfect intelligence and vnderstanding of the said errours and defaults of the places aboue said, within the said realme, haue thought meet to signifie the same vnto your holinesse: That diuers reseruations, prouisions, and collations by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you most holy father in youre time haue beene granted (and that more largely then they haue beene accustomed to be) vnto diuers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as vnto some such as are our enemies, hauing no vnderstanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they haue the gouernment and cure. Whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the seruice of God destroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme vnaduanced, the charge and gouernment of soules not regarded, the deuotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars vnpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errours, defaults and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer nor endure. We therefore most humblie require your holinesse, that the slanders, errours and defaults, which wee haue declared vnto you, may bee through your great discretion considered: and that it may please you that such reseruations, prouisions, and collations may bee vtterly repelled, that from henceforth the same be no more amongst vs vsed. But to take such order and remedie therein, that the said benefices, edifices, rights, with their appertenants, may be to the honour of God by our owne countrimen cured, defended and gouerned. And that it may further please your holinesse, by your letters to signifie vnto vs without delay and other detract of time, what your pleasure is touching this our lawfull request and demand, and that wee may doe our endeauour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of those enormities aboue specified. In witnesse whereof, vnto these letters patents wee haue set our seales. Giuen in the full parliament at Westminster the 18 day of May. Anno 1343.*

*After these things thus passed ouer, the king shortly after sent ouer his Procurators, earle of Lancaster and Darbie, Hugo Spencer, lord Raph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and diuers other, to the popes court to discusse and pleade about the right of his title, before the pope. Vnto whom the said pope Clement the 6. not long after sent downe this message: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie the emperour, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himselfe to him in all things; and therefore deserued at his hands the benefit of absolution: and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored vnto him iustly and graciously the empire, which hes before vniustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did heare, being therewith moued to anger, answered against saying: That if he did agree & compound also with the French king, he was readie to fight with them both, &c.* Ex Chron. Albanen.

*Within the time of this yeare, pence, halfe pence, and farthings began to bee coyned in the tower. And the nert yeare following, which was An. 1344. the castle of Windsor (where the king was borne) began to bee repaired: and in the same, the house called the round table was situate, the diameter whereof from the one side to the other, contained 200. feet, to the expenses of which house weekely was allowed an hundred pound, for the maintaining of the kings chiualrie, till at length by the occasion of the French warres, it came downe to nine pounds a weeke. Wherby the example whereof, the French king being prouoked, began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthod. At which time the said French king moreouer gaue free liberty through his realme to fell downe trees for making of ships and maintaining of his nauie, whereby the realme of England was not a little damnified.*

*During the same yeare, the clergie of England granted to the king tenths for three yeares: for the which the king in recompence againe granted to them his charter containing these priuiledges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arreigned before his iustices, sue ad Gehan suam, sue partis, if the said clerke do submit and claime his clergie, professing himselfe to be a member of holy church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answere before the Justices. And if it shall bee laid vnto them to haue married two wiues, or to haue married a widow; the Justices shall haue no power to proceed against them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cause shall be reserued to the spirituall court, &c.*

*About this present time at the setting vp of the round table, the king made prince Edward his eldest sonne the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betweene the*

Anno 1345. Duke Lancaster made duke of Lancaster, sent ouer to Gascoine.

A rare example of a liberall captaine to his souldiers.

*Ex Chron. Adamæ.*

The liberall but vnwise and corrupt dealing of a worldly captaine.

*Ex Chron. Albanen.*

The Scots practise and breaking thereof.

Anno 1346. The 2. voiage of K. Edward into France.

The battell at Cardone.

*and in their owne naturall tongue, otherwise meet to inuite and teach their parishioners. And forsomuch as (most holy father) that you cannot well come to the state of diuers such errours and defaults, neither yet vnderstand the condition of the places being so farre off, vnlesse your holinesse bee informed and aduertised: Wee hauing the perfect intelligence and vnderstanding of the said errours and defaults of the places aboue said, within the said realme, haue thought meet to signifie the same vnto your holinesse: That diuers reseruations, prouisions, and collations by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you most holy father in youre time haue beene granted (and that more largely then they haue beene accustomed to be) vnto diuers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as vnto some such as are our enemies, hauing no vnderstanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they haue the gouernment and cure. Whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the seruice of God destroyed, the almes and deuotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme vnaduanced, the charge and gouernment of soules not regarded, the deuotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars vnpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errours, defaults and slanders, most holy father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer nor endure. We therefore most humblie require your holinesse, that the slanders, errours and defaults, which wee haue declared vnto you, may bee through your great discretion considered: and that it may please you that such reseruations, prouisions, and collations may bee vtterly repelled, that from henceforth the same be no more amongst vs vsed. But to take such order and remedie therein, that the said benefices, edifices, rights, with their appertenants, may be to the honour of God by our owne countrimen cured, defended and gouerned. And that it may further please your holinesse, by your letters to signifie vnto vs without delay and other detract of time, what your pleasure is touching this our lawfull request and demand, and that wee may doe our endeauour with diligence herein for the remedy, correction, and amendment of those enormities aboue specified. In witnesse whereof, vnto these letters patents wee haue set our seales. Giuen in the full parliament at Westminster the 18 day of May. Anno 1343.*

*After these things thus passed ouer, the king shortly after sent ouer his Procurators, earle of Lancaster and Darbie, Hugo Spencer, lord Raph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and diuers other, to the popes court to discusse and pleade about the right of his title, before the pope. Vnto whom the said pope Clement the 6. not long after sent downe this message: how that Ludouike duke of Bauarie the emperour, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himselfe to him in all things; and therefore deserued at his hands the benefit of absolution: and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored vnto him iustly and graciously the empire, which hes before vniustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did heare, being therewith moued to anger, answered against saying: That if he did agree & compound also with the French king, he was readie to fight with them both, &c.* Ex Chron. Albanen.

*Within the time of this yeare, pence, halfe pence, and farthings began to bee coyned in the tower. And the nert yeare following, which was An. 1344. the castle of Windsor (where the king was borne) began to bee repaired: and in the same, the house called the round table was situate, the diameter whereof from the one side to the other, contained 200. feet, to the expenses of which house weekely was allowed an hundred pound, for the maintaining of the kings chiualrie, till at length by the occasion of the French warres, it came downe to nine pounds a weeke. Wherby the example whereof, the French king being prouoked, began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthod. At which time the said French king moreouer gaue free liberty through his realme to fell downe trees for making of ships and maintaining of his nauie, whereby the realme of England was not a little damnified.*

*During the same yeare, the clergie of England granted to the king tenths for three yeares: for the which the king in recompence againe granted to them his charter containing these priuiledges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arreigned before his iustices, sue ad Gehan suam, sue partis, if the said clerke do submit and claime his clergie, professing himselfe to be a member of holy church; who so doing, shall not be bound to come to his answere before the Justices. And if it shall bee laid vnto them to haue married two wiues, or to haue married a widow; the Justices shall haue no power to proceed against them, to inquire for the matter: So that the cause shall be reserued to the spirituall court, &c.*

*About this present time at the setting vp of the round table, the king made prince Edward his eldest sonne the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce betweene the*

Anno 1345. Duke Lancaster made duke of Lancaster, sent ouer to Gascoine.

A rare example of a liberall captaine to his souldiers.

*Ex Chron. Adamæ.*

The liberall but vnwise and corrupt dealing of a worldly captaine.

*Ex Chron. Albanen.*

The Scots practise and breaking thereof.

Anno 1346. The 2. voiage of K. Edward into France.

The battell at Cardone.

The kings letters of defiance against the French king.

TO all and singuler, to whom these presents shall come, publike greeting. We thinke it is not vnknow vnto you all, that after the decease of Charles late king of France of famous memorie brother to our neuer doubted lady mother Queene Isabell, Queene of England: That the crowne of France, by iust inheritance hath fallen vnto vs, as to the next heire male now liuing after the said king. Now Philip de Valois, being sonne but onely to the vncle of the foresaid king Charles: and therefore by degree of consanguinitie being further off removed from the same (we being in the time of our minoritie) hath violently by force and power contrarie to God and iustice vsurped, occupied, and yet doth occupie the same, inuading further and spoiling our lands in the dukedome of Aquitania, and ioyning himselfe with our rebellious enemies the Scots, seeking our subuersion both by land and by sea, to the vttermost of his endeauour. And although we to preuent the damages which

The kings letters of defiance against the French king.

might rise by war, haue offered to the said Philip diuers friendly waies of peace: to the intent we might better intend our purposed voiage against Christs enemies the Turkes: yet could nothing preuaile with him in obtaining any peaceable way of reformation, driuing vs off by craftie dissimulation, through false pretensed words, but performing nothing with heart and deed. Whereupon, we not neglecting the grace and gift of God, to defend the right of our inheritance, and to repulse the iniuries of our enemie, haue not refused by force of armes comming downe to Britanie to encounter with him in open field. And so we being occupied in our warres, there repaired vnto vs the reuerend father bishop of Preuest, and of Tusculane Cardinals, and legats from pope Clement 6. to entreat some reformation of peace betweene vs. At whose requeste we consented, agreeing to such formes and conditions of peace as then were taken betweene vs, sending moreouer our embassadours to the court of Rome, specially to entreate of the same matter. And thus while some hope of truce seemed betweene vs to appeare; newes suddenly came vnto vs, which not a little astonied our mind, of the death of certaine of our nobles and adherents, whom the said Philip vniustly and cruelly at Paris, commanded to be executed. Beside the wasting and spoiling our lands and subiects in Britanie, Gascony, and other places, with innumerable wrongs and iniuries deceitfully intended against vs both by sea and land. By reason whereof, the truce on his part being notoriously broken, it is most manifest to haue beene lawfull for vs, forthwith to haue set vpon him with open warre. Yet notwithstanding to auoide those incommodities that come by warre, we thought first to proue, if by any gentle meanes some reformation might be had touching the premisses. And therefore sundrie times, haue sent embassadors to the popes presence for the treatie of a peace, and reformation to be had in those aforesaid excesses: requiring also for the tractation thereof, certaine termes of times to be appointed, alwaies referring to our selues notwithstanding free libertie to resume warre at our pleasure, according as the doings of the said Philip shall constraine vs thereunto. And now forsomuch as the foresaid termes be already expired, and yet no reasonable offer of peace appeareth, neither will'd said Philip come to any conformitie, being required and monished notwithstanding by the popes letter thereunto (as the pope by his letters hath written vnto vs) but alwaies hath multiplied his conspiracie and obligations, vsing extremities against vs: and to omit here to speake of the excessiue enormitie of the popes legate, who being sent by the bishop of Rome for the keeping of truce, and whose part had beene rather to haue quenched and stayed the discord; hath stirred vp our enemie more eagerly against vs. In the which doing, neither hath the bishop of Rome (sauing his reuerence) as yet prouided any remedie, albeit he hath beene diuers times required of vs so to do. Which things being so, we ought to bee excused both before God and man, if for the defect of other remedie to be had, we shall be constrained our selues to find remedy against such wrongs and iniuries: the case of iustice and necessitie constraining vs to giue out these our letters of defiance against the violator of the truce, and the vniust inuader of our kingdome. Protesting that this we doe, not vpon any displeasure to the bishop of Rome, or to the apostolike see, but only for the moderation of equitie, standing vpon the defence of our owne right and lawfull inheritance, intending alwaies rather to haue peace, if by any reasonable way it might be had. And thus much for the stopping of slanderous fame and the mouthes of backbiters, We thought good to signifie, first to the high bishop of Rome, and the foresaid cardinals; that by them as persons indifferent, and mediators, the same may be insinuated to the contrarie part; and also vnto your whole Vniuersitie in generall: recommending vnto you all the innocencie of my cause and the communitie of iustice. Dated at Westminster the 14. of Iune, the 19. yeare of our reigne in England, and of France the sixth.

The popes legate diuerted by warre. The legat, the pope.

**And thus much for the kings letters. Now let vs againe returne to his passage, from whence a little we haue digressed. Concerning the which passage of the king, with the order of his acts archieued in the same, from the writing of Cadane or Cardoine, vnto the towne of Puisake, is sufficiently described by one of the kings chaplaines and his confessor; who being a Dominicke Frier and accompanying the king through all his iourney, writeth thereof as followeth.**

A letter of the kings confessor to shewe his acts being at Cardoine.

*Benedicere debemus Deum Cali, &c.* Great cause we haue to praise and laud the God of heauen, and most worthilie to confesse his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercie to vs. For after the conflict had at Cadane, in the which many were slaine, and the citie taken and sacked euen to the bare wals, the citie of Bais immediately yeelded it selfe of his owne accord, fearing lest their counsels had been bewrayed. After this the lord our king directed his progresse toward Roane: Who being at the towne of Lexon, there came certaine cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. Which cardinals being curteously entertained of the king for the reuerence of the popes see, it was thus answered to them againe: That the king being much desirous of peace, had assaied by all waies

The cardinals vse meanes for peace.

and meanes reasonable how to maintaine the same: and therefore hath offered conditions and manifold waies of peace, to be had to the no small preiudice of his owne cause. And yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any meanes it may be sought, &c. With this answere the cardinals going to the French king, the kings aduersary, to perswade with him in like maner, returned to king Edward againe, offering to him in the French kings name, the dukedome of Aquitane, in as full assurance as his father before him euer had it: besides further hope also of obtaining more, if intreatie of peace might be obtained. But forsomuch as that contented not enough the kings mind, neither did the cardinals find the French king so tractable and propense to the studie of peace as they looked for, the cardinals returned, leauing the matter as they found it. And so the king speeding forward, by the way as his iourney did lie, hee subdued the countrie and the great townes without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and runne away. Such feare God stroke into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same voiage, as the king had gotten many townes and villages, so also hee subdued castles and munitions, very strong, and that with little stresse. His enemy being at the same time at Rome had reared a great armie, who notwithstanding being well manned, yet euer kept on the other side of the riuer Seane, breaking downe all the bridges that we should not come ouer to him. And although the countrey round about continually was spoiled, sackt, and with fire consumed by the circuit of twentie miles round about: yet the French king being distant scarce the space of one mile from vs, either would not or else durst not (when he might easilie haue passed ouer the riuer) make any resistance for the defence of his countrie and people. And so our king iourneying forward came to Pusiake or Poisy, where the French king had likewise broken downe the bridge, and keeping on the other side of the riuer would rest in no place.

The kings answere to the Cardinals.

The French king stirreth no stresse in the way of peace.

The king comming to Pusiake.

**After whose comming to Poitie, the foresaid chaplaine and confessor to the king, named Michael Northburgh, describing the kings voiage and the acts of the Englishmen from the towne of Poisse, to his comming to Calis, in his letters writeth in this wise.**

## A letter of William Northburgh the kings confessor, describing the kings voiage into France.

SAlutations premised, we giue you to vnderstand, that our soueraigne lord the king came to the towne of Poisye, the day before the assumption of our Ladie, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Seane broken downe of the enemy, but the king tarried there so long till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing there came a great number of men at armes and other souldiers were armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northhampton issued out against them and slue of them more then one thousand; the rest fled away, thankes be to God. And at an other time our men passed the water, although with much trauell, and slues great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioyning, being part of the French kings armie, and thoroughly well appointed: so that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enemies, God be thanked, without any great losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the assumption of our Ladie, the king passed the water of Seane, and marched toward Poisye, which is a towne of great defence and strongly immured, and a maruellous strong castle within the same, which our enemies kept. And when our vandguard was passed the towne, our rereguard gaue an assault thereunto and tooke the same: where were slaine more then three hundred men at armes of our enemies part. And the next day following, the earle of Suffolke and sir Hugh Spenser marched forth vpon the commons of the countrie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more then two hundred, and tooke 60. gentlemen prisoners beside others. And after that, the king marched toward graund Villers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vandgard was descried by the men of armes by the king Benamee: whereupon, our men issued out in great haste and ioyned battel with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northhampton issued out and rescued the horsmen with other souldiers; so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onely Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enemie in chase within two leagues of Amians: of whom we tooke 8. and slue 12. of their best men at armes, the rest being well horsed, tooke the towne of Amians. After this, the king of England and marched toward Pountife vpon Bartholomew day, and came vnto the water of Som, where the French king had laid 900. men at armes, and three thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thankes be to God, the king of England and his host entered the same water of Som, where neuer man passed before, without the losse of any of our men: and after that encountred with the enemie, and slue of them more then two thousand, the rest fled to

Abeuile,



Abeuile, in which chase were taken many knights, squires, and men at armes. The same day Sir Hugh Spencer tooke the town of Croylay, where hee and his souldiers slew foure hundred men at armes, and kept the towne, where they found great store of victuals. The same night encamped the king of England in the forrest of Cressy vpon the same water, for that the French kings host came on the other side of the towne neer vnto our passage: but hee would not take the water of vs, and so marched toward Abeuyle. And vpon the friday next following, the king being still incamped in the sad forrest, our Scuriers descried the French king, which marched toward vs in foure great battels. And hauing then vnderstanding of our enemies (as God will was) a little before the euening tide we drew vnto the plaine field, and set our battels in array; and immediatly the fight began, which was sore and cruell, and indured long, for our enemies behaued themselues right nobly. But thanks bee giuen to God, the victory fell on our side, and the king our aduersary was discomfited with all his host, and put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Benamie, the duke of Loreine, the earle of Dabefon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Bloys, the earle of Ascot, with his two sonnes, the earle of Damerley, the earle of Nauers, and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Meymes, the archbishop of Saundes, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoy, the lord of Morles, the Lord de Guis, Segniour de S. Nouant, Seigniour de Rosingburgh, with six earles of Almaine, and diuers other earles, barons, knights, and squires, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with another Marquesse, which was called lord Electour among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men at armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common souldiers and footmen, were one thousand, fiue hundred, forty, and two. And all that night the king of England with his host abode armed in the field where the battell was fought. On the next morrow before the Sunne rose, there marched toward vs another great host, mightie and strong, of the Frenchmen. But the earle of Northhampton, and the earle of Northfolke issued out against them in three battels, and after long and terrible fight, them in like wise they discomfited by Gods great helpe & grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue been) where they tooke of knights and squires a great number, and slew about two thousand, pursuing the chase three leagues from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king encamped himselfe againe in the forrest of Cressy, & on the morrow marched toward Boleine, and by the way he tooke the towne of Staples; and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege and his battery to the same. And therefore our soueraigne lord the king willeth and commandeth you in all that euer you may, to send to the said siege victuals conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Chaam, we haue trauelled through the country with great perill and danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of victuall plenty, thanks be to God therefore. But now as the case standeth, we partly need your helpe to be refreshed with victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis the 14. day of September.

{Anno 1346 Siege of Calis.

**After the siege and winning of Poisse, the third day of September anno 1346. the king through the midst of France directed his passage vnto Calis, as by the tenour of this letter you heare, and besieged the same. Which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid, till the third day of August the yeare next ensuing, vpon the which day it was rendered vp vnto the said king Edward the third, and subdued vnto the crowne of England: as after, the Lord willing, shall more appeare.**

**In the meane time, during the siege of Calis, Dauid the Scottish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army hasted into the North parts of England; and first besieging the towne of Lidel, within sir dales obtained the greatest part of the towne, and there taking all that hee could finde, with Sir Walter Sallup a valiant knight, which was the keeper of the hold, caused him vncourteously to bee put to the sword: and so from thence proceeded further into England; till at length being met withall by William Zurch archbishoppe of Yorke, and the lord Percie, and the lord Neuel, with other nobles of those parts (calling and gathering their men together) in the plaine neere to Durham, the seuentenih day of October in the yere aboue said, through the gracious hand of Christ, there were subdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the earles of Murrie, and Stratheron, with the flower of all the clualry and principall warriors of Scotland were slaine. Also the foresaid king Dauid, with the earles of Wintife and Fiffes, and other lords, and William Douglasse Dalhilme, Fleming, and William Douglasse, and other many mo men of armes were taken prisoners: and so the mischiefe which they intended to other, fell vpon their owne heads.**

Dauid king of Scots inuadeth England.

The Scots ouerthrowne.

Dauid the Scottish king taken prisoner.

**During moreouer the said siege of Calis, the foresaid pope Clement the 6. writing to the king of England, went about vnder the pretence of peace, to stop his proceedings: whose letters follow here vnder written.**

## The letter of the pope to the king of England, in the behalfe of the Frenchmen.

CLement the bishop, seruant of Gods seruants: To his welbeloued sonne in Christ, Edward the puisant king of England; salutation and apostolicall blessing. If you diligently consider deare son, (as ought a catholike prince) to doe the slaughter of such an innumerable fort, bought with the precious bloud of Christ our redeemer: the losse of their substance and soules, and the lamentable perils which the dissensions and warres stirred vp betweene you and our welbeloued sonne Philip, the noble king of France, haue brought vpon vs, and yet daily doe without intermission: and also the bewailing of so many poore people, crying out of orphans and pupils, lamentation of widowes, and other miserable people which be robbed and spoiled, and almost famished: what exclamation they make with teares running downe their cheekes, yelling and crying vnto God for help; as also the destruction of churches, monasteries, and holy places, holy vessels, and other ornaments vnto Gods seruice dedicated; the sacrilegious robberies, sackings, & imprisonings; the spoiling of holy churches & religious persons, with many other such innumerable, detestable, carefull mischiefes, offending the eies of the diuine maiesty: all which, if your princely heart would consider and well remember; with this also, that catholike faith (especially in the East parts) and the christians there abiding by meanes of the same dissensions and wars, destitute of the helps of such catholike men as are in the West parts, are so afflicted of the infidels, seeing the other parts of Christendom so troubled with cruell persecutions, yea and more cruell then euer it hath bin (although in these times to amplifie this our faith in the said East parts is cruell persecution shewed, more then hath bin of many yeares past) doubtlesse we beliue it would pity your heart. And to the end that such and so great euils should no further proceed, nor yet that so great good as might be done by dilating of our foresaid faith in these times should be let and hindered; we desire you that ye would apply your mind to make some agreement and peace with the foresaid king. For if (my welbeloued sonne) God hath giuen vnto you prosperous successe and fortune, ye ought rather to humble then to extoll your selfe; and so much the more readier to incline to his peace, & to indeuor your selfe to please God, which loueth peace, and delighteth in peaceable men; and to eschew the foresaid euils, which without doubt do grieuously offend him. Furthermore, we maruell greatly, that vnto our reuerend brother Anibaldus bishop of Tusculane, and our beloued son Stephan, of the title of S. Iohn, and Paul, priest and cardinall of the apostolicall see, being sent as legats by vs and the same see apostolicall to intreat a peace, who diligently and faithfully laboring for the same, as louers of verity, iustice, and equity, and therewithall regarders of your honor, could not be suffered touching the intreaty of the same peace, to come vnto your graces presence.

Wherefore we desire your kingly highnesse more earnestly, and for the mercy of God with more vehemence require the same, that ouer taking vp the foresaid horrible euils, and preuenting the sweetnesse of piety and compassion, may escape the vengeance of Gods indignation, which were to be feared, if you should persueure in your former euils, as God forbid. And as touching the intreaty for peace, for which our foresaid cardinals were sent vnto you, (how beit secretly, lest it should be any derogation to your honour) we desire you to condescend thereunto, and with all your affection you will incline your mind to the same, so pleasant vnto God, so desired of the world, as also to you, the foresaid king, and vnto the catholike faith profitable. And that the same peace by Gods helpe and grace established and made perfit, you might assay your puissant strength about Gods businesse in the foresaid East parts (so good occasion seruing, as before is said, in these our times) being so apt aduancements of your honour, and happy increasing of your princely name: for seruently we haue heard of you reported to behaue your selfe in all your attempts. Thus we doubt not but that you will write vnto vs againe touching the premisses, and the purpose of your intention touching the same. Dated at Auinion the 18. of February, and 5. yeare of our Papacie.

## The answere of the king of England, to the foresaid letter of the pope.

King Edward answereth the pope.

MOst holy father, we vnderstand by the letters of the reuerend fathers in God, the bishop of Tusculan, and Stephan of the title of Saint Iohn Prieft, Cardinals and Legats of the court of Rome, as also by the letters of your holinesse sent vnto vs, that yee maruell greatly for that your said legats were of purpose sent vnto vs, and commanded to intreat of a peace betweene our aduersary of France and vs, that wee would not suffer them secretly to talke with vs, for the safegard of our honour. The intention of your heart to make the foresaid peace, complaining and bewailing therein the death of Christian men, the losse of their goods, the perill of their soules, the lamentable wailings of the poore, of orphanes, the widowes, and destruction of other pitifull persons, the pillage and robberies

robberies of churches, and other mischies innumerable, and namely, the diminishing of Christian faith in the East parts, which by the warres betwene our aduersary of France and vs is forth decaied, as the said letters plainly doe import. And that forsmuch as God hath giuen you triumphent fortune, that so much the more we ought to abase and humble our heart, and to be the readier to make and incline to a peace. As touching these things, holy Father, we giue your holinesse to vnderstand, that as well vnto your foresaid legats, as other messengers sent from you vnto vs, we haue offered vnto euery of them reasonable waies of peace, and euery day declare the same, and that not feerefully, but openly. For we doubt not to let our purpose be vnderstood; for he that is the high iudge both of him and vs, in whose disposition all things lieth, hath giuen vnto vs the crowne of France to our right and proper heritage. The which right, our foresaid aduersary hath by force of long time detained from vs, we seeking to obtaine the same in peaceable wise, and yet doe, if we might obtaine the same in any good manner, rather for the benefit of Christian men, and that the foresaid euils might cease, which by his wrongfull meanes onely haue increased and growen. Yet notwithstanding, as before this time you know we assented to a truce, with certaine articles contained in the same writing; all this hee hath infringed: Neither doth the wrong suffice him, which hee offereth vs in our foresaid heritage, but he indeoureth himselfe during the said truce, to inuade our realme of England & other our landes: and furthermore maintaineth the Scots, and aideth them to the vtter destruction of vs, our people and lands aforesaid; wherein we were inforced for the safegard of our people and lands, by such lawfull meanes as we may, to defend our selues. & put him from his wicked purpose. And furthermore, for the same our quarrell being in the hands of God, haue wee come against him to conquer our inheritance of France; ouer whom God hath giuen vs diuers victories, as we haue trusted hee would by his right wise iudgement and power; which thing he hath shewed vpon vs, (all chance of fortune set apart) in respect of our rightfull title therein, and without our deserts: wherefore with all humility of heart we giue him thanks alwaies therefore, most deuoutly night & day praising his holy name; for we acknowledge the same commeth not by our strength & force. Wherefore most holy father, we desire your holinesse, and, so much as in vs lieth, require the same, that you that supply the place of the Sonne of God in earth, and haue the gouernment of the soules of all christian men, and ought to be vpright and equall to words all men, without exception of persons, that ye will receiue good information and true, of the obiections abouesaid, and will put to your holy helping hand, as much as in you is, that our said aduersary of France may acknowledge his wrong which he hath done to vs herein, and may be by your aid redressed, and that he in this his wrong haue no maintenance and aid at your hand. For if it be so, we then appeale vnto the iudge of iudges, which suffereth for a time wrongs to be done for the sinfull default of man, but in the end reuelleth the same, leauing no good deed vnrewarded, nor euill vnpunished: most humbly requiring him to be to vs a true and vpright iudge of all our controuersies, for his mercies sake, as in the meane time we repose our full trust and confidence in him. The holy spirit of God, &c.

Moreouer, during yet the siege of Calis, the French king had sent certaine letters to the men of Flanders, that if they would returne with the king of England, and adhere to him:

First, he would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, he would vnburden them of their interdict.

Third ly, he would send vnto them such plenty of come, that what was sold for twelue shillings with them, should be sold for some shillings, and that for fiue yeres.

Fourthly, he would store them with plenty of French woll to make cloth, for a small price; and that they might sell the said clothes both in Flanders & in France, and that the French men should vse the same cloth, forsomuch as all other maner of cloth should be forbidden in France, so long as any of that (made of French woll) might be found.

Fiftly, he would restore them to these three cities, Insulam, Rodoretum and Betenie.

Sixtly, he would defend them from all their aduersaries; and in lieu of the same, would send them many besoyned, and mercifull, such as were able and forward men among them, he would retaine and promote them, &c.

But these offers seeming to proceed more of faire words to serue the present turne, then of any hearty truth, were not receiued. Then the lord John, prince and heire to the French king, during the foresaid siege of Calis about mentioned, comming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set vpon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the towne of Cassels. In the which conflict, during from morning to none, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young Dolphin driuen backe from whence he came. Of whose number diuers were slaine and taken prisoners. Where on the other side (through the Lords defence) not one is reported to bee greeuously wounded.

As this passed on, not long after about the seuenth day of June, an. 1347. king Edward continuing still his siege against Calis, Philip the French king came down with a mighty army, purposing to remoue the siege: where, not far off from the English host, he encamped himselfe. Which done, two cardinals, Ambalous and Stephanus (procured for the same purpose) going betwen the two kings, gaue to the king of England thus to vnderstand: That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such honest proffers vnto him, as to reason & to his contemnation should seeme agreeable. But in conclusion when it came to talke, the nobles could not agree vpon the conditions. Wherefore the French king seeing no other remedy, did it to be signified to king Edward; that betweene that present tuesday, and the next friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should haue battell giuen him. Thus the place being viewed of foure captaines of either host for the battell to bee fought; it so fell, that the French king on wednesday at night, before the battell should begine, secretly by night setting his pauilions on fire, returned backe with his army out of the sight of Englishmen.

Upon the friday following, they which were besieged in the towne of Calis, seeing the king to be retired vpon whose helpe they trusted, being also in great penury and famin for lacke of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed) surrendred the towne to the kings hands: who like a mercifull prince onely detaining certaine of the chiefe, the rest with the whole commons he let goe with bagge and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, hewing therein more princely fauour to them, then they did of late in Quene Maries dates vnto our men, in recouering the said towne of Calis againe.

After the winning thus of Calis, as hath been premised, king Edward remaining in the said towne a certaine space, was in consultation concerning his voiage and proceeding farther into France. But by meanes of the foresaid cardinals, truce for a certaine time was taken, and instruments made (so prouided, that certaine noble men as well for the French king, as for the king of England, should come to the pope there to debate vpon the articles. Vnto the which king Edward, for peace sake was not greatly disagreing. Which was an. 1347. Ex Tho. Walsingh.

The next yere following, which was an. 1348. fell a sore plague, which they call the first generall pestilence in the realme of England. This plague (as they say) first springing from the East, and so spreading Westward, did so mightily preuail here in this land, beginning first at Dorcester, and the countries thereabout, that euery day lightly twenty, some daies forty, some fifty, and mo dead corpses were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of December it came to London. Where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of February, till about the beginning of May, in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, about two hundred dead corpses euery day were buried, besides them which in other churchyards of the citie were laid also. At length by the grace of Christ ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts. Where also the next yere after, anno 1349. it swaged.

After this, in the next yere ensuing, an. 1350. the towne of Calis was by treason of the keeper of the castell, almost betraied and wonne from the Englishmen. Within the compasse of which yere, died Philip the French king. After whom king John his sonne succeeded in the crowne. Who the next yere after, vnder false pretence of friendship, caused the Constable of France earle of Eue, to be beheaded; who being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licenced by king Edward to visit his country of France. In the same yere the towne of Guines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and a sleepe.

The yere next following, the marshall of France with a great army was put to flight by sir Roger Bentele knight, and captaine in Britaine, hauing but only 600. souldiers with him. In this battell were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The French men and Britaines by this victory were exceedingly discouraged, and their pride cut downe.

In the yere after, was Henry first made duke of Lancaster, which before was earle of Darbie and Lancaster. Also diuers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster. Which after by auarice and partiall fauor of the head men, were againe vndone.

Concord and agreement about the yere 1354. began to come well forward, and instruments were drawne vpon the same betweene the two kings. But that the matter being brought by to pope Innocent 6. partly by the quarrelling of the French men, partly by the winking of the pope, which euer held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England, all the duke dome of Aquitaine with other lands there, should be to him restored, without hemage to the French king. And that king Edward againe should surrender to him all his right and title, which he



her had in France: whereupon rose the occasion of great warre and tumult, which followed after betweene the two realmes.

It followed after this, the yere of our Lord 1355. that king Edward hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that king John his sonne had granted the dukedome of Aquitaine to Charles his eldest sonne and Dolphin of Vienna; sent ouer prince Edward with the earle of Warwicke, of Salisbury, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able souldiers into Aquitania. Where hee being willingly receiued of diuers, the rest hee subdued; partly by force of sword, partly receiued, submitting themselues to his protection.

Not long after this, in the same yere, wood being brought to king Edward, that John the French king was ready to meet him at S. Omers, there to giue him battell, he gathered his power, & set ouer to Calis with his two sons, Leonel earle of Ulston, and John of Gaunt earle of Richmond, and with Henry duke of Lancaster, &c. Who being come to Saint Omers, the French king with a mighty army of his Frenchkings, hearing of his comming, the nerer hee approched to them, the further they retired backe; walling and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them, should finde no victuals. By reason wherof, king Edward soli. ging him by the space of nine or ten daies vnto Hadenham, when neither he could finde his enemy to fight, nor victuals or forage for his army, he returned vnto Calis: where war againe being offered in the name of the king vpon vnlikable conditions, and yet the same not performed, king Edward seeing the vnwilling of his enemy, from Calis crossed the seas into England, where hee recouered againe the towne of Barwicke, which the Scots before by subtill traine had gotten. At which time was granted vnto the king in parliament, 50. s. for euery sacke of woll that should be carried ouer, for the space of six yeres together. By the which grant, the king might dispend euery day by estimation, aboue 100. marks sterling. And for as much as euery yere 100000. sacks of woll were thought to be exported out of the realme; the sum thereof for six yeres space was esteemed to mount to 1500000. pound sterling.

The same yere, when king Edward had recouered Barwicke, and subdued Scotland, prince Edward being in Gascoine, made toward the French king. Who, notwithstanding by the way all bridges were cast downe, and great resistance made; yet the victorious prince making way with his sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length ioyning with the French king at Poytiers, scarse with 2000. gaue the ouerthrow to the French king with 7000. men of armes and mo. In which conflict, the French king himselfe, and Philip his sonne, with lord James of Bourbon, the archbishop of Senon, 11. earles, 22. lords were taken. Of other warriers and men of armes 2000. Some affirme, in this conflict were slaine two dukes, of lords and noblemen 24. of men of armes 200. of other souldiers about 8000. The common report is, that no Frenchmen were there taken prisoners, then were the number of them which tooke them. This noble victory gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

If I were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransome leuied on him, and of Dauid the Scottish king; of which, the one was rated at three millions of Scutes, the other at 100000. marks, to be paid in ten yeres, how the staple was after translated to Calis, with such like. I refer the them that would see more, to the chronicle of Tho. Walsing. of S. Albans, of Iohn Froyfard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

Thus hauing discoursed at large all such martiall affaires and warlike exploits, incident in the raigne of this king betwixt him and the realmes of France and Scotland: Now to returne againe to our matters ecclesiasticall, followeth in order to recapitulate and notifie the troubles and contentions growing betwene the same king and the pope, and other ecclesiasticall persons in matters touching the church, in order of yeres remaining in the volumes taken out of the records, as followeth. As where first in the fourth yere of his raigne, the king wrote to the archbishop of Canturbury to this effect: That whereas king Edward the first his grandfather did giue to a clerke of his owne, being his chaplaine, the dignitie of treasurer of Yorke, the archbishoprycke of Yorke being then vacant and in the kings hands, in the quiet possession whereof, the said clerke continued vntill the pope millliking therewith, would haue displaced him, and prouided to the same dignitie a cardinal of Rome, to the manifest preiudice of the crowne of England: the king therefore kindly charged the archbishop of Yorke, not to suffer any matter to passe, that may be preiudiciall to the donation of his grandfather, but that his owne clerke should inioy the said dignitie accordingly, vpon paine of his highnesse displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these bishops following, videl. to the bishop of Lincolne, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Sar, Nounser Parmion, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Lincolne, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Kenton, to maister Rich of Wentworth, to maister Iustred de Concoze, to the popes Nuncio, to maister Guido of Calma. And withall, wrote his letters vnto the pope, as touching the same matter consisting in three parts. First, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of temporalties, of offices, prebends, benefices and dignities ecclesiasticall, holden of him in capite, as in the right of his crowne of England. Secondly, in expostulating with the pope for intruding himselfe into the ancient right of the crowne of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessours, which were popes before. Thirdly, intreating him that he would henceforth abstaine and desist from molesting the realme with such nouelties and strange vsurpations; and so much the more, for that in the publike parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed vpon by the vniuersall assent of all the estates of the realme, that the king should stand to the defence of all such rights and iurisdictions as to his regall dignitie and crowne any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth yere of the raigne of this king, pope Benedict the twelfth, sendeth downe letters touching his new creation, with certaine other matters and requests to the king: whereunto the king answering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding moreouer, that his purpose was to haue sent vnto him certaine ambassadors for congratulation of the same. But being otherwise occupied by reason of warres, could not attend his holinesse requests: notwithstanding he minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascension next, where vpon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, hee would take order for the same, and to direct his ambassadors to his holinesse accordingly.

The next yere after, which was the tenth yere of his raigne, the king writeth another letter to the pope; that forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one yeres tenth for the suppotation of his warres, and for that the pope also had the same time to take vp the paiment of six yeres tenth granted him by the clergy a little before, therfore the pope would vouchsafe at his request, to forbeare the exaction of that money for one yere, till that his tenth for the necessities of his wars were dispatched.

In the same yere hee wrote also to the pope to this effect: That whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich did nominat a clerke to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his inuestiture, without the kings knowledge; therefore the pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the kings peculiar iurisdiction and prerogatiue.

After this, in the fifteenth yere of this king; it happened that the pope sent ouer certaine legats to heare and determin matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices: which the king perceiuing to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subiects, writeth vnto the said legats, admonishing and requiring them, not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing vnduefully, otherwise then might stand with the lawfull ordinances and customes of the lawes of his realme, and the freedome and liberty of his subiects.

Writing moreouer the same yere to other legats being sent ouer by the pope to treat of peace betwene the king and the French king, with request that they would first make their repaire to the French king, who had so often times broken with him, and prosecute what conformitie the French king would offer: which if he found reasonable, they should soone accord with him: otherwise hee exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalfe.

The yere following, which was the seuententh of his raigne, ensueth another letter to the pope against his prouisions and reseruations of benefices, worthy here to bee placed and specified, but that the sum thereof is before set downe to be found in the pag. 355.

The yere following, another letter likewise was sent by the king to the pope, vpon occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reseruations and prouisions of the bishoprichs within the realme, and to leaue the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedrall churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth yere of this kings raigne, there came to the presence of the king certaine legats from Rome, complaining of certaine statutes past in his parliament tending to the preiudice of the church of Rome, and the popes primacie; viz. that if abbats, priors, or any other ecclesiasticall patrons of benefices, should not present to the said benefices within a certaine time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof: or if they did not present, then to the archbishop: if the archbishop likewise did faile to present, then the gift to pertaine not vnto the lord pope, but vnto the king and his heires. Another complaint also was

was this, that if archbishops should bee slacke in giuing such benefices as properly pertained to their owne patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertaine to the forsaid king and his heires. Another complaint was, that if the pope should make void any elections in the Church of England for any defect found therein, and so bad places of some honest and discreet persons in the same, that then the king and his heires was not bound to render the temporalities vnto the parties placed by the popes prouision. Whereupon the pope being not a little agreeued, the king writeth vnto him, certifying that it was misinformed, denying that there was any such statute made in that parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would conferre with his prelats and nobles, and thereof would returne answere by his legats.

In the 20. yere of his raigne, another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect whereof in few words to expresse, was this: to certifie him that in respect of his great charges sustained in his wars, he hath by the counsell of his nobles, taken into his owne handes the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceede in the order of yeres, in the twentie six yere of his king, one Nicolas Heath clerke, a busie headed boie, and a troubler of the realme, had procured diuers bishops, and others of the kings counsell to bee cited vp to the court of Rome, there to answere such complaints as hee had made against them. Whereupon commandement was giuen by the king to all the ports of the realme for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any bulls or other processe from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignitie of the crowne, or molestation of the subiects: concerning which Nicolas Heath, the king also writeth to the pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to giue no care to his leaud complaints.

The same yere the king writeth also to the popes legat resident in England, requiring him to surcease from craking diuers sums of money of the clergy, in the name of first fruits of benefices.

The 27. yere of this kings raigne, the king by his letters complaineth to the pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicolas Stainsby, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured diuers citations to bee sent into the realme, to the great disturbance of diuers and sundry honest men. Whereupon he praieth and aduiseth the pope to stay himselfe and not to send ouer such hastie citations vpon euery light occasion.

To passe further to the 28. yere of the same king, thus we finde in the rolles: That the king the same yere take order by two of his clergy, to wit, John a Stocke and John of Northon to take into their hands all the temporalities of all benefices, prebends, dignities, and benefices being then vacant in England, and to answere the profits of the same to the kings vse.

The same yere an ordinance was made by the king and his counsell, and to the same proclaimed in all port townes within the realme, that god and diligent search should bee made, that no person whatsoeuer, comming from the court of Rome, &c. doe bring into the realme with him any bull, instrument, letters patents, or other processe, that may be preiudiciall to the king, or any of his subiects: nor that any person passing out of this realme toward the court of Rome, doe carrie with him any instrument or processe that may redound to the preiudice of the king or his subiects: and that all persons passing to the foresaid court of Rome, or with the kings speciall licence, bee notwithstanding promist and finde suretie to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt or pursue any matter to the preiudice of the king or his subiects, vnder paine to be put out of the kings protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made, Anno 27.

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domesticall matters, perturbations, and troubles passing betweene him and the pope, taken out of the publike records of the realme, whereby I thought to giue the Reader to vnderstand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the vnsatiable auarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer, then a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subiects with exactions immeasurable: not onely exercising his tyrannie in this realme, but raging also against other princes both far and neere, amongst whom neither spared he the emperor himselfe. In the story and acts of which emperor Ludouicus, mentioned a little before, pag. 342. whom the pope did most arrogantly excommunicate vpon Maundy thursday, and the selfe same day placing another emperour in his roome: relation was made of certaine learned men which take the emperors part against the pope. In number of whom was Marsilius Patauinus, Guliermus Ockam, Ioannes Gandauensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Vlricus Haugenor treasurer to the emperor. Dantes, Aligerius, &c. Of whom Marsilius Patauinus compiled and exhibited vnto the emperor Ludouike, a worthy worke intituled Defensor pacis: written in the emperours behalfe against the pope. Wherein (both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope) hee proueth all bishops and priests to be equall, and that the pope hath no superioritie aboue other bishops; much lesse aboue the emperor. That the word of God ought to be onely the chiefe iudge in deciding and determining causes ecclesiasticall: that not onely spirituall persons, but lay men also being godly and learned, ought to bee admitted vnto generall councels: That the clergy and the pope ought to be subiect vnto magistrates: That the church is the vniuersitie of the faithfull, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ, and that hee neuer appointed any vicar or pope ouer his vniuersall church: That bishoppes ought to bee chosen euery one by their owne church and clergie: That the marriage of priests may lawfully bee permitted: That Saint Peter was neuer at Rome: That the clergy and synagogue of the pope is a berne of theeues: That the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction: And that the corrupt manners of the Christians doe spring and flow out of the wickednesse of the spiritualty, &c. He disputeth moreouer in another booke of free iustification by grace: And extenuated merits, saying, that they are no causes efficient of our saluation, but onely sine qua non, that is to say, that workes bee no cause of our iustification, but yet our iustification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine most sound and catholike, hee was condemned by the pope, anno 1324. by the popes decree extrauagant. cap. Licet intra de Crimin. Concerning the which man and his doctrine, I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may see, that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the church, with the note of nouelty or newnesse, how ignorant and vnskilfull they be in the histories and order of times forepast.

Articles of Wicklif in Council at Lond. pope.

Marsilius Patauinus.

Defensor pacis.

Marsilius condemned of the pope.

Extrau. cap. Licet intra.

Heresies cause & adiunctum, sine qua non.

In the same part of condemnation at the same time, also was Ioannes de Gunduno, anno 1320. and contained also in the foresaid Extrauagant, with Marsilius Patauinus. Which Ioannes wrote much vpon Aristotle, and Auerroi, and are yet remaining. And no doubt but hee wrote also of diuinitie, but not withe that these workes haue been abolished.

Ioannes Gandauensis condemned by the pope.

In the same number and catalogue commeth also Guliermus Ockam, who was in the yere of our Lord 1326. as is afore mentioned, pag. 342. and wrote likewise in defence of Ludouicus the emperor against the pope: and also in defence of Michael, Generall of Gray friers, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for an heretike. Diuers treatises were by the said Ockam set forth, whereof some are extant and in print, as his questions and diffinctions: some are extant and suppressed (as Alcentius reporteth) quòd essent aliquando asperiora. Some againe be published vnder no name of the author, being of his doing: as the dialogue betweene the souldier and the clerke: wherein it is to be conjectured, what bookes and works this Ockam had collected against the pope. Of this Ockam Iohn Sleidane in his history inserteth mention, to his great commendation, whose words bee these: William Ockam in time of Ludouicus the fourth emperor did flourish, about the yere of our Lord 1326. who among other things wrote of the authoritie of the bishop of Rome. In the which booke hee handleth these eight questions very copiously: whether both the administrations of the bishops office, and of the emperors, may bee in one man: secondly, whether the emperor taketh his power and authoritie onely of God, or else of the pope: thirdly, whether the pope and church of Rome haue power by Christ, to set and place kings and emperors, and to commit to them their iurisdiction to be exercised: fourthly, whether the emperor being elected, hath full authoritie vpon the said his election, to administer his empire: fiftly, whether other kings besides the emperor and king of Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receiue of them any part of their power: sixthly, whether the said kings in any case bee subiect to their consecrators: seuenthly, whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselues the diademe without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title: eightly, whether the seuen princes electors giue as much to the election of the emperour, as succession rightfully giueth to other kings. Upon these questions hee disputeth and argueth with sundrie arguments and sundrie reasons on both sides, at length hee decideth the matter on the part of the ciuill magistrate: and by occasion thereof, entreth into the mention of the Popes decrees Extrauagant: declaring how little force or regard is to bee giuen thereunto.

Guillermus Ockam wrote against the pope.

Michael generall of the gray friers, excommunicated by the pope as an heretike.

Dantes treatises.

Absentium.

Ockam his opinions.

Eight questions disputed by Ockam.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Arimenensis, a learned and a famous and right godly man: who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the yere of our Lord 1350. disputed in the same doctrine of grace and free will, as wee doe now, and dissented therein from the Papistes and Sophisters, counting them worse then Pelagians.

Gregorius Arimin. sirnamed the famous doctor and most perfect.

Ex Trithemio.

Of the like iudgement, and in the same time was also Andreas de Castro, as appeareth super lit. 1. Sentent. dist. 45. and Burdianus vpon the Ethiques of Aristotle: which both maintained the grace of the gospell, as is now in the church receiued aboue 200. yeres since.

Andreas de Castro and Burdianus, both gospellers 200 yeares ago.

And what should I speake of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time, an. 1350. withstood the French king not to receiue in his land the new found constitutions, decretall and Extrauagant, within his realme: whose sage counsell then giuen, yet remaineth among the French kings records, as witnesseth Carol. Molinæus?

Eudo duke of Burgundy against the popes decrees about 200 yeres since. Ex Carole Molineo.

Dantes an Italian writer, against the pope.

Dantes an Italian writer, a Florentine, lined in the time of Ludouicus the emperor, about the yere of our Lord 1300. and take his part with Marsilius Patauinus, against three sorts of men, which he said were enemies to the truth: That is, the pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count themselues the children of the church, when they are the children of the diuell their father: Thirdly, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certaine of his writings bee extant abroad, wherein he proueth the pope not to be aboue the emperor, nor to haue any right or iurisdiction in the empire. Hee confuteth the donation of Constantine to be a forged and a fained thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right. For the which he was taken of many for an heretike. He complaineth moreouer very much, the preaching of Gods word to be omitted: and in stead thereof, the vaine fables of monks and friers to be preached and beleeued of the people, and so the flocke of Christ to be fed not with the food of the Gospell, but with wind. The pope, saith hee, of a pastor is made a wolfe, to waste the church of Christ, and to procure with his clergy not the word of God to bee preached, but his owne decrees. In his canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon. And to her ministers, to some hee applieth two hornes, to some foure. As to the Patriarchs, whom hee noteth to bee the tower of the said whore Babylonicall. Ex libris Dantes Italicè.

Dantes of Constantines gift a thing forged.

The pope the whore of Babylon.

Ex lib. Iornandi, Pope, antichrist.

Herevnto may be added the saying out of the booke of Iornandus imprinted, with the foresaid Dantes: that forsomuch as antichrist commeth not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as goe about to haue the empire extinct, are forerunners and messengers in so doing of antichrist. Wherefore let the Romans (saith hee) and their bishoppes beware, lest their sinnes and wickednesse so deseruing by the iust iudgement of God, the priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelats and princes of Germany take heed, &c.

The pope maketh the emperour and Lay men his asses.

An admonition to the Romans.

And because our aduersaries, which obiect vnto vs the newnesse of our doctrine, shall see and perceiue the course and forme of this religion now receiued, not to haue been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past: I will adde to these aboue recited, master Taulerus a Preacher of Argentine in Germany, anno 1350. Who contrary to the popes proceedings, taught openly against all mens merits, and against inuocation of Saints, and preached sincerely of our free iustification by grace, referring all mans trust onely to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

Taulerus of Germany, a preacher against the popes practisings.

With whom also may be adioined Franciscus Petrarcha, a writer of the same age, who in his workes and his Italian matter speaking of Rome, calleth it the whore of Babylon, the schoole & mother of errour, the temple of heresie, the nest of treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others: and saith further, that the, (meaning the popes court) ertcteth her selfe against her founders; that is, the emperors, who first set her vp, and did so inrich her: and so seemeth plainly to affirme, that the pope was antichrist, declaring that no greater euil could happen to any man, then to be made pope. This Franciscus was about the yere of our lord 1350.

Franciscus Petrarcha. Vide 20. epistolam Francisci Petrarchæ. Rom: the mother and schoole of errour.

And if time would serue vs to fetche out old histories, wee should finde plenty of faithfull witnesses of old and ancient time, to giue witnesse with vs against the pope, beside the other aboue rehearsed: as Ioannes de rupe scissa, an. 1340. Who for rebuking the spirituality for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison.

Ioannes de rupe scissa. Iohn cast into prison.

Illyricus a writer in our daies, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Ioannes should call the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; and the pope to be the minister of antichrist; and the cardinals to bee the false prophets. Being in prison, hee wrote a booke of prophecies, bearing the title; Vade mecum in tribulationem: in which booke (which also I haue seene) hee prophecied and admonished, affliction and tribulation to hang ouer the spiritualitie. And pronounceth plainely, that God will purge his clergy, and will haue priests that shall be pure, godly, and that shall faithfully feed the Lords flocke: Moreouer, that the gods of the church shall returne againe to the lay men. Hee prophecied also the same time, that the French king and his army should haue an ouerthrow. Which came likewise to passe during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Ioannes de rupe, writeth Froyssard in his time, and also Wicklike: of whose prophecies, much more may bee said at more leasure (Christ willing) hereafter.

Church of Rome, the whore of Babylon.

The deformation of the church before prophecied.

About the same yere of our Lord 1340. in the citie of Herspoil, was one named maister Conradus Hager. Who (as appeareth by the old bulls and registers of that bishopric of the said citie) is there recorded, to haue maintained and taught the space of twenty foure yeres together, the masse to be no manner of sacrifice: neither that it profiteth any man either quicke or dead, and that the money giuen of the dead for masses, bee very robberies and sacrileges of priests, which they wickedly doe intercept and take away from the poore. And said moreouer, that if hee had a stone full of gold and siluer, hee would not giue one farthing for any masse. For the same his doctrine, this good preacher was condemned and vnclosed in prison: what afterward became vpon him we doe not finde.

Conradus Hager.

Ex bullis original. Ecclesiæ Herbipol.

There is among other old and ancient records of antiquitie belonging to this present time, a certaine monument in verse poetically compiled, but not without a certaine morall, intituled Pœnitentiarius Asini, the asses confessor; bearing the date and yere of our Lord in this number, Completus An. 1342. In this treatise are brought forth the wolfe, the fox, and the asse, comming to Christ and doing penance. First, the wolfe confesseth him to the fox, who easily doth absolue him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like maner the wolfe hearing the fores thrift, theweth to him the like fauour againe. After this, commeth the asse to confession, whose fault was this; that hee being hungry, tooke a straw out from the thacke of one that went in peregrination vnto Rome. The asse, although repenting of this fact, yet because he thought it not so hainous as the faults of the other, the more he hoped for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly asse had vttered his crime in auricular confession, immediatly the discipline of the law was executed vpon him with seuerity: neither was hee iudged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended vpon the same, flaine, and deuoured. Whosoeuer was the author of this fabulous tale, had a mysticall ment standing in the same; so by the wolfe no doubt was meant the pope. What the fox was resembled to the prelates, curtisans, priests, and the rest of the spiritualtie. Of the spirituality, the lord pope is some absolued; as contrary, the pope some doth absolue them in like manner. By the asse is meant the pope laitie, vpon whose backe the strait censure of the law is sharply executed, especially when the German emperors come vnder the popes inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as in these stories may partly appeare before. And though the master bee not the weight of a straw, yet what saith the holy father the wolfe, if it please him to make any matter of it?

Pœnitentiarius Asini.

Pœnitentiarius Asini.

The pope hath infinitie confidence against the laity.

*Immensum scelus est, iniuria quam peregrina*
*Feci si, fyramen subripiendo tibi.*
*Non aduertisti, quod plura pericula passus*
*Plurima passimus, quod peregrinus erat.*
*Non aduertisti quòd ei per maxima terra*
*Et pelagi spacia, sit peragranda via.*
*Non aduertisti sanctos, nec limina sanctæ*
*Sanctorum sanctam sed nec Hierusalem.*
*Ille retransiuit eadem loca, iam violentum*
*Ex inopinato sensit adesse malum.*
*De papa taceo, cuius prorsus tibi talem*
*Conduxit, cuius ea vilipendis opem.*
*Totius Ecclesiæ fuerit quam minimus iste,*
*Pertulit abstracto gramine damna vie, &c.*

And thus they aggerating and exaggerating the fault to the vttermost, die vpon the poore asse and deuoure him. By the which apologie, the tyrannicall and fraudulent practises of these spirituall Romanists are likely described.

Not long after these aboue rehearsed, about the yere of our Lord 1350. Gotharcus Kyper wrote also against the monks and friers a booke intituled, Lacryma Ecclesiæ: wherein he disputeth against the foresaid religious orders, namely against the begging friers: proouing that kind of life to be farre from christian perfection, for that it is against charitie to liue vpon other, when a man may liue by his owne labors. And affirmeth them to be hypocrits, filthy lucers, and such as for mans fauor, and for lucre sake, doe nny with true diuinitie, fables, Apocryphaes, and dreams of sanctse. Also, that they vnder pretence of long prayer, deuoure widowes houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and burials, doe trouble the church of Christ manifold waies. And therefore perswaded the prelats to bridle and keepe short the inordinat licence and abuses of these monasticall persons, &c.

Gotharcus Kyper a writer against monks and friers.

Yet I haue made no mention of Michael Ceseras, prouincial of the gray Friers, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus, in quarta parte summæ, and saith they were condemned in the extrauegant of pope John, with one Ioannes de Poliaco. Their opinions, saith Antoninus, were these; That Peter the Apostle was no more the head of the church, then the other Apostles: And that Christ left no vicar behinde him or head in his church: And that the pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the emperor. Item, that all priests, of what degree soeuer, are of equall authority, power and iurisdiction by the institution of Christ:

Michael Cesenas, Petrus de Corbaria, condemned of the pope. Ioannes de Poliaco.

Chriſt: but by the inſtitution of the emperor, the pope to be ſuperior, which by the ſame emperor alſo may bee reuoked againe. Item, that neither the pope nor yet the church may puniſh any man, punitione coactiua; That is, by externe coaction; vnleſſe they receiue licence of the emperor. This foreſaid Michael, generall of the gray friers, wrote againſt the tyranny, pride, and primacie of the pope, accuſing him to be antichriſt, and the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, drunke with the bloud of ſaints. He ſaid there were two churches, one of the wicked ſtanding, wherein raigned the pope: the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the bertie was almoſt vtterly extinct. And for this cauſe he was depriued of his dignitie, and condemned of the pope. Notwithſtanding, hee ſtood conſtant in his aſſertions. This Michael was about the yere of our Lord 1322. And left behind him many fautors and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part there ſlaine by the pope: ſome were condemned, as William Ockam; ſome were burned, as Ioannes de Caſtilione, and Franciſcus de Arcatara. In extrauag. Ioan. 23.

The opinions of Michael Ceſen generall of the gray friers.

Michael Ceſen depriued and condemned by the pope.

Iohannes de Caſtilione, Franciſcus de Arcatara burned.

With him alſo was condemned in the ſaid Extrauagant, Ioannes de Poliaco about touched, whoſe aſſertions were theſe: That the pope could not giue licence to heare confeſſions to whom hee would, but that euery paſtor in his owne church ought to ſuffice. Item, that paſtors and bishoppes had their authority immediatly from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and not from the pope. Item, that the conſtitution of pope Benedict 11. wherein he granteth larger priuiledges to the friers aboue other paſtors, was no declaration of the law, but a ſubuerſion. And for this he was by the ſaid friers oppreſſed, about the yere of our Lord, 1322.

Ioannes de Poliaco about touched.

After Simon Sepham archbiſhop of Canturbury before mentioned, who liued not long, ſucceded Iohn Stratford. After whom came Iohn Offord, who liued but ten moneths. In whoſe roome ſucceded Thomas, and remained but one yere, an. 1350. And after him Simon Iſlep was made archbiſhop of Canturbury, by pope Clement the 6. who ſate 17. yeres, and builded Canturbury colledge in Oxford. Which Simon Iſlep ſucceeded the biſhop of Ely, named Simon Langham, who within two yeres was made cardinall. In whoſe ſtead pope Vrban the 5. ordained William Wittleſey biſhop of Worceſter to be archbiſhop of Canturbry, an. 1366. In which yere, William biſhop of Winchester, elected and founded the new colledge at Oxford.

Archbiſhops of Canturbury, three ſucceeding the other.

New colledge in Oxford found by an. 1366.

Againe, in the order of the popes, next vnto pope Clement the 6. before mentioned, about the ſame time, an. 1353. ſucceded pope Innocent the 6. In the firſt yere of which pope, two friers minors or Franciſcans were burned at Auinion: Propinionibus (as mine author ſaith) erroneis, prout D. papæ & eius cardinalibus videbatur. 1. For certaine opinions, as ſeemed to the pope and his cardinals, erroneous. Ex chron. Wall.

Pope Innocent the 6. Two Franciſcans burned at Auinion.

Of the which two friers, I finde in the Chronicles De actis Rom. pontificum, and in the hiſtory of Premonſtratenſis, that the one was Ioannes Rochtaplada. Or rather, as I finde in Catal. teſtium cited out of the chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Bapabalus. Who being (as he recordeth) a Frier Minorite, began firſt in the time of pope Clement the 6. an. 1345. to preach and affirme openly, that he was by Gods reuelation charged and commanded to preach; that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and the pope with his cardinals to be very antichriſt. And that pope Benedict, and the other before him his predeceſſors were damned; with other ſuch like words tending much againſt the popes tyrannicall maieſtie. And that the foreſaid Bapabalus being brought before the popes face, conſtantly did ſtand in the ſame, ſaying: that he was commanded by Gods reuelation ſo to ſay, and alſo that he would preach the ſame if he might. To whom it was then obiected, that he had ſome hereticall bookes, and ſo was committed to priſon in Auinion. In the time of his accuſation it happened, that a certaine prieſt comming before the pope, call the popes bull downe before his feete, ſaying: Loe here, take your bull vnto you, for it doth me no good at all. I haue laboured now theſe three yeres with all, and yet notwithſtanding for all this your bull, I cannot bee reſpoſed to my right. The pope hearing this, commanded the poore prieſt to be ſcourged, and after to be laid in priſon with the foreſaid frier. What became of them afterward, the foreſaid writer Henricus de Herfordia maketh no mention. But I may probably coniecture this prieſt and this frier Rochtaplada, or rather Bapabalus, were the two, whom mine author Thom. Wal. writeth to be burned at this time in Auinion, about the firſt beginning of this pope Innocentius the 6. Of this Rochtaplada, I thought good here to inſerte the teſtimony and mention of Iohn Froſſard, written of him in his firſt volume, chapter 211. in theſe words:

Ioannes Rochtaplada martyr. Catal. teſtium veritat. fol. 331.

Froſſard. Hiſtoire de Gaſtone Conte de Foix.

There was (ſaith Froſſard) a frier minor, full of great clergie in the citie of Auinion, called Frier Iohn of Rochetaplada, the which frier pope Innocent the firſt held in priſon in the caſtell of Baignour, for ſhewing of many matteries after to come; principally hee ſhewed many things to fall vnto the prelats of the church for the great ſuperfluitie and pride, that was then vſed among them. And alſo hee ſpake many things to fall of the realme of France, and of the great lords of Chriſtendome, for the oppreſſions that they did to the poore common people. This Frier, ſaid hee, would proue all his ſaying by the authority of the Apocalyps, and by other bookes of holy Saints and Prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the holy Ghoſt: hee ſhewed many things hard to beleeue, and many things fell after as hee ſaid. Hee ſaid them not as a Prophet, but hee ſhewed them by authority of ancient Scriptures, and by the grace of the holy Ghoſt, who gaue him vnderſtanding to declare the ancient Prophets, and to ſhew to all chriſtian people the peeres and times when ſuch things ſhould fall. He made diuers bookes founded on great ſciences and clergy, whereof one was made the yere of our Lord 1346, wherein was written ſuch maruels, that it were hard to beleeue them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when hee was demanded of the warres of France, hee ſaid that all that had been ſeene, was not like that ſhould bee ſeene after. For hee ſaid that the warres in France ſhould not bee ended, till the realme were vtterly waſted and exiled in euery part. The which ſaying was well ſeene after, for the noble realme of France was ſore waſted and exiled, and ſpecially in the terme that the ſaid frier had ſet. The which was in the yeres of our Lord 1356, 57, 58. and 59. Hee ſaid in thoſe yeres, the princes and gentlemen of the Realme ſhould not for feare ſhew themſelues againſt the people of low eſtate, aſſembled of all countries without head or Captaine, and they ſhould doe as they liſt in the realme of France; the which fell after, as ye haue heard, how the companions aſſembled them together, and by reaſon of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great Captaines.

About the ſame time happened in France a certaine contention betweene the French prelats, and the friers of Paris, certified and reported by Godefridus de Fontanis; the briefe effect of which ſtorie is this: The prelates of France conuenting and aſſembling together in the citie of Paris, after a long deliberation among themſelues, cauſed by the Bedles to bee called together all the ſtudents, maſters, and bachelers of euery faculitie, with the chiefe heads alſo of all the religious houſes and friers in the Vniuerſitie of Paris. Who being all there congregated together in the biſhop of Paris his houſe, where there were preſent foure archbiſhops, and twentie biſhops: firſt, ſtood vp the biſhop of Bitturecenſe, who there making his ſermon, take for his theame the place of Saint Paul to the Epheſians: Fratres vt ſciatis quæ ſit longitudo, latitudo, altitudo, & profunditas charitatis, &c: and concluded thereupon, firſt that true charitie would compell them to ſee and prouide for their flockes. Secondly, that the vigor of charitie would arme them to withſtand errors. Thirdly, hee concluded, that by dutie of charitie they were bound to giue their liues for the ſoules of their flocke committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the ſame charitie euery man to hold himſelfe content with that which was his owne, and not to intermeddle or buſie himſelfe further then to him appertained, or belonged to his office. For there (ſaith hee) all order eccleſiaſticall is diſſolued, whereas men not containing themſelues in their owne precincts, preſume in other mens charges where they haue nothing to doe. But this charitie (ſaith hee) now adaies waxeth cold, and all eccleſiaſticall order is confounded and vtterly out of order. For many there bee, which now adaies preſume to thruſt in themſelues where they haue nothing to doe; ſo that now the church may ſeeme a monſter. For as in a naturall body appeareth a monſter, where one member doth the office of another; ſo in the ſpirituall body, which is the Church, may bee thought likewiſe. As when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the Friers minors and minors, doe take vpon them to preache and occupy the office to vs ſpecially appertaining: namely, where as the Scripture warneth vs all, none to take vpon him any office, except hee be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aron was. Wherefore wee haue heretofore oftentimes cauſed the ſaid Friers, both by the king himſelfe in his owne perſon, and alſo by other nobles to be ſpoken to and deſired, to forceale from doing and intermedling in our office, and yet they would not, but haue preached againſt our wils through all our dioceſſes, and haue heard confeſſions, ſaying, that they haue the popes priuiledge to beare them out therein. For the which cauſe we come to you, and not we here preſent only, but alſo wee haue the handwriting, and the full conſent of all other our fellow biſhops throughout the kingdome of France, to complaine to you of this ſo great inſolencie and preſumption of the friers. For that as we are, you ſhall be. Neither doe I thinke to be any of vs prelats here note, which haue not ſometime been taken out of the Vniuerſitie of peares. Wee haue deſired moreouer, and cauſed to be deſired the foreſaid friers, to ſend their priuiledges to the apoſtolike ſea, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the lord pope: which they refuſed alſo to doe. Wherefore to the intent you may the better vnderſtand and ſee what their priuiledges be, and how farre they doe extend, we haue appointed the ſaid priuiledges here openly to bee read vnto you.

Then ſtood vp another in the publike place, and there read the priuiledges of both the orders: and afterward read alſo the conſtitution

Ex ſcripto Godfri. de Fontanis.

A contention in France betweene the prelates and the friers there.

A ſermon of the biſhop of Bytturecs to the ſtudents of Paris againſt the friers.

That is, the Dominicke friers, and the Franciſcan friers.



The conſtitution of pope Innocent 3. Omnis vtriuſque ſexus.

The friers priuiledges pronounced contrary to the popes conſtitution.

The biſhop Ambianenſis. Friers ought not to preach in churches without expreſſe licence of them to whom the church belongeth.

The friers priuiledges confeſſed in diſputation at Paris.

conſtitution of pope Innocent 3. written in the 5. of the decretals, and beginneth: Omnis vtriuſque ſexus, &c. Which conſtitution was repugnant and contrary to the foreſaid priuiledges, as he there manifeſtly proued, declaring how both the ſaid priuiledges were derogatorie to that conſtitution.

This done, then roſe vp the biſhop Ambianenſis, a great lawyer, who diſcourſing from article to article, there proued by good law, that the ſaid conſtitution ſtood in his full force and vigor, and ought not to be infringed by the friers priuiledges in no part. And therefore by the vertue of that conſtitution, that the friers ought not ſo miſorderly to intrude themſelues in hearing confeſſions, in inioyning of penance, and in preaching in churches and dioceſſes, without ſpeciall licence of the biſhop of the dioceſſe, and curate of the parith; vnto whoſe words neuer a frier at that time replied againe. And ſo the biſhop proceeding to his concluſion, deſired the Vniuerſitie to aſſiſt them in that caſe, wherein they were all determined (ſaith he) to ſtand ſtrongly to the ſhedding of their blood, in reſiſting that miſorder and iniuries of the friers. This happened the 6. day of December, which they dedicate to ſaint Nicolas.

The next day being Sunday, one of the order of the minorites or Franciſcans, went to the church of the maiorites or preaching friers: where he made a ſermon (which was neuer ſeene before, the one order to come and reſort with the other) beginning in the foreſaid matter to replie, and to expound in order through euery article as well as he could: adding moreouer and ſaying, that they went not ſo far in their priuiledges, as they lawfully might. And ſaid moreouer, that what time the ſaid priuiledges were in obtaining in Rome; the biſhop Ambianenſis was there preſent himſelfe, reſiſting the ſame with all his power; yea all the prelats alſo of France ſent and wrote vp to the court againſt the ſame, and yet did not preuaile. For when the friers there preſently declared and opened to the pope in what manner and how far they had theſe priuiledges; the pope the ſame time ſaid, Placet: That is, agreed vnto the ſame. And now (ſaith hee) the prelats require and demand of vs to ſend vp our priuiledges to the court; which were great follie in vs: For in ſo doing, what ſhould wee elſe but giue place and occaſion, to renoke againe the authoritie which is giuen in our hands alreadie? Furthermore, our Warden and maſter is now lately dead, and the maſter here of the Dominicke friers, is not now preſent. Therefore we dare not determine in ſuch a weightie cauſe (touching the priuiledges of our order) without the preſence of them. And therefore wee deſire you of the Vniuerſitie to hold vs therein excuſed, and not to bee ſo lightly ſtirred againſt vs, for we are not the worſt and vileſt part of the Vniuerſitie, &c.

The biſhop Ambianenſis.

The friers preuailed with all.

The next day being the 8. day of the ſame moneth, which is alſo dedicate to the conception of our ladie, vpon which day it was determined likewiſe, that one of the Dominicke friers ſhould preach in the church of the Franciſcan or gray friers, and ſo he did: tending to the ſame end, as the other frier in the other church had done before. Whereby it may ſeeme the pope neuer well anſwered vnto, whereof we reade in the Goſpell: Facti ſunt amici Herodes & Pilatus in ipſa die.

Herod and Pilate were made friends in crucifying of Chriſt.

It was not long after, that the feaſt of S. Thomas the apoſtle followed, in whoſe Vigil all the heads of the Vniuerſitie againe, were warned the third day after to congregate together in the church of ſaint Bernard at the ſermon time. Which being done, and the aſſemblie meeting together, an other ſermon was made by a diuine of the Vniuerſitie, whoſe theame was: Prope eſt Dominus omnibus inuocantibus eum in veritate, &c. Wherein he with many words and great authorities argued againſt them that would not bee obedient vnto their prelats, &c. The ſermon being ended, then roſe vp againe the biſhop Ambianenſis, who proſecuting the reſt of the theame, and coming to the word in veritate, diuided it into three parts, according to the common gloſſe of the decretals:

Another ſermon againſt the friers.

Biſhop Ambianenſis.

*In veritate, &c.*

*Eſt verum vitæ, doctrinæ, inſtitiæque,*
*Primum ſemper habe, deo propter ſcandala linque.*

Charity in three parts conſidered.

Shewing and declaring by many authorities both of canonicall Scriptures and out of the law, and by euident demonſtration of experience; that the friers firſt had no veritie of life, becauſe they were full of hypocriſie: neither had they veritie of doctrine, becauſe in their heart they hate all, and in their tongue hypocritically they flatter all: neither had they veritie of iuſtice, becauſe they vſurped another mens offices. And thus concluding with the ſame, cauſed againe to be read the ſaid priuiledges, with the conſtitution aboue ſpecified. And ſo expounding place by place, did argue and proue that the ſaid conſtitution, in no part was euacuate or infringed by the priuiledges aforeſaid. Which thing being declared, he added moreouer, that whereas the friers ſay (ſaith he) that I ſhould be preſent in the obtaining of the priuiledges, I grant it to be true, and when word came to me thrice therof, I went to the pope reclaiming and requiring the ſaid priuiledges to be reuoked: but the next day after, it ſo pleaſed the pope to ſend me out abroade vpon weightie affaires, ſo that then the matter had no end. After that, we ſent alſo other meſſengers with our letters, for the ſame cauſe vnto the court of Rome, whom the friers ſay not to haue preuailed, but they lie therein. For the ſaid meſſengers againe brought vs letters, from the chiefe of the court of Rome, ſealed with their ſeales: which letters were haue diuers times preſented to our king, and will thereby ſhew them vnto you all. In the which letters the laid pope hath promiſed the ſaid priuiledges, either to be vtterly abrogate, or elſe to be mitigated with ſome more plaine interpretation, of the which we truſt ſhortly to haue the publike bull or writ from the pope.

At laſt, the ſaid biſhop required and deſired of all there, of what dioceſſe, or countrie ſoeuer they were, that they would copie out the foreſaid priuiledges, and ſend them abroade into their countries, that all men might ſee what they were, and how farre they did extend. In fine, the matter comming into open diſputation, it was concluded by maſter Giles one of the Auſtine friers (who was thought to be moſt reaſonable of all the other friers, in this wiſe) that after his ſentence, the prelats were in the truer part, &c. Hæc ex Godfrido de Fontanis.

Concerning this wrangling contention betweene the Vniuerſitie and friers of France heretofore mentioned, whereof partly the originall cauſe there may be vnderſtood by that which hath beene ſaid, to riſe vpon certaine priuiledges granted by popes to the friers, to intermeddle in matters of parith churches: As to heare confeſſions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houſes, and to receiue inpropriations, &c: becauſe it were too long here to deſcribe the full circumſtances thereof, alſo becauſe the ſaid contention did indure a long time not only in France, but alſo came ouer into England: the whole diſcourſe thereof more amplie (Chriſt willing) ſhall be declared in the beginning of the nert booke following, when we come to the ſtorie of Armachanus.

About that time and yeare, this bralle was in the Vniuerſitie of Paris betweene the friers and prelats there, as hath beene declared: the like contention happened alſo in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford in the yeare aboue prefixed, 1354. ſaue only that the ſtrife among the maſters of Paris, as it roſe vpon frierly ceremonies, ſo it went no further, then brawling words and matter of excommunication: but this tumult riſing of a drunken cauſe, proceded further vnto bloodie ſtripes. The firſt originall whereof began in a tauerne, betweene a ſcholar and the good man of the houſe. Who falling together in altercation, grew to ſuch heate of words, that the ſtudent (contra ius hoſpitij) powred the wine vpon the head of the hoſt and brake his head with the quart pot. Vpon this occaſion giuen, eſtſoones parts began to be taken betweene the townes men and the ſcholars. Inſomuch that a grieuous ſedition and conflict followed vpon the ſame: wherein many of the townſmen were wounded, and to the number of twentie ſlaine. Diuers alſo of the ſcholars grieuouſlie hurt. The ſpace of two daies this hurlie burlie continued. Vpon the ſecond day certaine religious and deuout perſons ordained a ſolemne proceſſion generall, to pray for peace. Yet notwithſtanding all that proceſſion as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which proceſſion (the ſkirmiſh ſtill waxing hote) one of the ſtudents being hardly purſued by the townſmen, for ſuccour in his flight, came running to the prieſt or frier, which caried about (as the manner was) the pixe: thinking to find refuge at the preſence of the tranſubſtantiated God of the altar there caried and inbored. Notwithſtanding, the God there not preſent, or elſe not ſeeing him, or elſe peraduenture being aſleepe, the ſcholar found there ſmall helpe. For the townſmen in the heate of the chaſe, forgetting belike the vertue of the popes tranſubſtantiation, followed him ſo hard, that in the preſence of the pixe they brake his head, and wounded him grieuouſlie. This done, at length ſome peace or truce for that day was taken. The nert morow following, other townſmen in the billages about, ioyning with the the townſmen of Oxford; conſederated together in great force and power to ſet vpon the ſtudents there, and ſo did, hauing a blacke flag borne before them, and ſo inuaded the Vniuerſitie men. Whereupon the ſcholars being ouermatched and compelled to flee into their halles and hoſtles, were ſo purſued by their enemies, that twentie of the doores of their halles & chambers were broke open, & many of them wounded, and (as it is ſaid) ſlaine and throwne into priues: their bookes with linkes and bils cut all in pieces, and much of their goods caried away. And thus the ſtudents of that Vniuerſitie being conquered by the townſmen of Oxford, and of the countrie about, departed and left the Vniuerſitie. So that for a time, the ſchooles there, and all ſchoole acts did vtterly ceaſe from all exerciſe of ſtudie, except onely Merton college hall, with a few other remaining behind.

Anno 1354.

A ſedicious commotion betweene the townes men and the ſcholars in the Vniuerſitie of Oxford.

Proceſſion for peace.

The holy proceſſion would bring no peace.

Tranſubſtantiation will not helpe in time of necde.

A conqueſt of the ſcholars of Oxford.

The Vniuerſitie of Oxford diſſolued for a time.

This being done the 12. day of February, the quæne at the ſame time being at Woodſtocke, was brought to bed, and purified on the firſt Sunday in Lent with great ſolemnitie of iuſting. About which time the biſhop of Lincolne their Diocesane hearing of this exceſſiue outrage, ſendeth his inhibition to all parſons and prieſts, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, none to celebrate maſſe or any diuine ſeruice in the preſence of any lay perſon within the ſaid towne of Oxford, interdicting withall the whole towne. Which interdiction indured the ſpace of a whole yeare and more.

The reuerence of Oxford interdicted.

The king alſo ſent thither his inſtices to examine & inquire

of the matter. Before whom diuers lay men and of the clergie were indicted, and foure of the chiefe burgesses of the said towne were indicted, and by the kings commandement sent to the tower of Lo. 30n, were there imprisoned. At length through much labour of the nobles, the king is tooke vp the matter, that sending his writings into all shrieffes in England offered pardon, to all and singuler students of that Universitie, (vnterferaur dispersed) for that transgression: Whereby the Universitie in short time was replenished againe as before. Moreouer was granted to the Vtechaucer or commissarie (as they terme him) of the towne and Universitie of Oxford, to haue the assise of bread, ale, wine, and all other victuals, the maior of the said towne being excluded. Also was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should giue to the Universitie of Oxford 200. pound sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses: reserued notwithstanding to euery one of the students his seuerall action against any seuerall person of the towne since, &c.

Granted to the commissarie of Oxford to haue the assise of bread and ale, and such priuiledges about the cognizance of the towne.

About the yeare of our Lord 1354. the king with the consent of his counsell, reuoked home againe out of Flanders the staple of Woolł, with all things thereunto appertaining, and stablished the same in limbite places within the realme, namely in Westminster, Canturbury, Chichester, Winsoll, Lincolne, and in Hull. Which staple after An. 1362. was translated ouer into Callis.

Of Simon Islip archbishop of Canturburie mentioned a little before, pag. 360. I reade in the said author aboue specified, that he by his letters patent directed to all parsons and vicars within his prouince: straitely charged them and their parishioners vnder paine of excommunication, not to abstaine from bodily labor, vpon certaine saints daies, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to bin bishitie idlenesse. Item, that to priests should be giuen no more for their yearely stipend, but 7. pound 6. shil. d. which made diuers of them to rob and steale. &c. An. 1362. The next yeare following, which was 1363. the foresaid king Edward kept his parliament at London in the moneth of October: wherein was prohibited, no gold nor siluer to be worne in knines, girdles, broaches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend 10. pound by yeare. Item, that none should weare other silks or costly furres, except such as might dispend 100. pound by yeare. Also that Merchant venturers should not export ouer any merchandise out of the realme, or take for wines in other countries: whereby other nations should be constrained rather to seeke to vs, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

An wholesome decree of a good archbishop not to abstaine from bodily labor vpon certaine holy daies.

A parliament.

After this Simon Islip as is aboue recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittelesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudburie.

Simon Sudburie archb. of Canturbury.

Much about the same time, the Nuns of saint Bridgits order began first. About which time also was builded the queenes colledge in Oxford, by queene Philip of England, wife to king Edward the third: Circa annum domini 1360.

The nuns of saint Bridgits order.

Hereunto in the time of this pope Innocent, frier John Lyle bishop of Ely, moued with certaine iniuries (as hee thought) done to him by the lady Blanch, made his complaint to the pope. Who sending downe his curse to the bishop of Lincolne, and other prelats to bee executed vpon the aduersaries of the bishop of Ely: commanded them, that if they did know any of the said aduersaries dead and buried (that notwithstanding) they should cause the same to be taken vp: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had beene of the kings counsell. Wherefore the king being displeased, and not without cause, did trouble and molest against the said prelats. This comming to the popes hearing, certaine were directed downe from the court of Rome, in the behalfe of the foresaid bishop of Ely: who meeting with the bishop of Rochester the kings treasurer, deliuered vnto him being armed, letters from the bishop of Rome, the tenour whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinent auoided aboue. But certaine of the kings seruants pursuing, did ouertake them of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the Iustices, and so were condemned to be hanged. Wherevnto may appeare what reuerence the popes letters in this kings daies had in this Realme of England. Ex Chro. Walsing.

This ladie Blanch was Dutchesse of Lancaster.

Dead men excommunicated by the pope.

The popes messengers hanged.

This pope Innocent ordained the feast of the holy speare, and of the holie nailes.

The feast of the speare and of the holy nailes.

And here to make an end of this fourth booke, now remaineth after our order and custome before begunne, to prosecute the race of the archbishops of Canturburie, in this foresaid fourth booke contained, beginning where before wee left, pag. 154. at Lanfrancus.

## A Table of the archbishops of Canturbury in this *fourth booke contained.*

34. Lanfrancus. 19.

Polydor Virg. lib. 9. numbereth this Lanfrancus to bee the thirtie three archbishop. But by the count of other authors (namely by the chronicle of the monke of Dour) seemeth to be deceiued, as he was in the 28. yeares of Dunstan, which indeed did sit but nineteene or twentie at the most. This errour of Polydore seemeth to come by leauing out either Elfius, which was the 22. or by leauing out Elfricus, which was the 26. as in some authors I find.

Moreouer here is to bee noted, that although the said Elfricus were left out, yet Lanfrancus cannot be 33.

Note also, that in the table of the third booke before, after Stricius to put in Sanctus Alueduc. Which in the order of archbishops I left out in the end of the third booke, page 154.

This Lanfrancus was an Italian, and a stout champion of the pope. After his stubborne dissention with Thomas archbishop of Yorke, hee wrote against Berengarius, intituling his booke, Opus Scinillarum, pag. 157.

Also the same Lanfranke builded the new church at Canturburie, and pluckt downe the old. By him was builded the church of saint Gregorie. At length hee was expulsed by king William Rufus.

35. Anselmus. 20.

Of this Anselmus and the strife betweene him and the king, looke in the pag. 168.

36. Ratulphus. 8.

Under Rad. the order of Cistercians began.

37. Gulielmus. Curboil. 13

By this W. the new worke of the church of saint Martins at Douer was builded.

38. Theobaldus. 24.

By this Theobald, monks were first brought into the church of Douer. He was expulsed by K. Stephan. In his time the church of S. Gregory was burned at Canturbury.

39. Tho. Becket. 9.

Of the life and death of this Becket, see the pag. 186.

Ex Cricketadensi.

Ex Cricketadensi: Magnates in Anglia interdixerunt, ne quis martyrem Thomam nominaret, ne quis eius miracula prædicaret, interminantes minas mortis seu maximarum pœnarum omnibus confitentibus eum fuisse martyrem, & miracula eius prædicantibus, &c.

40. Richardus. 10.

This Richard was a monke: in his time Quilts church at Canturburie was burned.

41. Baldwinus. 7.

Betweene this Baldwine and the monks was great diuision. He suspended the prior from his priorship, and 22. monks from all seruice. He caused the Subprior with all his adherents to be excommunicate through all Kent.

42. Hubertus. 14.

In the time of this Hubert the chapell of Lambeth was pluckt downe. Also the church of Douer was burned.

43. Stephanus Langhton. 22.

This Stephan with the monks of Canturbury, were expulsed by king Iohn.

This Stephan intending to giue orders in the chapell of Lambeth, was stopped by the monks of Canturburie, though their appeale and prohibition. Wherfore he required Eustace bishop of London, to minister the same orders in the church of S. Paul.

In his time fell great variance betweene the monks of Rochester and the monks of Canturburie, for the election of their bishop, which election the monks of Canturburie would



44. Richardus Magnus. 4.

would not admit, before the Rochester monkes had presented the bishoppes staffe in the church of Canturburie, so that both the churches sent their messengers to the court of Rome.

At the consecration of this Richard, contention rose between the Bishop of Rochester & bishop of Bathe, who should consecrate him.

Item, betweene the said Richard and the monks of Canturburie fell a grieuous discord, about certaine liberties belonging to the Archbishop.

The said archbishop for certaine quarrels against the king, went vp to Rome, who died in Tuscia.

After this Richard, the election of three archbishops was raised at Rome: of Radulphus de noua villa, of John Pyot of Canturburie, of John Blund.

45. Edmund of Abenden. 7.

This Edmund was called saint Edmund, at whose election the pryor of Douer thinking to bee present, as at y mariage of his mother, was not permitted by the monkes of Canturburie. For the which iniurie hee appealed and went to Rome to complaine, not against the elect, but against the election: where hee obtained of the pope for all the priors and successors of Douer, to haue full interest in the election of the archbishops, besides other priuiledges which hee obtained, perceiue not without some good store of money. Afterward the monks of Canturburie, accused him to the archbishop, as though hee stood against the person of the elect, and so obtained of the archbishop being angry with him, to haue brought him vnder the chapter of Canturburie, there to bee punished. Whereupon the prior seeing him so destitute of all helpe of lawyers, was constrained in the foresaid chapter to cry peccaui. Then being suspended from his priorship, was at length sent home to Douer, being compelled first to set his hand to a certaine composition betweene him and the foresaid monks.

The said Edmund archbishop, also hauing some quarrell against the king, went vp to Rome, and died before his comming home.

46. Bonifacius. 25.

46. Bonifacius.

In the time of this Boniface, pope Gregorie wickedly granted to king Henrie the third (for the getting of the kingdome of Sicile, which belonged not to him to giue, nor to the other to take,) tenths of goods temporall and spirituall, for fiue yeares. Item, all the first yeares fruites of churches that should bee vacant for fiue yeares. Item, halfe of all the goods of beneficed men not resident at their benefices. Item, all Legacies not distinctly giuen. And yet the kingdome of Sicile neuer came to his hands, which belonged to Manfredus, sonne of Fredericke the emperor. Strife betweene this Boniface, and the pryor of Canturburie. Item, betweene him and bish. of Roff. Item, betweene him and the chapter of Lincolne: all which was after agreed: Chro. Douerense. fol. 20. pag. 2.

Strife at Winchester, about chusing the bishop after the death of Aponarus the kings brother.

Strife in the Conuocation which Boniface did hold at Lambeth. In the which councell were recited the statutes of Octobonus, and other new statutes made against which John Hemelingford the kings chaplen with other moe, and prince Edward on the kings behalfe, did appeale. Chro. Douer. fol. 21.

Under this Boniface archbish. Tunbridge and Hadlo first came vnder the custodie of the archb. of Canturburie.

Walter John of Exeter bought the bishopricke of Winchester for 6000. marks, which being knowne hee was faine to pay the same summe againe to the pope, and so was sent home.

Boniface the archbishop being in the parts of Sebaudia, An. 1262. fell an other altercation betweene the pryor and chapter of Canturburie on the one part, and the pryor and chapter of Douer on the other part. Which two houses almost were neuer in quiet, and all about certaine liberties and priuiledges: as for making the subpryor, for receiuing in of monkes, and for visitations of the Church of Douer.

Anno 1268. Boniface archbishop interdicted the city of London, because in the same citie the archbishop of Yorke did hold vp his crosse, the archbishop of Canturbury being there present, the king holding then his parliament at Westminster.

This archbish died in the parts of Sebaudia.

John pryor of Canturburie was elected by the monks against the kings mind, but by the pope refused.

Adam Chilinden was elect, but he resigned his election to ỳ pope.

47. Robert Kilwardbie. Frier. 6.

In the time of this Robert Kilwarby, appeale was taken against the chapter of Canturbury by the bishop of Winchester, of Worcester, and Exeter: for the which cause the said bishops went vp to Rome to prosecute the appeale. The matter was, because they did not their obedience to the monks of Canturburie, the see beeing emptie.

Walter Giffard archbishop of Yorke, going toward the generall councell, bare vp his crosse through the middle of Kent, in the time of this Robert archbishop of Canturburie, An. 1272.

By pope Gregorie 10. in the generall councell at Lions, all the orders of friers were put downe, 4. orders only except, that is, Dominicks, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

This Robert Kilwarby by the commandement of pope Nicolas was made cardinall of Rome, bishop of Portuensis.

Canterburie in Polyd. Virgil.

Where is to be noted an vntruth in Polydore Virgil, which saith that he was made cardinall by pope Gregorie, which could not be.

48. John Peckham. 13.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bathe was elected, but by the pope refused: For whom John Peckham a gray frier, was placed by pope Nicolas.

In the first yeare of this frier Peckham, Wil. Wickwane archb. of Yorke comming from his consecration at Rome to Douer, bare vp his crosse through the midst of Kent, whereat was no little adoe.

Robert Gernemine archdeacon of Canturbury went to Iaw at Rome for the liberties and possessions of his archdeaconship 2. yeares, and there died.

In his time also an other wrangling fell betweene the monks of Canturbury, & the monks of Douer, in the time of this John Peckham, for admitting certaine nouices of Douer into orders. Ex chr. Monach. Douer. fol. 42.

This Peckham holding a councell at Lambeth ordeined diuers statutes, and caused the ordinances of the councell of Lions, and of Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, and his predecessor to be obserued.

Great strife and hatred was betweene this Peckham and Thomas bishop of Hereford: who being excommunicated by Peckham, appealed to Rome, and went to the pope.

The pryor and couent of Cant. made their appeale, against this archb. Peckham, that he should not consecrate Walter le Schamel new elect bishop of Salisburie, in any other place, except only in the church of Canturbury, but by their leaue and licence first obtained. Notwithstanding the archbishop nothing regarding their appeale, proceeded in the consecration of the said bishop neere to the towne of Reading, whereupon the pryor and couent cealed not to prosecute their appeale against the archbishop.

Betweene Richard Ferrings archdeacon of Cant. of the one partie, and the barons of Douer of the other partie, the same yeare fell out an other like wrangling, for that the archdeacon claimed to visit the church of Douer: contrarie the barons affirmed, that none had nor should haue to do there to order or dispose in spirituall matters but onely the archbishop, and the pryor and couent of

saint Martin. Ex eod. chron. fol. 46.

After the death of William Whitwane archbishop of Yorke, John de Roma succeeded after him, and comming from his consecration at Rome to Douer, bare his crosse through the middle of Kent, contrary to the inhibition of John Peckham.

49. Robert. Winchelsey. 19.

This Robert which was archb. in the latter time of king Edward the 1. for certaine displeasure of the king conceiued against him, departed the realme, and in his banishment remained two or three yeares. And about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the second was restored againe: Anno 1309. Ex chro. Rich. 2. Thus few archbishops of Cant. haue bin, with whom kings haue not had some quarrel or other. The cause betweene the king and him (saith mine author) was this: that the king accused him to pope Clement to disturbe his realme, and to take part with rebels, &c. Ex chro. S. Albani.

This Robert also excommunicated Walter, bishop of Couent. for holding with the king and Peter Gaueston against the ordinances of the barons: wherefore the said bishop appealed to the pope, against whom the archbishop sent Adam Perimouth.

This Adam Perimouth was compiler of the Storie of K. Edward.

In the time of this Robert archbishop, the order of Templaries were abolished by pope Clement 5. in the counsell of Vienna with this sentence diffinitiue: Quanquam de iure non possimus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.

50. Gualter Reynald. 15.

After the decease of Rob. Winchelsey, who departed Anno 1312. Thomas Cobham a learned man was elected by full consent of the Monks: who came to Auinion, to haue his election confirmed. But the pope refusing the vacant seate to his owne hands put in Walter Reynald B. of Worcester Chancellor of England, who gouerned the seate 15. yeares.

The chronicler of S. Albans, recordeth also how in the dates of this archb. An. 1319. certaine lepers conspiring with the Turks and Iewes went about to impoisonate, and infect all christendome, by inuenoming their fountaines, lakes, pits, barrels, and such other places. Of the which crime diuers of them being conuict, were worthily burned in France. About the which yeare, the said author maketh also relation, how in the realme of England much murren fell among the beasts: insomuch, that the dogges eating vpon their flesh (infected belike by the waters and fountaines) fell downe dead incontinent. Neither durst men for that cause almost taste of any beefe: An. 1318. 1319. Ex Chron. Alban.

This Walter archb. taking part with the queene Isabell against king Edward her husband, died the same yeer in which he was deposed: An. 1237. Ex Chro. S. Albani.

After Walter the archb. as affirmeth the chron. of S. Alban, succeeded Simon Mepham. Of whom I maruell that Polydore maketh no word or mention: he liued not long: after followed John Stratford.

51. John Stratford. 29.

In the story of Adam Perimouth is recorded that this I. Stratford intending to visit the diocesse of Northfolke, was not received by the bishop, the chapter and clergie there, alledging that he obserued not the ordinary canon therein. To whom the archbishop said againe, he had the popes letters, and shewed the same. But the other answered, that those letters were falsly obtained and tended to the suppression of the clergie, and therefore they would not obey: wherefore the archbishop excommunicated the bishop, and suspended the prior, and interdicted the couent: An. 1343.

52. Ioh. Offord. 10. moneths.

Maister John Offord chancellor of England was elected and confirmed archb. of Canturburie, but not consecrated, and sat but 10. months, about the yeare of our Lord, 1350. Pestilentia in Anglia.

53. Tho. Braidwarden. 1.

This Thomas Braidwarden following after John Stratford sate not long but died within 10 moneths of the plague, as they say. Which was called then the first great plague in England, raging so sore in all quarters, that it was thought scarce the tenth part of men to bee left aliue.

The first great plague in England.

54. Simon Islepe. 17.

In the time of Simon Islepe which followed after Braidwarden; king Edw. An. 1362. is reported after the blind superstition of those daies, to offer in the church of Westminster the testiments wherein saint Peter did celebrate masse. Which belike were well kept from mothes, to last so long. Ex Chron. Alban.

The testiments wherein S. Peter said masse, or els the pixis he kept.

The same Simon Islepe, among other constitutions ordeined through all churches and chapels vnder paine of excommunication; that no man should abstaine from bodily labors vpon certaine saints daies, as is before touched: which fact of his is not a little noted in our monkish histories.

This Simon builded Canturburie colledge in Oxford.

Canturburie colledge builded in Oxford.

## *The conclusion of this fourth Booke.*

The conclusion of this booke. Antichrist in his pride.

FOr asmuch as Satan being chained vp all this while, for the space of a thousand yeares, beginneth about this time to bee loosed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of saint Iohns Reuelation: Therfore to conclude the fourth Booke, wherin sufficiently hath beene described the excessiue pride and pompe of Antichrist, flourishing in his rosse, and securitie, from the time of William Conquerour hitherto: now (Christ willing and assisting vs thereunto) wee minde in these latter Bookes hereafter following, in order of history to expresse the latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the church, raised vp by Satanas in his minister Antichrist, with therssistance against Christs church against him. And so to prosecute (by the mercifull grace of Christ) the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruine of the said Antichrist. To the intent that if any be in

The loosing out of Satan.

such error to thinke that Antichrist is yet to come, let him consider and ponder well the tragicall rages, the miserable and most sorrowfull persecutions, murthers, and vexations of these latter 300. yeares now following, and I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt to know, that not only Antichrist is already come, but also to know where hee sitteth and how he is now falling apace (the Lord Christ be thanked for euer) to his decay and confusion.



# The Fifth Booke containing the

## last three hundred yeares from the loosing out of Satan.

The fifth booke.

THus hauing discoursed in these former bookes, the order and course of yeres, from the first tying vp of Satan vnto the yeer of our Lord 1360. I haue a little ouerpassed the stint of time in the Scripture appointed, for the loosing out of him againe. For so it is written by S. John Apoc. 20. that after a thousand yeares, Satanas the old Dragon shall bee let loose againe for a season, &c.

The yeares and time of loosing out Satan examined.

For the better explanation of the which mystery, let vs first consider the content of the Scripture: afterward let vs examine by processe and course of times, the meaning of the same: and first to recite the words of the Apocalypse, the text of the prophesie is this, chap. 20.

Apoc. 20.

And I saw an angell descending from heauen, hauing a key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand. And he tooke the Dragon the old serpent, which is the diuell and Satanas, and bound him for a thousand yeares, and put him in the bottomlesse dungeon & shut him vp, and signed him with his seale, that he should no more seduce the Gentils, till a thousand yeares were expired. And after that he must bee loosed againe for a little space of time. And I saw seates, and they sat vpon them, and iudgement was giuen vnto them; and the soules I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimonie of Iesus, &c.

By these words of the Reuelation here recited, three speciall times are to be noted.

The place of the Apoc. 20. expounded, for the loosing out of Satan.

First, the being abrode of Satan to deceiue the world.

Secondly, the binding vp of him.

Thirdly, the loosing out of him againe, after a thousand yeares confummate, for a time.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceiued by ignorance of histories, and state of things done in the church: supposing that the chaining vp of Satan for a thousand yeares, spoken of in the Reuelation, was ment from the birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan in accusing and condemning vs for sinne, was cast downe at the passion and by the passion of Christ our Sauior, and locked vp not only for a thousand yeares, but for euer and euer. Albeit as touching the malicious hatred and furie of that serpent, against the outward bodies of Christs poore saints (which is the heele of Christ) to afflict and torment the church outwardly: That I iudge to bee ment in the Reuelation of saint John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitiue church. At what time it pleased God to pitie the sorowfull affliction of his poore flocke, being so long vnder persecution, the space of three hundred yeares, and so to allwage their griefes and torments. Which is ment by binding vp of Satan, brother of all those mischiefes: vnderstanding thereby, that forsomuch as the diuell prince of this world, had no hold by the death of Christ the sonne of God left at his power and interest against the soule of man, should turne his furious rage and malice which he had to Christ, against the people of Christ (which is ment by the heele of the seed. Genesis 3.) in tormenting their outward bodies. Which yet should not be for euer, but for a determinate time, when as it should please the Lord to bridle the malice, and shackle the power of the old serpent, and giue rest vnto his church for the tearme of a thousand yeares. Which time being expired, the said serpent should be suffred loose againe for a certaine or a small time. Apoc. 20

What the loosing of Satan both meane in Scripture.

About what time and yeare Satan was let out by the count of the Apocalypse.

And thus to expound this prophetical place of Scripture I am led by three reasons.

Three reasons.

The first reason.

The first is, for that the binding vp of Satan, and closing him in the bottomlesse pit by the angell, importeth as much that he was at libertie, raging and doing mischiefe before. And certes those so terrible and so horrible persecutions of the primitiue time vniuersally through the whole world, during the space of three hundred yeares of the church, doe declare no lesse. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Satan all that time, was not fettered and closed vp.

The 2. reason.

The second reason mouing me to thinke that the closing vp of Satan was after the ten persecutions of the primitiue church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. Where we reade, that after the woman (meaning the church) had trauelled forth her man child, the old Dragon the diuell, the same time being cast downe from heauen, drawing the third part of the starres with him; stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the church of God) with a whole flood of water (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments) and from thence went moreouer to fight against the residue of her seede, and stood vpon the sands of the sea, whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked vp.

The 3. reason.

Apoc. cap. 13.

The third reason I collect out of the Apocalyps thirteenth chapter, where is written of the beast, signifying the emperiall Monarchie of Rome: that he had power to make warre forty and two moneths. Vp the which moneths is meant no doubt, the time that the Dragon, and the persecuting emperours, should haue in afflicting the saints of the primitiue church. The computation of which fortie two moneths (counting euery moneth for a Sabbath of yeares, that is, for seuen yeares, after the order of Scripture) riseth to the summe (counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) three hundred yeares lacking fire, at what time Sarentius the last persecutor in Rome fighting against Constantinus, was drowned with his souldiers, like as Pharao was drowned persecuting the children of Israel in the red sea. Vnto the which fifty moneths, or Sabbaths of yeares, if we adde the other six yeares wherein Licinius persecuted in the East; we shall find full three hundred yeares, as is specified before in the first booke of this volume, pag. 79.

Xlii. moneths in the Apoc. cap. 13. examined.

After the which fortie and two moneths being expired, manifest it is that the furie of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power ouer the saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained vniuersally through the whole world.

What time Satan was tied vp.

Thus then the matter standing euident, that Satan after 300. yeares, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chained vp, at what time the persecution of the primitiue church began to cease: now let vs see, how long this binding vp of Satan should continue, which was promised in the booke of the Reuelation to be a thousand yeares. Which thousand yeers, if we adde to the fifty moneths of yeares, that is, to 294. yeers: they make 1294. yeares after the passion of the Lord. To these moreouer adde the 30. yeares of the age of Christ, and it commeth to the yeare of our Lord 1324. which was the yeare of the letting out of Satan, according to the prophesie of the Apocalyps.

¶ A Table containing the time of the persecution both of the primitiue, and of the latter church, with the count of yeares from the first binding vp of Satan, to his loosing againe, after the mind of the Apocalyps.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The first persecution of the primitiue church, beginning at the 30. yeares of Christ, was prophesied to continue 42. moneths, that is, | An. | 294. |
| The ceasing of the last persecution of the primitiue church vp the death of Licinius the last persecutor, began Anno 324. from the natiuitie of Christ, which was from the 30. yeare of his age. | | 294. |
| The binding vp of Satan after peace giuen to the church, counting from the 20. yeares of Christ, began | An. | 294. |
| And lasted a thousand yeares, that is, counting from the thirtith yeer of Christ, to the yeare, | | 1294. |

The ceasing of persecution in the primitiue church.

The binding vp of Satan.

L. Lich. About

The time of loosing of Satan.

About which yeare pope Boniface the eighth was pope, and made the firth booke of the decretals: confirmed the orders of friers, and priuiledged them with great freedomes, as appeareth by his constitution: Super cathedram, An. 1294.

The time of Antichrist, examined.

Unto the which count of yeares doth not much disagree that I found in a certaine old chronicle prophesied and written in the latter end of a booke, which booke was written as it seemeth, by a monke of Dower, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Carie, a citizen of London: alledging the prophesie of one Haymericus a gray frier, grounded vpon the authoritie of Joachim the abbat, prophesying that Antichrist should bee borne the yeare from the natuitie of Christ 1260. Which is, counting after the Lords passion, the very same yeare and time when the orders of friers both Dominickes and Franciscans began first to bee set vp by pope Honorius the third, and by pope Gregorius the 9. which was the yeare of our Lord, counting after his passion, 1226.

And counting after the natuitie of the Lord, was the yeare, 1260.

Whereof these verses in the author were written.

Cum fuerint anni completi mille ducenti,
Et decies seni post partum virginis almæ:
Tunc Antichristus nascetur dæmone plenus.

Arises prophesying of the coming of Antichrist.

And these verses were written, as appeareth by the said author, An. 1285.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophetie of the Apocalyps, now let vs enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these latter times, which followed after the letting out of Satan into the world. Describing the wondrous perturbations and cruell tyrannie stirred vp by him against Christs church: also the valiant resistance of the church of Christ against him and Antichrist, as in these our bookes here vnder following may appeare.

The argument of the bookes after following.

The argument of which booke consisteth in two parts: first to entreate of the raging furie of Satan nowlosed, and of Antichrist: against the saints of Christ fighting and trauelling for the maintenance of the truth, and reformation of the church. Secondly, to declare the decay and ruine of the said Antichrist, through the power of the word of God, being at length, either (in a great part of the world) ouerthrowne, or at least vnsuccessfully in the whole world detected.

Anno 1260. A diuersity there is found in writers, which hath been the occasion of the erring of the pope.

Thus then to begin with the yeare of our Lord, 1260. wherein I haue a little, as is aforesaid, transgressed the time of the first loosing out of Satan: wee are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkenesse, beginneth some reformation of his church, by the diligent industrie of sundrie his faithfull and learned seruants: of whom diuers already wee haue touched in the former booke before, as namely Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marcilius Patauinus, Ockam, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grosthed, Petrus de Cugnerijs, Ioannes Rupescissanus, Conradus Hager, Ioannes de Poliaco, Cesenas, with other more, which withstood the corrupt errours, and intollerable enormities of the bishop of Rome, beside them which about these times were put to death by the said bishop of Rome, as Chatillion, and Franciscus de Arcatara in the booke before recorded: also the two Franciscans, martyrs, which were burned at Auinion, mentioned, pag. 260.

Now to these (the Lord willing) wee will adde such other holy martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of yeares with like zeale and strength of Gods word, and also with like danger of their liues, gaue the like resistance against the enemie of Christs religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First beginning with that godly man, whosoeuer he was the author of the booke (his name I haue not) intituled the prayer and complaint of the Ploughman: written as it appeareth, about this present time.

The author of the ploughmans prayer not known.

Which booke as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindall, so I haue as truely distributed the same abrode to the readers hands: neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the phrase thereof. Although the olde rude and age of his speech and tearmes be almost growne now out of vse: yet I thought it so well, both for the vtilitie of the booke to reserue it from oblation, as also in his owne language to let it goe abrode, for the more credit and testimonie of the true antiquitie of the same. Adding withall in the margent for the better vnderstanding of the Reader, some interpretation of certaine difficult tearmes and speeches, as otherwise might perhaps hinder or stay the Reader. The matter of this complaining prater of the ploughman thus proceedeth.

An old ancient writing intituled, The prayer
*and complaint of the Ploughman.*

JEsu Christ that was ybore of the maide Marie, haue on thy poore seruants mercy and pitie, and helpe them in their great neede to fight against sinne, and against the diuell that is author of sinne, and more needes there neuer to crie to Christ for helpe, then it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God said by Hay the prophet: ye riseth vp earlich to follow drunkennesse, and to drinke till it be euen, the harpe and other minstrelsies beeth in your feasts and wine. But the worke of God yee ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keepe to the workes of his hands: And therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noblemen of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren drie for thirst, and therefore hell hath drawne abrode their soule, and hath vepened his mouth without any end. And eftsoones saith Hay the prophet: The wordis sloten away, and the highnes of the people is ymade sicke, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they haue broken my lawes, and ychanged my right, and han destroyed mine euerlasting bond and ª forward betweene them and me. And therefore cursing shall deuour the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly shallen done sinne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen waxe wood, and few men shullen ben yleft vpon the earth. And yet saith Hay the prophet, this saith God, forasmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is farre from me. And they han ydrad more mens commandement, then mine, and more draw to their doctrines, then mine. Therefore will I make a great wondring vnto this people, wisedome shall perish away from wise men, and vnderstanding of readie men shall bee yhid. And so it seemeth that another saying of Hay is fulfilled, there as God bad him goe teach the people, and said, goe forth and say to this people: eares haue ye, and vnderstand ye not, and eyes yee haue and sight ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people, and make their eares heauie, and close their eyen, lest he see with his eyne, and yheare with his eares, and vnderstand with his heart, and be yturned, and ych heale him of his sicknesse. And Hay said to God: how long Lord shall this be? And God said, For to that the cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house withouten a man.

ª Forward, that is, couenant.

Here is mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to crie to our Lord Iesu Christ hertilich for helpe and for succour, that hee wole forgiue vs our sinnes, and giue vs grace and conning to fruen him better hereafter. And God of his endlesse mercy giue vs grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs law in helping of mens soules, for we beeth ful wel men, and sinfull men, and vncunning, and if he woll be our helpe and our succour, we shullen well performe our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth his wisedome from wisemen, and fro readie mens and teacheth it to small children, as Christ teacheth in the gospell.

The law of Christ standeth on two parts.

Christen men haue a law to keepe, the which law hath twe parties. Beleue in Christ that is God, and is the foundment of their law, and vpon this foundment, as he said to Peter, and the gospell beareth witnes, he wol byelden his church, and this is the first partie of Christs law. The second partie of this law beth Christs commandements that beth written in the gospell, and more verilich in mens hearts.

And as touching the beleue, we beleuen that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleuen neuertheleste that in the godhead there bene three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost, and all these three persons ben one God, and not many gods, and al they beth ylich mighti, ylich good, and ylich wise, and euer haue ben, and euer shullen ben. We beleuen this God made the world of nought, and man he made after his owne likenesse in Paradise that was a land of blisse, and gaue him that land for his heritage, and bad him that he should not eate of the tree of knowledge of good and euill, that was ª amid Paradise. Then the diuell that was fallen out of heauen for his pride, had enuie to man, and by a false suggestion he made man eate of this tree, and brake the commandement of God, and tho was man ouercome of the diuell, and so he lost his heritage, and was put out therof into the world that was a land of trauel, and of sorrow vnder the fiends thraldome, to be punished for his trespasse. There man followed wickednesse and sinne, and God for the sinne of man sent a sloud into this world, and dround all mankind saue eight soules. And after this sloud he let men multiplie in the world, and so he assayed whether man dread him or loued him, and among other he found a man, that hight Abraham: this man he proued whether he loued him and dread him, and bad him that he should offeren Isaac his son vpon an hil, and Abraham as a true seruant fulfilled the Lords commandement: and for his buxumnesse and truth, God sware vnto Abraham that he would multiply his seed as the grauell in the sea, and as the stars of heauen, and he behight to him and to his heires the land of beheſt for heritage for euer, gif they wolden ben his true seruants and keepe his hests. And God ª held him forward, for Isaac Abrahams son begat Iacob and Esau: and of Iacob that is ycleped Israel, comen Gods people that he chose to be his seruants, and to whō he behight the land of beheſt. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt vnder Pharao that was king of Egypt: and they crieden to God that he ſhould deliuren them out of that thraldome, and so he did: for he sent to Pharao, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliuer his people to done him sacrifice: and tofore Pharao he made Moses done many wonders, or that Pharao would deliuer his people, and at the last by night he deliuered his people out of thraldome, and led them through a desert toward the land of beheſt, and there he gaue them a law, that they ſhoulden lyuen after, when they comen into their country, and in their way thitherward, the ten commandements God wrote himſelfe in two tables of stone: the remnant of the law he taught them by Moses his seruant, how they ſhoulden doe euerichone to other, and gif they trespassed againe the law, he ordained how they ſhoulden be punished. Also he taught them what maner sacrifices they ſhould doe to him, and he chose him a people to ben his priests, that was Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple also. He chese him the remnant of the children of Leuy to ben seruants in the tabernacle to the priest, and he said: When ye come into the land of beheſt, the children of Leuy they ſhullen haue none heritage amongst their brethren, for I would be their part, and their heritage, and they ſhullen serue me in the tabernacle by daies and by nights, and he ordained that priests ſhould haue a part of the sacrifices that were offered in the tabernacle, and the first begotten beasts, both of men and beasts and other things, as the law teleth. And the other children of Leuy that serued in the tabernacle, ſhould haue tithings of the people to their liuelode, of the which tithings they ſhould geuen the priests the tenth party in forme of offering. The children of Leuy, both priests and other, ſhould haue houſes and crofts, and leſewes for their beasts in the land of beheſt, and none other heritage: and so God gaue them their land of beheſt, and bad them that they ne ſhould worship no other God then him. Also he bad that they ſhould keepe his commandements: and gif they did so, all their enemies about them ſhould drede them, and be their seruants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so forsaken his lawes, he behight them that he would bring them out of that land, and make them serue their enemies: but yet he ſaid hee would not benemen his mercie away from them, if they would cry mercie and amend their defaults: and all this was done on Gods side.

ª Amid Paradise, that is, in the middest of Paradise.

ª Forward, that is, couenant.

Gode loue to man.

And here is much loue showed of God to man. And who so looketh the bible, he ſhall finde that man showed him little loue againward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgatten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his seruants ª feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they haue slowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their sinnes, and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall processe of the old Testament, that God gaue to his people by Moses his seruant. And all this testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was guen by Christ. And it was byhoten by Jeremy the Prophet, as Saint Paul beareth witnes in the Epistle that he writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremy saith in this wise: Loe daies ſhall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the houſe of Israel, and to the houſe of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I tooke their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden vein, and I had lordſhip ouer them. But this ſhall be the forward that I wold make with them after thoſe dates: I will giue my lawes with them in their inwardnesse, and I will writen them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they ſhould be my people: and after that a man ſhall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God saith) from the least to the most, ſhould know me, for I will forgiuen them their sins, and will no more thinke on their sinnes.

ª Feile times, that is, oft times.

The honouring of God standeth in two things.

This is the new testament, that Christ both God and man, borne of the maid Mary, he taught here in this world to bring man out of sinne, and out of the diuels thraldome and seruice, to heauen, that is land of blisse and heritage, to all tho that beleeuen on him, and keepen his commandements, and for his teaching he was done to the death. But the third day arose againe from death to life, and set Adam and Eue, and many other folke out of hell, and after ward he came to his disciples, and comforted them. After, he stied vp to heauen to his father, and tho he sent the holy Ghost amonges his disciples: and in time coming, he will come and demen all mankind after their werkes, and after the words he spake vpon earth: some to blisse, within body and in soule euer withouten end; and some to paine without end, both in body and in soule.

Abraham.

ª Forward, that is, couenant with her.

This is our beleeue and all christen mens, and this beleeue is the first point of the new Testament, that ych christen man is hold stedfastly to beleeue, and rather to suffer the death, than forsaken this beleeue; and so this beleeue is the bread of spirituall life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought vs to life.

But for asmuch as mans liuing ne standeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygiuen vs a draught of water of life to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water, he ne ſhall neuer afterward ben a thurſt. For this water is the cleare teaching of the gospell, that encloseth seuen commandements.



The first is this: Thou ſhalt loue thy God ouer all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and friend.

Specialt. prefer to ouer ſtone of the gospels.

The second commandement is of meeknesse, in the which Christ chargeth vs to forsake lordſhip vpon our brethren, and other worldly worſhips, and so he did himſelfe.

The third commandement, is in ſtondiug stedfaſtlich in truth, and forsaking all falſenesse.

The fourth commandement, is to ſuffer in this world diseases and wrongs, withouten agenſtondings.

The fifth commandement is mercy, to forgiuen our brethren their treſpaſſe, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

The sixth commandement is poorenesse in spirit, but not to ben a beggar.

The seuenth commandement, is chaſtitie: that is, a forsaking of fleſhlich likings diſpleasing to God. Theſe commandements enclosen the ten commandements of the old, and somewhat more.

This water is a blessed drinke for christen mens soule. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of this water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God saith by Ezekiel the Prophet; When ich le geue to you the moſt cleane water to drinke, yet troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geue my sheep to drinke. But the cleane water is yhid fro the sheep, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread left the sheep dyen for thurſt. And Christ that is the wiſdome of the father of heauen, and well of this wiſdome that come from heauen to earth to teach man this wiſdome, through the which man ſhould ouercome the sleights of the diuell, that is principall enemy of mankind: haue mercy and pitie of his people, and shew if it be his will how this water is troubled, and by whom and ª telle cleare this water that his sheep mowne drinken herof, and kele the thirſt of their soule. Blessed mote our Lord ben, for he hath yraught vs in the gospell, that ere then hee would come to the vniuerſall dome, then ſhould come many in his name, & ſayen, that they weren Christ, and they ſhoulden done many wonders, and begilen many men: and many falſe Prophets ſhoulden arisen and begilen much folke.

Christ is sheep. ª Stir, that is, afterward.

A Lord, yblesſed mote thou ben of euerich creature: which ben they that haue yſaid that they weren in Christ, and haue thus begiled thus thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy sted, and ª binemen thy worship, and forgatten their God, and worshipped falſe gods. And God sent to them the Prophets and his seruants ª feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they haue slowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison: and oft times God tooke vpon them great vengeance for their sinnes, and when they cried after helpen to God, he sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall proceſſe of the old Testament, that God gaue to his people by Moses his seruant. And all this testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was guen by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremy the Prophet, as Saint Paul beareth witnes in the Epiſtle that he writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremy saith in this wiſe: Loe daies ſhall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the houſe of Israel, and to the houſe of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I tooke their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden vein, and I had lordſhip ouer them. But this ſhall be the forward that I wold make with them after thoſe dates: I will giue my lawes with them in their inwardneſſe, and I will writen them in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they ſhould be my people: and after that a man ſhall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God saith) from the least to the moſt, ſhould know me, for I will forgiuen them their sins, and will no more thinke on their sinnes.

ª Binemen, that is, taketh away.

The honouring of God standeth in three things.

The herying of God standeth in three things. In louing God ouer all other things: in dreading God ouer all other things: in trusting in God ouer all other things.

ª Herying, that is, worshipping.

Theſe three points Christ teacheth in the gospel. But I trow men louen him but a little. For who so loueth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for hereſie and follie, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens lawes and their curſings, then Christ and his lawes and his curſings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helps, than they do in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hath he that setteth in Gods ſtede, bynomen God theſe three herygings, and maketh men louen him and his lawes, more then Christ & Christs lawes, and dreaden him also. And there as the people ſhulden yeeld to God their vowes, he saith he hath power to aſſoylen them of their auowes, and so this sacrifice hee ª nemeth away from God. And there as the people ſhould cry to God in the day of tribulation, he letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemeth God that worſhip. This day of tribulation is whan man is fallen through sinne, into the diuels seruice, and than we ſhulden cry to God after helpe, and axen forgeueneſſe of our sinne, and make great sorrow for our sinne, and ben in full will to doe so no more, ne none other sinne, and that our Lord God wole forgeuen vs our sinne, and maken our soule clene. For his mercy is endleſſe.

ª Nemeth, that is, taketh away.

Against auricular confeſſion.

But Lord, here men haue benomen thee much worshippe: for men seyn that thou ne might not cleane aſſoylen vs of our sinne. But if we knowlegen our sinnes to priests, and taken of them a penance for our sinne, gif we mowen speake with them.

Sins forgiuen without confeſſe.

A Lord, thou forgaue sometime Peter his sinnes, and also Mary Magdaleine, and many other ſinfull men without shriuing to priests, and taking penance of priests for their sins. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And we lewd men beleuen, that there nis no man of ſo great power, and gif any man maketh himſelfe of ſo great power, he ª heighteth himſelfe aboue God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that ſitteth in the temple of God, and heighten him aboue God; and gif any ſuch be, he is a falſe Christ.

ª Heighteth, that is, exalteth.

Objection of the priests to maintain their ſtate.

But hereto seyn priests, that when Christ made clean leprous men, he bade them goe and shew them to priests. And therefore

Enioyned to the whitecleon.

fore they seyn that it is a commandement of Christ, that a man
should shewen his sinne to priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the
old law betokeneth sinne in this new law. A Lord God, whe-
ther thine apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done
now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest comman-
ded men to shriuen them to priests, and they ne taught not that
commandement to the people, me thinketh they hadden ben
to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy
commandements, ne needfull to heale of mans soule. And as
me thinketh, the law of lepre is nothing to the purpose of shri-
uing: for priests in the old law, hadden certaine points and to-
kens to know whether a man were leprous or nou: and gif they
were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from
other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane, and then they
hadden power to receiuen him among his brethren, and offer-
en for him a sacrifice to God.

This nis nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there nis
but one priest, that is Christ, that may know in certaine the le-
pre of the soule. Ne no priest may make the soule cleane of ther
sinne, but Christ that is priest after Melchisedekes order: ne
no priest here beneath may wyt for certaine whether a man
be cleane of his sinne, or cleane assoyled, but gif God tell it him
by reuelation. Ne God ordained not that his priests should
set men a penance for their sinne, after the quantity of the sinne,
but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there com-
meth good thereof. But I wote well that God is much vn-
worshiped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and
in his yeeres of grace, then in Christs absolutions, and thereby
is the people much appaired. For now, the sorow a man should
make for his sinne, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more
bold to doe sinne for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich pe-
nance.

Another mischiefe is, that the people is ybrought into this
beliefe, that one priest hath a great power to assoylen a man of
his sinne and clennere, then another priest hath.

Another mischiefe is this, that sone priest may assoylen them
both of sinne and paine: and in this they taken them a power
that Christ granted no man in earth, ne he ne vsed it dought on
earth himselfe.

Another mischiefe is, that these priests sellen forgiuenesse of
mens sinnes and absolutions for money, and this is an heresie ac-
cursed, that is yeleped simony: and all thilke priests that seken
price for granting of spirituall grace, beth by holy lawes de-
prined of their priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this he-
resie. And be they ware, for Helyse the Prophet toke no money
of Naaman, when he was made cleane of his lepre, but Giesi his
seruant: and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with him and
with his heires euermore after.

Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus far
vlad away from God and worshupen a false God in earth, that
by might and by strength hath ydone away the great sacrifice
of God out of his temple: of which mischiefe and discomfort,
Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth thereof witnesse in
the gospell. Who that readeth it, vnderstand it. Thus we have
ytold shortly, how he that saith he fiteth in Christs stede binei-
meth Christ his worship, and his sacrifice of his people, and ma-
keth the people worshepen him as a god on earth.

Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes euerichone
to other, as S. Iames teacheth, and pray we hartilich to God eue-
richone one for other, and then we shulen hopen forgiuenes of
our sins. For God that is endelesse in mercy faith, that he ne will
not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and
liuen. And therefore, when he came downe to saue mankind, he
gaue vs a law of loue and of mercy: and bade, gif a man doe a
trespasse, amend him priuilich, and gif he leue not his sin, amend
him before witnesse: and gif he ne amendeth not, men should
tell to the church: and gif he ne amendeth not that, men should
shunne his company as a publican, or a man that is misbeleeued:
and this law was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that readeth
it, he may see the sooth.

But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede, hath vndoe thy
law of mercy and loue; Lord, thou biddest louen enemies as
our selfe; and thou shewedst in the gospell, there as the Samari-
tan had mercy on the Iew. And thou biddest vs also prayen for
them that cursen vs, and that desamen vs, and pursuen vs to
death. And so Lord thou biddest, and thine apostles also. But
hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy
church, he hath vndone thy law of loue and mercy. For gif we
speaken of louing our enemies, hee teacheth vs to fight with
our enemies, that Christ hath forbeden. He curseth and des-
reth vengeance to them that so doth to him. Gif any man pur-
sueth him, he curseth him, that it is a sorrow a christen man to
hearen the cursings that they maken, and blaspheries in such
cursing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true wit-
nesse.

But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is vndone
by him that saith he is Gods vicar in earth. For Christ in the
gospell biddeth vs, that we shoulden clepen vs no father vpon
earth: but clepen God our father. to maken vs loue perfitlich
together. And he clepeth himselfe father of fathers, and maketh
many religions, & to euerich a father. But whether is loue and
charity encresed by these fathers and by their religions, or elle
ymade lesse? For a frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular
man neither, nor yet one frier another that is not of the order,
and it is againward.

A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in these re-
ligions. For Lord, what charity hauen such men of religion,
that know in how they mown againstand sin, & fleen away fro
their brethren that ben more vncunning then they ben, and suf-
fren them to trauelen in the world withouten their counsell as
beasts? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but little chari-
tie, & thus is there little perfection. Lord God, when thou were
on earth, thou were among sinfull men to drawen them from
sin, and thy disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne granteft
not one man more cunning then another al for himselfe: and I
wote well that lewd men that ben laborers, ne trauell not alonlich
for himselfe. Lord our beliefe is, that thou ne were not of
the world, ne thy teaching neither, ne thy seruants that liueden
after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and so euery
christen man must. But Lord, whether thou taughtest men for-
sake their brethrens company and trauell of the world, to liuen
in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by
their brethrens trauell, and so forsaken the world?

A Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken a poore es-
tate and trauell, to ben after ward a lord of his brethren, or ben
a lords fellow, & dwelling with lords, as doth men of these new
religions. Lord thou ne taughtest not men of thy religion thus
to forsake the world, to liuen in perfection by themselfe in ease,
and by other mens trauel. But Lord they sayen they ben ybound
to thy seruice, and seruen thee both night and day in singing
their prymes, both for themselfe and for other men, that done
them good both quick and dead, and some of them gone about
to teach thy people when they hauen leisure.

A Lord, gif they ben thy seruants; whose seruants ben we
that cannot preien as they done? And when thou were here on
earth, for our need thou taughtest thy seruants to preien thy fa-
ther priuilich and thorilich: and gif there had ben a better man-
ner of preying, I trow thou wouldest haue taught it in help of
thy people. And Lord thou reprouest hypocrits that preyen in
long prairer, and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And
thou seyst in the Gospell; Wo to you Pharisies hypocrites. And
Lord thou ne chargedst not thy seruants with such manner
seruice: but thou seyst in the gospell, that the Pharisies wor-
shopen thee with their lips, and their heart is farre from thee.
For they chargen more mens traditions than thy command-
dement.

And Lord, we lewed men han a beliefe, that thy goodnesse
is endlesse and gif we keepen thine hestes, than ben we thy true
seruants. And though we preyen thee but a little and thorilich,
thou wilt thinken on vs, and granten vs that vs nedeth, for so
thou behited vs sometime. And Lord I trow, that pray a man
neuer so many quaint praiers, gif he ne keep not thine hests, he is
not thy good seruant. But gif he keep thine hestes, then he is thy
good seruant, and so me thinketh. Lord that praying of long
praiers ne is not the seruice that thou desirest, but keeping of
thine hests: and then a lewd man may serue God as well as a
man of religion: though that the ploughman ne may not haue
so much siluer for his prairer, as men of religion. For they kun-
nen not so well preisen their praiers as these other chapmen: but
Lord our hope is, that our praiers bee neuer the worse, though
it be not so well sold as other mens praiers.

Lord, Ezechiel the Prophet saith, that when he spake to the
people thy words, they turned thy wordes into songs and into
tales. And so Lord men done now: they singin merilich thy
words, & that singing they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow
that the best fingers he heriech thee not most: but he that fulfil-
leth thy words, he heriech thee full well, though he weep more
then sing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy comman-
dements, be more pleasing seruice to thee, than the singing of
thy words. And would God that men would serue him in for-
row for their sinnes, and that they shoulden afterward seruen
thee in mirth. For Christ saith, yblessed ben they that maken for-
row, for they shoulden ben yconforted. And wo to them that
ben merry, and haue their comfort in this world. And Christ
said, that the world should ioyen, and his seruants shulden bee
sory, but their sorrow should be turned into ioy.

A Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, hath
yordained an order of priests to doe thy seruice in church to
fore thy lewed people in singing mattens, euensong and masse.
And therefore hee chargeth lewd men in a lone of curtsing, to
bring to his priests tithings and offerings to finden his priests,
and hee clepeth that Gods part, and due to priests that seruen
him in church.

But Lord, in the old law the tithings of the lewd people ne
were not due to priests, but to that other childer of Leui that
serueden thee in the temple, and the priest hadden their part of
sacrifices, and the first bygeten beasts and other things as the
law telleth. And Lord, Saint Paul thy seruant saith, that the or-
der of the priesthood of Aaron ceased in Christs comming and
the law of that priesthood. For Christ was end of sacrifices
yofferd vpon the crosse to the father of heauen, to bring man
out of sinne, and become himselfe a priest of Melchisedeckes or-
der. For he was both king and priest, without beginning and
end, and both the priesthood of Aaron and also the law of that
priesthood,



priesthood, ben ychanged in the comming of Christ. And S.
Paul saith it is reproued, for it brought no man to perfection.
For blood of goats, ne of other beasts ne might done away sin,
for to that Christ shad his blood.

A Lord Iesu, whether thou ordenest an order of priests to of-
fren in the auter thy flesh and thy blood to bringen men out of
sinne, and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them al-
onelich a power to eat thy flesh & thy blood, & whether none
other man may eat thy flesh, and thy blood withouten leue of
priests? Lord, we beleuen, that thy flesh is very meat, and thy
blood very drinke; and who eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy
blood, dwelleth in thee, and thou in him; and who that eateth
this bread, shall liue without end. But Lord thine disciples said;
this is an hard word: but thou answerest them and seidest: when
ye seeth mans soone flouen vp there he was rather, the spirit is
that maketh you liue, the words that ych haue spoken to you
ben spirit and life. Lord, yblessed mote thou be, for in this word
thou teachest vs that he that keepeth thy words, and doth af-
ter them, eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy blood, and hath an
euerlasting life in thee. And for wee shoulden haue minde of
this liuing, thou gauest vs the sacrament of thy flesh and blood,
in forme of bread and wine at thy supper, before that thou shul-
dest suffer thy death, and tooke bread in thine hand, and saidest:
Take ye this, & eat it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wine,
and blessedst it, and said: This is the blood of a new and an euer-
lasting Testament, that shall bee shed for many men in for-
giuenesse of sinnes: as oft as ye done this, doe ye this in mind
of me.

A Lord, thou ne bede not thine disciples maken this a sacri-
fice, to bring men out of peines, gif a priest offred thy body in
the altar: but thou bed them go, and fulfillen all the folke in the
name of the father, and the sonne, and the holy ghost, in for-
giuenesse of their sins: and teach ye them to keep those things
that ych haue commanded you. And Lord, thine disciples ne or-
dained not priests principallich to make thy body in sacrament,
but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that well
gouerne their housholds, both wiues and children, and their
meiny, they ordeined to be priests to teachen other men the
law of Christ, both in word, in deede, and they liueden as true
christian men, euery day they eaten Christs body, and drinken
his blood, to the sustenance of liuing of their soules, and other-
whiles they tooken the sacrament of his body in form of bread
and wine, in mind of our Lord Iesu Christ.

But all this is turned vpside down now: for now who so wil liuen
as thou taughtest, he shall ben holden a foole. And gif he speak
thy teaching, he shal ben holden an heretike, & accursed. Lord,
yhaue no lenger wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee when
thou were here sometime. And therefore we moten take in pa-
tience their words of blasphemy as thou diddest thy selfe, or elfe
we weren to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if thou were
now in the world, and taughtest as thou diddest sometime, thou
shouldest ben done to death. For thy teaching is damned for
heresie of wise men of the world, and then moten they nedes
ben heretikes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that traue-
len to liue thereafter.

And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, help thine ynkunning
and lewd seruants, that wolen by their power and their kun-
ning, helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lord, sith thou madest wo-
man in help of man, and in a more fraile degree then man is, to
be gouerned by mans reason: What perfection of charitie is in
these priests and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spousted
that thou ordeinedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for
perfection to forsaken trauelle, and liuen in ease by other mens
trauelle? For they mow not doe bodilich works for defouling
of their hands, with whom they touchen thy precious body in
the altar.

Leue Lord, gif good men forsaken the company of woman,
and needs they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then moten
they ben ycoupled with shrewes, and therefore they sinnen bloe
that thou madest in cleannes from sinne, it is now ychanged in-
to liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischiefe vnto
thy people. And young priests and men of religion, for defaute
of wiues, maken many women horen, and drawn through their
ensample many other men to sinne, and the ease that they liuen
in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mischief. And Lord
me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion, and none
of thy sect that wolen taken horen, whilke God forsendes, and
forsaken wiues that God ne forsendeth not: and forsaken tra-
uail that God commands, and geuen their selfe to idlenes, that
is the mother of all noughtinesse.

And Lord, May thy blessed mother & Ioseph, touched of-
tentimes thy body, and wrougheen with their hands, and liue-
den in as much cleannes of soule, as our priests done now, and
touched thy body, and thou touchedest them in their souls. And
Lord our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule
that trauelleth for his liuelode with his hands. For Lord, our be-
liefe is, that thine house is mans soule, that thou madest after
thine owne likenesse.

But Lord God, men maketh now great stonen houses full
of glasen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses and chur-
ches. And they feeten in these houses Mawmets of stocks and
stones, to fore them they knelen priuilich and apert, and ma-



children. But Lord, sith thy teaching is ycome from heauen a-
boue, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall breaken these
wards, and shew him to thy pupil, to kele both the hunger and
the thrust of the soule. And then shall no shepheard, ner no false
hiridman begile thy pupile no more. For by thy law I write, as



great thanke of thee, for his smiting. And Lord, thou were
mighty enough to haue against stond thine enemies, for through
thy looking they fellen downe to the ground: Lord ybleffed
mote thou be. Here thou teacheft vs that we shoulden suffren:
for thou were mighty ynow to haue against stand thine enemies,
and thou haddest wonpu, and thy men weren hearty to haue
no man may serue two lords at once. O Lord then, euery liet
for the time that he heth, other forsweareth himselfe, and forsa-
keth thy seruice for dread of his bodily death, becommeth the
diuels seruant.

O Lord, what truth is in him that cleepeth himselfe

off as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is
before rich men, there as they mowen beare worship and also
profit of their preaching. But before poore men they preachen
but seldem, when they ben maisters: and so by their works we
may seene that they ben false glosers.

And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine hests,
him needeth no glose: but thilke that clepen themselfe christen
men, and liuen against thy teaching and thine hests, needelich
they mote glose thine hests, after their liuing, other elsemen
shulden openlich y know their hypocrisie and their falshod.

But Lord, thou fayst that there is nothing yhid that shall not
be shewed sometime. And Lord, yblessed mote thou be: For
somewhat thou shewest vs now of our mischiefes that we ben
fallen in through the wisdomes of maisters, that haue by sleights
yled vs away from thee and thy teaching, that thou that were
the maister of heauen, taught vs for loue, when thou were here
sometime to heale of our soules, withouten error or heresie. But
maisters of worlds wisdome and their founder, haue ydamned it
for heresie and for error.

O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reproue thy
wisdo me & thy teaching. And Lord, me thinketh that this Na-
buge donosor king of Babylon, that thus hath reproued thy
teaching and thine hests, and commandeth on all wise to kepen
his hests, maken thy people hearen him as a God on earth, and
maketh them his thralles and his seruants.

But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but thee, and we
with thine helpe and thy grace, forsaken Nabugodonoser and
his lawes. For hee in his proud estate wole haue all men vnder
him, and he nele be vnder no man. He ondoth thy lawes that
thou ordainest to ben kept, and maketh his owne lawes as him
liketh: and so he maketh him king aboue all other kings of the
earth, and maketh men to worshippen him as a God, and thy
great sacrifice he hath ydone away.

O Lord, here is thy commandement of meeknes, mischisiich
to broken: and thy blessed commandement of poorenes is also to
broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zachary thy Prophet
saith, that thou that shouldest be our king, shouldest ben a
poore man, and so thou were: for thou saidest thy selfe; Foxes
haue dens, and birds of heauen nests, and mans sonne hath not
where to legge his head on. And thou saydest, yblessed ben
poore men in spirit, for thy kingdome of heauen is therein: and
woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in this world. And
thou bad thy disciples to ben ware of all couetise, for thou sai-
dest, in the abundance of a mans hauing, ne is not his lifelode.
And so thou teachest that thilke that han more then them nee-
deth to their liuing liuen in couetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a
man forsake all things that he oweth, hee ne may not ben thy
disciple. Lord, thou sayst also, that thy word that is sown in rich
mens harts, bringeth forth no fruit: for riches and the busines
of this world maken it withouten fruit.

O Lord, here ben many blessed teachings to teach men to
ben poore, and loue poorenesse. But Lord harme is, poore men
and poorenes ben yhated, and rich men ben yloued and hono-
red: and gif a man be a poore man, men holden him a man with-
out grace: and gif a man defireth poorenes, men holden him but
a fole: and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gratious
man, and thilke that ben busie in getting of riches, ben yhold
wise men and ready: but Lord, these rich men sayen, that it is
both lefull and needfull to them to gather riches together. For
they ne gathereth it for themselfe, but for other men that ben
needy, and Lord their works shewen the truth. For if a poore
needy man would borowen of their riches, he nele lean him
none of his good; but gif he mow be seker to haue it againe by a
certaine day.

But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not hoping
yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy father of hea-
uen wole quite him his mede. And gif a poore man aske a rich
man any good, the rich man will giue him but a little, and yet it
shall be little worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little
loue and charity, both to God and to our brethren.

For Lord, thou teachest in thy gospell, that what men do to
thy seruants, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man axe
good for thy loue, men giueth him a little of the wurst. For these
rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the
wurst that they haue. O Lord, sith all good that men hath, com-
meth of thee: how dare any man geue thee of the wurst, and
kepe to himselfe the best? How may such men say that they ga-
theren riches for others need, as wel as himselfe, sith their works
ben contrary to their words? and that is no great truth. And be
ye seker these goods that rich men han, they ben Gods goods,
ytake to your keeping, to looke how he wolen be setten them
to the worshipping of God. And Lord, thou saidst in the gos-
pell, that who so is true in litle, hee is true in that thing that is
more: and who that is falfe in a little thing, who wole taken him
more and true? And therefore be yee ware
toward things of a greater value? And therefore be yee ware
that han Gods goods to keepe. Spend ye thilke trulich to the
worship of God. Ieft ye leesen the blisse of heauen, for the vn-
true dispending of Gods goods in this world.

O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much for thy
then they giuen them againward. For the poore men mote
gone to his labor in cold and in heat, in were and dry, and spend
his flesh and his bloud in the rich mens works, vpon Gods
ground, to finde the rich man in ease, and in liking, and in good
fare of meat, of drinke, and of clothing. Here is a great gift of
the poore man, for he giueth his owne body. But what giueth
the rich man him againward? Certes feeble meat, and feeble
drinke, and feeble clothing. What euer they seggen, such bee
their works, and here is little loue. And whoso euer looketh
well about, all the world fareth as we seggen: and all men stu-
dieth on euery side, how they may wex rich men: and euerich
man almost is ashamed to ben holden a poore man.

And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token little
regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to
giue vs a new testament of loue; and therefore it was semelich
that thou came in poorenes, to proue who would loue thee, and
kepen thy hests. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich
man and of a lord, men wold rather for thy dread then for thy
loue, haue ykept thine hests. And so Lord, now thou might wel
yse which louen thee as they should in keeping thine hests. For
who that loueth thee in thy poorenes and in thy lowneſſe,
needs he mote loue thee in thy lordship and highnesse.

But Lord, the world is turned vpse downe, and men loue
poore men but a little, ne pooreneſſe neither. But men be ash-
amed of poorenes; and therefore Lord, I trow that thou art a
poore king. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himselfe
thy vicar on earth, hath forsaken poorenesse, as he hath doe the
remnant of thy law, and is become a rich man and a Lord, and
maketh his treasure vpon the earth, that thou forbiddest in the
gospell: and for his right and riches, he will plete, and fight, and
curse. And yet Lord he will segge, that he forsaketh all things
that he oweth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching
in the gospell.

But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken his goods,
and plete for them, and fight, and curse. And Lord, he taketh
on him power to affoile a man of all manner things, but if it be
of debt. Truly Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of charitie.
For who that beth in charity, possesseth thy goods in com-
mon, and not in proper at his neighbors need. And then shall
there none of them segge that is mine, but it is Gods that God
granteth to vs to spenden it to his worship. And so if any of
them boroweth a portion of those goods, and dispendeth them
to Gods worship, God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth
him this true doing. And if God is payed of that dispending,
that is the principall lord of those goods, how dare any of his
seruants axen thereof accounts, other challenge it for det? Ser-
ten, of one thing I am incerteine, that these that charge so much
det of worldly cattell, they know litle of Christs law of cha-
rity. For if Ich am a baily of Gods goods in the world: If I see
my brother in need; I am hold by charity to part with him of
these goods to his nede: and if he spendeth them wel to the wor-
ship of God, I mote be well apaid, as though I my selfe had
spended them to the worship of God. And if the principal Lord
is well payed of my brothers doing, and the dispending of his
goods, how may I segge for shame that my brother is dettour
to me, of the goods that I tooke him to spend in Gods wor-
ship at his nede? And if my brother spendeth amisse the goods
that I take him, I am discharged of my deliuerance of the goods,
if I take him in charity thilke goods at his nede. And I am hold
to be sory of his euill dispending, ne I may not axen the goods,
that I tooke him to his nede in forme of det, for at his need they
were his as well as mine. And thus is my brother yhold to done
to me gif he see me in nede, and gif we ben in charitie, little
should we chargen of det. And ne we should not axen so dets,
as men that know nen not God: and than we be poore in forsa-
king all things that we own. For gif we ben in charitie, we
wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods with our
brethren.

O Lord, thus thou taughtest thy seruants to liuen: and so
they liueden while they hadden good shepheards, that fedden
thy sheep, and robbed them not of their lifelode, as Peter thy
good shepheard and thy other apostles. But Lord, he that cle-
peth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth and successour to Peter, he
robbeth thy puple of their bodilich lifelode, for he ordeineth
proud shepheards to liuen in ease by the tenth party of poore
mens trauell: and he giueth them leue to liuen where them li-
keth. And gif men no wolen willfullich geuen thē the tithings,
they wolen han them against their will by maistery and by cur-
sing, to maken them rich.

Lord, how may any man segge that such shepheards that
louen more the wolle then the sheepe, and feden not thy sheep
in body, ne in soule, ne ben such rauenors and theeues? And who
may segge that the maintaynor of such shepheards, ne is not
a maintenour of theeues and robbers? How wole hee assoile
shepheards of their robbing without restitution of their goods,
that they robben thy sheepe of against their will? Lord of all
shepheards, blessed mote thou be. For thou loudest more the
sheepe then their wolle. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in
body and soule. And for loue of thy sheepe, thou tooke thy
death

Comparison between the poore shepheards and Christs.

False glosers.

The poverty of Christ right wise confuted.

A poore king, and a proud ſe-ear, how joynt these two together?

Note, that is, will not.

Poverty of Christ not followed.

Couetise.

Poverty commended sadly.

Note, that is, will not.

God is serued at the worst.

A lesson for them that haue power, well to dispend them. Bernard, that is, loue for.

Christ ascended upon earth, the pope a lord.

The pope for his right and riches will plead, fight and curse.

Prophesy of goods here, is not taken away, but charity is required to help the need of our neighbor.

The popes maintenance of theeues and robbers.

The poverty of good shepheards.

a But for, that is, but because.

b Within forth, that is, inward-lie.

c Lesew, pasture.

d A welch leper.

Exclosures in lambe skins described.

He complaineth against the vnfaithfull bayliffes of Christes flocke.

e Homelich, that is, of his household.

Christ all power in abjected.

10 The poverty of good shepheards.

20 The pope is a chapman in Gods temple.

30 c Whereth, that is, promoueth.

40 Note good reader, if Christ be where two or three be gathered in his name, what needeth to three of a lieftenant?

The place of giuing to Peter the keyes, expounded.

50

60 The pope proued a false antichrist in earth.

70 The popes abomination described.

80

b Fulfilled, that is, baptised.

Purgatorie.

And Lord me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorie, and anie earthlich man had power to deliueren sinfull men from the peines of purgatorie, he should, and he were in charitie, fauen cuerich man that were in way of saluation from thilke peines, sith they make them greater then anybodilich peines of this world. Also gif the bishop of Rome had such a power, he himselfe should neuer comen in purgatorie ne in hel. And sith we see well that he ne hath no power to kepen himselfe ne other men nother out of these bodilich peines of the would, and he may go to hell for his sinne as another man may: Ine beleeue nos, that he hath so great power to assoylen men of their sinne as he taketh vpon him abouen all other men. And I trow that in this he higheth himselfe aboue God.

Selling of bishoprikes and parsonages.

As touching the selling of bishoprickes and parsonages, I trow it be a point of falsehed. For agenst Gods ordinance hee robbeth poore men of a portion of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giueth it, to find proud men in idleneſſe that don the lewd pupple little profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben thy commandements of truth, of meekeneſſe, and of pooreneſſe, vndone by him that clepeth himselfe thy vicar here vpon earth.

Marriage.

A Lord thou gaue vs a commandement of chaſtice, that is, a forbidding of fleshlich lusts. For thou broughtest vs to a liuing of single, that is, vgouerned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than man to ben vgouerned by mans rule, and his helpe to pleaſe thee and keepe thine hestes. Ne thou ne ordainedist that a man should desire the companie of a woman, and maken her his wife, to liuen with her in his lusts, as a swine doth or a horse. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lord thou ne gaue not a man leaue to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

But Lord, thy marriage is a common accord betweene man and woman, to liuen together to their liues end, and in thy seruice either the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben ioyned by thee, and thilke that God ioyneth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou saiest that gif a man see a woman to coueten her, then he doth with the woman lecherie in his heart. And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in coueitise of such lusts, and not to flie from whoredome, his weddins is lecherie, ne thou ne ioyneſt them not together. Thus was Raguels daughter yeadded to seuen husbands that the diuel imtrangled. But Tobie tooke her to liue with her in cleanneſſe, and bringing vp of her children in thy worship, and on him the diuell ne had no power. For the wedding was I maked in God, for God, and through God.

A lesson how to marrie.

A Lord, the people is sure ygo from this manner of wedding. For now men wedden their wiues for faireneſſe, other for richies, or some such other fleshlich lusts. And Lord, so it preueth by them for the most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulden after the law of marriage. But other the man loues not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prese, that neuer faileth ne preue whether it bee done by thee or no. And Lord, all this mischiefe is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their shepheards and hired men feeden them with their * sweuens and leasings. And Lord, where they shoulden gon before vs in the field, they seggen their order is to holy for thy marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himselfe thy vicar vpon earth, will not suffren priests to taken them wiues, for it is against his law: But Lord, he will dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certaine summe of money. And Lord, all whordome is forfended in th law. And Lord, thou neuer forfendedst priests their wiues, ner thy apoſtles neither. And well I wote in our land, priests hadden wiues vntil Anselmus daies in the yeare of our Lord God, a leuen hundred and twentie and nine, as Huntingdon writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleuen, that lecherie is no sinne. Therefore we lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send vs shepheards of thine owne that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy lefew, and gon before themselfe, and so written thy law in our hearts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his lords, heart to defenden thy true shepheards and thy sheep from out of the wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the Sonne of thy heauenly father, from the antichrist, that is, the sonne of pride. And Lord, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy law, the cruelnes of the mischieuous wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these daies. Lord we axen this now, for more need was there neuer.

* Sweuens, that is, dreames.

Priests had leaue to marrie time of Anselmus.

I doubt not gentle reader, but in reading this goodly treatise aboue prefixed, the matter is manifeſt and plaine of it selfe without any further explication, what is to be thought and iudged of this vicar of Christ, and successour of Peter, whom we call the bishop of Rome: whose life here thou seest not only to be disordered in all points, swarming from the steps and example of Christ the Prince and Bishop of our soules, but also whose lawes and doctrines are so repugnant and contrarie to the precepts and rule of the Gospell, that almost there is no conuenience betweene them as in the perusing of this complaining prayer, thou maiest notoriously vnderstand. Wherefore hauing no need to stand in any further expressing of this matter, but leauing it to thine owne consideration, and discretion: I will speed my selfe (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of John Wickliffe, and his fellowes, taking by order of yeares as I go, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of Wickliffe, and also may the better prepare the mind of the reader, to the entring of that storie. Where first I thinke it not inconuenient to inserte a prophetical parable, written about this time or not much before, which the author morally applieth vnto the bishop of Rome. To what author this prophecie or moral is to be ascribed, I haue not certainly to affirme. Some say, that Rupescissanus (of whom mention is made before, pag. 359) was the author thereof, and alleage it out of Froyſard; but in Froyſard as yet I haue not found it. In the meane season, as I haue found it in Latine expressed, because it pointeth out the pope so rightly in his feathers and colours, as I thought the thing not to be omitted, so I take this present place, as most fit (although peraduenture missing the order of yeares a little) to insert the same. The effect of which parable followeth here vnder written.

A parable prophesying the destruction of the pope.

In the time of pope Innocent the sixt aboue specified, this Ioannes de Rupescissa, a frier, among other his prophecies manuelously forespake (as alleageth Froyſard, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of John the French king prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations & changings in the church to come. And at that time the pope kept him at Auinion in prison: there Froyſard is said to see him and to speake with him, the said Froyſard heard in the popes court this example and parable, recited by the foresaid frier Rupescissanus, to the two cardinals, to wit, cardinall Hostiensis, and cardinall Auxerrensis. Which followeth in these words.

When on a certaine time, a bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing thereof, came to visit her: and for that they saw her to be a marueilous faire and beautifull bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, with by no meanes without feathers, she might either flie or live commodiously. They all with ben her to liue so, her excellent fourme and beautie saide, in so much that among them all there was not one, that would not grant some part of her owne feathers to decke this bird withall: yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gaue vnto her, so that by this meanes she was passing well penned and feathered, and began to flie. The other birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, by holding her to flie abroad, were marueilously delighted therewith. In the end, this bird seeing her selfe so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honor; began to waxe proud and hautie. In so much that she had no regard at all vnto them, by whom she was aduanced: yea she punged them with her beake, taking them by the stem and feathers, and in all places hurted them. Whereupon the birds sitting in counsell again, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this vnkind bird, whom they louingly with their owne feathers had decked and adorned: affirming that they gaue not their feathers to the intent that she thereby puft vp with pride, should contemptuously despise them all. The Peacocke therefore answereth first: Truly, saith hee, for that thee is beauely set forth with my painted feathers, I will againe take them from her. Then saith the Faulcon, and I also will haue mine againe. This sentence at length take place among them all, so that euery one plucked from her thole feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their olume againe. Hold this proud bird seeing her selfe thus to be dealt withall, began forthwith to abate her hautie stomacke, and humblie to submit her selfe openly, confessing and acknowledging that of her selfe shee did nothing: but that her feathers, her honor, and other ornaments was their gift: shee came into the world all naked and bare, they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they reccine them againe. Wherefore in most humble wise she desireth pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would shee at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride shee might lose her feathers againe. The gentle birds that before had given their feathers, seeing her so humble and lowlie, being moued with pitie, restored againe the feathers, which lately they had taken away, adding withall this admonition: Wee will gladly, say they, beholo thy flying among vs, so long as thou wilt vse thine office with humblenesse of mind, which is the chiefest comelinesse of all the rest. But this haue thou for certaintie, that if at any time hereafter thou ertoll thy selfe in pride, we will straightwaies deprive thee of thy feathers. and reduce the into thy former state where in we found thee. Such to, oh you cardinals (saith Ioannes Rupescissanus) shall it happen vnto you. For the emperors of Romans and Almaine, and other christian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, haue bestowed vpon you gods, lands, and riches, that should serue God, but you haue powred it out and consumed it vpon pride, all kind of wickednesse, riot and wantonnesse.

The pope conuerted in a bird feathered with other birds feathers.

The troubles and perfecutions of Armachanus.

Armachanus preferred manifold wayes by the Lord.

The first rising of the pope. The proud pope despiseth of the poore.

The decaye of the pope despised.

Arma-



## Armachanus.

The life and state of Armachanus, archbishop and primat of Ireland.

IN the catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against Antichrist aboue rehearled, whom the Lord about this time began to raise vp for reformation of his church, being then farre out of frame, I cannot forget nor omit something to write of the reuerend prelat, and famous clerke, Richard Armachanus, primate and archbishop of Ireland: A man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those daies then serued, that the same daies then as they had but few good, so had none almoſt his better. His name was Richard Fitzraf, made primate and archbishop, as is said, of Ireland. First brought vp in the Vniuerlitie of Oxford, in the studie of all liberall knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit vnder John Baketthorpe his tutor, and instructor. In this time the begging friers began greatly to multiple and spread, into whom this Baketthorpe was euer a great enemie. Whose steps the scholars also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacitie and dexteritie of this Fitzraf, that he being commended to king Edward the third, was promoted by him, first to be archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the Commissarie of the Vniuerlitie of Oxford: At length to be archbishop of Armach in Ireland. He being archbishop, vpon a time had cause to come vp to London: At what time here in the said citie of London was contention betweene the friers and the clergie about preaching, and hearing confessions, &c. Wherevpon this Armachanus being requested to preach, made seuen or eight sermons. Wherein he propounded nine conclusions against the friers, for the which he was cited vp by the friers before this pope Innocent 6. to appeare: & so he did: who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing the same conclusions, and therein had constantly vnto the death, as the words of John Wickliffe in his Trialogo doe well testifie in this wise: Ab Anglorum episcopis conductus Armachanus, nouem in Auinione conclusiones coram Innocentio 6. & suorum cardinalium coetu, contra fratrum mendicitatem, audaceter publicauit, verbóque ac scriptis ad mortem vsque defendit. The like also testifieth of him Waldenus in fasciculo zizaniorum. Also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Botonerus testifying of him in like manner, saith: that Armachanus first reproued begging friers for hearing the confessions of professed nuns, without licence of their superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his perlecutors, and how miraculouſlie the Lord deliuered him from their hands: in so much, that they meeting him in the open streets and in cleare day light, yet had no power to se him, nor to apprehend him. In what perill of theeues and searchers he was in, and yet the Lord deliuered him, yea and caused his money being taken from him, to be restored again to him by portions, in time of his necessitie and famine. And from what dangers of the kings officers, which comming with the kings letters, laid all the hauens for him: yet how the Lord Iesus deliuered him, theiwing him by what waies how to escape them. Moreouer, what appeales were laid against him, to the number of fiftéene, and yet how the Lord gaue him to ouercome all his enemies. How the Lord also taught him and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristoteles subtilitie, to the studie of the Scriptures of God. All this with much more, he himselfe expreſſeth in a certaine prayer or confession made to Christ Iesus our Lord, in which hee describeth almoſt the whole historie of his owne life. Which prayer I haue to shew in old written hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serueth, to publish the same. The beginning of the prayer in Latine is this.

The prayer of Armachanus.

Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, Iesu pissime, Iesu potentissime, Iesu dulcissime: qui dixisti, Ego sum via, veritas & vita. Via sine deuio, veritas sine nubilo: & vita sine termino. Quod tute viam mihi ostendisti. Tute veritatem me docuisti. Et tute vitam mihi promisisti. Via eras mihi in exilio. Veritas eras in consilio. Et vita eris mihi in præmio. With the rest that followeth in the foresaid prayer.

Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited vp by the friers to the pope, you haue partly heard. Now what were his reasons and arguments wherewith he defended his cause in the popes presence, followeth to be declared. For the tractation whereof, first I must put the Reader in remembrance of the controuerlie mentioned before in the storie of Guliehmus de sancto Amore, pag. 287. Also in the storie of the Vniuerlitie of Paris contending against the friers, pag. 360. For so long did this controuerlie continue in the church, from the yeare 1240. when the Oxford men began first to stand against the friers, to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the yeare 1360. and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret prouidence of God (for what cause he best knoweth) to suffer his church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controuerlies of no great importance: Either to keepe the rancke of mens wits thus occupied from idleneſſe, or else to prepare their minds by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more graue and waighty. Like as now in these our Queenes daies, wee see what tragedies hath raised vp in England about formes and fashions of apparell: wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same: Euen so at this time happned the like stir about the liberties and priuiledges of the friers, which not a little troubled and occupied all the churches and Diuines almoſt through Christendome. The which controuerlie, to the intent it may better be vnderstood (all the circumstances thereof being explained) we will first begin from the originall and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of yeares, vpon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and last out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter, first it is to bee vnderstood, that in the yeare of our Lord 1215. vnder pope Innocent the third, was called a generall councell at Laterane, mentioned before, pag. 231. in the daies of king John. In the which councell among many other things, was constituted a certaine law or canon, beginning Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. the tenor of which canon in English is thus.

Can. omnis vtriusque sexus, Sess. 21. de Pœn.

Be it decred, that euerie faithfull Christian, both man and woman comming to the yeares of discretion, shall confesse himselfe alone of all his sinnes, to the priest of his owne proper parish, once in the yeare at least: and that hee shall endeuour by his owne selfe to fulfill the penance, whensoeuer hee receiueth the sacrament of Eucharistie, at least at the time of Easter. Vnlesse by the assent of his Minister, vpon some reasonable cause to abstaine for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lacke the communion of the church being aliue, and christian buriall when he is dead. Wherefore bee it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shall be published accustomable in churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindneſſe make himselfe a cloke of excuse. And if any shall confesse himselfe to any other priest then of his owne parish vpon anie iuſt cause, let him aske and obtaine first licence of his owne priest: Otherwise, the priest to haue no power to bind him or to loose him, &c.

Note here, he calleth it not the sacrament of the altar.

The occasion of the controuersie betweene the friers and the clergie.

Armachanus cited by the friers, to appeare before the pope.

In the time of this Innocentius, and of this Laterane councell, was Dominicke, the first author and founder of the preaching friers: who laboured to the said pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order; but did not obtaine, in his life time.

Peter Dominicke in the time of pope Innocent the 3. obtained not the confirmation of his order.

The order of Peter Dominick first confirmed by pope Honorius the third.

The order of the Franciscans confirmed three yeare after the Dominickes.

The next yeare after this Laterane councell, died pope Innocent, an. 1216. after whom came Honorius the third. Who in the first yeare of his popedome confirmed the order of the frier Dominicke, and gaue to him and his friers authoritie to preach and to heare confessions, with diuers other priuiledges more. And vnder this pope, which gouerned ten yeares, lined Dominicke flue yeares after the confirmation of his order, and died, an. 1221. About which yeare, the order of the Franciscan friers began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.

After this Honorius, next followed pope Gregorie the ninth, about the yeare of our Lord 1228. who for the promoting of the foresaid order of Dominickes, gaue out this Bull, in tenor as followeth.

The Bull of pope Gregorie in the behalfe of the Dominicke friers.

Gregorius bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, to his reuerend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and to his welbeloued children, abbats, priors, and to all prelats of churches, to whom soeuer these presents shall come, greeting, and Apostolicall blessing. Because * iniquitie hath abounded, and the charitie of many hath waxt cold: Behold, the Lord hath raised vp the order of our welbeloued children the preaching friers, who not seeking things of their owne, but pertaining to Iesus Christ, to the extirping as well of hereſies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences; haue dedicated themselues to the preaching of the b word of God. We therefore minding to aduance their faced purpose, &c. and followeth: commanding you to see the said persons, gently to be receiued among you: And that your flockes committed to your charge doe receiue deuoutly the seed of Gods word out of their mouth, and do confesse their sinnes vnto them, all such as list, whom wee haue authorised to the same, to heare confessions, and to enioine penance, &c. Dat. Perusij. an. Pont. nostri 8.

* Iniquitie hath abounded at Rome.

b Nay, to the preaching ministher of mens traditions against the word of God. The friers authorised to heare confessions, and to enioyne penance.

This pope Gregory died about the yeare of our Lord 1241. after whom came Celestinus the fourth, and sate but eight dayes: then came Innocentius the fourth, and sate eleuen yeares and six moneths. Who although he began first to fauour the friers: yet afterward being altered by certaine Diuines, of Vniuersities, prelats of churches, and curats; debarred them of their liberties and priuiledges, and gaue out against precepts and excommunications, as well against the friers, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was disputched and made away.

Pope Innocent the fourth against the friers.

Innocentius being thus removed out of the way, about

Pope Alexander the fourth annulleth the acts of pope Innocent the fourth his predecessour.

the yeare of our Lord 1353. Then succeeded pope Alexander the fourth a great maintainer of the friers, and sate 7. yeares. He renoked and repealed the acts and writings of pope Innocent his predecessour, which forth against the friers: wherewith the Diuines and students of Paris being not well contented, stirred vp foure principall doctours: The first and chiefe captaine was Guliel. de sancto Amore, mentioned before, pag. 287. against whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquine. And at last he was condemned by this foresaid pope Alexander the fourth, in the Extrau. Non sine multa.

Extrau. non sine multa.

The second was Simon Iornalensis, the third Godfridus de fontibus, the fourth Henricus de Gandauo. These foure with other their complices, compiled a certaine booke against the begging order of friers, both Dominicans, and Franciscans, intituled, De periculis Ecclesiæ, containing fourteene chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirtie nine articles against the friers we haue already translated and expelled, pag. 291. Beside these thirtie nine articles, he other seuen articles moreouer to the said booke annexed, vnder the name of the students of Paris against the friers, pouring why the said friers ought not to be admitted into their societie. Which seuen articles because they are but short, I thought heere better to place, then to omit them.

Guil. de sancto Amore. Simon Iornalensis, Archidiac. de Fontibus, Henr. de Gandauo, Fuere eham of this against the friers.

## Certaine articles giuen out by the students of Paris, against the friers, why they should not be admitted to their societie.

Articles of the students of Paris against the friers.

FIrst we say, they are not to be admitted to the societie of our schole, but vpon out will and licence. For our companie or fellowship ought not to be coactiue, but voluntarie and free.

Secondly, we say they are not to be admitted, for so much as we of a priuiled, their communitie manifold waies to be hurtfull and inconuenious.

Thirdly, seeing they be of a diuers profession from vs (for they are called regular, and not scholastical) we therefore ought not to be ioyned and associate together in one scholastical office: For as much as the councell of Spaine doth say, Thou shalt not plough with an oxe, and with an asse together. Which is to say: Men of diuers professions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or kinding, for their studies and conditions be disagreeing and differered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

Concilium Hispan.

Fourthly, we all rme by the Apostle that they are not to be admitted, because they worke dissensions and offences: for so saith the Apostle, Rom. vlt. We desire you brethren, that ye obserue and take heed of such as make dissensions and offendicles about the doctrine which you haue learned by the Apostles, and auoid them. For such serue not the Lord, but their owne belly. Gloss. Some they flatter, some they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies. That through their sweete and pleasant words, and by their benedictions, they may deceiue the hearts of the simple. Gloss. That is, with their fine figured and trim couched words they set forth their owne traditions, wherwith they beguile the hearts of the simple innocents.

The friers make dissensions.

Fifthly, we say they are not to be admitted: For that we feare lest they be in the number of them, which go about and deuour mens houses. For they thrust in themselues into euery mans house, searching and sacking the consciences and states of all persons. And when they find cause to be seduced, as women: such they be circumuent, and leade them away from the counsels of their prelats, binding them either in act or otherwise from such vse are warned by the apostle to auoid.

Friers deuour mens houses. Penetrantes domos.

Sixthly, we say they are to be auoided: because we feare they are false prophets. Which being neither bishops, nor parish priests, nor yet their vicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the mind of the apostle, Rom. 10. saying: How shall they preach except they be sent? for else there appeareth in them no such great vertue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach vncalled. Seeing therefore that such are so dangerous to the church, they ought to be auoided.

Friers preach vncalled.

Seuenthly, we say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching and inquiring of other mens doings and spirituall demeanor. And yet be they neither Apostles, nor yet successours of the apostles, as bishops: nor of the number of the seuentie two disciples of the Lord: nor their successours, that is parish priests: nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherefore, seeing they liue so in no order by the sentence of the apostle we are commanded to auoid them. 2. Thessal. vlt. Where he saith: We admonish and denounce vnto you O brethren in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ: that is, as the Glosse saith (We command you by the authoritie of Christ) that you withdraw your selues from euerie brother, that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition, which you haue receiued of vs. & Luke vpon the common glosse of this place, and you shall find, that such are to be auoided till time they amend from so doing, &c.

Friers liue no order of life falling in the church.

Besides these articles aboue rehearsed, certaine propositions or conclusions were also propounded in the schooles of Paris the same time, solemnely to be disputed and defended against the friers: which in a briefe summe of words to collect, were these.

Certaine conclusions vnder Vniuersitie of Paris to be disputed of against the friers.

First, that the begging friers were not in the state of saluation.

Secondly, that they were bound to labor with their hands that could, and not to beg.

Thirdlie, that they ought not to exercise the office of preaching, or to heare the confessions of them that will come vnto them, although being licensed thereunto by the bishop of Rome, or by the Diocesan: for so much as the same is preiudiciall to the Parishens and Priests of the parishes.

All these foresaid articles and conclusions with the booke set forth by their Paris men; this pope Alexander the fourth condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his precepts to the French king, and also the Vniuersitie of Paris, in the fauour of the friers: willing and commanding the said friers to be restored to all their priuiledges and liberties, in as ample manner, as in pope Gregories time before.

Pope Alexander the fourth great fauorer of the friers.

Not long after pope Alexander the fourth, followed Clement the fourth, an. 1263. and sate three yeares. Who also gaue the priuiledge to the friers, beginning, Quidam temere, &c. In which priuiledge he condemneth them that say, that no man without licence of his curat or minister, ought to confesse him to the friers: or that a subiect ought to aske licence of their ministers so to do, which was against the canon Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c. made by pope Innocent the third, before recited.

Another priuiledge giuen to the friers by pope Clement the fourth.

Ex Clemen. Quicke iouers.

After this Clement, against came pope Martine the fourth, an. 1281. who renued againe the canon, Omnis vtriusque sexus, in the behalfe of the curats against the friers.

Pope Martin the fourth holdeth with the curats against the friers.

When pope Boniface the eighth began to sit, an. 1294. eight yeares, nine moneths. Who taking side with the friers, gaue to them another priuiledge, beginning, Supra Cathedram, &c. In the which priuiledge he licenseth the friers, that without licence of bicars of churches, they shall first present themselues to the prelats to be admitted: by whom if they be refused the second time, then they vpon speciall authoritie of this pope shall be priuiledged, without either bishop or curat, to preach, to burie, and to heare confessions, whosoeuer will come to them: notwithstanding all that was decreed by his predecessours before to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Pope Boniface holdeth with the friers against.

Ex Clement. sæpe. stit. Bonif. Super Cathedram.

By this pope Boniface a certaine Dominicke frier was made cardinall, named Nicolaus de Treuiso, and after the death of Boniface was made also pope, an. 1303. surnamed pope Benedictus 11. Who seeing the constitution of Boniface his predecessour, to breede dissension betweene the priests and friers, made another constitution, beginning, Inter cunctas, &c. reuoking the constitution of Boniface his predecessour. Upon which constitution of pope Benedict, Ioannes Monachus, making a glosse, treadeth also his other glosse made vpon the constitution of Boniface before.

Ex Clement. in- ter cunctas. Ioan. Monach. reuoketh his glosse.

Against this Benedictus the eleuenth, followed pope Clement the fifth, an. 1305. and sate nine yeares. Who in his generall councell holden at Vienna, reuoked the constitution of Benedictus his predecessour, and renued againe the former decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning, Dudum à Bonifacio 8. &c. Which constitution moreouer was confirmed afterward by pope Iohn the 22. an. 1316. Which pope also caused Ioannes de Poliaco to recant.

Pope Clement the fifth holdeth with the friers, and repeateth the confirmation of Benedictus. Ex Clemens. sæpe dudum.

Upon this variable diuersitie of the popes (one dissenting and repugning from another) rose among the Diuines and schoolemen in Vniuersities great matter of contention, as well in the Vniuersitie of Paris, as the Vniuersitie of Oxford about the begging friers. some holding one way, some another way. But especially fiue principall opinions be noted of learned men, who then disputing against the friers, were condemned for heretikes, and their assertions reproued.

Fiue diuers opinions of learned men in this age touching against the friers.

The first, was the opinion of them which defended, that the friers might not by the licence of the bishop of Rome and of the prelats, preach in parishes, and heare confessions. And of this opinion was Guliel. de sancto Amore, with his fellowes, who, as it is said, were condemned.

The second opinion.

The second opinion was this, that friers, although not by their owne authoritie, yet by priuiledge of the pope and of the bishop, might preach and heare confessions in parishes, but not not without licence of the parish priests. Of this opinion was Bernardus, gloseing vpon the canon, Omnis vtriusque sexus, & foresmentioned.

Bernardus super cap. Omnis vtriusque sexus.

The third opinion.

The third opinion was, that friers might preach and heare confessions without licence of the parish priests: but yet the said parishioners not withstanding were bound by the canon, Omnis vtriusque sexus, to repeate the same sinnes againe, if they had no other, to their owne proper curat: and of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de fontibus, Henricus de Gandauo, Ioannes Monachus cardin. Ioannes de Poliaco, which Ioannes de Poliaco, pope Iohn the 22. caused openly in Paris, to recant and retract.

Ioan. de Poliaco.

This Ioannes de Poliaco doctor of Diuinitie in Paris, being complained of by the friers for certaine articles or assertions, was sent for to the pope: where time and place being to him assigned, he in the audience of the pope and of fiue or six cardinals and other doctors, was straitly examined of his articles. To make the storie short, he at length submitting himself to

Ex libro fratrū Egidistarū.



to the authoritie of the terrible see of Rome: was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris. His assertions which he did hold, were these.

### The three assertions of Ioannes de Poliaco, which he was caused by the pope to recant at Paris.

John de Poliaco caused to recant by pope Iohn the 22.

The three assertions of Iohn de Poliaco against the friers.

His three assertions.

Wherof the first was, they which were confessed to friers, although hauing a generall licence to heare confessions; were bound to confesse againe their sins to their owne parish priest, by the constitution, Omnis vtriusque sexus, &c.

The second was, that the said constitution, Omnis vtriusque sexus, standing in his force, the pope could not make: but parishioners were bound once a yeare to confesse their sinnes to their priest. For the doing otherwise imporeth a contradiction in it selfe.

The third was, that the pope could not giue generall licence to heare confessions so, but that the parishioner so confessed was bound to reiterat the same confession made, vnto his owne curat. Which he proued by these places of the canon law: 25. quest. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Those things which be generall ordained for publike vtilitie, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacred Canons, none ought to kepe more then the bishop apostolicall, &c. Ibidem. Item, to alter or to ordaine any thing against the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authoritie or power, no not of the apostolicall see: Ibidem.

25. q. 1. Quæ ad perpetuam. Contra statuta patrum condere vel mutare aliquid ecclesiis quidem festis potest auctoritas.

The fourth opinion.

The fourth opinion was, that the friers by the licence of the pope and of the bishops might lawfully heare confessions, and the people might be of them confessed and absolued. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, conuenient, honest, and profitable, that once in the yeare they should be confessed to their curats (although being confessed before to the friers) because of the administration of sacraments, especially at Easter. Of which opinion was Gulielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo also held, not only to be conuenient, but also that they were bound so to do.

Gulielmus de monte Landuno. Henricus de Gandauo.

The fifth opinion was, that albeit the friers might at all times, and at Easter also, heare confessions as the curats did: yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter to confesse to the curats, then to the friers. And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now intreat.

The fifth opinion.

And thus haue we, as in a briefe summe, opened vnto you, what was the matter of contention betweene the friers and the churchmen. What popes made with the friers: and what popes made against them. Moreouer, what learned men disputed against them in Paris, and other places, and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the friers, stood in foure points. First preaching without licence of curats. Secondly, in hearing confessions. Thirdly, in burying. Fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

| Popes that maintained the friers, | | Popes that maintained curats, | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Were: Honorius. | 3 | Were: Innocentius. | 3 |
| Gregorius. | 9 | Innocentius. | 4 |
| Alexander. | 4 | Martinus. | 4 |
| Clemens. | 4 | Benedictus. | 11 |
| Boniface. | 8 | | |
| Clemens. | 5 | | |

### The learned men that disputed against the friers,

Were: Gulielmus de S. Amore. Bernardus super capitulum, Omnis vtriusque sexus. Godfridus de Fontibus. Henricus de Gandauo. Gulielmus de Landuno. Ioannes Monachus Cardin. Ioannes de Poliaco. Annachanus.

All these were condemned by the Popes, or else caused to recant.

These considerations and circumstances hitherto premised, for the more opening of this present cause of Armachanus

Armachanus cited vp to the pope by the friers.

sustained against the idle beggerly sects of friers, in whom the reader may well perceiue antichrist plainly raigning and fighting against the church: now remaineth, that as I haue before declared the trauels and troubles of diuers godly learned men in the church striuing against the said friers, continually from the time of Guliel. de Amore, hitherto: So now it remaineth, that for as much as this our Armachanus laboured and in the same cause sustained the like conflict with the same antichrist: we likewise collect and open his reasons and arguments hitherto in the consistorie and in the audience of the pope himselfe, wherewith he maintaineth the true doctrine and cause of the church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these friers after subtill waies of hypocrisie, to corrupt the sincere simplicitie of Christs holy faith, & perfect Testament. The which reasons and arguments of his, with the whole processe of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the vtilitie of the church, more ample and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friers, such subtill poison to lurke, more pernicious and hurtfull to the religion of Christ and soules of christians, then all men peraduenture do consider.

Ex libro certa- minis Defensor. articulorum.

The protestation of Armachanus.

Thus Armachanus ioyning with the clergie of England, disputed and contended with the friers here of England, an. 1358, about a double matter. Wherof the one was concerning confession and other exchats which the friers intruded in parish churches against the curats, and publike pastors of churches. The other was concerning wilfull beggerie and pouertie, which the friers then take vpon them, not vpon any necessitie, being otherwise strong enough to worke for their liuing, but only vpon a wilfull and affected profession. For the which cause the friers appealed him by to the court of Rome. The occasion whereof thus stode.

It befell, that Armachanus vpon certaine businesse coming vp to London, found there certaine Doctors disputing and contending about the begging of Christ our Sauiour. Whereupon (he being greatly urged and requested oft times thereunto) at request, made seuen or eight sermons vnto the people at London, wherein he vttered nine conclusions. Wherof the first and principall conclusion was, touching the matter of the friers priuiledges, in hearing confessions. His conclusion was this.

First, that if a doubt or question be moued for hearing confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen: The parish church is to be preferred before the church of the friers.

Secondly, being demanded whether is to be taken to heare the confession of the parishioners, the parson, or curat, or the frier) it is to be said, rather the parson or the curat.

Thirdly, that our Lord Jesus Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, but not that he loued pouertie, or did count to be poore.

Fourthly, that our Lord Jesus Christ did neuer beg, wilfully professing to be poore.

Fifthly, that our Lord Jesus Christ did neuer teach wilfullie to beg, or to profesle wilfull beggerie.

The first conclusion was, that Christ our Lord did contrarie, that men ought not wilfully or purposely without meere necessitie to beg.

Seuenthly, that there is neither wisdome nor holines, for any man to take vpon him wilfull beggerie, perpetually to be obserued.

The eighth, that it is not agreeing to the rule of the obseruants, or friers minorits, to obserue wilfull pouertie.

The last conclusion was, touching the Bull of pope Alexander the fourth, which condemned the libell of the maters of Paris: that the same Bull touched none of these seuen last conclusions.

Upon these nine conclusions premised, Armachanus began appealed, cited, and brought vp to the presence of the pope; began to proue the same his foresaid conclusions or assertions vnder protestation made, that his intention was not to affirme any thing contrarie to the christian faith, or to the catholike doctrine, or that should be preiudiciall or destructiue to the orders of the begging friers, such as were approued by holy church, or confirmed by the high bishops: But only his intention was, to haue the said orders reduced to the puritie of their first institution. Concerning which matter, he desired his reasons to be heard; which if they should be found weaker then the reasons of the friers, the punishment should be his. If otherwise, that then the friers iustly to be rewarded for their slanderous obtrectation and publike counterfeites, and intricate dealings both priuatlie and publikely wrought and fought against him: And so taking for his theme: Nolite iudicare secundum faciem, sed iustum iudicium iudicate, &c. That is: Iudge not after the outward face, but iudge true iudgement, &c. Iohn seuenth: he entreth to the probation of his conclusions: First beginning with the former conclusion, that the parish church was a place more fit and conuenient, for the confessions or burials of the parishioners to be vsed, then any other exempt church or place of the friers. Which he proued by three causes: First for the more sureuesse or certaintie to the conscience of the parishioners confessed. Secondly, for the

Ex libro certa- minis Defensor. articulorum.

The theme.

Iohn 7.

The first conclusion propounded.

Probation.

Certaintie.

Sinister. Commodities.

more vtilitie and profit of him. Thirdly, for the lesse inconuenience arising by confessions taken in parish churches, then in friers churches.

The first part of the first conclusion proued.

As touching the first, for the more assuredneslie and certainty, thus he argued vpon the place of Deut. 12. Into that place, which the Lord your God shall assigne of all your tribes, to place his name and dwell therein: thither shall you resort, to offer vp your oblations, tithes, &c. And in the same place God saith; See thou offer not thy sacrifice in euery place that liketh thee: but in that place alone which the Lord hath elect in one of the tribes; and thou shalt do in all things as I command thee.

Deut. 12.

Luke. 4. 5.

Also vpon the words of Luk. 4. and 5. which be these: Whosoeuer sinneth of ignorance, shall offer to the priest, and he shall pray for him, and he shall be forgiuen, &c. Vpon these places thus he argued: that for as much as the Sacraments of the church are to be frequented and vsed in no other place, but only in that, which by God himselfe peculiarly is assigned and commanded for the same: And seeing that elect place in the law representeth the parish churches: neither can it be proued that the friers church is the place prescribed of God, but only permitted by the bishops of Rome: hee concluded therefore, that parish churches for confessions and burials, were more sure and certaine to the conscience of parishioners, then the exempt places of the friers.

The first part of the first conclusion confirmed by another reason.

By another reason also he confirmed the same, for that the parish church commonly standeth free from the popes interdict, to doe not the churches of the friers. As which stand not so cleare, but that they are vnder suspition and doubt of the popes interdict: By the decretall. De sepulturis in fexto cap. Animarum periculis. In which Decretall, all such conuentu Animarum periculis. all churches and churchyards of friers be interdicted, which do induce any person or persons, either by oath or promisse made, to chuse their burying places in their churches, as commonlie the friers are reported to do. For else what parishioner would forsake his owne church and parish where his auncestors do lie, to be buried among the friers, if the friers did not induce them so to do?

The second part of the first conclusion confirmed.

Moreouer, for the second part, concerning the vtilitie of the place, that he confirmed doublelie. First, for that confession made within the parish church, hath a double merit of obedience, both for obeying the commandement of God in opening his confession: (Thus he speaketh according to the blindnesse of that time, for that auricular confession hath any commandement of God, cannot be proued:) and also in obeying the commandement of God in obserning the place by him appointed, the which second merit of obedience lacketh in the friers part. Secondly, he proued it to be greater vtilitie for a parishioner to confesse him in his parish church, then with the friers: Because commonly the number of chiefest people praying, is ten times more in parish churches. Whereby is to be thought, that each singuler person may better be helped through more prayers, then in the Oratories of the friers, &c.

Another confirmation of the second part of the first article.

Further, as touching the third part of the first conclusion or article he proued, that it had fewer incommodities to resort euerie man to his parish church then to the friers: for that both great vtilitie, and more certaintie (as hath been proued) did insue thereof: which two being taken away, (as muste needs, in resorting to the friers church) then two speciall commodities should be hindered, and so great incommodities thereof should follow. And thus much for the place of the friers.

The third part of the first conclusion proued.

Now to the second conclusion or article, touching the person of the frier, and of the ordinarie curat. If the question be, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of Ecclesiasticall administration: the opinion of Armachanus was, that the ordinarie curat was better then the extraordinarie frier, and that for the three foreslaid respects, to wit: for certaintie or assurance, for vtilitie, and for incommoditie to be auoided.

The second conclusion or article.

Three reasons as causes to be proued.

First, that it is more safe and sure for the parishioners to resort to their ordinarie or parish priest, hee argued by three reasons: first because the person of the lawfull ordinarie or priests is expressely of God commanded, where the person of the frier is not, and therefore is forbid. Secondly, because the parishioner may more trust to his ordinarie curat, as luke is more bound and obliged to prouide and to be carefull for him, then any other extraordinarie person. Thirdly, because in the person of the ordinarie curat, commonly there is no doubt of any interdict to bind him: whereas contrarie in the friers behalfe, there is good matter to doubt, whether he stand bound vnder the popes censure of excommunication or not, and that for diuers causes, as by the cap. Religiosi, in Clementinis de sepulturis. Where is decreed, That all such religious men, which hauing no benefices or cure of soules, presume to impropriat vnto them glebe land or other tithes due vnto churches, and not appertaining to them (by any manner of colour or fraudulent circumuention) do incurre the sentence of excommunication, ipso facto. Also by another cap. Religiosi, De priuilegijs, in Clement. Where it is said, that all such religious men are excommunicated De facto, whosoeuer do absolue any, against whom the sentence of excommunication hath been denounced by statute prouincial, or synodall: as it is commonly said, that the friers hearing mens confessions are accustomed to do, in losing them whom the censure of prelats or their officials haue bound. Whereof the said Armachanus bringeth forth example of his owne diocesse: For I (said he) in mine owne diocesse of Armachan, haue as good as two thousand vnder me, who by the censure of excommunication cuerie yeare, denounced against wilfull murtherers, common theeues, burners of mens houses, and such like malefactours, stand accursed: Of all which number notwithstanding, scarcely fourteene there be, which come to me or to any about me for their absolution. And yet all they receiue the Sacraments as other do, and all because they be absolued, or because they faine themselues to be absolued by none other then by friers: who in so doing, are proued to be vnder the danger of excommunication, both the friers, and also the parishioners, if they knowing thereof do consent to their errour.

Cap. Religiosi. De sepult. Clementi.

Also out of the said Clementines, by three other places in one chapter, hee proued the friers to bee excommunicat, to wit in the chapter Cupientes, De penis in Clement. In the which chapter: First, all such religious men are excommunicat, which in their Sermons presume to withdraw their hearers from their tithes paying, due vnto churches. Secondly, in the said chapter all such friers are suspended from preaching, and so are excommunicat, which within a certaine time did not make a concion to such as come to their confessions, in paying their tithes truely and duely to the church. Thirdlie, in the foresaid chapter also, all such religious persons be bound in excommunication, which induce men by any manner of meanes, either by bond, oath, or promise, to chuse their burials within their churches, or not to change the same, if they haue made anie such promise before. In all which three points, hee proued the friers to be culpable and excommunicate.

Cap. Cupientes de penali. Clementi.

The harmes that come to the world by the friers, declared.

The friers prohibited to be excommunicated by the popes law.

Moreouer, for the more sure way for the parishioners to resort to their appointed curats, then to the friers, hee argued thus: For that the poorely priestly curat being better acquainted with his owne parishioner then is a stranger, can better iudge of the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister to him due physicke of penance for the same, and also will bee more carefull in curing him.

Another reason that the parishioners may more safely goto his curat, then to the friers.

Example of the friers theft in Oxford.

Thus the first part of the second conclusion or article being proued and argued, Armachanus procedeth further to proue the second part: that it is better for the parishioners to leaue the friers, and to resort to their owne pastors. Which he proued by eight or nine reasons.

The second part of the second conclusion proued.

Friers hinderers of Vniuersities.

First, for that the ordinarie pastor, is properly appointed of God vnto that ministerie: whereas the frier is but only permitted of man thereunto.

Secondly, for that in resorting to the ordinarie of the parish, is a double reward of merit, whereas in comming to the friers there is but one.

Thirdly, because the ordinarie is more bound to his owne flocke, and is to be thought to be more tender and carefull ouer them, then a stranger.

Fourthly, because to resort to the person of his owne ordinarie, there is more assurance and certaintie (as is aboue declared) then to another.

30. thousand students in Oxforde in the time of Armachanus.

Fiftly, because (as Innocentius, cap. Si animarum, saith) the comming to the curat or pastor ordinarie, is more easie and light, both in the night and in necessitie.

Innocent cap. Si animarum.

The friers a great cause of decay of learning.

Sixtly, for so much as the parishioner must needs come to his curat at sometime, and especially being in necessitie; it is expedient and profitable, that his former life before were knowne to him, rather then to the other.

Seuenthly, for that (as the said Innocentius affirmeth) it striketh more shame of his sinne to the parishioner to be confessed to his curat whom he seeth euery day, then to a frier vnknowne.

Bookes not to be gotten but by the friers.

Eighthly, because it is more profitable, especially for them that liue in matrimonie, that he which heareth the confession of the one, should heare also the confession of the other. So that one hearing the confession of them both as a spirituall physitian taking of two cures in one bodie, may better know what spirituall counsell is to be ministred to the one, after he hath cured the other, &c.

Example what lacke of bookes commeth by the friers.

The friers guiltie in 3. faults. 1. Disobedience. 2. Auarice. 3. Pride.

These things thus proued before, then Armachanus consequently procedeth to the third part: Arguing, how that greater detriments and inconueniences doe ensue by confessions, burials and other Ecclesiasticall functions exercised by the friers, then by pastors and secular curats, seruing in parishes. About the which matter, the said Armachanus learnedly and worthily inferreth a long discourse, proouing and inferring how pernicious these orders of friers are to the whole state of the church: And what mischiefe commeth by the priuiledges of certaine popes, which haue priuiledged them to intermeddle in the office and function of ecclesiasticall ministers, to preach and to take almes, and tithes of the people, and impropriations from the church. All which his reasons and arguments to proue the same as he hath left them in writing, it would make a matter of a large booke.

The third part of the second conclusion proued.

Armachanus charged the friers with disobedience.

Notwithstanding, because it shall not be vnfruitfull both for the time present and the posteritie, to know the manifold detriments and discommodities receiued by these friers, and to know what great benefit God hath done for vs in vnburdening the church of this wretched generation: And especially because the booke of Armachanus is rare otherwise to bee found, intituled, Defensorium Curatorum: I haue briefly therefore contracted out of the same, certaine of his reasons, such as seemed most appertaining and most worthie of noting.

Defensorium Curatorum. Armachani.

And first, alleaging the authoritie of Innocent the fourth, he importeth foure inconueniences rising by the friers, which be these: Contempt of the people against their ordinaries, decreasing of deuotion, taking away of thinns from the people by confessing to the friers, retaining of oblations, such as the people are wont to giue at their confession and burials, and which by right belong to the parish churches.

Item, by the said priuiledges of the popes, granted to the friers, many other great enormities do rise. As first, because thereby, the true shepheards doe not know the faces of their flocke.

Cap. Dudum.

Item, by the occasion of these priuiledges giuen to the friers, great contention, and sometimes blouses rise betweene the friers and secular curats, about tithes, impropriations, and other annales.

Item, by the occasion of the foresaid priuiledges, diuers young men as well in Vniuersities as in their fathers houses, are allured craftily by the friers their confessors, to enter their orders: from thence afterward, they cannot get out though they would, to the great griefe of their parents, and no lesse repentance to the young men themselues. The example whereof, Armachanus in the said his trentise inferreth, of a certaine substantiall English man being with him at his Inne in Rome: who hauing a sonne at the Vniuersitie of Oxford, which was enticed by the friers to enter into their order, could by no meanes after release him out. But when his father and his mother would come vnto him, they could not bee suffered to speake with him, but vnder the friers cuckoldie. Whereas the scripture commandeth plainely, that who so stealeth a-ny man and selleth him (being thereof conuicted) shall bee put to death: Exod. 21. And for the same cause, the father was compelled to come vp to Rome to seeke remedie for his sonne. And thus, saith Armachanus, it may appeare what damage and detriments come by these friers vnto the common people.

Another proofe that the friers hinder the vniuersities.

And no lesse inconuenience and danger also by the said friers, risech to the clergie: for so much, as lay men seeing their children vnto to bee stollen from them in the Vniuersities by the friers, do refuse therefore to send them to their studies; rather willing to keepe them at home to their occupation, or to follow the plough, then so to bee circumuented and defeated of their sonnes at the Vniuersitie, as by daily experience (saith he) doth manifestlie appeare. For whereas in my time (saith Armachanus) there were in the Vniuersitie of Oxford 30000. Students: now are there not to be found 6000. The occasion of which so great decay, is to be ascribed none other cause, but to this circumuention onelie of the friers aboue mentioned.

Another proofe.

Moer and besides this, another inconuenience as great or greater, the said Armachanus inferred to procede by the friers though the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all manner faculties and liberall sciences, which thus hee declared. For that these begging friers through their priuiledges obtained of the popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to burie; and through their charters of inspeximus, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craning, catching and intermeding with church matters, that no booke could come of any science, either of Diuinitie, Law, or Physicke, but they were both able and readie to buy it vp. So that euery conuent hauing a great librarie full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of bookes, and being so many conuents within the realme, and in euery conuent so many friers increasing daily more and more: by reason thereof, it came to passe, that very few bookes or none at all remaine for other students. Which by his owne experience hee thus testifieth, saying: that hee himselfe sent for vnto the Vniuersitie store of his owne priests or chaplains, who sending him word againe that they could neither finde a Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of diuinitie meet for their studie, therefore were minded to returne home to their countrie: and one of them, hee was sure, was returned by this time againe.

Another proofe.

Furthermore, as he hath proued hitherto, the friers to be hurtfull both to the laitie, and to the clergie: so proceeding farther, hee proueth them to bee hurtfull also to themselues. And that in three points, as incurring the vice of disobedience against God, against their owne rule: the vice of auarice: and the vice of pride. The probation of all which points he prosecuted in a long discourse.

Another proofe.

First (saith he) they are disobedient to the law of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, ore, nor asse, nor any thing that is his: In so they procure the popes letters to preach in churches, and to take burials from churches. Which licence annexed withall to receiue the annales which rise of the same, which properly belongeth to the right of parish priests.

Item, they are disobedient to this rule of the gospell: So do to other, as thou wouldest haue done to thee.

Friers disobedient to the law of scripture.

Item, they be disobedient against their owne rule, which being founded vpon strait pouertie and beggerie, this licence obtained for them to require necessaries for their labors of the people, is repugning against the same foundation.

Item, they be disobedient to the rule of the scripture, which saith: Let no man take honor vnto him, except hee bee called, as Aaron: Also saith S. Paul, how shall they preach, vnlesse they be sent? And how obserue they this rule of obedience, who professing to keepe the perfection of the Gospell, yet contrarie to the Gospell, procure to themselues priuiledges to run before they be sent?

Item, to their owne rule they are disobedient: For where their chapter saith, that if any will take vpon them this order, and will come to our brethren; let our brethren first find them to the prouincials to bee examined of the catholicke faith and sacraments of the church, &c. Contrarie whereunto the friers haue procured a priuiledge, that not onelie the prouincials, but other inferiors also may take vnto them indifferentlie, whom they can catch: so farre without all examination, that almost at this day there is no notable house of friers, wherein is not either a whole, or halfe a count of lads and boyes vnder tenne yeare old, being circumuented, which neither can skill of the creed nor Sacraments.

Friers disobedient to their own profession.

Againe, the rule of Francisse saith, that his brethren Ministers or seruants must obserue not to preach in the Dioces of any bishop, without the consent of the bishop. And moreouer, the said Francisse in his testament saith: that if he had as much wisdome as Salomon, and found poore secular priests in the parishes where they dwell: yet he would not presume to preach without their will, and also would feare, loue, and honor them, and all other as his maisters, and so they be. Hactille. Against which rule, how the friers do disobay, how little they reuerence bishops or secular priests; what priuiledges, exemptions, and immunities they procure against them, the world may see and iudge.

Item, when none may be admitted to preach, or to heare confessions, vnlesse they be entred into orders, and seeing by the common law of the church, none must bee admitted into holy orders, except hee haue sufficient title of liuing and cloathing: the friers therefore hauing no such title (being wilfull beggers) doe disobay in both respects, that is, both in entring into such orders without conuenient title, and in exercising the office of preaching without such lawfull orders.

Moreouer, the foresaid Francisse in his testament commandeth thus: I command (saith he) firmely by vertue of obedience, to all and singuler my brethren wheresoeuer they be: that none of them presume to obtain in the court of Rome any letter or writing, either by himself or by any other means, neither for the church nor for any other place, nor vnder any colour of preaching, nor yet for the persecuting of their owne bodies, &c. Against which testament of Francisse, the Franciscanes in procuring their priuiledges from the bishop of Rome, haue incurred manifest disobedience, as all the world may see. Neither will this obiection serue them, because the pope hath dispensed with Francisse rule. For if the ordinance of Francisse, as he saith, came from God, (and so should God haue three testaments) how then can the pope repeale his precept, or dispence with his rule, when by the rule of the law, Par in parem non habet imperium?

Armachanus charged the friers with auarice.

Secondly, concerning the vice of auarice, manifestly it may be proued vpon them (saith Armachanus:) for els seeing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, as to minister the sacrament at Easter, to visite the sicke with extreme vnction, to baptise children, to wed, with such other, when in Lambeth as great deuotion: how then happeneth that these friers making no labor for these, onely procure to themselues priuiledges to preach in churches, to heare confessions, and to receiue licence to burie from parish churches, but because theres is lucre and gaine in these to be looked for, in the other is none?

Another proofe.

Which also may appeare by this: for other wise if it were for mere deuotion onely, that they procure licence to burie from parish churches, and to preach: why then haue they procured withall licence to take offerings, oblations and legacies for their funerals? And for their preaching, why haue they annexed also licence to require and take of the people necessaries for their labour, but only auarice is the cause thereof?

Another proofe.

Likewise for hearing of confessions, when all good men haue enough to know their owne faults, and nothing lift to heare the faults of other: it is probable to bee supposed by this their priuiledge of hearing all mens confessions, that they would neuer haue bin so desirous of procuring that priuiledge, were it not that these friers did seeke some auricelle, and gaine to hang vpon the same.

Another proofe.

Item, where the rule of frier Francisse forbiddeth them to companie with any women, to enter into Nunneries, to bee godfathers and gossips to men and women: how commeth it, that they contrarie to their rule, enter into the secret chambers of quenes and other women, and made to know the most secret counsels of their doings, but that auarice and commodite

Armachanus charged with a friers envy vnde.

communibly haue so blinded their eies, and smered their hearts.

Thirdly, that the friers fall into the vice of pride and ambition, the said Armachanus prouued thus:

Ex libro Armachani cui titulus, Defensorium Curatorum.

Ego sicke or to pearce any high place in the church, is a point of pride and ambition. Chrysost. in opere perfecto: Nunquam sine ambitione desideratur primatus in Ecclesia.

The friers sicke and procure a high place in the church.

Ergo, the friers are proud and ambitious.

The minor he proueth: To haue the state of preaching and hearing confessions, is in the church a state of honor.

The friers sicke and haue procured the state of preaching and hearing confessions.

Ergo, The friers sicke and procure an high place in the church, &c.

The 3. conclusion by Armach.

Aristot. Ethic. lib. 2.

His third conclusion was, that the Lord Christ in his humane conuersation was alwaies poore, nor so that hee loued or desired pouertie for it selfe, &c. Wherein in this is to be noted, that Armachanus differed not from the friers in this that Christ was poore, and that hee loued pouertie: but herein stood the difference, in maner of louing, that is, whether he loued pouertie for it selfe, or not. Wherein the foresaid Armachanus vsed foure probations.

First, forsomuch as to bee poore, is nothing else but to bee miserable: and seeing no man coueteth to bee in miserie for it selfe: therefore he concluded, that Christ desired not pouertie for it selfe.

His secondreason was deriued out of Aristotle. Nothing (saith he) is to be loued for it selfe, but that from which (all commodities being seuered which follow thereupon) is voluntarilie sought and desired. But take from pouertie all respect of commodities following the same, it would bee sought neither of God nor man. Ergo, he concluded, Christ loued not pouertie for it selfe.

Thirdlie against: No effect of fame, said he, is to be loued for it selfe. But pouertie is the effect of fame. Ergo, pouertie was not loued of Christ for it selfe.

Fourthly, Item, no priuation of the thing that is good, is to be loued for it selfe. Pouertie is the priuation of the thing that is good, that is, of riches (for God himselfe is principalie rich:) Ergo, pouertie for it selfe was not loued of Christ.

The 4. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The fourth conclusion was, that Christ our Lord and Sauiour did neuer beg wilfullie. Which he prooued by sundrie reasons.

1 First, for that Christ in so doing should breake the law, which saith: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbors house, his wife, his seruant, his mayd, his oxe, his asse, or any thing that is his: Exod. xx. Into the danger of which commandement, hee that beggeth voluntarily must needes incurre.

2 Item, if Christ had begged voluntarie he should haue committed against another commandement, which saith: There shall be no begger, no needie person among you, &c. Deut. 6.

3 Item, Christ in so doing should haue transgressed the emperours law, vnder which he would himselfe be subiect (as appeareth by giuing, and bidding tribute to bee giuen to Cesar) forasmuch as the same emperours law saith: There shall no valiant begger be suffered in the citie.

4 Item, if Christ had been a wilfull begger, hee had broke the law of louing his neighbour: whom he had vered, hauing no need. For whose without need asketh ouermuch of his neighbour, both put vere him, in such sort as he would not be vered himselfe. Which Christ would neuer doe.

5 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, hee had moued slander thereby to his owne gospell, which hee with miracles did confirme. For then they that said his miracle is in feeding 5000. in the wilderne, &c. Would haue thought much with themselues how that miracle had bin wrought, if he in feeding other, either could not, or would not feed himselfe.

6 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, then he had done that which himselfe condemneth by Paul: for so we read, 1. Tim. 6. That Paul condemneth them, which esteeme pietie to be gain and lucre. Which all they doe that vnder the colour of pietie, hunt or seke for gaine, when otherwise they need not.

7 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, he had offended in declaring an vntruth, in so doing. For he that knoweth in his mind, that he needeth not indeed that thing which in word he asketh of other, declareth in himselfe an vntruth, as who in word pretendeth to bee otherwise then he is in very deede; which Christ without doubt neuer did, nor would euer doe.

8 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, that is, hauing no true need thereunto: then had he appeared either to bee an hypocrite, seeming to bee that he was not, and to lacke when he did not: or else to be a true begger in very deed, not able to suffice his necessitie. For he is a true begger indeede, which being constrained by mere necessitie, is forced to aske of other, that which hee is not able to giue to himselfe. But neither these two agreeth in Christ.

9 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of S. Clement his disciple, finding her to stand among the beggers, whom hee thought to bee strong enough to labour with her handes for her liuing: if she in so doing had followed the example of Christ?

Matt. 5. Gala. 1.

10 Item, if Christ had begged wilfullie: And if the friers do rightlie define perfection of the Gospell by wilfull pouertie: then was Clement S. Peters successor to blame, which laboured so much to remoue away beggerie and pouertie from among all them, that were conuerted to the faith of Christ: and is specially for the same commended of the church.

Clements contrary vnto the friers.

11 Againe, why did the said Clement, writing to James bishop of Jerusalem, command so much to obay the doctrine and examples of the Apostles: who as hee theweth in that epistle, had no begger nor needie person amongst them, if christian perfection (by the friers philosophie) standeth in wilfull beggerie?

Act. 4. & 5. cap. 2.

12 Item, if Christ the high Priest had begged wilfullie, then did the holie church erre withinglie, which ordained that none without sufficient title of liuing and clothing, should bee admitted to holie orders. And moreouer, when it is said in the canonicall decrees, that the bishop or clerke that beggeth, bringeth shame vpon the whole order of the clergie.

13 Item, if Christ had wilfullie begged, then the examples of wilfull pouertie had pertained to the perfection of christian life, which is contrarie to the old law: which commaunded the priests (which liued then after the perfection of the law) to haue possessions and tithes, to keepe them from beggerie.

14 Item, if Christ did wilfullie begge, then beggery were a point of christian perfection. And so the church of God should erre, in admitting such patrimonies and donations giuen to the church, and so in taking from the prelats their perfection.

15 Again, that will these friers which put their perfection in begging, say to Sprlchildech; who without begging or wilfull pouertie, was the high Priest of God, and king of Salem, and prefigured the order and Priesthood of Christ?

16 And if beggerie be such a perfection of the Gospell (as the friers say) how commeth it, that the holy Ghost giuen to the Apostles, which should lead them into all truth, told them no word of this beggerly perfection, neither is there any word mentioned therof throughout the whole Testament of God?

17 Moreouer, where the prophet saith, I neuer did see the iust man forsaken, nor his seede goe begging their bread: how standeth this with the suffice of Christ, which was most perfectly iust, if he should be forsaken, or his seede goe begge their bread? And then how agreeth this with the abominable doctrine of friers Franciscan, which put their perfection in wilfull begging?

18 Finallie, doe we not read that Christ sent his disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bid them salute no man by the way? Meaning that they should begge nothing of no man? Did not the same Christ also labour with his handes, vnder Joseph? S. Paul likewise, did he not labour with his handes, rather then hee would burden the Church of the Corinthians? And where now is the doctrine of the friers, which putteth state of perfection in wilfull begging?

The 5. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The fift conclusion of Armachanus against the friers was this: that Christ neuer taught any man wilfully to beg, which he prooued thus: It is written, Acts 1. Christ began to doe and to teach. If Christ therefore, which did neuer wilfullie begge himselfe, as hath been prooued, had taught men otherwise to doe; then his doing and teaching had not agreed together.

Item, if Christ which neuer begged himselfe wilfullie, had taught men this doctrine of wilfull begging contrarie to his owne doing; he had giuen suspition of his doctrine, and minished slander of the same, as hath been prooued in the fourth conclusion before.

Moreouer, in so teaching, he had taught contrarie to the emperours iust law, which expresly forbiddeth the same.

The 6. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The sixth conclusion of Armachanus against the Friers was, that our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth vs, that we should not begge wilfullie, which hee prooueth by seuen or eight reasons.

First, where it is written, Luk. 14. When thou makest a feast call the poore, weake, lame, and blind; and thou shalt be blessed: for they haue not wherewith to reward thee againe.

To this also pertaineth the decree of the apostle, 2. Thes. 3. He that will not worke, let him not eate. Furthermore, the same Apostle addeth in the same place: For you haue vs for ensample, how we were burdenous to no man, neither did we eate our bread freele, but with labour and wearinesse, toiling both day and night, and all because we would not burthen you, &c.

Item, where wee reade in the scripture, the slothfull man reprehended, Prou. 6. Why sleepest thou O sluggard? thy pouertie and beggery is comming vpon thee like an armed man, &c. And againe in the same booke of Prouerbs: The slothfull man saith the scripture for cold would not go to the plough, therefore he shall begge in summer, and no man shall giue him, &c. Also in the said booke of Prouerbs, last chapter; the diligent labouring woman is commended, whose fingers are exercised about the rocke and spindle. And all these places make against the wilfull begging of sturdie friers.

5 Item, frier Francille their owne founder in his owne testament



The rule of frier Francis.

testament saith: And I haue laboured with mine owne handes, and will labour, and will that all my brethren shall labor and liue of their labour, whereby they may support themselues in an honest meane. And they that cannot worke, let them learne to worke, not for any couetousnesse to receiue for their labour, but for example of good works, and to auoid idlenesse. And when the price of their labour is not giuen them, let them resort to the Lords table, and aske their alms from doore to doore, &c. Thus much in his testament. And in his rule hee saith: Such brethren to whom the Lord hath giuen the gift to labour, let them labour faithfullie and deuoutlie, &c. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, how those friers with their wilfull begging, dare transgresse the rule and obedience of frier Francis their great grandfathers testament.

8. Item, if Christ at any time did begge or did lacke, it was more because hee would vse a miracle in his owne person, then because he would beggo wilfullie: as when hee sent Peter to the sea to find a groat in the fishes mouth. Which thing pet he thought rather to doe, then to beg the groat of the people, which he might some haue obtained.

7. Item, by diuers other his examples, hee seemeth to teach the same, as where he saith: The workman is worthie of his hire. Also, the workeman is worthie of his meate, Matth. 10. Luke 10. And when he spake to Zache, that hee would turne into his house. And so likewise in Bethanie and all other places he euer vsed rather to burden his friends then to beg of another, vnacquainted.

8. Item, with plaine precept thus hee sendeth forth his disciples, willing them not to go from house to house, Luke 10. So as friers vse now to goe. Many other Scriptures there be, which reproue begging: as where it is said: The fote of a fole is swift to the house of his neighbour, Eccle. 29. And in another place: My child (saith hee) see thou want not in the time of thy life; for better it is to die then to lacke: Eccles. 21.

9. Item, where Christ counselling the young man, bad him go and sell that he had and giue to the poore and follow him if hee would bee perfect: doth not there call him to wilfull begging, but called him to follow him, which did not beg wilfullie.

The seuenth conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The seuenth conclusion of Armachanus is: that no wise nor true holy man can take vpon him wilfull pouertie to bee obserued alwaies: which he prooueth by foure reasons.

First, that wilfull beggerie was reproued both by the doctrine of Christ and of the Apostles, as in the conclusion before hath been declared.

2. Item, a man in taking vpon him wilfull beggerie, in so doing should lead himselfe into temptation, which were against the Lords prayer. Forasmuch as Salomon, 30 Prouerb. 30. saith: O Lord, beggerie and great riches giue me not, but onely sufficiencie to liue vpon: lest if I haue too much, I bee driuen to denie thee, and say: who is the Lord. Again, if I haue too little, I be forced thereby to steale, and periure the name of my God. Wherefore saith Eccles. 27. For need many haue offended. And therefore they that chuse wilfull pouertie, take to them great occasion of temptation.

Wilfull beggerie not to be prooued.

3. Item, they that take wilfull pouertie vpon them when they need not, induce themselues voluntarily to breake the commandement of God: Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, &c. Againe, where it is commanded, there shall be no begger among you, &c.

4. Item, hee that taketh vpon him needlesse and wilfullie to beg, maketh himselfe vnapt to receiue holy orders, hauing (as is said) no sufficient title thereunto, according to the lawes of the church.

The eight conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

The eight conclusion of this matter is: That it is not agreeing to the rule of the friers obserued, to obserue wilfull beggerie. Which saith he) may bee prooued; for that frier Francis, both in his rule, and in his Testament, being left to his Franciscans, both plainely preferre labour before begging.

Touching this booke of the masters of Paris condemned, loke pag. 360.

The ninth conclusion of Armachanus. Touching this booke of the masters of Paris condemned.

The last conclusion of this matter is: That the bull of pope Alexander the 4. which condemneth the booke of the masters of Paris, impugneth none of these conclusions premised. For the proofe thereof, he thus inferred.

Ex Clement.

Gaul. gest. anno.

Pope Nicolas the fifth reuiueth by the bull of pope Alexander the fourth.

1. First, that pope John the 24. in his constitution, beginning thus, Quia quorundam, affirmeth expresly, how pope Nicolas the 3. renoked and called backe the said bull of pope Alexander the 4. and all other writings of his: touching all such articles, which in the same foresaid constitution of this pope John hee contained and declared. Wherein also he declared, how strait the pouertie of the friers ought to bee, which they call wilfull pouertie.

2. Item, it is manifest and notorious to all men, how the said pope Nicolas the 3. in his declaration theweth, how the Friers both ought to labour with their handes; and how moreouer the said friers ought not to preach within the diocese of any bishop, where ouer they be resided. Which being so, the conclusion appeareth, that the bull of pope Alexander the fourth, as touching these articles, is void and of none effect. Besides the which articles, there is nothing else in the said bull of Alexander (that I remember) which impugneth any of these conclusions premised.

Many things (said he) I had beside these, both to obiect and to answere against to the same: and to confirme more

The end and conclusion of this oration of Armachanus before the pope. Ex defensorio curatorum.

## Notes to be obserued in this former Oration of Armachanus.

Notes to be obserued.

BY this Oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, thus made before pope Innocent and his cardinals, diuers and sundry things there be for the vilitie of the Church worthy to be obserued. First, what troubles and vexations came to the church of Christ by these friers. Also what persecution followeth after by the meanes of them, against so many learned men and true seruants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrarietie was among the popes, and how they could not agree among themselues about the friers. Fourthlie, what pestiferous doctrine, subuerting wlneere the testament of Iesus Christ. Fiftly, what decay of ministers in Christs church, as appareth, pag. 379. Sixtly, what robbing and circumuenting of mens children, as appareth, pag. 379. Seuenthly, what decay of Vniuersities, as appeareth by Oxford, pag. 379. Eighlie, what damage to learning and lacke of bookes to students came by these friers, as appeareth, pag. 379. Ninthly, to what pride vnder colour of fained humilitie; to what riches, vnder diffamed pouertie they grew vnto, here is to be seene. In so much that at length through their subtile and most dangerous hypocrisie they crept vp to be lords, archbishops, cardinals, and at last also Chancellors of realms, yea and of most secret counsell with kings and quecnes, as appeareth, pag. 379.

Contrarietie among the popes.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the church to be marked: that forsomuch as these friers (with their new found testament of frier Francis) not being contented with the testament of God in his sonne Christ, began to spring the same time, when as Satan was prophesied to be let loose, by the order of the scriptures, whether therfore it is to be doubted, that these friers make vp the bodie of antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the church, or not: so much more to be doubted, because who so list to trie shall find, that of al other enemies of Christ, of whom some be maniseft, some be priuie, all bee together cruell: yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleighly deceiueth the simple christian, or more deepely drowneth him in damnation, then doth this doctrine of the friers.

Whether the friers make vp the bodie of Antichrist or not.

The death of godly Armachanus.

But of this oration of Armachanus enough. Which (as appeareth) in what successe it had with the pope, by stop it is not certaine. By his workes declared, it appeareth, that the lord so wrought, that his enemies did not triumph ouer him. Notwithstanding, this by stop appeareth, that hee was seuen or eight yeres in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Auinion; of whom a certaine cardinall, hearing of his death, openly protested, that the same day, a mightie pillar of Christs church was fallen.

The 5. conclusion of Armachanus against the friers.

After the death of Armachanus, the friers had contention likewise with the monks of Wenedias order about the same yere, 1360. and so remoued their cause both against the monks and against the Vniuersitie of Oxford, vnto the court of Rome; wherein, saith the author, they lacked another Richard. Ex Botonero. By this appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first tome of Wald. that long debate continued betweene the friers and the Vniuersitie of Oxford: Against whom first stood Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne, aboue mentioned: Then Scuallus of Bosse: Afterward Ioannes Bachothorpe; and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we intreate. And after him against John Wicklife, of whom (Christ willing) we will speake hereafter: Ex Waldens. Against this foresaid Armachanus wrote diuers friers, Roger Conway a Franciscan, John Heydlethame Carmelite, Galfridus Hardy frier Augustine. Also frier Engelbert a Dominican, in a booke intituled, Defensorium priuilegiorum, and diuers other. Credible heare of certaine old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue; which if it be true, it is not other like but to bee the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthie for his christian zeale of immortall commendation.

Ex chron. 27. Rich. 2.

Friers against the Vniuersitie of Oxford.

English writers against the friers.

Friers that write against Armachanus.

Testified by certaine English bibles which he translated and haue scene it.

After the death of this Innocent, next was poped in the sea of Rome, pope Vrbane the fifth, who by the fathers side was an Englishman. This Vrbane had been a long waiter in the court of Rome: and when he saw no promotion would light vpon him, complaining to a certain friend of his he made to him his mone, saying: That hee thought verily, if all the churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be pope, and promised in his threefold crowne, commeth to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith: that where his holinesse had moned his fortune to him, that if all

Pope Vrbane the fifth. Anno 1360.

Vrbane complained that no promotion would fall vpon him.

An answere to complaints to Vrbane being made pope.

all the churches in the world would fall, none would fall vpon his head: Saith (saith he) God hath otherwise so disposed, that all the churches in the world are fallen vpon your head, &c.

This pope maintained and kindled great warres in Italy, sending Gabius his cardinall and legat, and after him Arbinus a Burgundian his legat and abbat with great puissance and much monie against sundrie cities in Italie: By whose meanes, the townes and cities which before had taken from the bishop of Rome were oppressed; also Bernabes and Galeatcus princes of Millaine banqueted. By whose example the people other bring to searth, submitted themselues to the church of Rome. And thus came vp that wicked church to her great possessions, which her patrons would needs father vpon Constantine the godly emperour.

Ex Tabel. Anno. 9. Ed. 3.

Shewes the church of Rome came by their great possessions.

In the time of this pope Vrbane the fifth, and in the second yere of his raigne, about the beginning of the yere of our Lord, 1364. I find a certaine sermon of one Nicolas Dorem, made before the pope and his cardinals on Thursdaie euen. In the which sermon, the learned man both worthilie rebuke the prelats and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to bee farre off, by certaine signes taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets spoken against the vices of the Iewes, he both aptly applie against the clergie of his time, comparing the church then present to the spirituall strumpet spoken of in the 16. of the prophet Ezechiel. And pronuncth in conclusion the clergie of the church then, to be so much worse then the old synagogue of the Iewes, by how much it is worse to sell the church and sacraments, then to suffer dones to be sold in the church. Saith also lesse iudgement also and learning he answereth to the old and false obiections of the papists: who albeit they be neuer so wicked, yet thinke themselues to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake. All which things to the intent they may the better appeare in his owne words, I haue thought good here to translate and exhibite the sermon as it was spoken before the pope.

Nicolaus Orem.

A copie of a sermon made before pope Vrbane, 5. the fourth Sunday in Aduent, 1364.
by Nicolas Orem.

A Sermon made before the pope. Esay 56. The world diuided into three sorts of men before the incarnation of Christ.

*Iuxta est salus mea, vt veniat, & iustitia, &c.* That is: My saluing health is neere at hand to come, and my righteousnes to be reuealed, &c. Esa. 56. After the sentence of S. Paul, Rom. 2. and in diuers other places, before the natiuitie of Christ, the whole world was diuided into two sorts of men, the Iewes and Gentiles. The Iewes, who waited for the opening of the doore of paradise, by the bloud of the Sauiour to come. The Gentiles, who yet sitting in darkenes were to be called to light, and to be iustified by faith, as is written, Rom. 5.

This saluation pertaining both to the Iew and Gentile, God promised before time to the fathers by the Prophets, to stir vp the desire thereof in their hearts the more: and to increase their firme hope and faith in the same. As first in Mich 6. the voice of the Lord crieth: Health and saluation shall be to all men which feare my name. And Esay 46. I will geue in Sion saluation, and in Ierusalem my glorie, &c. with diuers such other places like. And forsomuch as hope many times which is deferred, doth afflict the soule, and conceiueth wearinesse of long deferring: he therefore prophesying of the neerenes of the comming therof, saith moreouer, Esay 14. His time is neere at hand to come. Also Abacuc 2. He will come and will not tarrie: with many such other places moe. So then the holy fathers being in limbo, looked and hoped that he should bring out them that sate bound, and which in the house of prison sate in darkenesse, as is read Esay 42. Then the time drew on in which came the fulnesse of the Gentiles, and in which the Lord would declare the riches of this mystery being hidden from the world, and from generations: Col. 1. Wherefore the Lord in this text doth both certifie our fathers of the comming of our sauiour, and doth comfort them touching the neerenesse thereof, and also teacheth the iustification of the Gentiles by faith approching now neere at hand, according to the words of my text, *Iuxta est salus mea, &c.* Which words were fulfilled then, what time the Lord did manifest his saluation, and did reueale his righteousnesse in the sight of all Gentils. And is diuided into 3. parts. Of which the first speaketh of the neerenesse of his comming, where is said, *Iuxta est salus, &c.* The second concerneth the mysterie of the aduent of Christ and his incarnation, where he saith: *Vt veniat, &c.* Thirdly, is considered the feueritie of God, his terrible reuenging iudgement to be reuealed, where he saith: *Vt reueletur, &c.* which is to be expounded of his primitiue iustice: whereof speaketh Amos, the fifth, saying: And iudgement shall be reuealed like a floud, and righteousnesse like a strong streame. Wherefore for our contemplation let vs receiue with ioy the solemnities of his holy vigile, the word I say of God the father, that is Christ. To whom it is said, Esay 49. I haue giuen thee to bee a light to the Gentiles, and to bee my saluation, through the ends of the world. Againe, Esay 46. My saluation shall not slacke, &c.

Diuision.

1 *Iuxta est.*

2 *Vt veniat.*

3 *Vt reueletur.* Amos 5.

As touching the neerenes therof, it is in these daies opened to vs by the gospel, where we read in S. Matth. When the virgin Marie was espoused vnto Ioseph, before they did come together, she was found with child by the holy Ghost. By this it was euident to vnderstand, that our Sauiour ought shortly to proceed out of the chaste wombe of the virgine, according as the prophet did foretell, saying: Behold a virgine shall conceiue and bring forth a sonne, &c. For like as the grape when it waxeth great and full, is neere to the making of wine; and the flower whe it shooteth abroad, it hasteth to the fruit: so the saluation of the world in the swelling and growing of the virgins wombe, began to draw nigh to mankind. For then appeared the grace and benignitie of our sauiour, when his mother was found to haue in her wombe by the holy Ghost, as is declared in that as followeth by the Angell, saying: For that which is borne of her, is of the holy Ghost.

The seconde part of this sermon.

Touching the 2. part of that which is said, *vt veniat*: this may be applied to the contemplation of the mystery of Christ comming in the flesh. Whereof speaketh Aggeus the Prophet 2. He shall come, who is desired and looked for of all nations, &c. Albeit the same also may be applied to the second Aduent, spoken of the third of Esay: The Lord shal come to iudgement, &c. In memorial whereof, the 4. sunday was dedicate, in the old time of the fathers. And of this day of iudgement is written in the prophet Sophon. cap. 1. The day of the Lord is neere, great and mightie, it is approching at hand, & wondrous short, &c. And albeit not in it selfe, yet it may bee expounded in tribulations that goe before, as preambles vnto the same: as Greg saith: The last tribulation is preuented with many and sundrie tribulations going before, although the end of all be not yet.

The first part of his sermon.

Whereforе now comming to the 3. part of my sermon or theame, let vs see of those tribulations that goe before the last comming of Christ, if there be any such tribulation approching nigh at hand, whereof this last part of my theame may bee verified, where is said, *vt reueletur*, that my righteousnes shall be reuealed, to wit, the righteousnesse primitiue, that righteousnesse may bee brought, and the prophecie of Daniel fulfilled, Dan. 9. Concerning which matter, foure things here come in order to be declared.

1. Tertullian.

First concerning the reuealing of tribulation, according to that part of my theame, *Vt reueletur*, &c.

2. Vincent.

Secondly, concerning the neernesse of the tribulation comming, according to that part of my theame: *Quia iuxta est*, &c.

3 *Vt veniat.*

Thirdly, of the false opinions of some, vpon this part of my theame, *Vt veniat*, &c.

4. Salus.

Fourthly, what meanes and consultation we ought to take: *Vt iuxta est salus.*

The first part of the subdiuision.

As for the first, it is so notorious and so common in the scriptures that the church should suffer and abide tribulation, that I need not here to stand in alleaging any thing touching either the causes to be weighed, or the terme to be coniectured therof.

Two rules to be noted.

As concerning the which causes, I will giue 2. rules to be noted before, for the better opening of that to follow. The first rule is, that by the 2. kingdoms of the nation of Hebrues, which were in the old time, to wit, by the kingdome of Israel, whose head was Samaria, is signified in 9 prophets the erroneous synagog: And by the 2. kingdome of Iuda, of whose stocke came Christ, whose head metropolitane was Ierusalem, is signified the true church. And this rule is not mine, but is an authenticke glosse of S. Ierome, and also is the rule of Origene in the last Homilie vpon the old testament, and is approoued by the church.

The kingdome of Iuda signifieth the right church.

The second rule is, that by the broded house and fornication mentioned in the prophets, is signified simony, and abused dispensations, and promotions of persons vnworthie, for lucres sake, or else for any other partiall fauour, which be vnlawfull waies, by all lawes of the world, to come to office and honour. *Merx dicitur nunquam a merendo*, that is; for gaine or price is deriued of gaining: for the which gaine or price, that is sold which by nature ought not to be sold. Therefore, to giue any thing for respect of gaine or hire, which ought to be giuen freely for vertues sake, is a kind of spirituall corruption, and as a man would say, an whorish thing, whereof the prophet Esay complaineth speaking of Ierusalem, and saying: The citie which once was faithfull and full of iudgement, how is it now become an whorish citie? And in the manes Osee also the prophet, cap. 9. Ierusalem, thou hast fornicated and gone an whoring from thy God. Thou hast loued like an harlot, to get gaine in euery barne of corne. And in many other places of scripture, where fornication cannot be otherwise expounded.

The second rule.

Esay 1.

Osee 9.

These two rules thus premised, now let vs marke the scriptures, and according to the same iudge of the whole state of the church, both that is past, and that is to come: first interating of the causes of tribulation to come: secondlie of the vicinitie or time of the said tribulation to come.

Fiue causes of the church declared.

And first concerning the state of the church, and of causes of tribulation. Thus saith the Lord in the the prophet Ezechiel: 16. cap. speaking to the church vnder the name of Ierusalem: In the day of thy birth I came by thee, and saw thee trodden downe in thine owne bloud, &c. Here he speaketh of the time of the martyrdome of the church. Then it followeth: After this thou wast cleansed from thy bloud, that was growne vp, and waxen great: then washed I thee with water, I purged thy bloud from thee (speaking of ceasing of persecution) I annointed thee with oile, I gaue thee change of raiments, I girded thee

1. The martyrdome of the church.

2. The peace of the church.



thee with white silke, I decked thee with costly apparell, I put rings vpon thy fingers, a chain about thy neck, iuells vpon thy forehead, and earings vpon thine eares. Thus wast thou deckt with siluer and gold, and a beautifull crown set vpon thine head. Marueilous goodly wast thou & beautiful, euen a very queene wast thou: For thou wast excellent in my beautie, which I put vpon thee, saith the Lord God, &c. This prophecy or rather history speaketh of and declareth the prosperitie of the church.

3. The corruption of the church

And now heare the corruption and transgression of the church, for so it followeth: But thou hast put confidence in thine own beauty, and plaied the harlot, when thou hadst gotten thee a name. Thou hast committed whoredom with all that went by thee, and hast fulfilled their desires: yea thou hast taken thy garments of diuers colours and decked thine altars therewith, whereupon thou mightest fulfill thy whoredome of such a fashion as neuer was done, nor shall be. Which whoredome can in no wise be expounded for carnall, but spirituall whoredome. And therefore, see how liuely hee hath painted out the corruption and falling of the Church.

4. The correction of the church

And therefore followeth now the correction and punishment of the church. It followeth: Behold, I stretch out my hand ouer thee, and will diminish thy store of food, and deliuer thee ouer into the willes of the Philistines, and of such as hate thee: And they shall breake downe thy stues, and destroy thy brodel houses: (that is, the place wherein thou didst exercise this wickednesse) they shall strip thee out of thy clothes: All thy faire beautifull iewels shal they take from thee, and so let thee sit naked and bare, &c.

Ezech. 16.

Here is plainly to be seene what shal happen to the church, and followeth more in the said chapter: Thine eldest sister is Samaria, shee and her daughters vpon thy left hand: But the youngest sister that dwelleth on thy right hand is Sodoma with her daughters, whose sins were these: pride, fulnesse of meate, abundance and idlenesse, neither retched they their hand to the poore. And yet neither Sodoma thy sister with her daughters, hath done so after thy wils as thou and thy daughters: Neither hath Samaria (that is, the Synagogue) done halfe of thy sins, yea thou hast exceeded them in wickednesse. Take therefore and beare thine owne confusion, &c. Againe in the 23. chapter of Ezechiel: After the Prophet had described at large, the wickednes, corruption, and punishment of the Synagogue, turning to the church, he saith: And whē her sister saw this, she raged and was mad with lust, loue of riches, and following voluptuousnesse. Her fornication and whoredome she committed with princes and great lords, clothed with all manner of gorgeous apparell: so that her pappes were bruised, and her breists were maried; and then speaking of her punishment, saith: Then my heart forsooke her, like as my heart was gone from her sister also. And moreouer repeating againe the cause thereof, addeth: Thy wickednesse and thy fornications haue wrought thee all this; &c.

Ezech. 23.

The like we find also in Esay, Ieremy, Ezechiel, and in al the other prophets, who prophesying all together in one meaning, and almost in one maner of words; doe conclude with a full agreement and prophecie to come, that the church shall fall, and then be punished for her great excesses, & to be vtterly spoiled, except she repent of all her abominations. Whereof speaketh Osee in cha. 2. Let her put away her whordome out of her sight, and her adultery from her breits, left I strip her naked and set her euen as she came naked into the world (that is, in her primitiue pouerty:) So if she doe not it, it shall follow of her as in the prophet Nahum, chap. 3. For the multitude of the fornication of the faire & beautiful harlot, which is a mistris of witchcraft, yea and felleth the people through her whoredome, and the nations through her witchcraft. And it followeth vpon the same: Behold, I will vpon thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and wil pul thy clothes ouer thy head, that thy nakednesse shall appeare among the heathen, and thy shame among the kingdomes, &c.

Osee 2.

Nahum 3.

5. The reformation of the church.

Wherefore by these it is to be vnderstood, that vpon this church the primitiue iustice of God is to be reuealed hereafter. And thus much of the first of the foure members aboue foretouched.

Certaine notes and signes, that the reuelation of the church is worth neere.
1. Signe.
2. Thess. 2.

Except there come a defection first: how it is to be vnderstanded.

Now to the second member of my theme, *Iuxta est*: concerning the neerenes of time. Although it is not for vs to know the moments and articles of time: yet by certaine notes and signes peraduenture it may bee collected and gathered, that which I haue here to say. For the tractation wherof, first I ground my selfe vpon the saying of the apostle Paul, 2. Thes. 2. where he writeth: That vnlesse there come a defection first, &c. By the which defection, *Ierome vltima quæst. ad inquisitiones Iannarij*, gathereth and expoundeth allegorically, the desolation of the monarchy of Rome: Betweene the which desolation, and the persecution of the church by antichrist, hee putteth no meane space. And now what is the state of that common wealth, if it bee compared to the maiestie of that it hath been, iudge your selues. Another glosse there is that saith, how by that defection is meant; that from the church of Rome shall come a departing of some other Churches.

2. Signe of token.

The second note and marke is this, when the church shall be worse in manners then was the Synagogue: as appeareth by the ordinary glosse vpō the third of Ieremy, where it is written: The back-slider Israel, may seeme iust and righteous in comparison of sinful Iuda. That is, the Synagogue in comparison of the church of God. Wherefore writeth Origen, saying, Think that to be spoken of vs what the Lord saith in Ezech. 16. Thou had exceeded thy sister in thine iniquities. Wherefore now (to compare the one with the other,) First ye know how christ rebuked the Pharisies, who, as Ierome witnesseth, were then the clergie of the Iewes, of conetousnesse, for that they suffered dones to be sold in the temple of God. Secondly, for that they did honour God with their lippes and not with their hart, and because they said, but did not. Thirdly, hee rebuked them, for that they were hypocrites. To the first then, let vs see whether it be worse to sell both church and sacraments, then to suffer dones to bee sold in the temple, or not. The second, whereas the Pharisies were rebuked for honouring God with their lips, and not with their hearts; there be some, which neither honour God with heart, nor yet with lips: And which neither do well, nor yet say well, neither do they preach any word at all, but be dumbe dogs not able to barke, impudent and shamelesse dogs, that neuer haue enough, such pastors as haue no vnderstanding, declining and straying all in their own way, euery one giuen to couetousnes fro the highest to the lowest. And thirdly, as for hypocrisie there be also some, whose intolerable pride and malice is so manifest and notorious, kindled vp like a fire; that no cloake or shadow of hypocrisie can couer it, but are so past all shame, that it may bee well verified of them, which the prophet speaketh: Thou hast gotten thee the face of an harlot, thou wouldest not blush, &c.

3. Note or token.

The third signe and token of tribulation approching neere to the church, may well be taken of the too much vnequall proportion seene this day in the church. Where one is hungrie and starueth, another is drunke. By reason of which so great inequalitie, it cannot bee that the state of the church as it is now, can long indure. For like as in good harmony to make the musicke perfect is required a moderat and proportionat equality of voices, which if it do much exceed it taketh away al the sweet melodie: So according to the sentence of the Philosopher, by too much immoderate inequality or disparity of Citizens, the common wealth falleth to ruine. Contrary, where mediocrity, that is, where a meane inequality with some proportion is kept, that policie standeth firme and more sure to continue. Now among all the politicke regiments of the Gentiles, I thinke none more is to be found in histories, wherein is to bee seene so great and exceeding oddes, then in the policie of priests: Of whom some be so high, that they exceed all princes of the earth, some againe bee so base, that they are vnder all vassals, so that such a policie or common wealth, may well be called Oligarchia.

Oligarchie, is where a few beare all the sway, and all the rest be nothing worth.

This may we plainely see and learne in the bodie of man, to the which Plutarchus (writing to Thracinius) doth semblablie compare the common wealth. In the which bodie, if the sustenance receiued should ral run to one member, so that the member should bee too much exceedingly pampred, and all the other parts too much pined, that body could not long continue: So in the bodie of the wealth ecclesiasticall, if some who be the heads be so enormely ouergrowne in riches and dignitie, that the weaker members of the bodie be scant able to beare them vp, there is a great token of dissolution & ruine shortly. Wherupon commeth well in place the saying of the prophet Esay: Euery head is sicke, euery hart is full of sorrow: of the which heads it is also spoken in the prophet Amos chap. 6. Woe be to the secure and proude which say in Sion, and to such as think themselues so secure vpon the mount of Samaria, taking themselues as heads and rulers our other, &c. And moreouer in the said prophet Esay it followeth: From the top of the head to the sole of the foot there is no whole part in all the bodie, to wit, in the inferiors, because they are not able to liue for puertie: in the superiors, because for their excessiue riches, they are left from doing good. And it followeth in the same place: But al are wounds and botches and stripes. Behold here the danger comming, the wounds of discord and diuision, the botch or sore of rancor and enuie, the swelling stripe of rebellion and mischiefe.

Esay 1.

Amos 6.

4. Signe.

The 4. signe is the pride of prelats. Some there haue been which fondly haue disputed of the puertie of christ, and haue inueyed against the prelats, because they liue not in puertie of the saints. But this phantasie commeth of the ignorance of moral philosophie and diuinitie, and of the defect of naturall prudence: for that in all nations, and by common lawes, priests haue had and ought to haue wherewith to sustaine themselues more honestly then the vulgar fort, and prelates more honestly then the subiects. But yet hereby is not permitted to them their great horses, their troupes of horsemen, their superfluous pomp of their waiting men and great families, which facsilie can be maintained without pride, neither can be sustained with safe iustice, and many not without fighting and iniuries inconuenient: not much vnlike to that as Iustine the historian writeth of the Carthaginenses: The family (saith hee) of so great emperors was intollerable to such a free citie. In sensiblable wise, this great pride in the church of God (especiallie in these daies) doth inooue not so few to due reuerence, as many to indignation: and yet moe to those things aforesaid, which thinke no lesse but to doe sacrifice to God if they may robbe and spoile certaine fat priests and persons, namelie such as neither haue nobilitie of bloud, and lesse learning

Prides of Prelats noted.

Amos 4. ning to beare themselues vpon, but are liers, seruile and fraudulent, to whom the Lord speaketh by his prophet Amos fourth: Heare you fatted kine of Samaria, yee that doe poore men wrong, and oppresse the needie, the day shall come vpon you, &c.

5. Signe. Sap. 6. The fift signe is the tyrannie of the prelats and presidents, which as it is a violent thing, so it cannot be long lasting. For as Salomon saith, Sap. 16. For it was requisit that (without any excuse) destruction should come vpon those which exercised tyrannie. The property of a tyrant is to seeke the commodite not of his subiects, but only his will and profit. Such were the pastors that fed not the Lords flocke, but fed themselues: of whom and to whom speaketh the prophet Ezech. 34. Woe be vnto these pastors of Israel that fed themselues. Should not the shepheards feede the flockes? With many other threatnings against them in the said chapter. Woe be vnto them which reioyce at the transgressions of such whom it lieth in their power to condemne, neither doe they seeke what he is able to pay; to whom crieth Micheas the prophet, 3. chap. Yee hate the good and loue the euill, yee plucke off mens skinnes and the flesh, from the bones: ye eate the flesh of my people, and flay off their skinne: ye breake their bones, ye chop them in peeces as it were into a cauldron, and as flesh into the pot, &c. And therfore the foresaid Ezechiel pronounceth: Behold I will my selfe vpon the shepheards, and require my sheepe from their hands, and make them cease from feeding my sheepe, yea the shepheards shall feed themselues no more. for I will deliuer my sheepe out of their mouthes, so that they shall not deuour them any more.

The diuers tyrannie of prelats vsed in this realme. Ezech. 34. Micheas 3. Ezech. 34.

6. Signe. Ignorance of holy scripture. Hosea 4. Ier. 4. Ezech. 7. The sixt signe is in promoting of the vnworthy, and of neglecting them that be worthie. This, as Aristotle saith, is a great cause many times of the dissolution of common weales. And oftentimes it so happeneth in the warres of princes, that the contempt and small regarding of the valiant, and the exalting of others that be lesse worthie, ingendreth diuers kinds and kindlings of sedition. For by the reason partly of the same, partly of the other causes aboue recited; we haue read not only in bookes, but haue seene with our eies, diuers flourishing cities well neere subuerted. Whereas good men be not made of, but are vexed with sorrow and griefe by the euill; the contention at length brasteth out vpon the prince, as Hayino recyteth out of Origen. This hath alwaies been the peruerse incredulite of mans hard heart, that not onely in hearing, but also in seeing: yet will they not beleeue that other haue perished, vnlesse they also perish themselues.

Hosea. 7. Signe. Esay 5. The seuenth signe is the tribulation of outward policy and commotions of the people, which in a great part is now happened alreadie. And therefore as saith as Seneca saith: Men doe complaine commonly that euils onely come so fast: It is to be feared lest also the ecclesiasticall policie be afflicted not only outwardlie but also in it selfe. And so to be fulfilled in vs, that in Ieremy is prophesied cap. 4. Murther is cried vpon murther, and the whole land shall perish, and suddenly my tabernacles were destroyed, and my tents very quickly. And Ezec. 7. Wherfore I will bring cruell tyrants from among the heathen, to take their houses in possession, I will make the pompe of the proud to cease, and their sanctuaries shall be taken. One mischiefe and sorrow shall follow another, and one rumor shall come after another, then shall they seeke visions in vaine at their prophets, the law shal be gone from their priests, and wisdome from their elders, &c.

Ier. 4. Ezech. 7. The eight signe is the refusing of correction, neither wil they heare their faults told them, so that it happened to the princes and rulers of the church, as it is written in the prophet Zach. cap. 7. They stopped their eares that they would not heare; yea they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should heare the law and words which the Lord of hosts sent in his holy spirit by the prophets aforetime. Also Esay witnessing after the same sort, cha. 30. saith: For it is an obstinat people, lying children and vnfaithfull children that will not heare the law of the Lord, which say to the prophets, meddle with nothing, and tell vs nothing that is true and right, but speake friendlie words to vs, &c. All this shal be verified when the prelats begin to hate them that tell them truth, and haue knowledge like vnto such of whom Amos speaketh, cap. 5. They beare him euill will that reproueth them openly, and who so telleth them the plaine truth, they abhor him. And therefore saith the Lord to the church of Ierusalem, Osee. Seeing thou hast refused vnderstanding, I haue refused thee also, that thou shalt no more be my priest. And for so much as thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children, and change their honour into shame. And so find it be like priest, like people. &c. And many other sayings there be in the prophets, speaking of the declining and casting downe of the priestly honour.

8. Signe. Refusing of correction to be taken of the elders. Esay 30. Zach. 7. Amos 5. Osee. 4.

Besides these foretold signes and tokens hitherto recited, there bee also diuers others: as the backsliding from righteousnes, the lacke of discreet and learned priests, promoting of children into the church with such other like. But these being already noted and marked, you may easily iudge and vnderstand, whether these times now present of ours be safe and cleare from tribulation to be looked for, and whether the word of the Lord be true according to my theame: *Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueleter*, my righteousnesse is neere at hand to be reuealed, &c. And thus much of the second part.

Lacke of learned priests.

Now to the third part or member of my subdiuision, which is concerning the false and perillous opinions of some, vpon this word of my theame *ve veniat, &c.* Which opinions principally be 4. repugning all against the truth of the canonicall scripture.

The third part or member of the subdiuision.

The first opinion. The first is of such men, who hauing too much confidence in themselues, doe thinke and perswade with themselues, that the prelats bee the Church, which the Lord will alwaies keepe and neuer forsake, as hee hath promised in the persons of the apostles; Mathew 28. saying: And I will be with you to the end of the world, &c. But this is to be vnderstanded of faith, whereof Christ speaketh Luke 21. Haue prayed for thee, that thy faith shall not faile. Whereof wee read Eccle. 40. Faith shall stand for euer. &c. And albeit charitie waxe neuer so cold, yet faith notwithstanding, shal remaine in few, and in all distreiles of the world: of the which distreiles, our Sauiour doth prophecie in many places to come. And lest peraduenture some should thinke themselues to be safe from tribulation because they bee of the church, this opinion the Lord himselfe doth contrarie in Ieremy the 7: Trust not (saith he) in false lying words, saying, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. And a little after, but you trust in words and lying counsels which deceiue you and do you no good.

The church where it is, and in whom it consisteth. Ecclesi. 40. Jonas chap. 3. Ierem. 26. Ierem. 7.

The second opinion is of them, which deserre time for this they will grant that the church shall abide trouble, but not so shortly: thinking thus with themselues, that these causes and tokens afore recited, haue been before at other times as well in the church. For both by Gregorie & Bernard holy doctors, in time past, the prelats haue been in like sort reprehended, both for their bribings, for their pompe and pride, for the promoting of persons and children vnfit vnto ecclesiasticall functions, and other vices moe, which haue raigned before this in the church of Godmore then now, and yet by God his grace, the church hath prospered and stood. Do ye not see, that if an house haue stood and continued ruinous a long season, it is neuer the more neere the fall thereby, but rather to be trusted the better? Moreouer, many times it commeth so to passe in realmes and kingdomes, that the posterite is punished for the sinnes of the predecessors. Whereof speaketh the booke of Lamentations the 5. chapter: Our fathers haue sinned, and are now gone, and we must beare their wickednesse, &c. Against this cogitation or opinion well doth the Lord answer by the prophet Ezechiel chapter 12. saying: Behold thou sonne of man the house of Israel saith in this maner: Tush, as for the vision that he hath seene, it will be many a day or it come to passe: It is far off yet, the thing that hee prophesieth. Therefore say vnto them, thus saith the Lord God: The words that I haue spoken shall bee deferred no longer, looke what I haue said, shall come to passe, saith the Lord, &c. Wee haue seene in our daies things to happen, which seemed before incredible. And the like hath been seene in other times also: as wee reade written in the booke of Lamentations chapter 4. The kings of the earth nor all the inhabitance of the world would not haue beleeued, that the enemie and aduersarie should haue come in at the gates of the citie, for the sinnes of her priests, and for the wickednesse of her elders that haue shed Innocents bloud within her, &c. by Hierusalem, as is said, is meant the church.

The second opinion. Lam. 5. Ezech. 12. Thren. 4. Esay 5.

The third opinion or error is very perillous and peruerse, of all such as say, *veniat*, let come that will come: Let vs conforme our selues to this world, and take our time with those Temporisers which say in the booke of wisdome, Sap. 2. Come let vs enioy our goods and pleasures that bee present, and let vs vse the creature as in youth quickly, &c. Such as these be, are in dangerous case, and be greatly preiudiciall to good men in the church: And if the heads and rulers of the church were so vile to haue any such detestable cogitations in them, there were no place in hell too deepe for them. This Church founded by the Apostles in Christ, consecrated with the bloud of so many Martyrs, enlarged and increased with the vertues and merits of so many Saints, and indued so richly with the deuotion of so many secular princes, and so long prospered hitherto: if it now should come into the hands of such persons, it should fall in great danger of ruine, and they for their negligence and wickednes well deserued of God to bee curfed: yea here also in this present world to incurre temporall tribulation and destruction, which they feare more: by the sentence of the Lord saying to them in the booke of the Prouerbs chap. 1. Al my counsels yee haue despised, and set my correction at nought. Therefore shall I also laugh in your destruction, when tribulation and anguish shall fall vpon you.

The third opinion or error. Sap. 2. Esay 30. Iosua 7. 1. Kings 25. Prou. cap. 1.

Fourthly, an other opinion or errour is of such as being vnfaithfull beleeue not any such thing to come. And this errour seemeth to haue no remedy, but that as other things and other kingdomes haue their ends and limits set vnto them, which they cannot ouerpasse: it must needs be, that such a dominatio and gouernment of the Church haue an end, by reason of the demerites and obstinacies of the gouernours prouoking and requiring the same: like as we read in the Prophet Ieremie cap. 8. There is no man that taketh repentance for his sinne, that will so much as say, wherefore haue I done this? But euery man runneth foorth still like a wild horse in a battell. And the

The fourth opinion or error. Esay 66. Psalme 71. Ierem. 8.



Ierem. 13. the prophet Ieremie in the 13. chapter of his prophecie. Like as the man of Inde may change his skinne, and the Cat of mountaine her spots, so may ye that be exercised in euill, do good. Whereunto also accordeth that which is written of the same phophet, chap. 17. speaking of Iuda signifying the church: The sinne of Iuda (saith he) is written in the table of your hearts, and graued so vpon the edges of your altars with a pen of iron, and with an adamant claw, which is as much to say, as indelible, or which cannot be raced out: as also Ezechiel speaking of the punishment, chapter 21. saith: I the Lord haue drawne out my sword out of the sheath, and cannot be reuoked. Notwithstanding, all these signifie no impossibilitie, but difficultie, because that wicked men are hardly conuerted: for otherwise the Scripture importeth no such inflexibilitie with God, but if conuersion come, he will forgiue. So we reade in the prophet Ionas, chapter 3. Who can tell? God may turne and repent, and cease from his fierce wrath that we perish not. And to the like effect saith the same Lord in Ieremie, chapter 26. Looke thou keepe not one word backe, if peraduenture they will harken and turne euery man from his wicked way, that I also may repent of the plague which I haue determined to bring vpon them, because of their wicked inuentions, &c. For the further proofe whereof, Niniuie we see conuerted, and remained vndestroyed, &c. Likewise the Lord also had reuealed destruction vnto Constantinople by sundrie signes and tokens, as Augustine in a certaine sermon doth declare. And thus for the third part or member of my diuision.

Ierem. 17. Ezech. 21.

Fourthly and lastly remaineth to declare, some wholesome concluding now vpon the causes preceding: That is, if by these causes and signes (heretofore declared) tribulation be prepared to fall vpon the church, then let vs humble our minds mildely and wisely. And if we so returne with heart and in deed vnto God, verily he shall receiue and helpe after an inestimable wise: and will surcease from scourging vs, as he promiseth by his prophet Ieremie 18. If that people against whom I haue thus deuised, conuert from their wickednesse, immediatly I will repent of the plague that I deuised to bring vpon them. Speaking here after the manner of men, &c. Now therefore, for so much as tribulation and affliction is so neere comming toward vs, yea lieth vpon vs already, let vs be the more diligent to call vpon God for mercie. For I thinke verily these many yeares there haue not been so many and so despiteful hearts and euill willers, stout, and of such a rebellious heart against the church of God, as be now adaies: neither bee they lacking that would worke all that they can against it, and louers of new-fanglenes: whose hearts the Lord happilie will turne, that they shall not hate his people, and worke deceit against his seruants, I meane against priests whom they haue now in little or no reputation at all: Albeit many yet there be through Gods grace, good and godly. But yet the furie of the Lord is not turned away, but stil his hand is stretched out. And vnlesse ye be conuerted, he shaketh his sword, he hath bent his bow, and prepared it readie. Yet the Lord standeth waiting, that he may haue mercie vpon you, Esay 30. And therefore as the greatnesse of feare ought to incite vs, so hope of saluation may allure vs to pray and call vpon the Lord, especially now toward this holy and sacrat time and solemnitie of Christs natiuitie: For that holy and continuall prayer without intermission is profitable, and the instant deuotion and vigilant deprecation of the iust man, is of great force. And if terrene kings in the day of celebration of their natiuitie, be wont to shew themselues more liberall and bountious, how much more ought we to hope well, that the heauenly king of nature most benigne, now at his natall and birth day, will not denie pardon and remission to such as rightly call vnto him?

Ierem. 18. Esay 5. Esay 30. Ier. 18.

And now therefore, as it is written in Iosue, chapter 7. Be you sanctified against to morrow, &c. And say vnto him as it is written in the first booke of Kings, chapter 25. Now let thy seruants I pray thee find fauour in thy sight, for wee come to thee in a good season. Moreouer, ye may find that ye aske, if that yee aske that which he brought in the day of his Natiuitie, that is, the peace of the church, not spiritual only, but also temporall, which the angelicall noise did sound, and experience the same time did proue, testified by T. Liuius, Plinius, and other heathen storie-writers, which all marueiled thereat, saying: that such an vniuersall peace as that, could not come on earth but by the gift of God. For so God did forepromise in the prophet Esay, chapter 66. Behold I wil let peace into Ierusalem like a water floud, &c. And in the Psalme 71. In his time righteousnesse shall flourish, yea and abundance of peace, &c.

Iosua 7. 1. Kings 25. Psalme 71.

Therefore now (O reuerend fathers in the Lord,) and you heere in this present assemblie, behold I say the day of life and saluation: Now is the opportune time to pray vnto God, that the same thing which he brought into the world at his birth, hee will grant in these daies to his church, that is, his peace. And like as Niniuie was subuerted, and ouerturned, not in members but in manners: so the same words of my theme, Iuxta est iustitia mea vt reueleter, may be verified in vs, not of the primitiue iustice, but of our sanctification by grace, so that: As to morrow is celebrated the natiuitie of our Sauiour, our righteousnesse may rise together with him, and his blessing may be vpon vs, which God hath promised, saying: My sauing health is neere at hand to come, &c. Whereof speaketh Esay the prophet, chapter 51. My sauing health shall endure for euer; &c. This health grant vnto vs the Father, Son and holy Ghost, Amen.

Esay 51.

This sermon was made by master Nicolas Orem before pope Vrbane and his cardinals vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of Aduent, in the peare of our Lord 1364. and the second of his popedome.

In the 5. peare of this foresaid pope Vrbane, began first the order of the Iesuites. And vnto this time, which was about the peare of our Lord 1367. the offices here in England, as the lord chancellour, lord treasurer, and of the prime seale, were wont to be in the hands of the clergie. But about this peare through the motion of the Lords in the parliament, and partly (as witnesseth mine author) for hatred of the clergie, all the said offices were remoued from the clergie, to the lords temporall.

The order of Iesuites. Anno 1367. The chiefe officers of the realm translated from the clergie to the lords temporall.

After the death of pope Vrbane, next succeded pope Gregorie the 11. who among his other acts, first reduced againe the papacie out of France vnto Rome, which had from thence been absent, the space now of 70. yeares, being thereto moued (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the answere of a certaine bishop, whom as the pope sate standing by him asked, why he was so long from his charge and church at home, saying: not to be the part of a good pastor, to keepe him from his flocke so long. Whereunto the bishop answering againe, said: And you pour false being the chiefe bishop, who may and ought to bea spectacle to vs all; why are you from the place so long where your church doth lie? By the occasion whereof, the pope fought all meanes after that to remoue and to rid his court out of France againe to Rome, and so he did.

Pope Gregorie the 11. Anno 1370. The papacie reduced againe from France to Rome.

This Gregorie 11. in a certaine bull of his sent to the archbishop of Prage, maketh mention of one named Militzius a Bohemian, and saith in the same bull that this Militzius should hold opinion and teach, an. 1366. that antichrist was alreadie come. Also that the said Militzius had certaine congregations following him: and that in the same congregations were certaine harlots, who being conuerted from their wickednesse, were brought to a godly life. Which harlots being so conuerted, he vsed to say were to be preferred before all the holy virgins. And therefore commanded the archbishop to excommunicat and persecute the said Militzius, which in foretime had been a religious man of Prage, and after forsake his order, and gaue himselfe to preaching, and at length was by the foresaid archbishop imprisoned.

Militzius a speciall scholler of the truth of Christ reuiued by the pope. Ex bulla Gregorij 11.

Iacobus Misnensis a learned man and a writer in the time of John Hus, maketh mention of this Militzius, & calleth him a worthie and a famous preacher. Also reciteth many things out of his writings: in the which writtings this good Militzius thus declareth of himselfe: how he was moued and urged by the holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, concerning the comming of antichrist. And that he was compelled by the same holy spirit at Rome publikely to preach, and also before the Inquisitor there to protest plainely, that the same great antichrist which is prophesied of in the holy Scriptures, was alreadie come. Moreouer his saying was, that the church through negligence of the pastors was desolat, did abound in temporall riches, but in spirituall riches to be emptie. Also that in the church of Christ were certaine Iools which destroyed Ierusalem and defaced the Temple, but hypocrite caused that these Iools could not be seene. Also that many there were which bernd Christ, because that knowing the truth, yet for feare of men they durst not confesse their conscience. &c. And thus much of good Militzius, liuing in the time of Gregorie, 11. and king Edward the third, an. 1370.

The comming of antichrist prophesied.

The which king of England holding a parliament in the third peare of this pope, sent his embassadors to him, desiring him: that he from thenceforth would abstaine from his reseruations of benefices vsed in the court of England. And that spirituall men within this realme promoted vnto bishoprikes might freely inioy their elections within the realme, and be confirmed by their Metropolitanes, according to the ancient custome of the realme. Wherefore vpon these and such other like, wherein the king and the realme thought themselues much grieued, he desired of the pope some remedie to be prouided, &c. Whereunto the pope returned a certaine answere againe vnto the king, requiring by his messengers to be certified againe of the kings mind concerning the same. But what answere it was, it is not in the store expressed, saue that the peare following, which was 1374. there was a tractation at Burges vpon certaine of the said articles betweene the king and the pope, which buhang two peares in suspense, & at length it was thus agreed betweene them: that the pope should no more vse his reseruations of benefices in England, and likewise the king should no more confer and giue benefices vpon the writ, Quare impedit, &c. But as touching the freedome of elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, mentioned in the peare before, thereof was nothing touched.

King Edward complaineth of the popes reseruation of benefices. The pope put from his reseruing of benefices in England. Quare impedit.

As touching these reseruations, prouisions, and collations, with the elections of the archbishops, bishops, beneficed men and other, wherewith the pope vexed this realme of England, as before you haue heard; the king by the consent of the

lords and commons, in the 25. yeare of his raigne enacted: that according to a statute made in the 30. yeare of his grandfather Edward the first, wherein was made an act against the ranuenous pillage of the pope, through the same prouisions, reservations, and collations, &c. but not put in execution. By the which prouisions, the state of the realme decreased more and more, the kings royaltie and prerogatiue greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the realme transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest bishoprikes, abbeyes, and benefices within the realme: And such, as either for their offices in Rome, as cardinalships and such like, could not be there resident, or if resident, yet better alway for causes inflnite, as partly haue been touched before: not only reuiued the said statute made by Edward the first his grandfather, but also inlarged the same. Adding thereunto more straite and sharpe penalties against the offenders therein, or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the kings protection, losse of all their lands, goods, and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the kings pleasure: and further, whosoeuer was lawfully conuict, or otherwise for want of appearance by processe directed forth, were within the lapse of this statute or premunire (for so bare the name thereof) should suffer all and euerie such molestations and iniuries, as men exempted from the protection of the king. In so much, that whosoeuer had killed such men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, then for the killing of an outlaw. or one not worthie to liue in a common weale. Like unprofitable members were they then in that time, yea of ignorance esteemed in this common weale of England, as would offer themselues to the wilfull slauerie and seruile obedience of the pope: which thing in these daies, yea and that amongst no small soules, is counted more then Euangelicall holinesse. Hee that list to peruse the statute, and would see euery branch and article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the penalties therefore due: let him reade the statute of prouision and premunire, made in the 25. yeare of this kings daies. And let him reade in the statutes made in the parliaments holden the 27 yeare, and 28 yeare of his raigne: And under the same title of prouision and premunire shall find, the popes primatie and iurisdiction within this realme more mercifully touched, and much of his papall power restrained: In so much, that whosoeuer for any cause or controuersie in law, either spirituall or temporall, the same being determinable in any of the kings courts (as all matters were) whether they were personall or reall, citations or other; or should either appeale or consent to any appellation, to be made out of the realme to the pope or see of Rome; should incurre the said penalties and danger of premunire. Diuers other matters whereinthe pope is restrained of his slurped power, authoritie and iurisdiction within this the realme of England; are in the said titles and statutes expressed, and at large set forth, who euer list to peruse the same, which for breuities sake I omit, hasting to other matters.

The law of premunire.

The popes priuiledge here in England bished.

About this time, being the yeare of our Lord 1370, lined holy Briget, whom the church of Rome hath canonized not only for a saint, but also for a prophetesse: who notwithstanding in her booke of reuelations, which hath been oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergie, calling him a murtherer of soules, a spiller and a piller of the flocke of Christ: more abominable then Iewes, more cruell then Iudas, more iniust then Pilat, worse then Lucifer himselfe. The see of the pope shee prophesieth, shall be throwne downe into the deepe like a millstone. And that his assister shall burne with brimstone: Affirming, that the prelats, bishops, and priests, are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extinct. And that the clergie haue turned the ten commandements of God into two words, to wit, Da pecuniam, that is, Giue money. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omit, let this suffice for all, where as the said Briget affirmeth in her reuelations, that when the holy Virgin should go to her Sonne, how Rome was a scuffull and fearfull field: yea, said he, but of bodies of the wicked. &c.

S. Briget.

Briget reuelations. lib. 4. cap. 70. Extra Dom. Brigittæ.

Da pecuniam.

Rome a fearfull ground of Swords and cattle.

So this Briget I will leaue also Catharina Senensis, an holy virgin, which lined much about the same time, Anno 1379. Of whom writeth Antoninus part. historiæ 3. This Katharine hauing the spirit of prophecie, was wont much to complaine of the corrupt state of the church, namely of the prelats of the court of Rome, and of the pope: prophesying before of the great schisme, which then followed in the church of Rome, & dured to the councell of Constance, the space of fortie yeares: also of the great warres and tribulation, which insued vpon the same. And moreouer declared before and foretold, of this so excellent reformation for religion in the church now present. The words of Antoninus be these: After this virgin in her going to Rome, had told her brethren of the warres and tumults that should rise in the countries about Rome, after the schisme of the two popes: I then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that she vnderstood by reuelation what should happen, demanded of her: I pray you (good mother) said I, and what shall befall after these troubles in the church of God? And she said: By these tribulations and afflictions, after a secret maner vnknowne vnto man, God shall purge his holy church, and stir vp the spirit of his elect. And after these things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, & such a renouation of holy pastors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to reioyce in the Lord. And as I haue oftentimes told you heretofore, the house which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brouches. And all the faithfull shall be glad and reioyce to see themselues so beautified with so holy shepheards. Yea and also the infidels then allured by the sweet sauour of Christ, shall returne to the catholike fold, and be conuerted to the true bishop and shepheard of their soules. Giue thankes therefore to God, for after this storme he will giue to his a great calme. And after she had thus spoken, shee staid, and said no more.

The prophecie of Catharine.

Note.

Besides these aforenamed, the Lord, which neuer ceaseth to worke in his church, stirred vp against the malignant church of Rome, the spirits of diuers other good and godly teachers, as Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian borne, who about the yeare of our Lord 1270. wrote a large booke of Antichrist, and puncht him already come, and noteth the pope to be the same. Which booke one Illiricus a writer in these our daies hath, and pyncheth to put it in print. In this booke he doth greatly inueigh against the wickednesse and filthinesse of the clergie, and against the neglecting of their dutie in gouerning the church. The Locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse, he saith, be the hypocrites raigning in the church. The workes of Antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inuentions of men raigning in the church: the Images and fained reliques that are worshipped euery where. Item, that men do worship euery one his proper saint and saiour besse Christ: so that euery man and citie almost hath his diuers and peculiar christ. Hee taught and affirmed moreouer, that godlinesse and true worship of God, are not bound to place, persons, or times, to be heard more in this place, then in another, at this time more then at another, &c. Hee argueth also against the cloisterers, which leauing the only and true Sauiour, set vp to themselues their Franciscans, their Dominickes and such other: and haue them for their sauiours, glorying and triumphing in them, and fainting many forged lies vpon them. Hee was greatly and much offended with monkes and friers, for neglecting or rather burying the word of Christ, and in stead of him, for celebrating and setting vp their owne rules and canons, affirming it to be much behouefull to true godlinesse, for that priests, monks and nuns do account themselues only spirituall, and all other to be lay and secular, attributing only to themselues the opinion of holinesse, and contemning other men, with all their politicke administration, and the office as prophane in comparison of their owne. He further writeth that Antichrist hath seduced all Vniuersities and Colledges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, neither giue any light to the christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to passe, that God yet once againe will raise vp godly teachers, who being feruent in the spirit and zeale of Helias, shall discouer and reuile the errours of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, openly to the whole world. This Matthias in the said booke of Antichrist alleageth the sayings and writings of the Vniuersitie of Paris, also the writings of Guliehmus de sancto Amore, and of Militzius afore noted.

Matthias Parisiensis and Illiricus.

Matthias Illiricus a writer against the pope.

Antichrist already come.

The doctrine and practises of Matthias.

About the same time, or shortly after, an. 1384. we reade also of Ioannes of Mountziger, Rector of the Vniuersitie of Vlme, who openly in the schooles in his Oration propounded that the bodie of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God, with that kind of worship called Latria, as the Sophister term it, meaning thereby the Sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing, affirming also that Christ in his resurrection take to him againe all his blood which in his passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Christ which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the monkes and friers: who by this kind of idolatrie were greatly inriched, till at length the senat and councell of the citie was faine to take vp the matter betweene them.

Ioannes Mountziger rebuketh & gainsaid the pope.

Anno 1384.

Silus was archbishop of Thessalonica, and lined much about this time. He wrote a long worke against the Latines, that is, against such as take part and held with the church of Rome. His first booke being written in Greek, was after translated into Latin, and lately now into English, in this our time. In the first chapter of this booke, he taieth all the blame and fault of the dissension and schisme betweene the East and the West church vpon the pope. He affirmed that the pope only would command what him listed, were it neuer so contrarie to all the old and ancient canons. That he would heare and follow no mans aduice: that he would not permit any free councels to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible, that the controuersies betweene the Greeke church and Latine church, should be decided and determined.

Silus the archbishop of Thessalonica.

Henricus de Hassia.

In the second chapter of his booke, he purposedly maketh a very learned disputation. For first hee declareth that he no whit at all by Gods commandement, but only by humane law, hath any dignitie, more then hath other bishops: which dignitie



dignitie, the councels, the fathers, and emperours haue granted vnto him. Neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance: then for that the same citie then had the imperie of all the whole world: and not at all for that that Peter euer was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the same primacie or prerogatiue is not such and so great as he and his sycophants doe vsurpe vnto themselues. Also he refuteth the chiefest popelie opinions of the papists one after another. Hee declareth that the pope hath no dominion more then other patriarches haue, and that hee himselfe may erre as well as other mortall men: and that hee is subiect both to lawes and councels, as well as other bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the emperour, to call generall councels: and that in ecclesiasticall causes he could establish and ordaine no more then all other bishops might. And lastly, that he getteth no more by Peters succession, then that he is a bishop as all other bishops after the apostles be, &c.

I cannot among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leaue out the memorie of Iacobus Misnensis, who also wrote of the comming of antichrist. In the same he maketh mention of a certaine learned man, whose name was Militzius, which Militzius (saith he) was a famous and worthie preacher in Praga. He lined about the yeare 1366, long before Husse, and before Wicklisse also. In the same his writings he declareth, how the same good man Militzius was by the holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moued to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner and comming of antichrist: and found that now in his time he was already come. And the same Iacobus saith, that the said Militzius was constrained by the Spirit of God to go vp to Rome, and there publikely to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitour he affirmed the same. That the same mightie and great antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

Iacobus Misnensis and Militzius.

Militzius persecuted by the pope.

Hee affirmed also, that the church by the negligence of the pastors, should become desolate: and that iniquitie should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquitie. Also, he said that there were in the church of Christ dools, which should destroy Ierusalem, and make the temple desolate, but were cloked by hypocrisie. Further, that there be many which denie Christ, for that they keepe silence: neither do they heare Christ, whom all the world should know and confesse his veritie before men, which also wittingly do detaine the veritie and iustice of God.

There is also a certaine Bull of pope Gregorie 11. to the archbishop of Praga: wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militzius and his auditours. The same Bull declareth, that he was once a Canon of Praga, but afterward he renounced his Canonship, and began to preach: who also for that he so vnmeasurably preached of antichrist to be already come: was of John archbishop of Praga put in prison, declaring what his errour was: To wit, how he had his companie or congregation to whom hee preached, and that amongst the same were certaine conuerted harlots, which had forsaken their euill life, and did liue godlie and well: which harlots he accustomed in his sermons to preferre before all the blessed virgins that neuer offended. Hee taught also openlie, that in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelats, priests, and other religious men, was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only hee, and such as held with him, taught the true way of saluation. His Pandill in some places is yet to be seene. Then alleageth vnto him certaine vncouenient articles, which notwithstanding I thinke, the aduersaries to depraue him withall, haue slanderously inuented against him. He had, as appeared by the foresaid Bull, verie manie of euery estate and condition, as well rich as poore that cleaued vnto him.

Militzius persecuted by the pope.

About the yeare of our Lord 1371, lined Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companion Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An epistle of this Henricus de Hassia which he wrote to the bishop of Normacia, Iacobus Carsiensis inserted in his booke De correctoribus Christianorum. In the same epistle the author doth greatlie accuse the spirituall men of euery order yea and the most holie of all other the pope himselfe, of many and great vices. He said, that the ecclesiasticall gouernours in the primitiue church, were compared to the sunne shining in the day time, and the politicall gouernours, to the mone, shining in the night. But the spirituall men he said, that now are, do either shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darknesse do obscure both the day and the night, that is, with their filthie liuing, ignorance, and impietie. He citeth also out of the prophecie of Hildegardis these words: Therfore doth the diuell in himselfe speake of you priests: Daintie banketts and feasts, wherein is all voluptuousnesse, do I find amongst these men: In so much that mine eyes, mine eares, my bellie, and my beines, be euen filled with the froth of them, and my bistls stand about with the riches of them, &c. Lastly, saith he, they exercise day more and more as Lucifer did, seeke to climbe higher and higher: till that euery day with him more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.

Henricus de Hassia.

About the yeare of our Lord 1390, there were burned at Vlinga 36. citizens of Mogauntina, for the doctrine of Waldenses, as Walchius affirmeth: which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherin they affirmed the pope to be that great antichrist, which should come: Vnlesse peraduenture the pope seemed then to be more euidently conuicted of antichristianitie then at any other time before, he was reuealed to be.

The citizens of Mogauntia.

For the like cause, many other besides these, are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the pope, if leisure would serue to peruse all that might be searched. As where Masseus recordeth of diuers to the number of 140, which in the prouince of Narbone chose rather to suffer whatsoeuer grieuous punishment by fire, then to receiue the decreetals of the Romish church, contrarie to the vpright truth of the Scripture.

A briefe rehearsall of such as were put to death for hol. ding against the bishop of Rome before the time of Wicklife.

What should I here speake of the 24. which suffered at Paris. An. 1210? Also in the same author is testified that An. 1211 there were 400. vnder the name of heretiques burned, So. beheaded: prince Americus hanged, and the ladie of the castle Roned to death.

Moreouer in the chronicles of Houedon, and of other writers be recited a marueilous number, which in the countries of France were burned for heretiques. Of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharits, some Paterines, and other by others names. What their assertions were, I find no certaine report worthie of credit.

In Tritenius is signified of one Eckhardus a Dominican frier, who not long before Wicklifes time, was condemned and suffered for hesie at Heydelberge, An. 1320. who as hee comes. And the same Iacobus saith, that the said Militzius was constrained by the Spirit of God to go vp to Rome, and there publikely to preach. And that afterward before the Inquisitour he affirmed the same. That the same mightie and great antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

Eckhardus a frier burned.

Of Albingenses because sufficient mention is made before, of whom a great number were burned about the time of king John, I passe them ouer.

Likewise I let passe the heremite, of whom John Waeon maketh relation, in his 2. Dist. quæst. 1. Who disputing in Paula church, affirmed that those Sacraments, which were then vsed in the church, were not instituted by Christ. An. 1306. Peradventure it was the same Raimundus, mentioned in the Flowre of histories, and is said to die in prison: for the time of them doth not much differ.

An Heremit disputing against the popes laies ordinance. Raimundus.

In Boetius, why the pope should so much commend a certaine king, because for one man, he had slaine 400, cutting away the genitals from the rest, I cannot iudge, except the cause were that, which the pope calleth heresie.

But to let these things ouerpasse that be uncertaine, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which haue withstood the corruption of the popes see: neither haue we ante such sure testimonie left of their doings, credibly to stay vpon: We will now Christ willing, conuert our stole to things more certain and vndoubted: grounding vpon no light reports of feeble credit, nor vpon any fabulous legends without authoritie: but vpon the true and substantiall copies of the publike records of the realme, remaining yet to be seene vnder the kings most sure and faithfull custodie. Out of the which records, such matter appeareth against the popish church of Rome, and against his vsurped authoritie, such open standing and crying against the said see, and that not priuilie, but also in open parliament, in the daies of this king Edward the third: that neither will the Romish people of this our age easily thinke it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to denie the same, so cleare standeth the force of those records.

Ex Archiuis Regis Maiestatis.

Partiall dissimulation in our histories of the church of England.

He heard a little before, pag. 350. how John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie being sent for, and required by the king to come vnto him, refused so to do. What the cause was why he denied to come at the kings sending, is neither touched of Polydor Virgil, nor of any other monkish chronicler, writing of those acts and times. Whose part had been, faithfully to haue dispensed the simple truth of things done to their posteritie. But that which they dissemblingly and colourable haue concealed, contrarie to the true law of storie, the true cause thereof we haue found out by the true parliament roles, declaring the storie thus.

Ex anno 6. reg. Edon. 3. tit. 1.

King Edward the 3. in the 6. yeare of his raigne, hearing that Edward Baillol had proclaimed himselfe king of Scotland; required counsell of the whole estate, to wit, whether it were better for him to assaile Scotland, and to claime the dessing or demaines of the same: or else by making him peace to take his aduantage. And thereby to inioy the seruice, as other his ancestors before him had done. For this cause he summoned a parliament of all estates to meete at Yorke, about the beginning of December. Where the king was aduertised comming, that the comming of such as were warned thereunto. For the want of whose comming the parliament was reiourned till monday, and from thence to tuesday next insuing. But for so much as most of the states were absent, the assemblie required the continuance of the parliament, vntill the feast of S. Hillarie then insuing at Yorke, which was granted. And so a new summons was especially awarded to euerie person with special charge to attend, so that the affaires of the king and the realme might not be hindred, because of the

debate betweene the archbiſhop of Canterburie and archbiſhop of Yorke, for the ſuperiour bearing of the croſſe.

The archbiſhop of Canterburie claimeth the croſſe to be borne before him in his owne prouince.

In concluſion, for all the kings ſummoning, none other of all the clergie came, but only the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Lincolne, and of Carliſle, and abbats of Yorke and Selby. By the ſame was not only a looſe to the opportunitie to Scotland: but alſo an inſupportable charge to the whole eſtate by a new aſſemble. And thus much out of the records. Whereby thou mayeſt eaſily iudge (prudent reader) what is to be thought of theſe pope-holy catholike churchmen: being of the popes breed and ſetting vp, whom ſuch friuolous cauſes of contention ſtirre vp to ſuch diſquietneſſe, both among themſelues, and vnto ſuch diſobedience againſt their prince: ceaſe they who can. Ex An. 6. Regis Edwardi 2.

Ex an. 17. reg. Edwardi 3. nu. 29.

The popes prouiſions ſtraitned, cap. 59.

The church of England ſhorted by the pope and his ſorcerers.

The acte of king Edward the firſt renewed for premunire, cap. 60.

An. 1298. Edwardi 1. nu. 18. 19. 21.

Diſcretion written 4. inquiſitio. an. reg. 18. tit. 34.

Diſpoſitions of benefices onely in the kings hands, anno 18. Ed. 3. tit. 26. Offices from Rome forbid. An. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 37.

The Deanrie of Yorke taken from the cardinall. An. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 38.

The charges and diſburſements of the firſt ſub ſidie.

Alien monkes to auoid. An. 20. Ed. 3. tit. 30.

In concluſion, for all the ſtirre and ſtur, that the archbiſhop of Yorke and his complices made, yet could they not preuaile againſt the ſtrength of the realme, but were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelues to the kings order.

Moreouer, for as much as the ſaid archbiſhop of Yorke, and his complices, had ſtirred vp the people againſt the king, by ſuggeſting vnto them, that the king had taken away their libertie, and ſubiected them to bondage: it was ordained, that the ſaid archbiſhop ſhould make his purgation in the kings bench, and the biſhop of Lincolne in the common bench, and the biſhop of Carliſle in the exchequer.

It followeth moreouer in the ſame records, concerning the abuſing of the popes prouiſions: how that the commons find great default at prouiſions comming from Rome, whereby ſtrangers were enabled within this realme to inioy eccleſiaſticall dignities, and thew diuers inconueniences inſuing thereby, namely the decay of daily almes, the tranſporting of the treaſure to nourith the kings enemies, the diſcouering of the ſecrets of the realme, and the diſabling and impouerithing of the clerkes within this realme.

They alſo ſhew how the pope had in moſt couert wiſe granted to two new cardinals within this realme, (and namely to cardinall Peragot) aboue ten thouſand markes of yearely farme. They therefore required the king and nobles to find ſome remedie, for that they neuer could ne would any longer beare thoſe ſtrange oppreſſions, or elſe to helpe them to expell out of this realme the popes power by force.

Hereupon, the king, lords and commons, ſent for the act made at Carliſle, in the 25. yeare of king Edward the firſt, by on the like complaint: thereby forbidding, that anie thing ſhould be at, empted or brought into the realme, which ſhould tend to the blemiſhing of the kings prerogatiue, or to the preiudice of his lords or commons. And ſo at this time, the ſtatute called the act of prouiſion was made by common conſent, which generally forbiddeth the bringing in of any Bulles, or ſuch trinkets from the court of Rome, or the bring, inioying, or allowing of any ſuch bill, proceſſe, inſtrument, or ſuch ware, as thereby at large both appeare. Wherof ſufficiently is touched before, pag. 322.

The penaltie of which ſtatute afterward followed in the next parliament, An. Reg. Edw. 18. tit. 22. the which penaltie was this: the tranſgreſſors thereof to lie in perpetuall priſon, or to be baniſhed the land. And that all iuſtices of aſſize, goale deliuerie, and Oyer and determiner, may determine the ſame. Required withall, that the ſame act of prouiſion, ſhould continue for euer.

Item, that the ſaid 18. yeare of the raigne of king Edward, tit. 34. it was moreouer propounded: that if any archbiſhop or any perſon religious or other, do not preſent within 4. months ſome able clerke to any dignitie, where any perſon hath obtained from Rome any prouiſion, Bull, &c. but ſurceaſe the ſame: that then the king may preſent ſome able clerke.

Item, propounded in the ſaid parliament an. 18. reg. Ed. 3. tit. if any biſhop elect, ſhall refuſe to take any ſuch biſhoprikes other then by ſuch Bull: that then ſuch elect, ſhall not enter nor enioy his temporalties without his ſpeciall licence.

Also that the king ſhall diſpoſe all ſuch benefices and dignities of ſuch aliens his enemies, as remaine in the countrie of his enemies, and imploy the profits thereof to the defence of the realme.

Moreouer propounded, that commiſſioners be ſent to all the kings ports, to apprehend all ſuch perſons as ſhall bring in any ſuch inſtrument from Rome, and to bring them forthwith before the councell to anſwere thereto.

Propounded furthermore, that the deanrie of Yorke which is to be recouered by iudgement in the kings court, may be beſtowed vpon ſome able man within the realme, who will maintaine the ſame againſt him (meaning the cardinall) who holdeth the ſame by prouiſion from Rome, being the enemie to the king and to the realme) and that the profits may be imployed to the defence of the realme.

The kings anſwere. To all which petitions anſwere was made in forme following: It is agreed by the king, cauſes, baronſ, iuſtices, and other wiſe ment of the realme, that the petitions aforeſaid, be made in ſufficient forme of law, according to the petitions aforeſaid.

¶ Note in this anſwere of the king (good reader) that at the graunt hereof, the conſent of the biſhops is neither named, nor expreſſed, with the other lords of the parliament: and yet, the parliament ſtanteth in his full force, notwithſtanding.

Popes charge for bulles for conſecrated and conſecrating biſhops, more than is lawfull.

## Notes of the parliament holden in the 20. yeare of king Edward the 3.

TO paſſe further, in the 20. yeare of the kings raigne in the parliament holden the ſame yeare, it was propounded: that all alien monkes ſhould auoid the realme by the day of S. Michael, and that their liuings ſhould be diſpoſed, to yong Engliſh ſcholars. The liuing of theſe the king toke to his hands.

The liuings of Aliens giuen to Engliſh men. 20. Ed. 3. tit. 2.

Item, that the king may take the profits of all other ſtrangers liuings, as cardinals and others, during their liues. The profits of whom were alſo in the kings hands.

That ſuch aliens enemies, as be aduanced to liuings here in England (being in their owne countries, ſhomakers, tailers, or chamberlaines to cardinals) ſhould depart before Michaelmas, and their liuings diſpoſed to yong Engliſh ſcholars. The liuings alſo of theſe remained in the kings hands.

The liuings of Romes ſeruants giuen to Engliſh men. 20. Ed. 3. tit. 3.

The commons denied to pay any payment, to any cardinals lying in France, to entreat of warre or peace: which alſo was granted of the kings part as reaſonable.

Item, propounded and fully agreed, that the yearely aduancement of two thouſand markes (granted by the pope to two cardinals, out of the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke) ſhould be reſtrained, and ſuch as ſhall purſue therefore to be out of the land.

Cardinals depriued of their liuings in England, fo. 34.

Likewiſe enacted and agreed, that no Engliſh man ſhould take any thing in farme of any alien religious, ne buy any of their goods, nor be of their councell, on paine of perpetuall impriſonment.

Enacted further, that no perſon ſhould bring into the realme to anie biſhop or other, anie Bull, or anie other letters from Rome, or from anie alien: vnleſſe he ſhew the ſame to the Chancellour or Warden of the Cinque ports, vpon loſſe of all he hath.

Finally, in the end of the ſaid parliament, the biſhops were commanded before the next conuocation, to certifie vnto the Chancerie the names of ſuch aliens, of their benefices, and the values of the ſame.

## Notes of the 25. yeare of king Edward the third.

THe parliament of the 25. yeare, was begun the 6. day of Februarie, the 25. yeare of king Edward 3. In the which parliament, beſide other matters mor, was propounded: that remedie might be had againſt the popes reſeruations, by which breuiate and meanes the pope receiued the firſt fruits of all eccleſiaſticall dignities: A more conſumption to the realme, then all the kings wars.

Ex Archiep. Cant. reg. Ed. 3. The popes firſt fruits and reſeruations more hurtfull to the realme then all the kings wars, tit. 14.

Alſo the like remedie might be had againſt ſuch, as in the court of Rome preſume to vndoe anie iudgement giuen in the kings court, as if they enforced to vndo the lawes of the realme.

To breake of all appeales to Rome, tit. 14.

Whereunto it was anſwered, that there was ſufficient remedie prouided by law.

## Notes of the 38. yeare of king Edward the third.

IN the parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the 38. yeare of Edward 3. in the tiuues of Hilarie (Simon biſhop of Elie being lord Thancellour) it was required by the kings owne mouth, and declared to the whole eſtates: how daily citations and falſe ſuggeſtions were made to the pope, for matters determinable in his courts within the realme, and for procuring prouiſions to eccleſiaſtical dignities, to the great defacing of the ancient lawes, to the ſpoiling of his realme, to the daily conueying away of the treaſure, to the waſting of eccleſiaſtical liuings, to the withdrawing of diuine ſeruice, almes, hoſpitalitie, and other acceptable workes, and to the daily increaſe of all miſchiefes: Wherefore, in perſon by his owne mouth, the king required the whole eſtate to prouide hereof due remedie.

The requeſt of the king for cauſes not to be determined at Rome, tit. 7.

What miſchiefs come by, and poyſoning cauſes to Rome, ex. eodem.

To be noted ſmallie in this parliament of the 38. yeare, that the act of prouiſors, brought in this parliament, although in the printed copie, chap. 1. 2. 3. 4. doth agree with the record, in manner: yet in the ſaid records vnprinted, are moe biting words againſt the pope: a myſterie not to be knowne of all men.

The printed ſtatute of prouiſion not agreeing in all termes with the roll, anno 38. tit. 9.

## Notes of the 40. yeare of king Edward the third.

IT followeth moreouer in the ſaid acts of king Edward the 3. and in the 40. yeare of his raigne, another parliament was called at Weſtminſter the 3. of May. an. 1366. the biſhop of Elie being lord Chancellour and ſpeaker. Who in the ſecond day of the ſaid aſſemblie in the preſence of the king, lords and commons, declared: how the day before, generally they vnderſtood the cauſe of this their aſſemblie, and now more particularly ſhould vnderſtand the ſame: ſpecially how that the king vnderſtood, that the popes for the homage which king Iohn made to the ſee of Rome for the realmes of England and Ireland, and for the tribute by him granted) meant by proces to cite the king to Rome, to anſwere thereto. Wherein, the king required their aduiſes what were beſt for him to do, if any ſuch thing were attempted. The biſhops by their ſelues required reſpite of anſwere, vntill the next day. So did the lords and commons of euerie of them by their ſelues.

Exan. reg. Ed. 3. tit. 7. vide lice.

The popes ſuit to ſend the king vp by proces.



The ſame next day, the whole eſtates reaſſembled together, and by common conſent enacted in effect following, viz. For as much as neither king Iohn, nor any other king, couldbring his realme and people in ſuch thraldome and ſubiection, but by common aſſent of parliament, the which was not done: and therefore done againſt his oth at his coronation (beſides many other cauſes): If therefore the pope ſhould attempt any thing againſt the king, by proceſſe or other matter indeed: That the king with all his ſubiects, ſhould with all their force and power reſiſt the ſame.

King Iohn could not without conſent of parliament be ſame tributarie to the pope, tit. 8.

Agreed by parliament, that the king by force ſhould reſiſt the pope.

Hereto moreouer is not to be omitted, how in the ſaid preſent parliament, the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one ſide, and the friers of the foure orders mendicants in the ſaid Vniuerſities on the other ſide; made long complaints the one againſt the other, to the king in parliament, and in the end ſubmitted themſelues to the kings order.

Debate between the foure orders of friers and the two Vniuerſities Ex. tit. 10.

After which, the king vpon full digeſting of the whole matter (by aſſent of parliament) toke order: that as well the chancellor and ſcholars, as the friers of thoſe orders in the ſaid Vniuerſities; ſhould in all graces and other ſchoole exerciſes, vſe each other in friendly wiſe, without any rumor as before. That none of thoſe orders ſhould receiue any ſcholars into their ſaid orders, being vnder the age of 18. yeares.

That the ſaid friers ſhall take no aduantage, ie procure Bulls or other proceſſe from Rome, againſt the ſaid Vniuerſities, or proceed therein.

Theſe frers ſubiect to the kings order only in all their controuerſies, parliament tit. 12.

And that the king haue power to redreſſe all controuerſies, betweene them from thenceforth. And the offenders to be puniſhed at the pleaſure of the king, and of the counſell.

## Notes of the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third.

Ex Archiepiſc. regiam aſſiſt. an. 50. Reg. Ed. 3. tit. 94.

IN proceſſe of the foreſaid acts and rolles, it followeth more, that in the 50. yeare of the raigne of king Edward the third, the yeare of our Lord 1376, another great parliament was aſſembled at Weſtminſter the 24. of Aprill: Where, ſir Iohn Lupuet being lord chancellor of England, a certaine long bill was put vp againſt the vſurpations of the pope, as being the cauſe of all the plagues, murrions, famine, and pouertie of the realme, ſo as thereby was not left the third perſon, or other commodities within the realme that lately was.

Againſt the vſurpation of the pope.

2 That the taxes paid to the pope of Rome for eccleſiaſticall dignities, do amount to fiue fold as much, as the taxe of all profits as appertaine to the king by the yeare of his whole realme: And that for ſome one biſhoprike or other dignitie, the pope by way of tranſlation and death, hath thre, foure, or fiue ſeuerall taxes.

The pope cauſe of all miſchiefes in England.

3 That the brokers of that ſinfull citie, for money promote many caitifes (being altogether vnlearned and vnworthie) to a thouſand markes liuing by yeare, where the learned and worthie can hardlie obtaine twentie markes, wher by learning decay eth.

The treaſure of the realme conueyed away by the popes meanes, tit. 97.

4 That aliens (enemies to this land) who neuer ſaid ne care not to ſee their pariſhioners, haue thoſe liuings wherewby they beſpite Gods ſeruice, and conuey away the treaſure, and are worſe then Iewes or Saracens.

5 Alſo it was put vp in the ſaid bill to be conſidered, that the lawes of the church, would ſuch liuings to be beſtowed for charitie only, without paying or paping.

6 That reaſon would that liuings giuen of deuotion, ſhould be beſtowed in hoſpitalitie.

7 That God had committed his ſheepe to the pope, to be paſtured, and not thone to deuoure.

8 That lay-patrons perceiuing the couetouſnes and thinnie of the pope, do thereby learne to ſell their benefices vnto beaſts, none otherwiſe then Chriſt was ſold to the Iewes.

The ſheepe giuen example to ſell benefices, fo. 99. Teſtimonie that the pope hath beene out of England, tit. 100.

9 That there is none ſo rich a prince in chriſtendome, that hath the fourth part of ſo much treaſure, as the pope hath out of this realme, for churches moſt ſinfully.

10 Duer and beſides in the ſaid bill, repeating againe the tendering zeale, for the honor of the church: was declared and particularly named, all the plagues which haue iuſtly fallen vpon this realme, for ſuffering the ſame church to be defaced, with declaration that it will daily increaſe without redreſſe.

Reformation of the Church of England deſired in the parliament, tit. 111.

11 Whereupon with much perſwaſion this was deſired, to helpe to redreſſe the ſame: and the rather for that, this was the yeare of Iubiley, the 50. yeare of the kings raigne, the yeare of ioy and gladneſſe, then the which there could be no greater.

12 The meanes how to begin this, was to write two letters to the pope: the one in Latine vnder the kings ſeale, the other in French vnder the ſeales of the nobles, imparting their particularities, and requiring redreſſe, of the which letter of the lords, the effect may be ſeene in a like letter mentioned before, pag. 352.

Aids made for money to be tranſported, tit. 103.

13 And for a further accompliſhment hereof, to enact, that no money were caried forth of the realme by letter of Lumbardie or otherwiſe, on paine of forfeiture and impriſonment, and to enact the articles hereafter enſuing.

14 The king hath heretofore by ſtatute prouided ſufficient remedie, and otherwiſe purſueth the ſame with the holy father the pope, and ſo minded to do from time to time, vntill he hath obtained as well for the matters before, as for the articles inſuing, being in a manner all one.

Againſt the popes lewde practiſes, and collections.

15 That the popes collector and other ſtrangers the kings enemies, and only liege ſubiects for Engliſh dignities, and diſcloſing of the ſecrets of the realme, may be touched.

The popes yeare rent collection what it is commonly worth, tit. 105.

16 That the ſame collector being alſo receiuer of the popes pence, keepeth a houſe in London with clerkes and officers thereto, as it were one of the kings ſolemne courts, tranſporting yearely to the pope, twentie thouſand markes, and moſt commonly more.

17 That cardinals and other aliens remaining at Rome, whereof one cardinall is deane of Yorke, another of Saliſburie, another of Lincolne, another archdeacon of Canterburie, another archdeacon of Durreſme, another archdeacon of Suffolke, another archdeacon of Yorke, another prebendarie of Thaune and Haſtington, another prebendarie of Yorke in the church of Yorke: haue diuers of the beſt dignities of England, and haue ſent ouer to them yearely yr. M. markes, ouer and aboue that which Engliſh bretheren lying there, haue.

The best dignities in England ſtand in the cardinals, tit. 106.

18 That the pope (to ranſome the Frenchmen the kings enimies, who defend Lumbardie from him) both alwaies at his pleaſure leuie a ſubſidie of the whole clergie of England.

The pope man taketh the kings enimies with the kinns money, tit. 107.

19 That the pope for more gaine maketh ſundrie tranſlations of all the biſhoprikes and other dignities within the realme.

The popes practiſes in Chriſtendome to make money, tit. 108.

20 That the popes collector hath this yeare taken to his vſe the firſt fruits of all benefices, by collation or prouiſion.

21 To reuue all the ſtatutes againſt prouiſors from Rome, ſith that the pope refuſeth all the benefices of the world for his owne proper gifts, and hath this yeare created twelue new cardinals, ſo as nolw there are thirtie, where was wont to be but twelue, and all thoſe cardinals, except two or three, are the kings enemies.

The ſaid of prouiſors to be renewed.

22 That the pope in time, will giue the tenpo all manors of thoſe dignities to the kings enemies, ſith he ſo daily diſturpeth vpon the realme, and the kings regalities.

Againſt the popes diſturpation, tit. 112.

23 That all houſes and corporations of religion who bnto the kings raigne now had free election of heads, the pope hath encroched the ſame to himſelfe.

24 That in all legacies from the pope, whatſoeuer; the Engliſh clergie beareth the charge of the legats, and all for the goodneſſe of our money.

English money paſſeth the popes legacies, tit. 113.

25 And ſo it appeareth, that if the money of the realme were as plentifull as euer it was; the collectors alſo ſaid, with the procors of cardinals, would ſome conuey the ſame.

No good money in the realme for the pope and cardinals, tit. 114.

26 For remedie hereof it may be prouided, that no ſuch collectors or procors be permitted out of the realme, tit. 115.

The popes collectors to be reſtrained.

27 For better information hereof, and namely touching the popes collectors, for that the whole clergie being obedient vnto him, dare not diſpleaſe him: It were good, that ſir Iohn Ketrenale, parſon of S. Botolphs in Holborne, may be ſent to come before the lords and commons of this parliament. Who being ſtraitly charged, can declare much more, for that he ſerued the ſame collector in houſe fiue yeares.

English men good Aſſes.

¶ And thus much of this bill touching the popes matters: whereby it may appeare, not to be for nought that hath been vpon vs repoſed by the Italians and other ſtrangers, which vſed to call Engliſh men good Aſſes: for they beare all burdens that be laid vpon them.

Item, in the ſaid parliament it was prouided alſo, that ſuch order as is made in London againſt the horrible vice of vſurie, may be obſerued throughout the whole realme.

Order taken in London againſt vſurie, tit. 158.

The commons of the diocelle of Yorke complaine of the outragious taking of the biſhop and his clerkes, for admiſſions of prieſts to their benefices.

Complaint againſt the biſhop of Yorke and his officers for their exceſſe in taking for their admiſſions, tit. 171.

To theſe records of the parliament aboue preſired of the 50. yeare of this king Edward; we will adioyne alſo other notes, collected out of the parliament, in the yeare next following, which was 51, and the laſt yeare of this kings life and raigne, An. 1377, the 27. of Ianuarie: Although in the printed booke, theſe ſtatutes are ſaid to be made at the parliament holden, as aboue, in the 50. yeare: which is much miſtaken, and ought to be referred to the 51. yeare, as by the records of the ſaid yeare, manifeſtly both appeare.

Ex Archiuis reg. Edw. 3. an. 51. tit. 36.

In which parliament, the biſhop of S. Dauids being lord chancellour, making a long oration, taking his theme out of S. Paul: Libenter ſuffertis inſipientes, &c. Declaring in the ſaid oration many things, as firſt, in ſhewing the topfull newes of the old kings recouerie: then declaring the loue of God toward the king and realme. in chaſtiſing him with ſickneſſe: Afterward ſhewing the bleſſing of God vpon the king, in ſeeing his children: children: Then by a ſimilitude of the head and members, exhorting the people as the members of one bodie to conforme themſelues vnto the godneſſe of the head. Laſtly, he turned his matter to the lords and the reſt, declaring the cauſe of that aſſemble: that for ſo much as the French king had allied himſelfe with the Spaniards and Scots the kings enemies, which had prepared great powers, conſpiring to blot out the Engliſh tongue and name: the king therefore was willing to

The effect of the chancellors Oration.

The cause of this parliament chiefly for the popes vsurped power against the king.

have therein their faithfull counsell.

This being declared by the bishop: sir Robert Ashton the kings chamberlaine, declaring that he was to moue them from the king, for the profit of the realme (the which words perchaunce lay not in the bishops mouth, for that it touched the pope) his Holynesse protesting first, that the king was readie to do all that ought to be done for the pope. But for that diuers disorpations were done by the pope to the king his crowne, and realme, as by particular bils in this parliament should be shewed, he required of them to haue redresse.

Request made that the popes pensions from Rome might be released. 25. Ed. 3. The kings answere.

Against the vsurpations of the spiritualtie. 25. Ed. 3. 6.

In this present parliament petition was made by the commons, that all pensions of things from Rome, and their ministers, should be out of the kings protection.

Whereunto the king answered, that the pope had promised redresse, which if he did not, the lawes then should stand.

It was also in that parliament required, that euerie person of what sore soeuer, being professed of any religion, continuing the habit of fifteene yeares, may vpon the triall of the same in any of the kings courts, be in law vtterlie forebarred of all inheritance, albeit he haue dispensation from the pope. Against which dispensation, is the chiefe grudge. Whereunto the king and the lords answered, saying, that they would prouide.

By this Answere, that is, parliament, is meant, the state of the realme about the king. The popes Lawe of parliament, which now we commonly call parliament, determined by the kingdom. 7 H.

Item, in the said parliament was propounded, that the statute of premisions made at any time may be executed, and that remedie may be had against such cardinals as haue within the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke, purchased reseruations, with the clause of Anneferri, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand Scutes of gold against the popes collector: who was wont to be an English man, and now is a meere French, residing at London, and conueyeth yearely to the pope twentie thousand markes, or twentie thousand pounds, who this yere gathereth the first fruits what soeuer. Alleaging the meanes to meet with these reseruations and nouelties, as to commune all strangers to depart the realme during the warre that no Englishman to become their farmour, or to send to them any money without a speciall licence, on paine to be out of the kings protection. Whereunto was answered by the king, that the statutes and ordinances therefore made, should be obserued.

Ex Actis parliamentorum an. reg. Ed. regis 15. nu. 24.

In these rolles and records of such parliaments as were in this kings time continued, diuers other things are to be noted much woorthie to be marked, and not to be suppressed in silence. Wherein the reader may learne and vnderstand the state of the kings iurisdiction here within this realme, not to be brauled in those daies (although the pope then seemed to be in his chiefe ruffe) as afterward since in other kings daies was seene. As may appeare in the parliament of the 15. yeere of this king Edward the third, and in the 24. article of the said parliament: where it is to be read, that the kings officers and temporall iudges did then both punish vsurers, and impeached the officers of the church for bribe-taking and for taking money for temporall paine, probate of willes, solemnitie of mariage, &c. all the pretensed liberties of the popish church to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Punishment of the iudge & clerk for taking money in matters belonging to the temporall iudges.

Furthermore, in the parliament of the 25. yeare, appeareth, that the liberties of the clergie and their exemptions in claiming the deliuerance of men by their booke vnder the name of clerkes, stood then in little force, as appeared by one Hawkins a knight: who for imprisoning one of the kings seruants, till he made fine of twentie pound, was therefore conuented, notwithstanding the liberties of the clergie, which by his booke would haue saued him, but could not.

The like subiect in the 25. yeare of that king.

The like also appeared by iudgement giuen against a priest at Nottingham, for killing of his maister.

And likewise by hanging certaine monkes of Combe. Ex parliam. An. 25. Ed. 3.

Item, in the parliament of the 15. yeare, by apprehending of I. Stratford archbishop of Canturburie, and his arraignment: concerning which his arraignment, all things were committed to sir William of Ashby.

The arraignment of the archbishop of Canturburie. an. 15. Ed. 3. fol. 290.

Besides these truths and notes of the kings parliaments, wherein may appeare the toward proceedings of this king and of all his commons against the pretensed church of Rome: this is moreouer to be added to the commendation of the king, that in the volumes of the acts and rolles of the king aforesaid: That the said king Edward the third sent also John Wickliffe, reader then of Diuinitie learne in Oxford, with certaine other lords and ambassadors ouer into the parts of Italie, to treat with the popes legats concerning affaires betwixt the king and the pope with full commission: the tenor whereof here followeth expressed.

John Wickliffe sent with the kings Ambassadors beyond the Sea.

R *Ex memoriali, ad quorum notitiam præsentes literæ peruenerint, &c.*

In English thus.

The king to all and singuler to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we reposing assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdome of the reuerend father Iohn bishop of Bangor, and other our louing and faithfull subiects, M. Iohn Wickliffe, reader of the Diuinitie lecture, M. Io. Gunter deane of Segebwen, and M. Simon Moulton doctor of the law, Sir William Burton knight, M. John Bellknap, and M. John Honington, haue directed them as our ambassadors and speciall commissioners to the parts beyond the seas. Giuing to the said our ambassadors and commissioners, to six or fiue of them, of whom I will that the said bishop shall be one, full power and authoritie, with commandement speciall, to treat and consult mildely and charitablie with the legats and ambassadors of the lord pope touching certaine affaires. Whereupon of late we sent heretofore the said bishop, and William Vghred monke of Dureme, and M. John Shepe to the see apostolicall: And hereof to make full relation of all things done and past in the said assemblie, that all such things which may tend to the honor of holy church and the aduancement of our crowne and this our realme, may by the assistance of God and the wisdome of the see apostolicall be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witnesse our selues, &c. at London dated the 26. day of July in the 48. yeare of our raigne.

By the which it is to be noted, that good will the king then bare to the said Wickliffe, and what small regard he had to the sinfull see of Rome.

Of the which Iohn Wickliffe, because we are now approched to his time; remaineth consequently for our parte to entreat of, so as we haue heretofore done of other like valiant soudiers of Christs church before him.

## John Wickliffe.

Here begin-neth the storie of Iohn Wickliffe.

AFter al these heretofore recited, by whom (as ye haue heard) it pleased the Lord sometyng to worke against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friers: now remaineth consequently, following the course of yeares, orderly to enter into the stage and tractation of John Wickliffe our countriman, and other moe of his time and same countrie, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of spirit) raised vp here in England, to detect more fully and anuplie the poison of the popes doctrine, and false religion set vp by the friers. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted: yet such blemishes they be which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, then which wilfully did fight against Christ our Sauiour, as the popes proceedings & the friers do. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church, so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swarued simple? And yet be the faith articles of his, neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in themselues and so cardinall, as those cardinall enemies of Christ perchance do giue them out to be; if his bookes which they abolished, were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they haue wrested to the worst, as euill will neuer said the best.

The blemishes of Wickliffe made worse then they be.

This is certaine and cannot be denied, but that he being the publike reader of Diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Oxford; was for the rude time wherein he liued, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe schoolman, and no lesse expert in all kind of philosophie. The which both not only appeare by his owne most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden his most cruell and bitter enemie. Who in a certaine epistle written vnto pope Martin the fift, saith that he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authoritie which he had gathered, with the vehemencie and force of his reasons, &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as haue obserued the order and course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1371. Edward the third raigning in England: for thus we do find in the chronicles of Carton: In the yeare of our Lord 1371. (saith he) Edward the third, king of England, in his parliament, was against the popes clergie: he willingly harkened and gaue eare to the voices and tales of heretikes, with certaine of his counsell: conceiuing and following sinister opinions against the clergie. Wherefore (afterward) he tasted & suffered much aduersitie and trouble. And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord (saith he) 1372. he wrote vnto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any meanes intermeddle any more within his kingdome, as touching the reseruation, or distribution of benefices: and that all such bishops as were vnder his dominion, should keep their former and ancient liberte, and be confirmed of their Metropolitanes, as hath been accustomed in times past, &c. Thus much writeth Carton. But as touching the iust number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious or careful about, at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most deplorate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darknesse of God his truth had ouershadowed the whole earth: this man stepped forth like a valiant champion, vnto whom it may iustly be applied that is spoken in the booke called Ecclesiasticus of one Simon the sonne of Onias: Euen as the morning star being in the middest of a cloud, and as the Moone being full in her course, and as the bright beames of the Sunne; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God.

All good things defiled and hurted with sinystration.

The testimonie of Walden an enemie in commendation of Wickliffe.

§ Anno 1371 § The time of J. Wickliffe.

§ Anno 1372 §

Ex Carione.

Thus doth almighty God continually succor and help vs when all things are in despaire: being alwaies (according to the prophecie of the Psalme) a helper in time of need. The which thing neuer more plainly appeared, then in these latter dares and



and extreame age of the church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraued and corrupted. That like as the disease named Lethargus among the physitions, euen so the state of religion amongst the diuines, was past all mans helpe and remedie. The onely name of Christ remained amongst christians, but his true and liuely doctrine was as farre vnknowne vnto the most part, as his name was common vnto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and vse of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotencie and weaknesse, of the holy Ghost, of the greatnesse and strength of sinne, of true works, of grace and free iustification by faith, of libertie of a christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the summe and matter of our profession; there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of Scripture, learning and diuinitie; was knowne but vnto a few, and that in the schooles onely, and there also turned and conuerted almost all into sophistrie. In stead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the maister of sentences. The world leauing and forsaking the liuely power of Gods spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and humane traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining saluation fullie stayed & herevnto all things were attributed. Insomuch, that scarcely any other thing was seene in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finallie intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping vp of certaine shadowed ceremonies vpon ceremonies, neither was there any end of their heaping.

The description of Wickliffes time.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see, and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church being degenerated from the true apostolike institution aboue all measure (referring only the name of the apostolike church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreame tyrannie, where as the pouertie and simplicitie of Christ was changed into cruelties and abomination of life. In stead of the apostolicke gifts and continuall labors and trauels, slothfulnes and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung vp a thousand sects and fashions of strange religions, being the onely rote and well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depriuations were crept into the sacraments, and what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and figures of things, for the very things themselues: and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials. Finally, what thing was there, in the whole state of christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of dailie new fangled ceremonies were the silie consciences of men redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled? Insomuch, that there could be no great difference almost perceiued betweene christianitie and Iewishnesse, saue only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Iewes, might seeme somewhat more tolerable then ours. There was nothing sought for out of the true fountaines, but out of the turbie puddles of the Pharisians. The christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with mere decrees and constitutions of men, euen whither as pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and ouerwhelmed with errors and darknesse. And no great marueil; for why, the simple and vnlearned people being farre from all knowledge of the holy scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know onlie these things which were deliuered them by their pastors and shepherds; and they on the other part taught in a manner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the court of Rome. Whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more then to the glorie of Christ.

The captaines of the church fauored as well as the inferiour sort.

The christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that euerie man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and vnderstand that thing which the diuels themselues also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderfull holinesse. All men were so addict vnto outward shewes, that euen they themselues which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the scriptures, scarsly did vnderstand or know any other thing. And this euidently did appeare, not onely in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captaines of the church: whose whole religion and holinesse consisted in a maner in the obseruing of daies, meats and garments, and such like rhetoricall circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments: so many differences of colours and meates: with so many pilgrimages to seuerall places, as though S. James at Compostella could doe that, which Christ could not doe at Canturburie: or else that God were not of like power and strength in euery place, or could not be found but being sought for by running and gadding hither and thither. Thus the holinesse of the whole yere was transported and put off vnto the lent season. No countrie or land was counted holy, but onelie Palestina, where Christ had walked himselfe with his corporall feet. Such was the blindnesse of that time, men did striue and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had been for the chiefe and onelie force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to reade the monuments of the former times, to see and vnderstand what great troubles and calamities this crosse hath caused almost in euery christian commonwealth. For the Romish champions neuer ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to moue and stir vp princes minds to warre and battell, euen as though the faith and beleefe of the gospell, were of small force, or little effect without that wodden crosse. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince king Rich. into Hierusalem. Who being taken in the same iournie, and deliuered vnto the emperour: could scarslie be ransomed home againe, for 30. M. marlies: pag. 225. In the same enterpise or iournie, Frederecus the emperour of Rome, a man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged in the same iournie, an. 1179. And also Philip the king of France, scarsly returned home againe in safetie, not without great losses: so much did they esteeme the recouery of the holy citie and crosse.

Palestina where Christ had walked in the flesh. Palestina reuered holy for Christs walking there.

Richard king of England.

Frederecke the emperour of Rome.

Philip king of France.

Vpon this alone, all mens cies, mindes and deuotions, were so set and bent: as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of Christ were in no other place but only at Hierusalem. Such was the blindnesse and superstition of those daies, which vnderstood or knew nothing but such as were outwardlie seene: whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that Vrbanus did so vere and torment himselfe? Because that Antioch with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the christians. For so we doe find it in the chronicles, at what time as Ierusalem with Baldwine and the crosse of our Lord was taken, and vnder the power of the Sarsins; Celestinus tels the matter so grieuously, that for very sorow he died. In whose place succeded Lambertus which was called Gregorie the 8. by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnesse) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their powerie and humilitie first of all should take the crosse vpon them, and goe before others into the land of Ieruselem. These are the words of the historie; whereby it is euident vnto the vigilant reader, vnto what grossenesse the true knowledge of the spirituall doctrine of the gospell was degenerate and growne vnto in those daies: how great blindnesse and darknesse was in those daies, euen in the first principle, and supposicion of the bishop of Rome: as though the outward succession of Peter and the Apostles, had been of greater force and effect to vnitter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that euery man should labour and indue with all their indeuour to follow the life and confession of Peter: And that man seemeth vnto me to be the true successor of Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not preuaile. For if that Peter in the gospel do beare the type and figure of the christian church (as all men in a maner doe affirme) what more foolish or vaine thing can there be, then through pryuat supposition, to restraine and to bind that vnto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it selfe free and open to so many?

Pope Urbanus. Lambert pope.

The knowledge of the Gospel grossely corrupted by the Romanists.

Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darknesse of ignorance, what time there stirred in a maner to be no one so little a sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining: this foresaid Wickliffe by Gods prouidence sprang and rose vp: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise vp against the world, which was ouermuch drowned and whelmed in the deepe streames of humane traditions. Thus you haue here the time of Wickliffes originall.

Wherein Wickliffe after he had now by a long time profession studied in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and perceiuing the true doctrine of Christs gospell to be adulterate and defiled, with so many filthie inuentions of bishops, seas of monks, and darke errours: And that he after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secret sighes, and bewailing in his mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same, but that he at the last determined with himselfe to helpe and to remedie such things as he saw to be euill and out of the way. But for so much as he saw that this dangerous medling, could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things which had been so long time with vse and custome rooted and grafted in mens minds, could bee suddenlie plucked vp or taken away, he thought with himselfe that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his originall at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way to meane to greater matters. And first he assailed his aduersaries in logicall and metaphysicall questions, disputing with them of the first forme and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophemes of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding did not a little helpe and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Beningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against John Wickliffe.

Wickliffe & Diuine in Oxford.

Thersitus vp of Wickliffe in troublous time.

By these originals, the way was made vnto greater points; so

so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the Sacraments, and other abuses of the church. Touching which things this holy man take great paines, protesting (as they said) openlie in the schooles, that it was his chiefe and principall purpose and intent, to reuoke and call backe the church from her idolatrie to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ. But this bile or sore could not bee touched without the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friers were set on a rage or madnesse, which (euen as hornets with their sharpe stings) did assaile this good man on euery side: fighting (as is said) for their altars, paunches and bellies. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop took the matter in hand, being then S. Sudburie, who for the same cause deposed him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford. Notwithstanding he being somewhat friended and supported by the king, as apeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the friers, and of the archbishop all this while of his first beginning, till about the yeare of our Lord, 1377. After which time now to prosecute the course of his troubles and conflict, first I must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is, to inferre some mention of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord Henrie Percie, which were his speciall maintainers.

*Vvickliffe the matter of his deposition at Oxford by S. Simisbery.*

*Anno. 1377.*

*Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henrie Percie great maintainers of Iohn Wickliffe.*

As peares and time grew on, king Edward the third, which had raigned now about 51. peares, after the decease of prince Edward his sonne, who departed the yere before: was stricken in great age, and in such feblenesse withall, that hee was vnable though lacke of strength to gouerne the affaires of the realme. Wherefore a parliament being called the yere before his death, it was there put vp by the knights and other the burgesses of the parliament (because of the misgouernment of the realme by certaine gredie persons about the king, taking all to themselues, without seeing any iustice done) that 12. sage and discreet leeds, and peeres, such as were free from note of all auarice, should bee placed as tutours about the king, to haue the doing and disposing vnder him (for at one time, and in their absence fire at another) of all matters pertinent to the publike regiment. Here by the way I omit to speake of Alice Perris the wicked harlot, which (as the storie giueth) had bewitched the kings heart, and gouerned all, and late vpon causes her self through the diuelish help of a frier Dominicke: who by the duke of Lancaster was caused to be taken, and was conuicted, and should haue suffered for the same, had not the archb. of Cant. and the friers (more regarding the libertie of their church, then the punishing of vice) reclaimed him for their owne prisoner. This Alice Perris, notwithstanding she was banished by this parliament from the king, yet afterward she came againe, and like an impudent strumpet as she was, tooke all his rings vpon his fingers: and other iewels from him, and so fled away like an harlot. But this of her by the way.

*Alice Perris the kings concubine.*

*The king bewitched by a woman through the helpe of a frier.*

*The vnpoperie of an whore.*

These 12. gouernors by the parliament aforesaid being appointed to haue the tuition of the king, and to attend to the publike affaires of the realme: remained for a certaine space about him, till afterward it fell out, that they being againe removed, all the regiment of the realme rest vnder the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster the kings son. For as yet Richard the sonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very young and vnder age.

*12. Gouernors assigned about the king.*

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceiued a certaine displeasure against the popish clergie: whether for corrupt and impure doctrine ioyned with like abominable excesse of life, or for what some other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Onely by storie the cause thereof may be gessed, to rise by William Wickam bishop of Winchester. The matter is this.

*For whom. Matthew Paris.*

The bishop of Winchester (as the saying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foresaid John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the queene. Who being in trauell at Gaunt, had no sonne (as he said) but a daughter: which the same time by living soon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the queene fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a woman of Flanders (borne the very same time) to be conueied and brought vnto her in stead of her daughter aforesaid. And so brought vp the child whom she bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the bishop did the queene tell him, lying in extremities on her deathbed vnder seale of confession: charging him if the said duke should euer afpire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall vnto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings bloud, but a false heire of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop, as it fauoureth of a contumelious lie, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtill zeale toward the popes religion, meaning falshood. For that the foresaid duke by fauouring of Wickliffe, declared himselfe to be a professed enemie against the popes profession. Which thing was then not vnknowne, neither vnmarked of the prelats and bishops then in England. But the sequell of the storie thus followeth.

*A warrant of the parliament against the Duke of Lancaster.*

This slanderous villanie of the bishops report being blazed abroad, and comming to the dukes eare: he therewith being not a little discontended (as no maruell was, sought again by what meanes he could, to bee reuenged of this forenamed bishop. In conclusion, the duke hauing now all the gouernment of the realme vnder the king his father, in his owne hand; so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprined of all his temporall goods, which goods were alligned to prince Rich. of Burdeux, the next inheritour of the crowne after the king; and furthermore inhibited the said bishop not to approch nere to the court by 20. miles. Further, as touching this bishop, the storie thus proceedeth: Not long after in the yere of our Lord, 1377. a parliament was called by the meanes of the duke of Lancaster, vpon certaine causes and respects: in which parliament great request and sute was made by the clergie for the deliuerance of the bishop of Winchester. At length when a subsidie was asked in the kings name of the clergie, and request also made in the kings behalfe for spedie expedition to bee made for the dissoluing of the parliament, the archb. therefore accordingly consented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the K. with great lamentation complained for lacke of their fellow and brother W. of Wint. Whole iniurie, said they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: And therefore denied to ioyne themselues in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head: And (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) would not otherwise doe. And seemed moreouer to be moued against the archb. for that hee was not more stout in the cause, but suffered him so to be cited & put.

*W. Wickham Bish. of Winch. deprined.*

*Bishops hoth together. Liberties of the Church a great matter.*

*W. of Wint. sent for to the conuocation.*

The archb. although hauing sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, wherefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof: yet being inforced and persuaded thereunto, by the vnpoitunitie of the bishops, directed downe his letters to the foresaid bishop of Wint. willing him to resort vnto the conuocation of the clergie. Who being glad to obay the same, was receiued with great ioy of the other bishops. And at length by the meanes of Alice Perris, the kings paramour aboue mentioned, (giuing to her a good quantitie of money) the said Winchester was restored to his owne temporalities againe.

*Iohn Wickliffe sent for by the Duke of Lancaster.*

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the meane time had sent for John Wickliffe: who, as is said, was then the diuinitie reader in Oxford, and had contended in sundrie acts and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the popes Church in many things: who also for the same had been deprined of his benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures, and sermons to intreat of, and wherefore hee was deprined, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath another. That if it bee giuen by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolue the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. Hee affirmed moreouer, that neither the king nor any temporall lord could giue any perpetuitie to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such ecclesiasticall persons doe sinne, habitualiter, continuing in the same still, the temporall powers ought and may meritoriously, take away from them, that before hath been bestowed vpon them. And that hee proued, to haue been practised before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (said hee) if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? if he did it vnlawfully, then doth the church erre (saith hee) and doth vnlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The storie whch ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out (as I take it) of the monasterie of S. Albone, addeth withall: that in his teaching and preaching hee was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to bee an hypocrite, the cause was this:

*Exhist. Monast. D. Albani ex accomodato D. Mach. Archiepisc. Cant.*

*Examples of W. Rufus.*

First, because he resorted much to the orders of the begging friers, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their pouertie.

Secondly, because he and his fellowes busially accustomed in their preaching to goe barefoot, and in simple russet gownes.

*Ex hist. Monasterij D. Albani.*

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from the ambition and pride, which in the slanderous penne of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his 19. book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (conceiuing therfore indignation against the clergy) became their mortall enemie. How true this was, he only knoweth that rightly shall iudge both the one and the other.

*The slanderous penne of Polydor.*

In the meane time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly coniecture what is to be thought of the man. But howsoeuer it was in him either true or false: yet it had been Polydors part, either not so intemperately to haue abused his pen, or at least to haue shewed some greater authoritie and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, for rashlie to defame a man whose life hee knoweth not, is not the part of a faithfull storie writer.

*Wickliffe falsly charged with ambition by Polydore.*

Leg to returne from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions



*Wickliffe begun with to reuiue the matter of the sacrament.*

opinions and assertions abouerecited, with other moe, which are hereafter to bee brought in order; hee began also then somthing merelie to touch the matter of the sacrament, proouing that in the said sacrament, the accidences of bread remained not without the subiect, or substance: both by the holie scriptures, and also by the authozitie of the doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the latter writers, that is to say such as haue written vpon that argument vnder the thousand peres since Christs time, hee vtterly refused: saything, that after these yeares Satan was losed and set at liberty. And that since that time the life of man hath bin most subiect and in danger of errors: the simple and plaine truth to appeare and consist in the scriptures, wherevnto all humane traditions whatsoeuer they bee, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth and published now of late yeres. This was the cause why he refused the latter writers of decretals, leaning onelie to the scriptures and ancient doctors: most stoutly affirming out of them that in the sacrament of the bodie which is celebrate, with bread the accidence not to bee present without the substance. That is to say, that the bodie of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those dates did preame. As for his arguments that they were, wee will shortly at more oppotunitie by Gods grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the Poet speaketh very truely) had gotten John Wickliffe great displeasure and hatred at many mens hands: and specially of the monks and richest sort of priests.

*The latter writers of the church to be misconfirmed.*

*The accidences not to be in the sacrament with out the substance.*

Albeit though the fauor and suppotation of the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, he perstifed hitherto in some meane quiet against their wolwish violence and cruelti: Till at last about the yeare of our Lord 1376. the bishops fell buying and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudburie, who before had deprined him, and afterwards prohibited him not to stir any more in these sorts of matters: had obtained by processe and order of citation to haue him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after their vsuall forme was to him assigned.

The duke hauing intelligence that Wickliffe his client should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weake against such a multitude: called to him out of the orders of friers, foure bachelers of diuinitie, out of euery order one, to ioyne them with Wickliffe also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said Wickliffe to appeare, which day was thursday, the nineteenth of February: John Wickliffe accompanied with the foure friers aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, lord Marshall of England, the said lord Percie also going before them to make roome and way where with Wickliffe should come.

*Exhist. Monast. D. Albani ex accomodato D. Mach. Archiepisc. Cant.*

Thus Wickliffe (though the prouidence of God) being sufficientlie garded, was comming to the place where the bishops sate: whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor thinke a whit at the companie of the bishops there present, who were all vnlearned (said they) in respect of him. For to proceed the words of my foresaid author, who I follow in this narration: neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselues assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these words, and with the assistance of the Nobles, Wickliffe in heart incouraged, approcheth to the church of S. Paul in London. Where a mainie preasse of people was gathered to heare what should be said and done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude, that the lords (for all the puissance of the high Marshal) vneth with great difficultie could get way through. Insomuch that the bishop of London (whose name was William Courtney) seeing the like that the lord Marshall kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percie, said: that if he had knowne before what maistries he would haue kept in the church, he would haue stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the bishop, the duke disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop againe, and said: that he would keepe such maistrie there, though he said nay.

*Striuing for the Lords to passe by the people.*

*W. Courtnes bishop of London.*

*The words of the bishop of London to the lord Percie.*

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies chapell. Where the dukes and Barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops. Before whom the foresaid John Wickliffe according to the manner, stood before them, to know what should be laid vnto him. To whom itell spake the lord Percie, bidding him to sit downe, saying: that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the bishop of London cast eftsoones into a fumish chafe with those words, said: he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he which was cited there to appeare to answere before his ordinarie, should sit downe during the time of his answer, but should stand. Vpon these words a fire began to heat and kindle betweene them. Insomuch that they began to rate and to reuile one the other, that the whole multitude there with disquieted, began to be set on a hurrey.

*Wickliffe bid to sit downe before the bishops.*

*Wickliffe remoued by the bishop of London to sit downe.*

*Strife betweene the lord Marshall and bishop of London.*

*The people set in a hurrey.*

*Strife betweene the duke of Lancaster and bishop of London.*

Then the duke taking the lord Percies part with hastie words began also to take vp the bishop. To whom the bishop againe nothing inferior in reprochfull checkes and rebukes did render and requite not only to him as good as hee brought: but also did so farre excell him, in this railing art of scolding, that to vse the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quod non potuit prænulere litigio. i. that the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not ouerpasse the bishop in brawling and railing, and therefore fell to plaine threatning, menacing the bishop, that he would bring downe the pride not onelie of him, but also of all the prelacie of England. And speaking moreouer vnto him: Thou (said hee) knowest thy selfe to lying vpon thy parents, which shall not be able to helpe thee: They shall haue enough to doe to help themselues. For his parents were the earle and countesse of Deuonshire. To whom the bishop againe answered, that to bee bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the eare of him next by him said that hee would rather plucke out the bishop by the haire of his head out of the church, then hee would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretlie, but that the Londoners ouerheard him. Whereupon being fet in a rage, they cried out, saying: that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuouslie to be abused. But rather they would lose their liues, then that he should so be drawne out by the haire. Thus that councell being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolued before nine of the clocke. And the duke with the lord Percie went to the parliament: where the same day, before dinner a bill was put vp in the name of the king by the lord Thomas Mowbrey, and lord Henrie Percie, that the citie of London should no more be gouerned by a maior, but by a captaine, as in times before. And that the marshall of England should haue all the ado in taking the arrests within the said citie, as in other cities besides, with other petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill being read, standeth vp Iohn Philpot burgesse then for the citie, saying to them which read the bill, that that was neuer seene so before: and adding moreouer, that the maior would neuer suffer any such things, or other arrest to be brought into the citie, with more such words of like toutnesse.

*The duke threateneth to draw out their bishop by the haire out of the Church.*

*Londoners rage past their bishop.*

*Petitions put vp in the Parliament against the citie of London.*

The next day following, the Londoners assembled themselues in a councell, to consider among them vpon the bill for changing the maior, and about the office of the marshall, also concerning the liberties done the day before to their bishop.

*Hastie counsell of the Londoners.*

In which meane time they being but in long consultation of this matter, suddenly and vnawares entred in the place two certaine lords, whether to come to spie, or for what other cause the author leaueth it vncertaine, the one called lord Fitzwalter, the other lord Guy Brian. At the first comming in of them the vulgar sort was readie forthwith to flee vpon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an oth, declaring that their comming in was for no harme toward them. And so were compelled by the citizens to sweare to the citie their truth and fidelitie, contrary to the which oth if they should rebell, they would bee contended to forfeit whatsoeuer goods and possessions they had within the citie.

This done, they began the lord Fitzwalter in this wise to perswade and exhort the citizens: first declaring how hee was bound and obliged to them and to their citie, not for the oth onlie now newly receiued, but of old and ancient good will from his great grandfathers time. Besides other diuers duties, for the which hee was chiefly bound to bee one of their principall fautors: forsomuch as whatsoeuer tended to their damage and detriment, redounded also no lesse vnto his owne, for which cause hee could not otherwise chuse, but that as he did vnderstand to be attempted against the publike priuiledges and liberties of the citie, hee must needs communicate the same to them. Who beleeue they with prestie circumspection doe occeure and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turne in the end to their no small incommoditie. And as there were many other things, which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was, which hee could in no wise but admonish them of: which was this, necessarie to be considered of them all, how the lord Marshall Henrie Percie in his place within himselfe had one inward and cudodie. whether with the knowledge, or without the knowledge of them. he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said L. Marshall was not allowed any such ward or prison in his house within the liberties of the citie. Which thing if it be not time to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would in time breed to such a preiudice vnto their customs and liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, redresse the iniurie thereof.

*The Oration of Lord Fytzwalter to the Londoners.*

*The bishop vnreasonable. The duke intreateth.*

These words of the lord Fitzwalter were not so soone spoken, but they were as soone taken of the rash citizens, who in all hastie furie running to their armour and weapons, went incontinently to the house of the lord Percie, where breaking vp the gates, by violence they tooke out the prisoner, and burned the flocks wherein he sate, in the midst of London. Then was the lord Percie sought for: whom (saith the storie) they would doubtlesse haue slaine if they might haue found him. With their billes and iauelins, al corners and priuie chambers were searched, beds and hangings tome asunder. But the lord Percie, as God would) was then with K. Duke, whom one John Pyer the same day with great instance had desired to dinner.

*The Citizens of London breake vp the lord Percie his house at Saua.*

*Gods prouision in sauing his seruants.*

The

The houſe of the Duke of Lancaſter fearfully aſſaulted by the Londoners.

The duke and Lord Percie ſent to the Prince.

A prieſt in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe cruelly killed.

The William of the Londoners againſt the duke.

The meſſenger of the princeſſe to the Londoners.

The duke reconciled to the Londoners.

The Londoners repent ſo to haue diſpleaſed the Duke of Lancaſter, and ſeek meanes to appeaſe the Duke.

A ſtorie of the Biſhop of Norwich.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and ſuppoſing that he was with the duke at Sauoy, in all haſte heate turned their power thither, running as faſt as they could to the Dukes houſe. Where alſo in like manner they were diſappointed of their cruell purpoſe. In the meane while as this was doing, commeth one of the dukes men running poſt haſt to the duke and to the lord Percie, declaring what was done. The duke being then at his oyſters, without any further tarrying, and alſo breaking both his ſtomes at the ſame for haſt, tooke boate with the lord Percie, and by water went to Kingſtone, where then the princeſſe with Richard the young prince did lie. Who there declared vnto the princeſſe all the whole matter, concerning the outrage of the Londoners as it was. To whom ſhe promiſed againe, ſuch an order to be taken in the matter, as ſhould be to his contentation. At what time the commons of London, thus as is ſaid, were about the dukes houſe at Sauoy, meeteth with them a certaine prieſt, who marrelling at the ſuddaine rage and concourſe, aſked what they ſought. To whom anſwer was giuen againe of ſome, that they ſought for the duke and lord marſhall, to haue of them the lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in priſon. To this the prieſt anſwered againe more boldlie then opportunelie: That Peter (ſaid he) is a falſe traitour to the king, and worthie long ſince to be hanged. At the hearing of theſe words, the furious people with a terrible ſhoute cried out vpon him, that he was a traitor and one that tooke the dukes part, and ſo falling vpon him with their weapons ſtrooke who might firſt ſtrike him. Who after they had wounded him very ſore, ſo being wounded they had him into priſo, where within few daies vpon the ſoreines of his wounde he died.

Neither would the rage of the people thus haue ceaſed, had not the biſhop of London leauing his dinner come to them at Sauoy, and putting them in remembrance of the bleſſed time (as they tearme it) of Lent, had perſwaded them to ceaſe and to be quiet.

The Londoners ſeeing that they could get no vantage againſt the duke, who was without their reach: to bewreake their anger they tooke his armes, which in moſt deſpitefull wiſe they hanged vp, in the open places of the citie in ſigne of reproch, as for a traitor. Inſomuch that when one of his gentlemen came through the citie with a plate containing the dukes armes, hanging by a lace about his necke, the citizens not abiding the ſight thereof, caſt him from his horſe, and pluckt his eſcutchin from him, and were about to worke the extremitie againſt him, had not the maior reſcued him out of their hands, and ſent him home ſafe vnto the duke his maſter. In ſuch hatred was then the duke among the vulgar people of London.

After this, the princeſſe vnderſtanding the harts and boale of the Londoners ſet againſt the foreſaid duke, ſent vnto London three knights, ſir Alured Lewer, ſir Simon Burle, and ſir Lewes Clifford, to entreat the citizens to bee reconciled with the duke. The Londoners anſwered: that they for the honor of the princeſſe, would obay and doe with all reuerence, what ſhe would require. But this they required and entreated the meſſengers to ſay to the duke, by word of mouth, that he ſhould ſuffer the biſhop of Wincheſter afore mentioned and alſo the lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their anſwer, and to be iudged by their peeres. Whereby either they might be quit if they were guiltleſſe: or otherwiſe if they be found culpable, they might receiue according to their deſertes after the lawes of the realme. What griefe and diſpleaſure the duke conceiued and retained in his mind hereof: Againe, what meanes and ſute the Londoners for their part made to the old King for their liberties: What rimes and ſongs in London were made againſt the duke: How the biſhops at the dukes requeſt were moued to excommunicate thoſe malitious diuiders: And moreouer, how the duke at laſt was reuenged of thoſe contumelies and iniuries: How hee cauſed them to be brought before the king: How ſharplie they were rebuked for their miſdemeanor, by the worthie oration of the lord Chamberlain, Robert Aſtanc, in the preſence of the king, archbiſhops, biſhops, with diuers other eſtates, the kings children, and other Nobilities of the Realme: in concluſion, how the Londoners were compelled to this at length, by the common aſſent & publik charges of ye city, to make a great taper of ware, which with the Dukes armes ſet vpon it, ſhould be brought with ſolemne proceſſion to the church of S. Paul, there to burne continually before the Image of our Ladie: And at laſt, how both the ſaid duke and the Londoners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king, with the kiſſe of peace, and the ſame reconcilement publikely denounced in the church of Weſtminſter, and what ioy was in the whole citie therof: Theſe becauſe they are impertinent and make to long a digreſſion from the matter of Wickliffe, I cut off with breuity, referring the Reader to other, hiſtories namely of Saint Albones, where they are to be found at large.

As theſe aforeſaid for breuitie ſake I paſſe ouer, ſo will I not be long, yet cannot omit that, which happened the ſame time and yere to the biſhop of Norwich, to the intent that this poſterite now may ſee, to what pride the clergie then of the Popes church was growne to. The ſame time as this broile was at London, the biſhop of Norwich a little after the time of Eaſter comming to the towne of Lennam, belonging to his lordſhip: being not contented with the old accuſtomed honour due vnto him, and vſed of his predeceſſours before in the ſame towne, required moreouer with a new and vnuſed kind of magnificence to be exalted: Inſomuch, that when he ſaw the chiefe Magiſtrate or Maior of that towne to goin the ſtreetes with his officer going before him, holding a certaine wand in his hand tipped at both ends with blacke horne, as the maner was: he reputing himſelfe to be lord of that towne (as hee was) and thinking to be higher then the higheſt, commanded the honour of that ſtaffe bue to the maior, to bee yelded and borne before his lordly perſonage. The maior or baliffe, with other the townſmen, courteouſlie anſwered to him againe, that they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibite that reuerence vnto him, and would ſo doe, if he firſt of the king and counſell could obtaine that cuſtome, and if the ſame might bee induced after any peaceable map with the good wils of the commons and bodie of the towne: Otherwiſe, ſaid they, as the matter was dangerous, ſo they durſt not take in hand any ſuch new alteration of ancient cuſtomes and liberties, leſt the people (which is alwaies inclinable and prone to euill) do fall vpon them with ſtones, and driue them out of the towne. Wherefore kneeling on their knees before him, there humblie they beſought him that hee would require no ſuch thing of them: that he would ſaue his olone honor and their liues, who otherwiſe if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the biſhop youthfull and hautie, taking occaſion by their humbleneſſe, to ſmell the more in himſelfe, anſwered that hee would not be taught by their counſell, but that hee would haue it done, though all the commons (whom hee named Ribals) ſaid nay. Alſo rebuked the maior and his brethren for meeremks and baſtards, for ſo fearing the vulgar ſort of people.

The citizens perceiuing the wilfull ſtoutneſſe of the Biſhop, meekely anſwering againe, ſaid; they minded not to reſiſt him, but to let him doe therein what he thought good: onelie deſired him that hee would licence them to depart, and hold them excuſed for not waiting vpon him, and conducting him out of the towne with that reuerence which he required. For if they ſhould be ſeene in his companie, all the ſuſpition there of would be vpon them, and ſo ſhould they be all in danger, ſo much as their liues were worth. The biſhop not regarding their aduice and counſell, commanded one of his men to take the red boane before the maior, and to carry the ſame before him. Which being done, and perceiued of the commons; the biſhop after that maner went not farre, but the rude people running to ſhut the gates, came out with their bowes, ſome with clubs and ſtaues, ſome with other inſtruments, ſome with ſtones, and let driue at the biſhop and his men, as faſt as they might: in ſuch ſort, that both the biſhop and his horſe vnder him with moſt part of his men were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this lollie prelate, ruffling in his new ſcepter, was receiued and welcomed there. That is, was ſo pelted with hattes and ſtaues, ſo wounded with arrowes and other inſtruments fit for ſuch a ſtormth, that the moſt part of his men, with his mace bearer, and all running away from him, the poore wounded biſhop was there left alone, not able to keepe his old power, which went about to plurpe a new power more then to him belonged. Thus as it is commonly true in all, ſo is it well exemplified here, which is commonlie ſaid, and as it is commonly ſeene, that pride will haue a fall, and power blurped will neuer ſtand. In like manner if the citizens of Rome, following the example of theſe Lennam men, as they haue the like cauſe, and greater to doe by the blurped power of their biſhop, would after the ſame ſaute handle the pope, and diſcepter him of his mace and regalitie, which nothing pertaineth to him; they in ſo doing both ſhould recouer their olwne liberties, with more honour at home, and alſo winne much more commendation abroad. Ex chron. mon. D. Albani.

This tragedy with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lennam, which was a little after Eaſter (as is ſaid) about the month of April, An. 1377. the ſame yere vpon the 12. day of the month of June next after, died the worthie and victorious prince king Edward the third, after hee had raigned 51. yeeres. A prince no more aged in yeeres then renowned for many ſingular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his ſingular mekeneſſe and clemencie toward his ſubiects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleneſſe and mercie, without all rigour or auſtere ſeueritie. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthilie and copiouſlie ſet forth of many, thus hee is deſcribed of ſome, which may briefly ſuffice for the comprehenſion of all the reſt: Orphanis erat quaſi pater, afflictis compatiens, miſeris condolens, oppreſſos releuans, & cunctis indigentibus impendens auxilia opportuna. That is: To the Orphans hee was as a father, compatient to the afflicted, mourning with the miſerable, relieuing the oppreſſed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of neede, &c. But chiefly aboue all other things, in this prince to bee commemorate in my mind, is this: that hee aboue all other kings of this realme, vnto the time

Scarcitie of pride in the Popes clergie.

The courteſie of the townſmen toward the Biſhop.

The ſtout anſwere of the Biſhop to the townſhip.

The towne of Lennam riſeth againſt the Biſhop.

Pride will haue a fall.

Power blurped will neuer ſtand.

The blurped power of the pope would haue a byde.

-Norwich.

Anno 1377 The death of king Edward.

Eaſter.

Ebor.

The clemencie of king Edward.



time of king Henrie the eight was the greateſt bidder of the popes blurped power and outragious oppreſſions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly prenaile in this realme, and alſo Iohn Wickliffe was maintained with fauour and aid ſufficient.

But before we cloſe vp the ſtorie of this king: there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit, a noble purpoſe of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities eccleſiaſticall remaining in the hands of Italians and Aliens, with the true valuation of the ſame directed downe by commiſſion, in the time of king Richard the ſecond, whereof the like alſo is to be found: the tenour of which commiſſion of king Edward, I thought here vnder to ſet downe for worthie memorie.

### The king directed writs vnto all the Biſhops *of England in this forme.*

Anno 48 Edwardi tertij.

EDward by the grace of God king, &c. To the reuerend father in Chriſt N. By the ſame grace biſhop of L. greeting. Being willing vpon certaine cauſes to bee certified what and how many benefices aſwell archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parſonages, prebends and chapels, within your dioceſſe, be at this preſent in the hands of Italians and other ſtrangers, what they be, of what value, and how euery of the ſaid benefices be called by name: And how much euery of the ſame is worth by the yeere, not as by way of taxe or extent, but according to the true value of the ſame: likewiſe of the names of all and ſinguler ſuch ſtrangers being now incumbents or occupying the ſame and euery of them: moreouer the names of all them, whether Engliſhmen or ſtrangers, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer they be, which haue the occupation or diſpoſition of any ſuch benefices with the fruits and profits of the ſame, in the behalfe or by the authority of any the aforeſaid ſtrangers by way of farme, or title or procuration, or by any other waies or meanes whatſoeuer, and how long they haue occupied or diſpoſed the ſame: and withall if any the ſaid ſtrangers be now reſidents vpon any benefices: wee command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you ſend vs a true certificat of al and ſinguler the premiſſes, into our high court of Chancerie vnder your ſeale diſtinctlie and openly, on this ſide the firſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord next comming, without further delay: returning vnto vs this our writ vnder this. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter 10. day of April in the 48. yeere of our raigne of England, and ouer France the 35. yeere.

By vertue hereof certificat was ſent vp to the king into his Chancery, out of euery dioceſſe of England, of all ſuch ſpirituall liuings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other ſtrangers, whereof the number was ſo great, as being all ſet downe, would fill almoſt halfe a quier of paper. Wherby may appeare that it was high time for the king to ſeeke remedie herein, either by treatie with the pope or otherwiſe: conſidering ſo great a portion of the reuenues of his realme was by this meanes conueied away and conſumed either to the reliefe of his enemies, or maintenance of the Forrainers: amongſt which number, the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their ſhare. As may appeare by this which followeth.

Canterbrie and Lichfield.

The lord Frances of the title of S. Sabine, prieſt and cardinall of the holy church of Rome, both holdeth & enioy the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Lichfield, which is worth in the iuriſdiction of Lichfield, fiue hundred markes by the yeere. And the prebend of Wedwod, and the parſonage of Adbalton to the ſame deanerie annered, which prebend is worth by the yere foure ſcore markes, and the parſonage twentie pounds, which deanerie with the prebendes and parſonage aforeſaid, he hath holden and occupied by the ſpace of three yeres. And one maiſter De in gris a ſtranger as proctor to the ſaid cardinall, doth hold and occupie the ſame deanerie with other the premiſes with the appurtenances, by name of proctor during the yeres aforeſaid, and hath taken vp the fruits and profits, to the ſaid cardinall, dwelling not in the realme.

-Norwich.

L. William cardinall of S. Angelo, a ſtranger, doth hold the archdeaconrie of Suffolke, by vertue of prouiſion apoſtolicall, from the pope of S. Nicolas laſt paſt; he is not reſident vpon his ſaid archdeaconrie. And the ſaid archdeaconrie together with the procurations due by reaſon of the viſitation is worth by yere. lvli. li. viiis. iiiid. And maiſter Iohn of Byelinington, &c. doth occupie the ſcale of the officiall of the ſaid archdeaconrie, &c.

Surren.

L. Reinald of S. Adriane deacon cardinall, hath in the ſaid countie, the parſonage of Godalminge, worth by yere fortie pound. and one Edward Deweſte doth farme the ſaid parſonage for iii. yeres paſt.

Ebor.

The L. Angilcus of the holy church of Rome prieſt and cardinall, a ſtranger, was incumbent, and did hold in poſſeſſion the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Paſke, from the 11. day of November, An. 1366. and is yerely worth according to the true value thereof, foure hundreth pounds, and 20. Iohn of Stoke canon of the ſaid church, doth occupie the ſaid deanrie and the profits of the ſame, in the name of the authoritie of the ſaid Lord deane, &c. But the ſaid deane was neuer reſident vpon the ſaid deanery ſince he was admitted thereunto. Item, lord Hugh of our ladie in deacon and cardinall a ſtranger, doth poſſeſſe the prebend of Dulkald in the ſaid church of Paſke from the 7. day of June, An. dom. 1363. from which day, &c. Iohn of Gilbourne, and George of Conpenanthope, &c. do occupie the ſaid prebend, worth by yere one hundred pounds: the ſaid lord Hugh is not reſident vpon the ſaid prebend.

Item, lord Simon of the title of S. Sixt prieſt and cardinall, &c. doth poſſeſſe the prebend of Wiſlow in the ſaid Church of Paſke, worth by yere, C.li. And the foreſaid maiſter Iohn of Stoke doth occupy the foreſaid prebend and the profits thereof, &c. But the ſaid lord Simon is not reſident vpon the ſaid prebend.

Item, Lord Frances of the title of S. Sabine, prieſt and cardinall, a ſtranger, doth poſſeſſe the prebend of Stranſall in the ſaid church of Paſke, worth by yere C. marks. And maiſter William of Perſfield, &c. doth occupie the ſaid prebend, &c. but the ſaid lord Frances is not reſident vpon the ſaid prebend.

Lord Peter of the title of S. Pizard, prieſt and cardinall, a ſtranger, doth hold the archdeaconrie of Paſke, worth by yere C.li. and W. William of Perſfield, &c. for farmers.

Sarisbu.

The Deanrie of the cathedrall church of Sar. with churches and chapels vnderwritten to the ſame deanry annered, doth remaine in the hands of lord Reginald of the title of S. Adrian deacon and cardinall, and ſo hath remained theſe 26. yeres, and is neuer reſident; his proctor is one Laurence de ingris a ſtranger, and is worth by yere C.C.iiii.li. xviis. iiid.

Richard Biſhop doth hold the vicarage of Yere to the ſaid deanrie annered, and hath holden the ſame for xv. yeeres, worth by yeere, xl.li.

Robert Todſor farmer of the church of Heightredburie to the ſame annered, worth by yere C.li.

The church of Stoning and the chapell of Reſcomp to the ſame deanrie annered, worth by yere lxx. marks.

The deanry of Sarisbury.

The chapell of Perſt to the ſame deanrie annered, worth by yeere xl.li.

The chapell of Wolenbame to the ſame deanry annered, worth by yere xxbli.li.

The church of Sanhurſt, worth by yere xl.s.

The church of Godalining to the ſame deanry annered in the dioceſſe of Wincheſter, worth by yere xl.li.

Treaſurer of the Church of Sar.

The dignitie of treaſurer in the church of Sar. with church and chapels vnderwritten to the ſame annered is in the hands of lord Iohn of the title of S. Marke prieſt and cardinall, and hath ſo continued 12. yeres, who was neuer reſident in the ſame, worth by yere Cxxxbli.li. xviis. iiid.

The church of Figheldon to the ſame annered, worth by yeere, xxbli. li. viis. iiid.

The church of Alwardburie with the chapell of Putton, worth by yere x.li.

The prebend of Calue to the ſame treaſurer annered, worth by yere C.li.

The archdeaconrie of Berck. in the cathedrall church of Sarisburie, with the church of Paxton to the ſame annered, is in the hands of the lord William of the title of S. Stephen, who was neuer reſident in the ſame, worth by yere viii. ſcore markes.

The archdeaconrie of Dorſet in the church of Sarisburie, with the church of Gilliche to the ſame annered, in the hands of lord Robert, of the title of the xii. Apoſtles, prieſt and cardinall, and is worth by yere Ciii. marks.

The prebend of Wedford and Winchſtood in the church of Sarisbury, is in the hands of Robert the cardinall aforeſaid, and is worth xl. markes.

The prebend of Heliwyth in the Church of Sarisburie is in the hands of the lord cardinall of Agrifolio, who is neuer reſident, and is worth by yere lxxx.li.

The prebend of Netherbarnby and Wemiſſer in the church of Sarisburie one Hugh Pelgrini a ſtranger did hold xx. yeeres and more, and was neuer reſident in the ſame, worth by the yere viii. ſcore marks.

The church prebendary of Gillinghame in the nunrie of Saliſbrie lately holden of lord Richard, now biſhop of Ely, is in the hands of the lord Peter of the title of S. Pyard, prieſt and cardinall, &c. worth by the yeere lxxx.li.

Lord William of the holy church of Rome cardinall a ſtranger doth hold the archdeaconrie of Canturburie, and is not reſident, the true value of all the yerely fruits, rents and profits, is worth ſeuen hundred Florens.

Canturburg.

Wath & Wels.

The lord cardinall of Canturbury is archdeacon of Wels, and hath annered to his archdeaconry the churches of Yelwish, Berwes, and Southbrent, which are worth by yere with their procuration of viſitations of the ſaid archdeaconrie, C. thr ſcore pounds.

Item, the lord cardinall is treaſurer of the church of Wels, and hath the moitie of the church of Yertock annered thereunto, worth by yere lx.li.

Item, the lord cardinall of Agrifolio is archdeacon of Eawnton in the Church of Wels, and is worth by yere, with

with the preemtations and the prebend of Sylmerton to the same annexed, lxxx li.

Like matter is also found in the time of king Richard the second, vpon what occasion it is vncertaine: but as it seemeth by record of that time: A new pope being come in place, hee would take no knowledge of any matter done by his predecessors that might any way abridge his commodite. And therefore this king was forced to begin anew, as may appeare by this following.

An. 2. Rich. 2.

L. Cardinall of Agrifol. is prebendarie of the prebend of Soningham together with a portion of S. Marie of Stowe to the same annexed, the fruits wherof by common estimat, be worth by yere, Clvi li. Mast. John Mear of Coningham, and master Robert parson of Ketelthorpe, and W. Thurlie, be farmors.

The prebend of Stow.

Lord cardinall Albanus is prebendarie of the prebend of Sutton, the fruits whereof bee commonly esteemed worth by yere CCC C. markes. Roger Skipwith of Buckingham, and William Bedeford of Sutton doe farme the same prebend.

The L. Cardinall Glandacen is prebendary of the prebend of Nassington, worth by estimation CCC. markes. Robert of Nassington and John, sonne of Robert of Aberthorpe, doe occupie the same prebend.

The archdeconry of Huntingdon.

Lord cardinal Nonmacen is parson of Adderbury, worth by estimation, Cli. Adam Robelyn clerke is his procter, and occupieth the same.

L. cardinall of S. prebendarie of Thame, worth yerely by common estimation, Cc. marks. John Heyward and Thomas a lay man doe occupie the same prebend.

In the archdeconry of Stow.

L. Peter de Yeuerino cardinall is prebendary of Apleshaw, worth yerely by common estimation, lxxx. markes. Holy Rode of Alresburie doth occupie the same prebend.

In the archdeconrie of Suff.

The cardinall of S. Angelo hath the Archdeacourie of Suff. and is worth by yere by common estimation a hundred markes.

In the diocesse of Norwich.

L. cardinall Neminacem treasurer of the church of Sar. hath the archdeacourie of Sar. the church of Frighedon to his dignitie annexed, which is let to farme to Gace, late wife of Edmund Swayne deceased, paying yerely l. markes. Hee hath also in the same archdeaconrie and countie, the said Church of Alwardbury with the chapels of Patton and Farle to the same annexed, which is let to farme to the lord Priot of the house of Sherose for the yerely rent of xvili. he hath also the prebend of Calue in the said archdeaconrie and Countie, worth by yere, C. li. and farmour thereof is Raymund. Pelegini.

In the diocesse of Sar.

L. cardinall of Agrisolio, hath the archdeacourie of Wercik, worth by yere, l xx. markes, and remaineth in his owne hands. Item, hee hath the prebend of Wroth, worth by yere a hundred pound: Raymund Peregrine is farmour there.

Lord cardinall Gebanen hath the prebends of Wodford and Willesford in the Countie of Wiltshire, let to farme to John Bennet of Sar. worth by yere xl. markes.

Lord Andomar de Rupp is archdeacon of Canturbury, to the which archdeacon belong the Church of Lymin within the same dioces, worth by yere after the taration of the tenth, xx li. The church of Serham, worth by yere after the said taration, Cxx li. bi. s. viii. d. The church of Hakington nere Canturbury, worth by yere viiicxiie markes. The church of Saint Clement in Sandwich, worth by yere after the taration a hundred, eight markes. The church of Saint Marie in Sandwich, worth by yere viii. pound, of the which the said archdeacon receiueth onlie vi. markes. The profits of all which premisses S. William Latimer knight, hath receiued together with the profites arising out of the iurisdiction of the archdeaconrie, worth by yere xx li.

In the diocesse of Canterbury.

Anglicus of the church of Rome priest and cardinall, hath the deanrie of the cathedrall church of Poske, worth by yeere CC lxxvii li. vi. s. viii. d. And the prebend of Southcrane, valued yerely at Clx. markes.

In the diocesse of Ely.

Lord cardinall Gebanen doth hold the Church of Wermouth, and archdeacourie of Durhame, worth by yere CC. markes. And John of Chambre, and Thomas of Haringtō of Netwcastell be the farmors and procros of the said Cardinall.

In the diocesse of Durham.

Ex Bundello Breuium Regis de An. 2. Kich. 2. parte 1.

## King Richard the second.

K. Richard 2.

AFter king Edward the third, succeeded his sonnes sonne, Richard the second, being yet but young, of the age of eleuen yeres: who in the same peer of his fathers decease with great pompe and solemnitie was crowned at Westminster, an. 1377. who following his fathers steppes, was no great disauaurer of the way and doctrine of Wickliffe: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquitie of time, partly through the popes letters, he could not do th at hee would. Notwithstanding something he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in the end he had thanke for of the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appeare. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of man. The bishop now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the gouernement of the realme depended vpon the duke of Lancaster: And now the said bishops against seeing the said duke, with the lord Percie, the lord marshall, to giue ouer their offices, and to remaine in their priuat houses without intermedling, thought now the time to serue them, to haue some vantage against John Wickliffe, who hitherto vnder the protection of the foresaid duke, and lord Marshall had some rest and quiet. Concerning the storie of which Wickliffe, I trust (gentle Reader) it is not out of thy memorie what went before pa. 393. how he being brought before the bishops, by the meanes of the duke and lord Henry Percie, the councell was interrupted, and brake before mine of the clocke. Vpon reason whereof, Wickliffe at that time escaped without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding being by the bishops forbid to deale in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellowes going barefoot, and in long frise gownes, preaching diligently vnto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

The bishops take vantage at time.

That the holie Sacharill after the consecration, is not the very bodie of Christ, but figuratiuely.

The first article collected out of Wickliffes sermons.

That the church of Rome, is not the head of all churches more then any other church is: For that Peter hath any more power giuen of Christ, then any other Apostle hath.

Item, that the pope of Rome hath no more in the keies of the church, then hath any other within the order of priesthood.

Marsilius Patauinus, Ioan. de Gandauo, noted.

Item, if God be: the Lords temporall may lawfullie and meritoriouslie take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending, habituallter.

Item, if any temporall lord doe know the church so offending, he is bound vnder paine of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

Item, that the gospell is a rule sufficient of it selfe to rule the life of euery christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules, vnder whose obseruances diuers religious persons be gouerned, doe adde no more perfection to the gospell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the pope nor any other prelate of the church, ought to haue prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

Beside these articles, diuers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops of England, which they sent diligentlie to pope Gregorie at Rome: Where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for heretical and erroneous by three and twentie cardinals.

The articles of John Wickliffe sent to the pope. Pope Gregory the xi.

In the meane time the archbishop of Canturburie, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliffe in the presence of the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percie, who vpon the declaration of the popes letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him not to entreat any more of those matters. But then though the disturbance of the bishop of London and the duke, and lord Percie, that matter was done dispatched, as hath been aboue recorded, pag. 392. And all this was done, in the daies and last yeere of K. Edward the third, and pope Gregorie the eleuenth.

Wickliffe called before the archbishop of Canturburie.

The next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1378. being the first yeere of king Richard the second, the said pope Gregorie taking his time, after the death of king Edward, sendeth his bull by the hands and meanes (peraduenture) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed vnto the Vniuersitie of Oxford, rebuking them sharplie, imperiouslie and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it vp with the crooked sickle of their catholike doctrine. Which Bull when it came to be exhibited vnto their hands, by the popes messenger aforesaid: the proctors and maisters of the Vniuersitie toyning together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating whether to receiue the popes Bull with honour, or to refuse and reiect it with shame.

Anno 1378

Edmund Stafford bringer of the popes Bull.

The maisters of Oxford doubt whether to receiue or reiect the popes Bull.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this storie whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and maruels, they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plaine, so manifest of it selfe, (as they say) whether the popes Bull sent to them from Rome was to be receiued or contrarie. Which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheekes are faine to cut off the matter in the middest with silence.

The copie of this wild bull, sent to them from the pope, was this.

*Gregorie the bishop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to his welbeloued sonnes, the Chancellour and Vniuersitie of Oxford, in the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, and apostolicall benediction.*

The copie of the bull sent to Oxford.

WE are compelled not only to maruell, but also to lament that you, considering the apostolicall seate hath giuen vnto



vnto your Vniuersity of Oxford so great fauour and priuiledge, and also for that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions & defenders of the ancient and catholike faith (without the which there is no saluation,) by your great negligence and sloth, will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow vp among the pure wheate of the florishing field of your Vniuersity, but also to waxe more strong and choke the corne. Neither haue ye any care (as wee are enformed) to extirpe and plucke the same vp by the rootes, to the great blemishing of your renoumed name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieueth vs) the encrease of that filthie weed was more sharpely rebuked and iudged of in Rome then in England where it sprang. Wherfore let there be meanes sought by the helpe of the faithfull, to roote out the same. Grieuously it is come to our eares, that one John Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a professour of diuinitie (would God he were not rather a master of errours) is runne into a kind of detestable wickednesse, not only and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, diuers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies. Whereby he might defile the faithfull sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, ouerthrow the state of the church, and vtterly subuert the secular policie. Of which his mischieuous heresies, some seeme to agree (onely certaine names and tearmes changed) with the peruerse opinions, and vnlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Gandune, of vnworthie memorie, whose bookes were vtterly abolished in the realme of England, by our predecessor of happie memorie Iohn 22. Which kingdome doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in pureuesse of faith: Accustomed alwaies to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in grauitie of manners, men notable in deuotion, and defenders of the catholike faith. Wherefore wee will and command you by our writing Apostolicall, in the name of your obedience, and vpon paine of priuation of our fauour, indulgences and priuiledges granted vnto your and your Vniuersitie, from the said see Apostolicall: that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, that those subtill and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good workes (howsoeuer they terme it, or what curious implication of words soeuer they vse) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: Let it be not withstood at the first, and plucked vp by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that yee apprehend immediately or cause to be apprehended the said John Wickliffe, and deliuer him to be detained in the safe custodie of our welbeloued brethren, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gainesayers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said Vniuersitie within your iurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errours: that then in like maner yee apprehend them, and commit them to safe custodie, and otherwise to doe in this case as is shall appertaine vnto you: So as by your carefull proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses, may now full, be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not onely purchase vnto you the fauour and beneuolence of the seat Apostolicall, but also great reward and merit of almightie God.

Here the wild bull striketh.

Wickliffe called before the archbishop of Canturburie.

Yeuen at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xj. Kalend. of Iune, and in the seuenth yeare of our consecration.

Besides this bull sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford, the said pope Gregorie directed moreour his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canturbury Simon Subburie, to the bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliffe therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his letters Apostolicall, and straitly enioyning them to cause the said John Wickliffe to be apprehended, and cast into prison: and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to giue any credit to the said John Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Simon Subburi archbishop of Cant. Wil. Courtney bishop of London.

Besides this bill or bull of the pope, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11. Calend. Iun. and the 7. yeare of the reigne of the pope: I find moreouer in the said storie, two other letters of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in forme, sent vnto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the reigne of the said pope Gregory. Wherevpby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to haue Wickliffe to be apprehended, which wrote three diuers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one businesse: or else that hee did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leaue to the iudgement of the reader.

Three sundry letters of the pope to one person, about one matter.

Furthermore, besides these letters written to the Vniuersitie, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle bearing the same date vnto king Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as another saith, to K. Richard, which somdeth more nere

to the truth, forasmuch as in the 7. yeare of pope Gregorie the xi. wh was the yeare of our Lord. 1378. king Edward was not aliue. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth.

The popes letter to king Richard against Iohn Wickliffe.

### The copie of the Epistle sent by the bishop of *Rome to Richard king of England, to* persecute Iohn Wickliffe.

VNto his well beloued son in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

The kingdome of England which the most highest hath put vnder your power and gouernance, being so famous and renoumed in valiancie and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches: but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightnesse and cleerenesse of all godlinesse and faith, hath accustomed alwaies to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and vnderstanding of the holy Scriptures, graue in yeares, feruent in deuotion, and defenders of the catholike faith: The which haue not onely directed and instructed their owne people through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods commandements; but also as we haue heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great greefe and heare sorrow) that Iohn Wickliffe parson of Lutterworth, in the diocesse of Lincolne, professour of Diuinitie (I would to God hee were no author of heresie) to be fallen into such a detestable & abominable madnesse, that he hath propounded and set forth diuers and sindrie conclusions full of errours, and containing most manifest heresie, the which doe tend vtterly to subuert and ouerthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit vnder coloured phrase and speech) seeme to smell and sauor of peruerse opinions, and the foolish doctrine of condemned memorie of Marsilius of Padua, & Iohn of Gandano, whose bookes were by pope Iohn the 22. our predecessor, a man of a most happie memorie, reproued and condemned, &c.

The popes letter to king Richard against Iohn Wickliffe.

*Hitherto gentle Reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also heare the popes mightie reasons and arguments, by the which hee did confute him, to the king. It followeth.*

Therefore, forsomuch as our reuerend brethren the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London haue receiued a speciall commandement from vs by our authoritie, to apprehend and commit the forenamed John Wickliffe vnto prison, and to transport his confession vnto vs: if they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their businesse to lacke your fauor or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your maiestie, euen as your most noble predecessors haue alwaies beene most earnest louers of the catholike faith (whose case or quarrell in this matter is chiefliе handled) that you would vouchsafe euen for the reuerence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolike seate, and of our person, that you will with your helpe and fauor, assist the said archbishop and all other that shall goe about to execute the said businesse. Whereby besides the praise of men, you shall obtaine a heauenly reward and great fauour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kalend. of Iune, in the 7. yeare of our bishoprike, An. 1378.

Here is presuming, but no teaching.

*The articles included in the popes letters which hee sent to the bishops and to the king against Wickliffe, were these as in order do follow.*

### The conclusions of Iohn Wickliffe, exhibited *in the conuocation of certaine bishops at Lambeth.*

Certaine conclusions of J. Wickliffe.

ALl the whole race of mankind here on earth besides Christ hath no power simplie, to ordaine that Peter and all his offspring should politickely rule ouer the world for euer.

2 God cannot giue to any man for him and his heires any ciuill dominion for euer.

3 All writings inuented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible.

4 Euery man being in grace iustifying, hath not onely right vnto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed aboue all the good things of God.

5 A man cannot only ministratoriouslie giue any temporall or continuall gift, either as well to his naturall son, as to his son by imitation.

6 If God be, the temporall lords may lawfully and meretoriouslie take away the riches from the church when they doe offend *habituallter*.

7 We know that Christs vicar cannot, neither is able by his buls, neither by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent of his colledge, either make able or disable any man.

8 A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or vndoing, except he be first and principally excommunicate by himselfe.

9 No man ought, but in Gods cause alone, to excommunicat, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to reuenge by any ecclesiasticall censure.

10 A curse or excōmunicatiō do not simply bind, but in case it

be pronounced & giuen out against the aduersary of Gods law.

11 There is no power giuen by any example, either by Christ or by his apostle, to excommunicate any subiect, specially for denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwise.

12 The disciples of Christ, haue no power to exact by any ciuill authoritie, temporalties by censures.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian, doe pretend by any meanes to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

14 We ought to beleeue that the vicar of Christ, doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformable by the lay and ordinance of Christ.

15 This ought vniuersally to bee beleeued, that euery priest rightly and duly ordered, according vnto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolue any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same.

16 It is lawfull for kings (in causes licensed by the law) to take away the temporalties from the spiritualitie, sinning *habitualiter*, that is, which continue in the custome of sin, and will not amend.

17 Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoeuer they be, which haue endowed any church with temporalties: it is lawfull for them to take away the same temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to auoide sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiasticall censure, forsomuch as they are not giuen but vnder a condition.

18 An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiects, and for the profit of the church, be accused either of the clergie or of the laity.

These letters with the articles inclosed being thus receiued from the pope, the bishops tooke no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselues and that in open profession before their prouinciall Councell, that all manner respects of feare or fauour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreatie of any man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most sincerly & right iustice and equitie: yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon. Wit these so fierce braggs, and stout promises, with the subtill practises of these bishops, which thought them so sure before: the Lord against whom no determination of mans counsell can prouaile) by a small occasion, did lightly confound and ouerthrow. For the day of the examination being come; a certaine personage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the bishops; commanded them that they should not proceed with any diffinitiue sentence against John Wickliffe. With which words all they were so amazed and their combes so cut, that (as in the storie is mentioned) they became so mute and speechlesse, as men hauing not one word in their mouthes to answere. And thus by the wondrous worke of God his prouidence, escaped John Wickliffe the second time out of the bishops handes, and was by them cleerely dismissed vpon his declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

Moreouer, here is not to be passed ouer, how at the same time, and in the said chapell of the archb. at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting vpon John Wickliffe, the storie writing of the doing thereof, abdeth these words, saying: Non dico ciues tantum Londinenses, sed viles ipsius ciuitatis & inquidenter ingrere præsumpserant in eandem capellam, & verba facere pro eodem, & istud negotium impedire, consili, vt reor, de ipsorum præmissa negligentia prælatorum, &c. That is, I say not onely, that the Citizens of London, but also the vile abiects of the citie presumed to be so bold in the same chapell at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting vpon J. Wickliffe; both to entreate for him, and also to let and stop the same matter, trusting, as I suppose, vpon the negligence which they saw before in the bishops, &c.

Ouer and beside, here is not to be forgotten, how the said John Wickliffe, the same time of his examination, offered and exhibited vnto the bishops, in writing, a protestation, with a declaration or exposition of his owne mind, vpon the said his articles, the effect whereof here followeth.

The protestation of John Wickliffe.

IF till I protest (as I haue often before done) that I doe mind and intend with my whole heart (by the grace of God) to be a true christian, and as long as breath shall remaine in me, to profesle and defend the law of Christ. And if it shall happen that through ignorance or otherwise, I shall faile therein; I desire mo Lord God of pardon and forgiuenesse. And now again as before also, I do reuoke and make retractation, meek humble submitting my selfe, vnder the correction of our holy mother the church. And forsomuch as the sentence of my faith, which I haue holden in the schooles and elsewhere, is reported euen by children, and moreouer, it is caried by children euen vnto Rome: therfore lest my deare beloued brethren should take any offence by me, I will set forth in writing the sentence and articles, for the which I am now accused and empeached: the which also euen vnto the death I will defend. As I beleeue all Christians ought to doe, and specially the bishop of Rome and all other priests and ministers of the Church. For I do vnderstand the conclusions after the sense and manner of speaking of the scriptures and holy doctors, the which I am readie to expounde: And if they shall be found contrarie vnto the faith, I am readie to reuoke and speedily to call them backe againe.

*An exposition vpon the conclusions of Iohn* Wickliffe, exhibited by him to the bishop.

ALL the race of mankind, here in earth beside Christ, hath no power simply to ordaine, that Peter, &c.

Exposition of John Wickliffe vpon his conclusions.

This conclusion of it selfe is euident, for as much as it is not in mans power to stop the comming of Christ to his finall iudgement, but he must needs come, according to the article of our creed, to iudge both the quicke and the dead. And then (as the scripture teacheth) shall surceasse all ciuill and politike rule here, I vnderstand the temporall and secular dominion, pertaining to men here dwelling in this mortall life. For so doe the Philosophers speake of ciuill dominion. And although the thing which is terminable and hath an end, is called sometimes perpetuall: yet because in holy scripture, and in the e of the Church, and in the bookes of Philosophers most commonly that is taken to be perpetuall, which hath no end of time hereafter to come: according to the which sense, the Church singeth Gloria patri, &c. sicut nunc & in perpetuū. I also after y same signification do take here this word (perpetually:) And so is this conclusion consonant to the principles of the Scripture, that it is not in mans power to obtaine the course and boūge of the Church, here perpetually to last.

2. God cannot giue to any man, &c.

Exposition of the second conclusion.

To the second conclusion I answere, vnderstanding ciuill dominion, as in the conclusion before. And so I hold, that God first by his ordinat power cannot giue to any person ciuill dominion here for euer: Secondly, by his absolute power it is not probable for him so to do. For so much as he cannot exercise this his power in perpetuall prison of this life, nor alwaies deserue the finall iustitude of his Church.

3. To the third conclusion. Many writings or charts inuented by men, as touching perpetuall heritage ciuill, be vapossible.

The bishops of the bishops ouerthrowne.

Wickliffe examined called before the bishops, Lewes Clifford.

The vertie of this conclusion is incident. For we must not canonize all maner of Charts, whatsoeuer, as catholicke, or vniuersall: for then it were not lawfull by any meanes to take away or sequester things giuen by Chart or charter, when any doth vniustly occupy the same. And so, if that Rand confirmed and ratified by the faith of the Church, great occasion thereby should be ministred to men so chartered, to trust to their temporal charts, and so might grow thereby much libertie and licence to sinne. For like as by what supposition, euery truth is necessary: so by the same supposition, euery false thing is possible, as it is plaine by the testimonie of the Scripture, and of holie doctors speaking of necessitie of things to come.

4. Euery man being in grace iustifying finally, hath not onelie right vnto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed, ouer all the good things of God.

*In gratia existens finaliter.*

The vertie hereof is euident, by holy Scripture, Mat. 24. There verily promiseth to euery man entring into his ioy: te rity (saith he) I tell you, he shall set and place him ouer all the goods he hath. For the right and title belonging to the commu- nion of Saints, their countrie (he meaneth in the kingdom of heauen) Fundatur obiectiue super vniuersitatem bonorum dei: That is: hath his relation, as vnto his obiect, to all the goods and possession of God.

Note here he speaketh only of the right of things in the countrie to come, and not in this exile.

5. A man can but only ministratiouslie, giue any temporall dominion or gift perpetuall, as well to his owne naturall sonne, as to his sonne by imitation.

It is euident. For euery man ought to recognise himselfe in all his works and doings, as an humble seruant and minister of God. As the words of Scripture doe teach vs. Let a man so esteeme of vs as the ministers of Christ. Yea, so Christ himselfe did teach his chiefe Apostles to ministre; but in their countrie, the Saints shall giue vnto their fellow brethren the dominion of their goods, vt pater de suis corporibus & bonis eis inferioribus in natura, according to the words of Luk. 6. They shall giue you, and put into your bosoms a good measure and perfect, well filled and heaped vp, and running ouer.

6. If God be, temporal Lords may lawfully, and meritoriously take away the goods of fortune from the Church when they do offend, *habitualiter*.

This conclusion is correlative with the first article of our faith: I beleeue in God the father almightie, &c. Where I vnderstand this word, may in this conclusion after the maner of autentike Scripture, which saith and graunteth, that God is able of these stones to raise vp children to Abraham; for otherwise all Christian princes were heretikes. For this conclusion, thus standeth the reason: If God be, he is omnipotent: and if he be almightie, hee is able to command the Lords temporal so to dreand if he may so command, then may they lawfully so take away such goods, &c. And so by the vertue of the same principle, Christian princes haue practised the said sentence vpon the Churchmen heretofore, as did William Rufus, &c.

But



yout God forbid that any should beleeue hereby my intention to haue been, that secular lords may lawfully take away what goods soeuer and by what meanes soeuer, by their owne naked authoritie at their pleasure: but onely by the authoritie of the church may so doe, in cases and forme limited by the law.

7 We know that it is not possible that the vicar of Christ is able by his pure Bulles &c.

The power of all priests to bind God equall. *Unde sacerdotalis non suscipit maius & minus. Potestas ordinis. Potestas regiminis.*

This is manifest by the Catholike faith, forasmuch as the church doth fully beleeue that the abling of any man, ought first to proceed and come of God; wherefore, no man being Christ his vicar, hath any power in this matter, but onely as vicar in the name of the Lord so far forth as hee is enabled of the Lord, to notifie vnto the church whom God hath enabled. Wherefore if any man do any thing not as vicar in the name of the Lord, whom he ought to forethinke to be his author and head: it is a presumption of Lucifer, forsomuch as Christ by his apostle saith, 1. Cor. 3. All our abilitie or sufficiencie commeth of God. And so consequently, it commeth not purely by the ministery of his vicarship, that he is inabled, but the ableines or vnableneſſe of him being the vicar of Christ, commeth to him another way from aboue.

8 A man cannot be excommunicate to his hurt or vndoing, except he be excommunicate first and principally of himselfe.

It is euident, forasmuch as al such excommunication ought to proceed and begin originally of his owne sin which is damnified: Whereupon Augustin saith, De verbis Domini Sermone 51. Do not thou conculcate thy selfe, and man ouercommeth thee not. And moreouer the faith of the church doth teach, quòd nulla ei nocebit aduersitas, si nulla dominetur iniquitas: that is to say; No aduersitie shall hurt, if no iniquitie haue the vpper hand. And yet notwithstanding, euery excommunication for many causes is also to be feared, although that the excommunication of the church to the humble man being excommunicated, be not damnable but wholesome.

9 No man ought but in cases cause alone to excommunicate, suspend, &c.

It is cleare, forasmuch as euery ciuill cause is the cause of God, whose respect ought chiefly to be waighed and pondered. Yea the loue of the person excommunicate ought to surmount the zeale of reuengement, and the desire of all temporall goods whatsoeuer; for otherwise he that doth excommunicate, doth damnifie himselfe. To this 9 conclusion notwithstanding it is congruent, that a prelate may excommunicate in the cause also of man, so that his principall respect in so doing be had to the iniurie done to his God, as appeareth 13. quæst. 4. Inter querelas.

10 No curse or excommunication can bind simply, but in case it be giuen out against the aduersarie of Christs law.

And it appeareth thus, because that God doth bind simplie euery one that is bound, who cannot excommunicate but onely for transgression of his law. Wherunto it is consonant notwithstanding, that the censure of the church doth not bind simplie, but secondarilie in that case and respect, as it is denounced against the aduersaries of the members of the church.

11 There is no example of Christ, which giueth power to his disciples to excommunicate any subiect (especially for denying of any temporalties) but contrariwise.

Which is thus declared by the faith, whereby we beleeue that God is to be beloued aboue all things, and our neighbour and enemie are to be beloued aboue all temporall goods of this world necessarily: for the law of God cannot be contrarie vnto it selfe.

12 The disciples of Christ haue no power by any ciuill coaction, to exact temporall things by their censures.

This appeareth by the faith of the Scripture, Luke 23. Where Christ did forbid his apostles ciuilly to raigne or to beare any lordship. The kings (saith he) of the Gentiles beare rule ouer them, but you not so. And after this sense it is expounded of S. Bernard, of S. Chrysostome, and other holy men: which conclusion notwithstanding, yet may they exact temporall things by ecclesiasticall censures incidently, if case be that it appertaine to the reuengement of their God.

13 It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other christian do pretend to bind or loose at their pleasure by what meanes soeuer, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

The contrary of this conclusion will destroy the whole catholike faith, importing no lesse but him to be a blasphemer which so interpreth such absolute power of the Lord. And yet by this conclusion I intend not to derogate from the power of the pope, or of any other prelate of the church, but that he may by the vertue of the head to bind and loose. But do vnderstand the conditionall of this negatiue (to be impossible) after this sense, that it cannot bee that the pope or any other prelate of the church, can pretend by himselfe to bind or loose (how and after what maner he list himselfe) except in such sort, that hee doe indeed so bind and loose before God, as he doth pretend to doe.

14 We ought to beleeue, that the vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformable by the law, and ordinance of Christ, &c.

The reason thereof is this, because otherwise it is vntaine full for him so to do, except he should doe it in the vertue of that law, and so consequently, vnlesse it be conformable to the law and ordinance of Christ.

15 To this conclusion, this ought vniuersally to bee beleeued, that euery priest rightly and duely ordered, hath power according to his vocation, &c.

The reason hereof is this, because that the order of priesthood in his owne nature and substance, receiueth no such degrees, either of more or of lesse. And yet notwithstanding, the power of inferiour priests in these daies is vpon due consideration reserued, and sometimes againe in time of extreme necessitie released. And thus according to the doctors, a prelate hath a double power, to wit, the power of order, and the power of iurisdiction or regiment. And according to this second power, the prelats are in a higher maiestie, and regiment.

16 It is lawfull for princes and kings (in cases by the law limited) to withdraw temporall commodities from churchmen, abusing the same, habitualiter.

The reason thereof is plaine, for that temporall lords ought rather to leane to spirituall almes, which bringeth with it greater fruit, then to corporall almes the case so standing, that sometime it were necessarie worke of spirituall almes, to chastise such clerkes by taking from them their temporall liuings, which vse to abuse the same to the damnifying both of their soule and body. The case which the law doth limit in this matter, were the defect of correcting his spirituall head, or else for lacke of correcting the faith of the clerke which so offendeth, as appeareth, 16. q. 7. filijs. Dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

*16. q. 7. filijs.*

17 Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoeuer, which haue endued any church with temporalities, &c.

The truth thereof is euidently seene, for that nothing ought to stop a man from the principall workes of charitie necessarie, because in euery action and worke of man is to be vnderstood a prime condition necessarie of God his good will concurring withall, as it is in the ciuill law decr. Conradi cap 5. in fine collat. x. And yet God forbid, that by these words occasion should bee giuen to the lords temporall to take away the goods of fortune from the church.

18 An ecclesiasticall minister, yea the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subiects, and for the profit of the church be accused, either of the clergie, or of the laity.

The proofe of this is manifest hereby, because the said bishop of Rome is subiect to fall into the sinne against the holy Ghost, as may be supposed, fauing the sanctitude, humilitie and reuerence due to such a father. For so long as our brother is subiect vnto the infirmitie of falling, hee lieth vnder the law of brotherly correction. And when the whole colledge of cardinals may be slothfull in ministring due correction for the necessary prosperity of the church: it is apparant that the redue of the body of the church, which possible may stand most of lay men, may wholesomely correct the same, accuse and bring him to a better way. The possibility of this case is touched, Dist. 40. Si Papa. If the pope doe erre from the right faith, &c. For like as such a great fall ought not to bee supposed in the lord pope without manifest euidence: so againe, such an obstinacie ought not to be supposed in him, possible any to fallen, but that he should humblie receiue the wholesome medicine of his superiour, correcting him in the Lord. The practise of which conclusion also is testified in many chronicles. Farre be it from the church of Christ, that veritie should bee condemned which foundeth euill to transgressors and other slothfull persons, for then the whole faith of the Scripture were in a damnable case.

Thus John Wickliffe in giuing his exposition vnto his foresaid propositions and conclusions, as is aboue prefixed, through the fauour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and set free clearely away, onely being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that hee should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the laie people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun.

Vnto whom also (as it happeneth by the prouidence of God) this was also a great helpe and stay, for that in the same yere, or in the beginning of the next yeare following, the foresaid pope Gregory xi. which was the first vp of all this trouble against him, turned vp his heeles and died. After whom ensued such a schisme in Rome, betweene two Popes, and other succeeding after them, one striuing against another; that the schisme thereof endured the space of xxxix. yeares, vntill the time of the councell of Constance.

The death of pope Gregorie xi.

A schisme in Rome.

The occasioner of which schisme first was pope Urban the 6. who in the first beginning of his popedome was so proud and insolent to his Cardinals, and other, as to Dukes, Princes, and Queenes, and so set to aduance his nephew and kinsmen, with iniuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shunde from him, and set vp an other French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned a xi. yeares. And after

Urbanus 6. pope.

him Benedictus the 12. who reigned yeares 26. Against the contrarie side after Urbanus the sixth, succeeded Boniface the ninth, Innocentius the nyg. Gregorius the xij. Alexander the fifth, Iohn 13.

| ¶ Papæ, yeares. | | ¶ Antipapæ. | yeares. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Vrbanus 6 | 11. | Clement. | 11. |
| Bonifacius 9. | 14. | Benedictus. 13. | 26. |
| Innocentius 8. | 2. | | |
| Gregorius 12. | 2. | | |
| Alexander 5. | 0. | | |
| Iohannes 13 | 5. | | |
| | 8. | | 9. |
| | 9. | | 0. |
| | 7. | | |
| | 11. | | |
| | 10. | | |

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schisme, it would require heere another Iliade to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragicall parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what parts taking in euery countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelats, taken by land and sea, what spedding of blood did follow thereof. Yoln Otho duke of Brunswicke and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered. Yoln Ioan Queene of Ierusalem and Sicil a his wife, who before had sent to pope Vrban, besides other gifts at his coronation, xl. ℔. Duckets in pure gold; after by the said Vrban was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled. What cardinals were racked, and miserable without all mercy tormented on gibbets to death, what slaughter of men, what battels were fought betweene the two popes, whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, besides the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of fiue cardinals together after long torments, and how the bishop Aquilarensis, being suspected of pope Vrban, for not riding after with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the popes commandement, sending his souldiers vnto him, to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with other diuers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of this abominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodoricke Niem, who was neere to the said pope Vrban, and present at all his doings: therefore as a thing needfull, I here pretermit, referring them who couet to be certified more amply herein, vnto the three bookes of the said Theodoricke aboue mentioned.

Was not here a holy agreement?

Theodor. Niem. de schism. lib.

About the same time also, about 3. yeares after, there fell a cruell dissension in England, betweene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little disturbe and trouble the common wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie, was taken by the rusticall and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place after, succeeded William Courtney, which was no lesse diligent then his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out heresies. Notwithstanding, in the meane season Wicklifs sect increased priuilie, & daily grew to greater force, vntill the time that William Barton Viicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380. had the whole rule of that Vniuersitie: who calling together 8. monasticall doctors, and 4. other, with the consent of the rest of his affinitie, putting the common seale of the Vniuersitie vnto certaine writings: he set forth an edict, declaring vnto euery man, and threatning them vnder a grieuous penaltie, that no man should be so hardie, hereafter to associat themselues with any of Wicklifes fautors or fauourers: and vnto Wicklife himselfe hee threatned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, vnlesse that they after three daies canonicall admonition or warning, or as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when Wicklife perceiued, forsaking the pope and all the clergie, hee thought to appeale vnto the kings maiestie: but the duke of Lancaster comming betweene, forbad him that hee should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himselfe vnto the censure and iudgement of his ordinarie. Whereby Wicklife being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waues, he was forced once againe to make confession of his doctrine: in the which his confession, to auoid the rigor of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and asswage the rigor of his enemies.

Rebellion in England by Iacke Straw. Simon the archbishop beheaded.

W. Courtney archbi. of Cant.

Barton chancellor of Oxford.

Anno 1380

An edict against the Wicklifists.

Anno 1382

The next yeare after, which was 1382. by the commandement of William archbishop of Canturbury, there was a conuocation holden at London, where as Iohn Wickliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainely affirmed. The mandate of the archbishop William Courtney sent abrode for the conuenting together of this councell, here followeth vnder written, truely copied out of his owne registers.

The mandate of the archb.

Ex Regist. Archiep. Cant. Courtney.

Memorandum, that where as well amongst the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certaine brute bin spread of diuers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subuersion of the whole church, and to our prouince of Canturburie, and also to the subuersion of the whole realme, being preached in diuers and sundrie places of our said prouince, generally, commonly, and publikely: We William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolicall, being minded to execute our office and dutie herein; haue conuocated or called together certain our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well Doctours and Bachelers of diuinitie, as doctors of the canon and ciuill law, and those whom we thought to bee the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men of soundest iudgement in religion, that were in all the realme, whose names here vnder ensue. And the same being (the 17. day of the moneth of May) in the yeare of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the priorie of the friers preachers of London before vs & our foresaid fellow brethren assembled, then & there personally present: After that sundrie conclusions (the tenor whereof here vnder ensueth) were openly proponed, and diligently and plainely read: Wee hartkened our foresaid fellow brethren, doctors, and bachelers, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Iesus Christ, and as they would answere before the high iudge in the day of iudgement, that they should speake their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what euery of them thinketh therein.

And at length, after good deliberation had vpon the premisses, the foresaid our brethren, the bishops, doctors and bachelers, reassembled before vs the 21. day of the same moneth in the foresaid chamber, the foresaid conclusions being againe and againe repeated and plainely read: by vs and by the common consents of vs all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and othersome erroneous and contrarie to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appeare. And for as much as by sufficient information wee find and perceiue, that the said conclusions in many places of our said prouince, haue beene, as is said, both taught and preached: and that diuers other persons doe hold and maintaine the same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected: we haue thought good as well generally as specially, to send out this processe vnder written.

## The names of the Iurers were these.

In primis viij. bishops, Canturburie, Winchester, Dorham, Exceter, Hereford, Sarum, Rocheller, and Frier Botlesham. xij.

Item, 3. friers preachers, Stward, Paris, Langley.

Item, 4. minorites, Folsale, Carlel, Frilly, Wermwel.

Item, Augustine friers foure, Aldhorne, Botwin, Woldlep, Hornington.

Item, Carmelites 4. Glanuile, Dis, Loney, Binningham.

Item, Monks 4. Wels, Ramsey, Woram, Parton.

Item, doctors of the canon and ciuill law 14. Appelby, Waltram, Baketon, Gadesden, Tregilion, Stoun, Warchard, Rocomber, Linford, Welbourne, Flaineburgh, Boterum, Brandon and Prophet.

Item, Bachelers of Diuinitie 6. Humbleton, Pickinch, Lindlow, Welch, Chiselden, Tomson.

The articles of Iohn Wickliffe here aboue specified, whereof some were 10. which were by these friers condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous; here in order follow, and are these. Although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, then hee ment them in his owne bookes and writings.

## The articles of Iohn Wickliffe, condemned as heretical.

1 The substance of materiall bread and wine, doth remaine in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

2 The accidents do not remaine without the subiect in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

3 That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporall person.

4 That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, hee doth not order, consecrate, nor baptize.

5 That if a man be duely and truly contrite and penitent, all exteriour and outer confession, is but superfluous and vnprofitable vnto him.

This article reciteth in slander vnlesse I repent, or else can hardly be defended.

6 That it is not found or stablished by the Gospell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.

7 If the pope be a reprobate and euill man, and consequently a member of the diuell; he hath no power by any maner of meanes giuen vnto him ouer faithfull christians, except peradventure it be giuen him from the emperor.

8 That since the time of Vrban the 6. there is none to be received for pope, but to liue after the maner of the Grekes, euery man vnder his owne lawe.

Be meaneth church goods not to be in possession to minister them but that they may be taken away if they do offend.

9 To be against the Scripture, that ecclesiasticall ministers should haue any temporall possessions.

The



## The other articles of Iohn Wickliffe, condemned as erroneous.

10 That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to bee excommunicate of God.

11 That he which doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himselfe either an heretike or excommunicated.

12 That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergie, which hath appealed to the king or to the counsell, is thereby himselfe a traitor to the king and realme.

13 That all such which doe leaue off preaching or hearing the word of God or preaching of the Gospell, for feare of excommunication: they are already excommunicated, and in the day of iudgement, shall be counted as traitors vnto God.

14 That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God, without the authoritie or licence of the apostolike see or any other of his catholicks.

15 ¶ That so long as a man is in deadly sin, hee is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

16 Also that the temporall lords, may according to their owne will and discretion, take away the temporall goods from the churchmen, whensoeuer they doe offend.

17 That tenths are pure almes, and that the parishioners may for the offence of their Curats, detaine and keepe them backe, and bestow them vpon others, at their owne will and pleasures.

¶ This article plainely maketh against the first article aboue.

18 Also, that all speciall prayers applied to any priuate or particular person, by any prelate or religious man: doe no more profit the same person, then generall or vniuersall prayers doe profit others, which be in like case or state vnto him.

19 Moreouer, in that any man hath entred into any priuate religion, whatsoeuer it be, hee is thereby made the more vnapt and vnable to obserue and keepe the commandements of God.

20 That holy men which haue instituted priuate religions, whatsoeuer they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the order of begging friers, hauing no possessions) in so doing, haue grieuously offended.

21 That religious men, being in their priuat religions are not of the christian religion.

22 That friers are bounden to get their liuing by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

23 That whosoeuer doth giue any almes vnto friers, or to any begging obseruant, is accursed or in danger thereof.

## ¶ The letter of the archbishop directed to the bishop of London, against Wickliffe and his adherents.

Letter of the archbishop of Cant. against Wicklife.

William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, Metropolitane of all England, and of the apostolicall see legate: To our reuerend brother by the grace of God bishop of London, salutation. The prelats of the church ought to bee so much the more vigilant and attentiue about the charge of the Lords flocke committed vnto them: how much the more they shall vnderstand the Wolues being clothed in sheepes apparell, fraudulently to go about to worry & scatter the sheepe. Truely by the continuall crie and bruted fame (which it grieueth me to report) it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonicall sanctions, no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publikely or priuilie without the authority of the apostolicall see or bishop of that place, vsurpe or take vpon him the office of a preacher: Some not withstanding such as are the children of damnation, being vnder the vaile of blind ignorance, are brought into such doting mind, that they take vpon them to preach, and are not afraid to affirme and teach diuers and sundrie propositions and conclusions here vnder recited, both heretical, erroneous and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subuerting of the whole state of the same, of our prouince of Canturburie, and destruction and weakning of the tranquillity of the same: and that as well in the churches, as in the streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said prouince, generally, commonly, and publikely, do preach the same, infecting very manie good christians, causing them lamentablie to wander out of the way, and from the catholike church, without which there is no saluation. Wee therefore considering, that so pernicious a mischiefe which may creepe amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to passe ouer, which may with deadly contagion slay the soules of men, lest their blood be required at our hands: are willing so much as God will permit vs to doe, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsell and consent of many of our brethren and Suffragans, wee haue conuented diuers and sundrie doctors of Diuinitie, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and ciuill lawes, the best learned within the realme, and of the most soundest opinion and iudgement in the catholike faith, to giue their opinions and iudgements concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions being in the presence of vs, and our fellow brethren and other conuocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counsell and consent, as well of them as of vs, and so declared that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church; as here vnder are described: Wee will and command your brotherhood, and by vertue of holy obedience straitly enioyne all and singuler our brethren, and suffraganes of our body and church of Canturburie, that with all speedie diligence you possibilie can, you likewise enioyne them (as we haue enioyned you) and euerie of them. And that euery one of them in their churches and other places of their citie and Dioceese, doe admonish and warne, and that you in your church and other churches of your citie and Dioces, doe admonish and warne, as we by the tenour of these presents, doe admonish and warne the first time, the second time and the third time: and yet more straitely doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and peremptory, another day: That no man from henceforth of what estate or condition soeuer, doe hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errours or any of them: nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not fear to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errours of him or any of them, or that he fauour or leane vnto him either publikely or priuily: but that immediately he shun him as he would auoide a serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, vnder paine of the greater curse; the which wee command to be thundred against all and euery one which shall be disobedient in his behalfe, and not regarding these our monitions, after that those three daies be past which are assigned for the canonicall monition, and that their delay, fault or offence, committed require the same: That then according to the tenour of these writings, we command both by euery one of our fellow brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioces, and by you in your city and diocesse (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the vttermost, both yee and they cause the same excommunicatiõs to be pronounced. And furthermore, wee will and command our foresaid fellow brethren, and all and singuler of you apart by your selues, to bee admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Iesus Christ we likewise admonish you: that according to the institution of the sacred canons, euery one of them in their cities and dioces, be a diligent inquisitor of this heretical prauitie: and that euery one of you also in your cities and dioces, bee the like inquisitor of the foresaid heretical prauitie: And that of such like presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preseruation of the christian faith and religion.

Had ye called them by the truth, you should haue found them otherwise.

Bruta. Fulmina.

Be that killeth you shall thinke he doth God good seruice.

Be rather for the honor of your pope, and destruction of christian faith.

Here is not to be passed ouer, the greate miracle of Gods diuine admonition or warning: for when as the archbishop and Suffragans, with the other Doctors of Diuinitie, and lawyers with a great companie of babling friers, and religious persons were gathered together to consult, as touching Iohn Wickliffes bookes, and that whole sect: Then as they were gathered together at the gray friers in London, to begin their businesse, vpon saint Dunstans day after dinner, about two of the cloche, the very houre and instant that they should goe forward with their businesse; a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England: whereupon diuers of the suffragans being feared, by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leaue off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chiefe captaine of that armie, more rash and bold then wise) interpreting the chance which had happened, cleane contrarie to another meaning or purpose, did confirme and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, roundly to proceede and goe forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickliffes articles, not according vnto the sacred Canons of the holy Scripture, but vnto their owne priuate affections and traditions, pronounced and gaue sentence, that some of them were simple and plainely heretical, other some halfe erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, & not consonant to the church of Rome.

An earthquake what time Wickliffe was examined. Ex Chron. mon. Alban.

Item, the twelfth day of June, in the yeare aforesaid, in the chamber of the friers preachers, the foresaid master Robert Rigges, Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and Thomas Wightwell professors of Diuinitie, being appointed the same day and place, by the foresaid reuerend father in God archbishop of Canturburie appeared before him, in the presence of the reuerend father in God, lord William, by the grace of God bishop of Windchester, and diuers others doctors and bachelars of Diuinitie and of the canon and ciuill law, whose names are before recited. And first the said Chancellor by the said lord archbishop of Canturburie, being examined what his opinion was touching the foresaid articles; publikely affirmed and declared, that certaine of those conclusions were heretical, and certaine erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks afore mentioned had declared. And then immediately next after him, the foresaid Thomas Wight-

Determination vpon the articles of Wickliffe.

well in is examined, which vpon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the said archbishop diligently examined vpon the same, did affirme and repute the same to be hereticall and erroneous, as the foresaid Chancellor had done. Another Bachelar of Diuinitie also there was, named N. stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was, as was the iudgement of the foresaid Chancellor and the. as is aboue declared. Whereupon, the said lord archbishop of Canturburie, willing to let and hinder the perill of such heresies and errours: deliuered vnto the foresaid Chancellour, there being publikely read, his letters patents, to be executed, the tenour whereof in these words doth follow.

A letter of the Archb. of Cant. to the Chancellor of Oxford.

WIlliam by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolicall see: To our welbeloued sonne in Christ the Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, within the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, grace, and benediction. The prelats of the church, about the Lords flocke committed to their charge, ought so much to bee more vigilant as that they see the Wolfe clothed in sheepes attire, fraudulently goe about to worrie and scatter the sheepe. Doubtlesse, the common fame and brute is come vnto our eares, &c. *Vt in mandato precedenti.* Wee will therefore and command, straitly inioyning you, that in the church of our blessed Ladie in Oxford, vpon those daies in the which accustomable the sermon is made, as also in the schooles of the said Vniuersitie vpon those daies the Lectures bee read, yee publish and cause by others to bee published to the clergie and people, as well in their vulgar tongue, as in the Latine tongue, manifestly and plainely without any curious implication, the same hereticall and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, as is aforesaid: to haue beene and be condemned, and which conclusions also we declare by these our letters to be vtterly condemned. And that furthermore you forbid, and canonically admonish, and cause to be admonished, as we by the tenour of these presents doe forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorilie: that noone hereafter hold, teach, preach, or defend the heresies and errours aboue said, or any of them, either in schoole or out of schoole by any sophisticall cauillation or otherwise: or that any admit to preach, heare, or hearken vnto Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppingdon, canon regular, or John Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which bee vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or else any other whatsoeuer, so suspected or defamed: or that either priuately or publikely, they either aide or fauour them or any of them, but that incontinently they shun and auoide the same as a Serpent which putteth forth most pestiferous poyson. And furthermore, wee suspend the said suspected persons from all scholasticall act, till such time as they shall purge themselues before vs in that behalfe: and that you denounce the same publikely, by vs to haue beene and be suspended; and that ye diligently and faithfully enquire of all their fautors and fauourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halles of the said Vniuersitie. And that when you shall haue intelligence of their names and persons, that yee compell all and euery of them to abiure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures and other paines canonicall whatsoeuer, vnder paine of the greater curse, the which against all and singuler the rebellious in this behalfe, and disobeying our monitions, wee pronounce: so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalfe, deserue the same (the said monition of ours being first sent) which in this behalfe wee esteeme and allow canonicall, that then and againe according to the effect of these our letters, &c. The absolution of all and singuler such, which shall incurre the sentence of this instrument by vs sent forth (which God forbid) we specially reserue vnto our selues: exhorting you the Chancellor by the aspersion of the blood of Iesus Christ, that to the vttermost of your power hereafter you doe your endeuour, that the clergie and people being subiect vnto you, if there bee which haue straied from the catholike faith by such errours, may be brought home againe, to the laud and honour of his name that was crucified, & preseruation of the true faith. And further our will is, that whatsoeuer you shall doe, in the premisses in manner and forme of our processe in this behalfe, to be had and done: that you for your part, when you shall bee required thereunto, plainely and distinctly doe certifie vs by your letters patents, hauing the tenour hereof.

Make sure worke.

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are aboue prefixed. Of which some were condemned for hereticall, some for erroneous.

After this, within few daies the foresaid archbishop Wil. Courtney, directed downe his letters of admonition to Robert Rigge commissarie of Oxford, for the repressing of this doctrine. Which yet notwithstanding both then, and yet to this day (God bee praised) doth remaine: the copie of his monition to the commissary here out of his owne Register followeth.

The monition of the archbishop, vnto the *foresaid Chancellor.*

*IN Dei nomine. Amen.* Whereas wee Wil. by the permission of God archbishop of Canturburie, lord primate of England and legate of the apostolicall see, by the consent of our suffragans, haue caused to be assembled together, diuerse clerkes both secular and regular of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, within our prouince of Canturbury & other catholike persons, to informe vs of and vpon certaine conclusions hereticall and erroneous, generally and commonly preached and published in diuers places of the said prouince of Canturburie, to the subuersion of the whole state of the church, and our said prouince: And also mature deliberation had vpon the same, by the common counsell of the said our suffragans and their conuocates, it was declared, that certaine of the said conclusions, to haue beene and be condemned, some for hereticall, and some for erroneous, and notoriously repugnant to the determination of the church, which we also our selues haue declared to be damnable: And haue vnderstood by credible information, and partly by experience, that thou Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Vniuersity aforesaid, hast and doest incline partly to the foresaid damnable conclusions, whom also we in this part haue partly suspected, dost intend to molest these our clerks aboue specified, and others adhering vnto vs in this behalfe, as they ought to doe, through thy subtill and sophisticall imaginations, sundrie and manifold waies: therefore wee admonish thee M. Rob. Chancellor aforesaid, the first, second, and third time, and peremptorily: that thou doest not grieue, let, or molest, iudicially or extraiudicially, aperdy or priuilie, or cause to bee grieued, let, and molested, or procure directly or indirectly, by thy selfe or any other as much as in thee lyeth to be grieued, the foresaid clerks secular or regular, or such as fauour them, in the premisses, in their scholasticall acts, or in any other condition whatsoeuer: And that thou suffer none hereafter to teach, maintaine, preach, or defend any such heresies or errors in the said Vniuersitie, either within or without the schooles: Neither that thou do admit Iohn Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Repingdon, John Ashton, or Laurence Redman, which are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresie, or any other so suspected or defamed, vnto that office of preaching: but that thou denounce the said persons to be suspended, whom wee haue suspended from all scholasticall act, whilest they cleare their innocencie in this part before vs, vnder the paine of the greater curse, which we here in these writings denounce against thy person if thou shalt not obey those our admonitions, with effect, as thy crime, subtilty and offence in this behalfe shall require according to this our admonition premised, which we repute in this part for canonicall, as well then as now, and now as well as then, referring the absolution of this sentence excommunicatorie, if it happen to light vpon thee, (as God forbid) specially vnto our selues. Testified with the hands of the Iuters, aboue in the pag. 400. before specified.

Another letter of the archb. to the Commissary of Oxon.

## The examination of Nicolas Herford, Philip *Repingdon, and John Ashton.*

THe 18. day of the moneth and yeare aforesaid, in the chamber of the preaching friers aforesaid mentioned, before the foresaid archbishop in the presence of diuers Doctors and Bachelars of diuinitie, and many lawyers both canon & ciuill, these names are vnder written: appeared M. Nic. Herford, Philip Repingdon, and John Ashton Bachelars of Diuinity. Who after a corporall oth taken to them their iudgement vpon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined seuerally each one by himselfe, before the archb. Who there required day and place to deliberate vpon the conclusions aforesaid, and to giue their answere vnto the same in writing. And also required to haue a copy of the said conclusions to be deliuered vnto them. The which copy, the said Nicolas and Philip (being openly read vnto them) receiued. Also the foresaid M. John Ashton likewise was examined, and iudicially admonished by the said archb. by vertue of his oth, that he setting aside all sophisticall words and subtilties, by fully and plainely would say his mind vpon the conclusions aforesaid. And being asked moreouer by the said archb. whether he would haue a further day to deliberate vpon his answeres, as the foresaid Nicolas and Philip had before: said expresly that he would not, but would answere presently to those conclusions, and so for finall answere said, as concerning all these conclusions (containing them all together) that his iudgement was in this behalfe to hold his peace. Wherfore the foresaid archbishop reputing the said John herein to be suspected, admonished him in forme of words as followeth: Wee admonish thee John Ashton, whom we repute to be defamed and notoriously suspected of heresie, the first, the second, and third time: that in our prouince of Canturbury hereafter, thou doe not preach publikely or priuately without our speciall licence, vnder paine of the greater curse, which wee denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then. And consequently, forasmuch as the said John being asked of the archb. confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the archb. Sparuate, wherein was inhibited y no person prohibited or not sent, should preach hereafter: the foresaid archbishop assigned to him friday next following, which was the 20. day of the same moneth, after dinner to appear before him, either at Lamberth, or in the same place: to say for himselfe, wherefore hee might not bee pronounced

M. Iohn Ashton examined.

The answere of I. Ashton.

M. Ashton assigned against to appeare.



pronounced for an heretike, and for such a one to be denounced through his whole prouince. Also the said archbishop assigned to the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, the said day and place to answer peremptorily, and to say fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

The names of the friers that sate vpon them.

Friers Preachers:

Thomas Warnwell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whatley, Laurence Grenham, John Leigh, John Baker.

Carmelites 3.

Walter Dish, John Birmingham, John Louey.

Augustine Frier:

Thomas Aylbourne, doctor.

10. of June.

In the twentith day aforesaid of the said month of June, the pere and place aboue prefixed, before the foresaid archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of diuers doctors of Diuinitie, and lawyers, both ciuill and canon; personally appeared master Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppingdon, bachelars of Diuinitie, and John Ashton, master of Art. Where the foresaid Nicolas & Philip, being required by the said archbishop to answere, and say fully and plainly their iudgement vpon the conclusions prefixed, whereunto the said archbishop had assigned to the said Nicolas & Philip the same terme; did exhibit to the said archbishop there iudicially sitting, certain answers in writting contained, after the maner of indenture: the tenor thereof here vnder is contained, and after the same forme answered to the said conclusions. The tenor of which indenture containing the foresaid conclusions to them moued as afore, followeth in these words.

Herford and Reppingdon appeare.

## The protestation of Nicolas, Philip, and Iohn, with their articles and answers to the same.

The protestation of Herford and Ashton, exhibited to the archbishop.

WE protest here as before, publikely in these presents, that we intend to be humble & faithfull children to the church and holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the church. And if it shall chance vs at any time, which God forbid, to swarue from this our intention, we submit our selues humbly to the correction of our reuerend father, lord archbishop of Canturbury, and primate of all England and of all other which haue interest to correct such swarners. This protestation premised, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

Articles with the answers.

That the substance of materiall bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration.

After the sense contrary to the Decretall, beginning Firmiter credimus; we grant that it is heresie.

That the accidents doe not remaine without the subiect, after consecration of the sacrament.

After the sense contrary to that Decretall Cum Marthe, we grant that it is heresie.

That Christ is not in the sacrament, the selfe same truly and really in his owne corporall presence.

Although this conclusion as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet in the sense contrary to the Decretall in Cle. Si dudum: we grant that it is heresie. And briefly concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we professe that we will both in word and sense, hold with the holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy doctors.

Obstinatly to affirme that it hath no foundation in the Gospell, that Christ ordained the masse.

We grant that it is heresie.

That God ought to obey the diuell.

In this sense, that God in his own person or essence, ought to obey the diuell with the obedience of necessity.

We grant that it is heresie.

If a man be duly contrite, that all externall confession is to him superfluous and vnprofitable.

We grant that it is heresie.

If the pope be a reprobat and an euill man, and consequently a member of the the diuell, he hath no power ouer the faithfull of Christ, giuen to him of any, vnlesse it be of Cesar.

We grant that it is heresie.

That after pope Vrban the 6. none is to be received for pope, but that we ought to liue after the manner of the Grecians, vnder our owne lawes.

We grant that it is heresie.

To say, that it is against the holy Scripture for ecclesiasticall persons to haue temporall possessions.

If obstinacie be ioined withall, we grant that it is heresie.

That no prelat ought to excommunicat any man, vnlesse he know him before to be excommunicat of God.

We grant that it is an error. Vnderstanding this knowledge to meane an experimental knowledge: so that herewith may stand the decree of the church. 11. q. 3. Nemo Episco.

That hee which doth so excommunicat, is thereby an heretike or excommunicat.

After the sense agreeing with the other before, we grant to be an error.

That a prelat excommunicating a clerke, which appealeth to the king or counsell of the realme, in so doing, is a traitor to God, the king, and the realme.

We grant it is an error.

That they which leaue off to preach, or to heare the word of God and the Gospell preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicat, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted for traitors to God.

Vnderstanding this conclusion vniuersally so, as scripture and lawes doe vnderstand such indefinit propositions: wee grant it as an error.

To affirme that it is lawfull for any deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority of the sea apostolike, or catholike bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient.

We grant it is an error.

To affirme that there is no ciuill lord, no bishop nor prelat while he is in mortall sinne, we grant it is an error.

That temporall lords may at their pleasure take away the temporall goods from churches, offending habituliter: wee grant it is an error, after this sense, that they may so take away temporall goods of the churches, without the rules limitted in the lawes of the church and kingdomes.

That the vulgar people may correct the lords offending at their pleasure: vnderstanding by this word may, that they may doe it by the law: we grant it is an error, because that subiects haue no power ouer their lords.

That tithes be pure almes, and that parishioners may for the offences of their curats, detaine the same, and bestow them to others at their pleasure: vnderstanding by this word may, as before, to may by the law: we grant it is an error.

That speciall prayers applied to any one person by priests or religious men, doe no more profit then the generall prayers, if there be no let by the may to make them vnlike: vnderstanding this conclusion vniuersally negatiuely, and vnderstanding by speciall prayers, the prayers made vpon speciall deuotion, and generall prayers of generall deuotion: then after this sense, no such speciall prayers applied to any one person, by special orators doe profit more specially the said person, then generall prayers doe, which are made of the same, and for the same persons; we grant it is an error.

Wee that giueth almes to the friers, or to any frier that preacheth, is excommunicat, both he that giueth, and he that taketh: vnderstanding this proposition vniuersally, or conditionally, as is aforesaid: we grant to be an error.

That who so entreth into any priuat religion whatsoeuer, is thereby made more vnapt and vnmeet to obey the commandements of God: we grant it is an error.

That such holy men as did institute any priuat religions whatsoeuer, as well of secular hauing possessions, as of friers hauing none, in so instituting, did sinne: vnderstanding this reduplicatiuely or vniuersally: we grant it is an error. After this sense, that what Saint soeuer did institute priuat religions, instituting the said religion vpon that consideration as they did, did sinne.

That religious men liuing in priuat religions, be not of the religion of Christ: vnderstanding the proposition vniuersally, as is aforesaid: we grant it is an error.

That friers are bound to get their liuings by the labour of their hands, and not by begging: vnderstanding this proposition vniuersally, as before: we grant it is an error.

These things haue we spoken reuerend father and lord, in all humility, vnder your gracious supportation and benigne correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities for this present (the honor of God, the veritie of our beliefe, and safe conscience in all points reserued;) more humbly yet beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet vnto your excellencie and discretion to bee more or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracious fatherhod would vouchsafe to informe vs as children by the sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors. And doubtlesse with ready wils, and obedient minds, we will consent and agree vnto your wholsome doctrine. Praying therefore please your fatherhod, right reuerend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your benignitie, fauorably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the foresaid conclusions were neuer by vs either in schooles affirmed, or els in sermons publikely preached.

## Further examinations and proceedings against the foresaid Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppingdon, and John Ashton.

Further examinations against the said Nicolas, Philip, and Iohn, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppingdon.

WHen at these answers were made vnto the said lord archb. of Canturburie, the said Nicolas and Philip, for that they answered not vnto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expresly; but contrary to the sense of the decretall Firmiter credimus, were there iudicially examined what their sense and meaning was: but they would not expres the same. Then was it

John Ashton examined. 20. Junij, an. 1382.

it demanded of them according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canturbury, whether the same materiall bread in numero, which before the consecration is laid vpon the altar, remaine in the proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine? To this the said Nicolas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, then that they had already answered, as is before alleaged in writing. And for that vnto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but in a sense contrary to the Decretall Cum Marthe, being asked what was the meaning, would not expresse the same: therefore it was demanded of them according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared in the behalfe of the said lord of Canturbury, whether those corporall accidences which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them after the consecration were in the same bread and wine, or else were subiected in any other substance? To this they answered, that better to answer, then before in their writings they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion, for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but in sense contrary to the Decretall in the Clementines Si dudum, being asked what was that sense and meaning, would not declare the same: Therefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared on the behalfe of the said lord of Canturburie: Whether the same body of Christ, which was assumpted of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the altar, secundum speciem, euen as he is really in carnall substance, proper essence and nature. To this they answered, that for that time they could say no more then that they had said, as before is specified in writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the fifth conclusion, for that they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God ought any manner of obedience to the diuell or not: they said, yea, as the obedience of loue, because he loueth him, and punished him as he ought. And to proue that God ought to so obey the diuell they offered themselues to the fire.

To the 11. conclusion, for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a prelat might excommunicat any man being in the state of grace: said, yea.

Vnto the 20. conclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, and expressly, being demanded whether speciall or generall prayers did most profit, and were of greater force: they would not say but that speciall.

Vnto the last conclusion, for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly, and being demanded particularly, whether any seier were bound to get his liuing with his manuall labor, so that it might not bee lawfull for them to liue by begging: they would make no answer at all.

After that the foresaid lord archbishop of Canturbury demanded of all the foresaid doctors, what their iudgement was touching the answers that were made vpon all and singuler such conclusions. All which doctors and euery of them severally said: that there all the answers giuen vnto the first, second, third, and firth conclusions, as is before recited, were insufficient, heretical & subtill; and that all the answers made specially to the tenth, ninth, and last conclusions, as is aboue mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and peruerse. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canturburp, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtill, erroneous, and peruerse, accordingly as the said doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered; admonished the said Nicolas and Philip sufficiently vnder these forme of words.

The name of Christ being called vpon: we William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canturburp, metropolitan of all England, and legat of the Apostolike sea, and through all our prouince of Canturburp, inquisitor of all heretical prauitie; doe sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington, professors of Diuinitie, hauing this day and place assigned you by your owne consent and due petition, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinions touching these conclusions, whereunto we doe refer you, all subtill, sophisticall, and logicall words set apart) being thereunto sworne, cited and commanded. Which thing to doe, without cause reasonable or any licence giuen thereunto, you neither haue bin willing, nor are willing, nay rather ye contemptuously refused to answere to some of those conclusions before vs iudicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation and commandement beforesaid. And for that ye haue answered vnto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously, although not fully, we admonish and cite you one, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily: that plainly and fully (all subtill, sophisticall and logicall words set apart) you and euery of you answer vnto the same conclusions, and vnto that feriie and meaning by vs limitted; vnder the paine that otherwise such conclusions deserue by you confessed, and that for the same conclusions, you ought to haue.

Which admonition being made and done, for that the foresaid Nicolas and Philip would make none other answer; the said lord archbishop of Canturburp concluded that businesse, prefixing and assigning vnto the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, eight daies space; that is to say, vntill the 27. day of the same month: and that then they should appeare before the said lord archbishop of Canturburp, wheresoeuer within the same his prouince of Canturburp he should fortune to be, to heare his decree that should be made in that behalfe. This done, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburp monished and cited lawfully and sufficiently, John Ashton vnder the tenor of these words following.

Admonition and citation of the archbishop against the accused.

Another day assigned for the examinatp to appeare.

In the name of God: We William by Gods permission, archbishop of Canturburp, primat of all England, legat of the sea Apostolicall, and through all our prouince of Canturburp of all heretical prauity chefe inquisitor: doe monish and cite thee, John Ashton, master of Art, and student in Diuinity, appearing before vs, iudicially to say and speake the plaine verite touching these conclusions, to the which we doe referre thee: and to the which we haue caused thee to sweare, laying thy hand vpon a booke: as being also otherwise by vs admonished and commanded, to hope this day and place by vs appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced an heretike. And sufficiently and lawfully we monish and cite thee, the first, second and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtill, sophisticall, and logicall words set apart,) doe answere vnto the same conclusions, vnder the paine that vnto such conclusions belong and on thy part confessed, and that thou for such conclusions oughtest to suffer. Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he said his mind concerning the foresaid monition. Then the foresaid John Ashton, being often required by the archbishop, that he would answere in the Latine tongue, to thole questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; hee crying out in the English tongue, vttered friuolous and oppobrious contumelies to mone and excite the people against the said archbishop, as it should seeme. Neither did hee vnto the first conclusion, nor vnto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seeme to them to answere: but rather by subtilties and chists, saying oftentimes, and as expressly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to beleeue as the holy church beleeued. Then the said archbishop examined him vpon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar: whether that after the words of consecration, there remaineth materiall bread, particular bread, or vniuersall bread? He said the matter passed his vnderstanding, and therefore said, he would in that forme and manner answere, and otherwise not. But amongst other things, hee spake in derding wise vnto the said archbishop against this word Materiall, saying: you may put that in your purse, if you haue any. Whereupon the said archbishop, calling that an vntrue and foolish answere, as the rest of the doctors did (of whom mention was made before) rather for that he was a graduat in the Schooles, further proceed against the said John Ashton in this wise.

Proceile made by the archbishop against John Ashton.

John Ashton heretically reasoned.

The archbishop and his fellows bore the English tongue for the people.

The answer of Sym. Hilman.

Whether materiall bread remaine in the sacrament.

Sir. Herford and Mast. Reppington for not appearing, excommunicated.

And thou John Ashton monished & commanded by vs, as is aforesaid, after thine oth taken; without any reasonable cause or any other licence, neither wouldst thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet doest cotemptuously, to answere vnto such conclusions before vs, iudicially according to our monition and commandement aforesaid; doe hold all such conclusions by thee confessed, and thee the foresaid John, with all thy said conclusions conuicted. And therefore we doe pronounce and declare by sentence giuing, that thou John Ashton, concerning those conclusions, which by vs with good deliberation of diuers prelats our suffragans, and also diuers and sundry professors of Diuinitie, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonicall sanctions, being condemned and declared for an hertike and heretically, to haue been, and still is an heretike, and thy conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other conclusions, by vs heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned: wee doe pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that both thou hast erred, and doest erre.

Excommunication pronounced by the archbishop.

Vpon the same 20. day of June, in the yere and place aboue recited, the foresaid lord of Canturburp being desirous, as he pretended, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelar of Diuinity, there being present, and sometime fauoring the said master John Ashton, what his iudgement and opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions, prefixed and assigned vnto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) eight daies after, that is to say, the 28. of the said month, that he appeare before the archbishop of Canturburp, wheresoeuer within his said prouince of Canturburp, he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his iudgement and opinion was, touching the foresaid conclusions. Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

Master Thomas Hilman assigned by the archbishop to be a Fauorer of John Ashton. The 20. day of June.

Order giuen to Thomas Hilman to answer.

## The names of friers and doctors assistant at the examination aforesaid.

Friers Obseruants, Wytleham bishop of Nauaton, frier John Langley, William Sward,

Friers



Friers of Dominicks order, John Bingham, John Louey, Peter Stokes, Walter Dish.

Friers Carmelites, Thomas Ashburn, Baukine, Robert Walbey.

Doctors and Friers Augustines, master John Barnet, master Thomas Backton, master John Blanchard, master John Shillingford, S. Kideford, S. Thomas Southam.

28 day of June an. 1381.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the 28. day of June, the foresaid S. Nicolas, Philip, and Thom. Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop, and lord Inquisitor of Canturburp, in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canturburp, there sitting in his tribunall seat. To whom the said bishop of Canturburp saying: that for because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in diuinity, and of the canon and ciuill law; he continued the said businesse touching the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, til Tuesday next & immediatly ensuing: that is to say, the first day of July, the yeere of the Lord aforesaid, and prefixed vnto the said Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman the same day to appeare before him, wheresoeuer within his prouince of Canturburp, he should then chance to be, to doe that which vpon the said 28. day, they were purposed to doe together or apart.

1. day of July, an. 1382.

Which 1. day being come, the foresaid archbishop in the chiefe house of his church at Canturburp, before the houre of 9. with the doctors, whose names are vnder contained and other clerks a great multitude; expected the foresaid Nicolas, Philip, and Thomas, long time, by the beadle calling them and lowking after them, who neuerthelesse appeared not before two of the clocke after dinner the same day, continuing the foresaid businesse in the prittine state till the same houre. At which houre, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburp hauing assistants, the doctors and clerks vnder recited, examined the foresaid master Thomas Hilman, then and there iudicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the foresaid conclusions: who at them and the meaning of them somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singuler the same conclusions then to him read and expounded, thus answered: I suppose and iudge all and singuler those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canturburp that now is, together with the counsell and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, euen as the same my lord of Canturburp and other doctors of diuinitie, of the canon and ciuill law, by common consent and counsell haue supposed and thought. And that the same (being for heresies and errors as before is said condemned) doe as much as in mee is condemne; protesting that I will hold and affirme the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith liue and die. Then said the archbishop of Canturburp, then and there sitting as tribunall of Iudge, pronouncing the said masters, Nicolas and Philip, (long in court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing) guilty of contumacie and disobedience: excommunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacie, in tenor of these words following.

12. day of July, an. 1382.

We William by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburp, Primat of England, Legat of the apostolicall sea, and through all our prouince of Canturburp, of all heretical prauitie chiefe inquisitor; doe pronounce master Nicolas Herford, and master Philip Reppington, professors of Diuinitie, hauing this day and place by our petition, appointed to appeare and decree in this businesse of heretical prauitie (being in court by our Bedle long called and taried for, and yet not appearing) to be stubborne and disobedient persons: and for the penalitie of this their contumacie, we doe excommunicat them and either of them by these presents.

Other letters of the archbishop sent to the Chancellor of Otford.

## The denouncing of the excommunication against *Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington.*

The 12. day of July, an. 1382. Excommunication to be denounced at Pauls crosse.

WIlliam by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburp, &c. To our beloued sonne in Christ, whosoeuer hee be, that this instant sunday shal preach at Pauls crosse in London, salutation, grace and blessing. Forasmuch as we prefixed a certaine competent day and place to master Nicolas Herford, and master Philip Reppington, Canon regular of the monastery of our Lady of Leicester, being doctors of Diuinitie, and of heretical prauitie vehemently suspected: After certaine answers not fully made, but impertinently and nothing to the purpose, as also heretically and erroneous: In diuers places of our said prouince commonly, generally, and publikely taught and preached, and therefore that they should iudicially appeare before vs, to doe and to receiue peremptorily in that behalfe, what thing soeuer the quality of that businesse should moue vs vnto: and that we haue so for their contumacie, in not appearing before vs at that day and place iudicially appointed, as right therein required: Wee by these presents command and commit vnto you, firmely inioining you, that when all the multitude of people shall be gathered together to heare your sermon, that in the day and place appointed, you publikely and solemnly denounce the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, holding vp a crosse, and lighting vp a candle, and then throwing downe the same vpon the ground, to haue been so and in such maner excommunicated, and still be.

Fare ye well. In our manor house at Lambeth, the 12. day of July, the yeere of our Lord, 1382. and first yeere of our translation.

## The citation against the said Nicolas and Philip.

WIlliam by the grace of God, &c. To our welbeloued son M. Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, salutation, &c. For as much as we haue prefixed a competent day and place to M. Nicolas Herford, and M. Philip Reppington, &c. as before: We straitly charge and command you, that you publikely and solemnly denounce in the church of our Lady, and in the schooles of the Vniuersity, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to haue bin by vs excommunicated, and still be. And that you further cite, or cause to be cited peremptorily, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, that they & euery of them appeare before vs within 15. daies after the date of this citation, wheresoeuer we shall fortune vs, within our said prouince of Canturbury, then to be: To heare and see how we meane to proceed against them, and euery of them, concerning the foresaid heretical and erroneous conclusions, according to the forme of retroactions and quality of the businesse in this behalfe had and vsed. And that both of the day of the receit of this present citation, of the maner and forme thereof or if that you shall apprehend by personall citation the said Nicolas and Philip, or either of them, or whether they shall be absent and hide themselues, as of euery thing else, which in this behalfe you shall thinke meet to be done: that betweene this and the feast of S. Laurence, you cleerly certifie vs by your letters patents, containing the effect of these things.

Fare ye well. At our manor of Lambeth the 13. day of July, the yeere of our Lord 1382. and first yeere of our translation.

## The names of the doctors and friers *assistants at this sitting.*

Seculars, S. William Blanchpaine, S. Will. Barton.

Friers Carmelits, Robert Guerie, prior, John Kenningham, prior, and John Lunne.

Friers Minors, William Barwel, John Rydden, and William Wunscombe.

Friers Augustins, John Court, Patrington, Tomson and Repes.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop, the parties excommunicat commenced and exhibited their appeale vnto the bishop of Rome. Which appeale of theirs as insufficient, or rather to him vnpleasant, the said archbishop vterly reiected (as might oftentimes ouercommeth right) proceeding in his preconceiued excommunication against them, and writing moreouer his letters to him that should preach next at Pauls crosse, as is aforesaid, to denounce & to publish openly the said Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington to be excommunicat, for that not appearing at their terme assigned. Which was in the 13. day of the month of July.

The excommunication of Herford and Reppington denounced at Pauls crosse.

Which archbishop moreouer the said yere, month and day aforesaid, sent also another letter to S. Rigge, commissary of Otford, straitly inioining and charging him not onely to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to giue out publike citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Otford for them, to haue them apprehended and sent vp to him, personally before him to appeare at a certaine day prescribed for the same. Whereby may appeare how busie this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poore men, whom rather he should haue nourished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labor is paid, so his reward will follow, at what day the great archbishop of our soules shall iudicially appeare in his tribunall seat, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

13. day of July, an. 1382.

The archbishop yet not contented with this, doth moreouer by all meanes possible, sollicite the king to ioine withall the power of his temporall sword, for that he well perceiued, that hitherto as yet the popish clergie had not authorite sufficient by ante publike law or statute of this land to proceede vnto death against any person what soeuer, in cafe of religion, but onely by the blinded tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Wherefore (gentle Reader) for thy better vnderstanding, the practise of the Romish prelats in seeking the kings helpe to further their bloudie purpose against the good saints of God. Which king being but young, and vnder yeeres of ripe iudgement, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune suite of the foresaid archbishop, partly also either for feare of the bishops (for kings cannot alwaies doe in their realmes what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidie to be gathered by the clergy, was content to adioine his priuate assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an odiinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professours thereof, bearing the name of an Act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, Anno 5. Rich. 2. Where among sundry other statutes there published, and yet remaining in the printed bookes of

Letters to burne any man for religion.

The king circumuented by the archbishop.

The first law to be found made by the clergy for burning the professours of religion.

*An. 5. R. secundi.*

of Statutes, this supposed statute is to be found, cap. 5. & vltimo, as followeth.

This statute was made by the clergy without the consent of the commons.

Item forsomuch as it is openly knowne that there be diuers euill persons within the realme, going from countie to countie, and from towne to towne, in certaine habits vnder dissimulation of great holinesse, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authoritie, preaching daily not onely in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, faires, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, diuers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian faith and destruction of the lawes, and of the estate of holy church, to the great perill of the soules of the people, and of all the realme of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proued before the reuerend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and the bishops and other prelats, maisters of Diuinitie, and doctors of canon and of ciuill law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realme, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons doe also preach diuers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissension betwixt diuers estates of the said realme, as well spirituall as temporall, in exciting of the people to the great perill of all the realme: which preachers cited or summoned before the Ordinaries of the places there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons and commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them. And moreouer, by their subtile and ingenious words, doe draw the people to heare their sermons, and doe maintaine them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the kings commissions be made and directed to the Shiriffes and other ministers of our soueraigne Lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelats thereof to be made in the Chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abetters, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will submit to them according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willeth & commaundeth, that the Chancellor make such commissions at all times, that he by the prelats or any of them shall bee certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

Note: that this statute was repealed after, vpon the instance of the commons.

## An examination of the foresaid supposed *Statute, and of the inualidatie thereof.*

WHich supposed Statute, for as much as it was the principall ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time: it is therefore not impertinent to examin the same more particularly, wherein shall appeare, that as the same was fraudulently and vnduely deuised by the prelats onely; so was it in like manner most iniuriously and vnorderly executed by them. For immediatly vppon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his counsell, commissions vnder the great seale of England were made in this forme. Richard by the grace of God, &c. vt pater act. pag. 541. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 26. day of June, in the sixth yeere of our raigne. Without more words of warrant vnder written, such as in like cases are both vsuall and requisite: Viz. per ipsum Regem: per Regem & concilium: or per breue de priuato Sigillo. All or any of which words being vtterly wanting in this place, as may bee seene in the kings records of that time: it must therefore be done either by warrant of this foresaid Statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said Statute appointed the commissions to bee directed to the Shiriffe, or other ministers of the kings, or to other sufficient persons learned for the arresting of such persons: the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his Suffragans, being as it appeareth parties in the case, authorizing them further without either the words, or reasonable meaning of the said Statute, to impulon them in their owne houses, or where else pleased them.

No vsuall words of warrant affixed to this commission.

Besides also, what manner of law this was, by whom deuised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, iudge by that that followeth: viz.

In the Vtas of S. Michael, next following at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the firth yeere of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme, Article 52.

The petition of the commons for the repeale of the foresaid statute.

Item, prayen the commons, that whereas an Estatute was made the last parliament in these words: It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the Shiriffes and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certificats of the prelats thereof to be made vnto the chancery from time to time to arrest all such preachers, and their fautors, maintainers, and abetters. And them to detaine in strong prison, vntill they will submit themselues according to reason, and law of holy church. And the king willeth and commaundeth, that the Chancellor make such commissions at all times, as shall be by the prelats or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid. The which was neuer agreed nor granted by the commons: but what soeuer was moued therein, was without their assent. That the said Statute be therefore disanulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselues, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further inabled or bound by the prelats, then were their ancestors in former times, whereunto is answered, il plaist aa, Roy. r. the king is pleased.

The king reiecteth the petition.

Hereby notwithstanding the former vniust law of an. 5. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discouered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelats, that this act of repeale was neuer published, nor euer sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. Insomuch as the said repeale being concealed, like commissions and other processe were made from time to time, by vertue of the said bastard statute, as well burning all the raigne of this king, as euer sithence against the professors of religion, as shall hereafter by the grace of God appeare in the second peare of king Henry the 4. where the clergy pursued the like practise. And now againe to the story of our Oxford Diuines, and of the archbishop, to whom the king writeth his letters patents, first to the archbishop, then to the Vicechancellor of Oxford in forme as followeth.

## The kings letters patents to the *Archbishop.*

The kings letter against the fauorers of Wickliffe.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland: To all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reuerend father in God, William archbishop of Canturbury, Primate of England, exhibited vnto vs; we right well vnderstand: That diuers and sundry conclusions, very contrary to wholsome doctrine, and redounding both to the subuersion of the catholike faith, the holy church, and his prouince of Canturbury, in diuers and sundry places of the same his prouince haue beene openly and publikely preached, although damnably preached. Of the which conclusions, some as heresies, othersome as errors haue been condemned; but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and vsed, and by common counsell of the said archbishop, his suffragans, and many doctors in Diuinity, and other clerks, and learned men in the holy scriptures, were sententially and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said archbishop hath made this supplication vnto vs: that both for the coertion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth of an obstinat mind preach or maintaine the foresaid conclusions, that wee would vouchsafe to put to the same and helping hand of our kingly power. We therefore moued by the zeale of the catholike faith, whereof we be and will be defenders, and vnwilling that any such heresies or errors should spring vp within the limits of our dominion: Giue and grant speciall license and authoritie by the tenor of these presents, vnto the foresaid archbishop, and to his suffragans, to arrest and imprison either in their owne prisons, or any other, all and euery such person and persons, as shall either priuily, or apertly preach and maintaine the foresaid conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons so imprisoned there at their pleasures to detaine, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such heretical prauities, or else shall be of such arrests by vs and our counsel otherwise determined and prouided. Further charging and commanding all and singuler our liegemen ministers and subiects, of what state and condition soeuer they be, vpon their fidelity and allegiance, wherein they stand bound to vs, that by no meanes they either fauor, counsell, or helpe the preachers, or else maintainers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their fauourers, vpon paine and forfeiture of all that euer they haue. But that they obey and humbly attend vpon the said archbishop, his suffragans and ministers; in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the foresaid conclusions and their maintainers, without any perturbation may be done and executed, as for the defence of our realme and catholike faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witnes whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made.

Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 16. day of June, and 6. yeere of our raigne.

The 16. day of June, an. 1382.

## The kings letters patents to the *Vicech.ancellor.*

Another letter of the king to the Vicechancellor.

THe king: To the Chancellor and the procurators of the Vniuersitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall bee, greeting. Moued by the zeale of Christian faith, whereof wee be, and alwaies will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, hauing a great desire to represse, and by condigne punishment to restraine the impugners of the foresaid faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and presume to sow their naughty and peruerse doctrine, within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the peruerting of our subiects and people, as wee vnderstand. Before they any further proceed in their malicious



malicious errors, or else infect others: We haue by these presents appointed you to bee inquisitor generall (all the chiefe diuines of the said Vniuersitie being your assistants) and the same likewise to be done of al and singuler the graduats, diuines and lawyers of the same Vniuersity. And if they shall know any which be of the iurisdiction of the said Vniuersitie of Oxford, which be probably of them to be suspected in the fauour, beleefe, or defence of any heresie or error, and specially of any of the conclusions publikely condemned by the reuerend father, William, archbishop of Canturbury, by the counsel of his clergie, or els of any other conclusion like vnto any of them in meaning, or in words: and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall beleeue, fauour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be so bold to receiue into their houses and inns, master John Wickliffe, M. Nic. Herford, M. Philip Reppingdon, or M. John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid heresies, or errors, or any other like vnto them in meaning, or in word: Or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or fauour any of such fauorers, receiuers, communicants and defenders, within seuen daies after the same shall appeare and be manifest vnto you, to banish and expell them from the Vniuersitie and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocencie before the archbishop of Canturburie for the time being, by manifest purgation. So notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselues, you certifie vs and the said archbishop vnder your seales, from time to time within one moneth that they be such maner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halles of the said Vniuersitie, ye cause diligentlie to be searched and inquired out one or more of the foresaid booke or tractation of the edition or compiling of the foresaid master John Wickliffe, or Nicholas Herford; and that when and where soeuer ye shall chance to find any such booke or tractation, yee cause the same to be arrested and taken, and vnto the foresaid archbishop within one moneth (without correction, corruption, or mutation, whatsoeuer) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore wee straitly enioyne and command you, vpon your fidelitie and allegeance wherein ye stand bound vnto vs, and vpon paine of forfeiture of al and singuler your liberties and priuiledges of your said Vniuersitie, and of all that euer you haue besides: that you giue your diligent attendance vpon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and forme aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid archbishop, and his lawfull and honest mandates, that he shall thinke good to direct vnto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye should. And we giue in charge vnto the Vicechancellor and maior of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singuler our sheriffes, vnder sheriffes, bailiffes, and subiects, by these presents: that they aid, obey, and bee attendant vpon you in the execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse the king at Westminster, the 13. day of July, the sixth yeere of his raigne.

The 13. day of July, an. 1382.

Another charge later of king Richard sent to Oxford against Wickliffe and his fellowers. The effect of the kings letter briefly comprehended.

Besides these letters patents, the said young king moued by the vnquiet importunitie of the archbishop, sendeth moreouer another speciall letter to the Vicechancellor and proctors of the Vniuersitie of Oxford. Wherein vnder a pretended zeale of defence of Christian faith, he straitly and sharpely enioyneth and alligneth them (for the vtter abolishing of those conclusions and opintons) to make a generall inquisition through the whole Vniuersitie, as well for the parties aforesaid, John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such other, as also for all other whom they vnto or iudge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receiuers, and defenders of the foresaid parties, or their conclusions any manner of way; to the intent, that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may bee within seuen daies of their admonitions expulsed the vniuersitie, and cited vp to the archb. of Cant. before him to appeare, and to stand to their answers. Willing moreouer and commanding the said vicechancellor and proctors with other regents their assistors, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or colledge, or in any other place shall be found to haue any of their bookes, or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, &c. they will cause without delay the said person or persons, with their bookes to be arrested and attached, and presented within one moneth, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the foresaid archbishop, vpon their faith and allegeance, as they will auoid the forfeiture of all and singuler the liberties and priuiledges to the vniuersitie appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his iniunctions to bee obeied in all things lawfull and honest. Giuing moreouer in these our letters charge and commandement to the maior, bailifes, and other the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant vnto the foresaid vicechancellor and proctors, executing the execution of the premisses, bearing the date of the foureteenth day of July: which was the yeere of our Lord, 1382.

The 14. day of July, an. 1382.

The persons with their bookes to be attached.

*Matters incident of Robert Rigges, Vicechancellor of Oxford, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Repington, with others.*

THe Vicechancellor the same time in Oxford was M. Robert Rigges. The two proctors were John Huntman, and Walter Dish, who then as far as they durst, fauored the cause of John Wickliffe and that side. Insomuch, that the same time and yeere, which was an. 1382. vpon certaine publike sermons should be appointed customarily at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cloyster of S. Frideswide (now called Christs Church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesaid and the proctors (the doings thereof the vicechancellor aforesaid, and proctors had committed to Philip Repington and M. Her. to that M. Her. should preach on the Ascension day, and Repington vpo Corpus Christi day.) First Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe, openly to be a faithfull, godly and innocent man: for the which no small adoe with outcries was among the friers. This Herford, after he had long fauoured and maintained Wickliffes part, grew first in suspition amongst the enemies of the truth. For allbeit as he began somewhat liberally and freelie to pronounce and vtter any thing which tended to the defence of Wickliffe, by and by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion were in his top, and laid not a few heresies vnto his charge, the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certaine forme, by the hands of certaine notaries, through the industrie and diligence of one Peter Stokes a Carmelite, a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischiefe, tyrants, debate, and dissention. After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew neere, vpon which day it was lowed for that Repington should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree vnto doctorship: who preaching the same time at Bodgates, for the same sermon he became first suspended, and hated of the Pharisaicall brode of the friers. But through the great and notable dexteritie of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modestie and honestie: he did so ouercome, or at the least asswage this crueltie and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after by the consent of the whole fellowship, he was admitted doctor. Who as soone as he had taken it vpon him, by and by hee stepped forth in the schooles, and began immediatly to shew forth and vtter, that which hee had long hidden and dissembled. Protesting openly, that in all mozall matters, he would defend Wickliffe. But as touching the sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, vntill such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergie.

Peter Stokes standerd bearer to the papists.

Repington first canon of Leicester, after bishop of Lincolne.

Repington commeth doctor.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approching neere, when the friers vnderstood that this man should preach shortly, fearing lest hee would rub the galles of their religion, they conuented with the archbi. of Cant. that the same day a little before that Philip should preach; Wickliffes conclusions which were priuatly condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole vniuersitie. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes frier, standerd-bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe.

There were also letters sent vnto the commissarie, that he should helpe and aide him in publishing of the same conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, Repingdon at the houre appointed proceded to his Sermon. In the which sermon mong many other things, he was reported to haue vttered these sayings, or to this effect.

Notes of the Sermon of Repington.

That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended aboue temporall lords.

Also that in mozall matters he would defend master Wickliffe as a true catholike doctor.

Moreouer, that the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be receiued vnder his protection: Besides many things no which touched the praise and defence of Wickliffe.

And finallie, in concluding his sermon, he dismist the people with this sentence: I will (said hee) in the speculatiue doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keepe silence and hold my peace, vntill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.

The Author is deceiued.

When the sermon was done, Repington entred into S. Frideswides Church, accompanied with many of his friends: who, as the enemies surmised, were priuilie weaponed vnder their garments, if need had been. Frier Stokes the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himselfe within the Sanctuarie of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The Vicechancellor and Repington, friendly saluting one another in the Church porch, sent away the people, and so departed euery man home to his owne house. There was not a little toy through the whole vniuersitie for that Sermon: but in the meane time, the vnquiet and busie Carmelite, slept not his matter.

matter. For first by his letters hee declared the whole order of the matter vnto the archbishoppe, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and aid, preterminting nothing, whereby to moue and stirre vp the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was as hot as a toste, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had pricke him forward thereunto. Vnlikes all this (three daies after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said Frier breathing out threatnings and hercsies against them, took the way vnto the schooles, minding there to proue, that the pope and the bishops ought to be pnished for before the lords temporall. Whiles this frier was thus occupied in the schooles, hee was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after hee was sent for by the archbishop to London: whom immediatly after, the vicechancellor and Wightwell followed vp, to purge and cleare themselues and their adherents from the accusations of this Frier Peter. At the length they being examined vpon Wicklisses conclusions that were condemned: they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned. The vicechancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the archbishops letters, when as he perceiued no law, that no excuse would prevaile to auoid that danger, humbling himselfe vpon his knees, hee desired pardon. The which when he had now againe (as is aforesaid) albeit very hardly obtained: by the helpe of the bishoppe of Winchester, hee was sent alwap againe with certaine commandements, and suspensions of heresies. Then began the hatred on either part to newbat to appeare and shew and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these Friers and religious men, vpon whom whatsoeuer trouble or mischiefe was raised vp, they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a man like Cilicrian, a well learned diuine, which afterward was accused by the bishops of heresie. Hee at that time was openly suspected by the Conuersary, because in his lectures he called the heretikes Lollards, from his acts (as they terme them) in the Schole. Then he comming by and by vp to London, made his complaint vnto the archbishop and to the kings counsell.

Whereupon he obtaining the letters of the king, and of his counsell, by the vertue thereof (returning againe to the Vniuersitie) was released and restored againe to his former state: the words of which letter here followeth vnder written.

Whether the lords temporall have to punish the spirituall persons, and the bishops.

Frier Peter preacheth and teacheth treason.

Religious men first causers of this trouble.

Henry Crompe first in accusing of others, is accused himself for heresie.

## The copie of the kings letter.

The kings letter to the Vniuersitie of Oxford, concerning the processe of Henry Crompe.

THe king to the Vicechancellour and procurators of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late vnderstanding by the grieuous complaint of Henry Crompe, monke, and regent in Diuinitie within the said Vniuersity, how that he, being offisted by the reuerend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and by other clerks and diuines in the citie of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certaine conclusions erroneous and heretical, hath been therefore molested by your: and that you through sinister suggestions of some adiutaries (pretending the peace of the said Vniuersity) to haue been broken by the said Henry in his last lecture: did therefore call him before you to appeare and answere: and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinat, and conuict of peace breaking: also haue suspended the said Henrie from his lectures, and all scholasticall acts. And whereas we by our writ, did call you vp for the same, to appeare and answere before our counsell vnto the premisses: so that all things being well tried and examined by the said counsell, it was found and determined, that all your processe against the said Henry, was void and of none effect, and commandement giuen, that the said Henry should be restored and admitted againe to his former lectures and scholasticall acts, and to his pristine state as you know. To the intent therefore that this decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these presents straitly charge and command you, that you speedily reuoking againe all your processe against the said Henry in the Vniuersitie aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof; doe admit and cause to be restored againe the said Henry to his scholasticall acts, his accustomed lectures and pristine estate, without all delay according to the forme of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enioining you moreouer, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all other masters, regent and not regent, and other presidents, officers, ministers, and schollers of the Vniuersitie aforesaid, vpon your faith and allegiance you owe to vs, that you doe not impeach, molest or greue, or cause to be grieued (any manner of way, priuie or apert) the said Frier Henry for the causes premised, or Frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the Vniuersity, or Frier Stephan Packington Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person fauoring them, vpon the occasion of any either word or deed whatsoeuer, concerning the doctrine of master John wicklife, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppingten, or the reproofe and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the correction of their fauorers, but that you doe procure the peace, vnity, and quiet, within the said Vniuersity, and chiefly betweene the religious and secular persons: and that you with all diligence nourish, increase, & preserue the same to the vttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to doe it accordingly, vpon the forfaitures of all and singuler the liberties and priuiledges of the Vniuersity aforesaid. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 14. day of July.

Frier Crompe, Iohn Stokes, Stephan Packington, Carmelites, and Philip Reppington, secular priests.

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how master Rigges Vicechancellor of Oxford, comming vp with master Brightwel to the archbishop of Canturbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliffe, where hee notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester, obtained pardon, and was sent alwap againe with commandements and charges, to seek out all the fauorers of John Wickliffe. This commandement being receiued, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington (being priuily warned by the said vicechancellor, in the meane season conueied them out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succor and helpe: but the duke, whether for feare, or what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsake his poore and miserable clients.

Herford and Reppington fled to the duke of Lancaster.

In the meane time, while they were fled thus to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoeuer they might be found. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturbury William Courtney, directed out his letters first to the vicechancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London named Robert Baybroke; charging them not only to excommunicat the said Nicolas and Philip within their iurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the diocesse of his suffragans: but also moreouer, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might bee apprehended: requiring moreouer, by them to be certified againe, what they had done in the premisses. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, anno 1382. Ex Regist.

Letters of the archbishop to the vicechancellor.

Letters of the archbishop to the bishop of London.

Robert Baybrok bishop of London.

The 14. day of July, an. 1382.

Vnto these letters receiued from the archbishop, diligent certificat was giuen accordingly, as well of the bishop of London his part, as also of the vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this.

## The letter certificatorie of the Vicechancellor to the archbishop.

TO the reuerend father in Christ, lord William, archbishop of Canturbury, primat of all England, and legat of the Apostolike sea: Robert Rigges professor of Diuinity, and vicechancellor of the Vniuersity of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14. of July I haue receiued: by the authority whereof I haue denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to haue bin, and to be excommunicat publikely and solemnly in the church of S. Mary, and in the schooles, and to be cited also personally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid for them of my part, to haue them personally cited and apprehended, I could not finde neither the said M. Nicolas, nor M. Philip: who haue hid or conueied themselues, vnknowne to me, as here is well knowne. Whereof I thought here to giue signification to your Fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the seale of mine office. From Oxford the 25. of July.

The letter of Rob. Rigges vicechancellor of Oxford to the archbishop.

The 25. day of July, an. 1382.

In the meane time, Nicolas Herford and Reppington being repulsed of the duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their owne accord went to the archbishop, it was vncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the foresaid archbishop, contained in his regster: that Reppington the 23. day of October the same yere 1382. was reconciled againe to the archbishop, and also by his generall letter was released, and admitted to his scholasticall acts in the Vniuersitie. And so was also John Ashton, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicolas Herford all this while I finde no speciall relation.

Herford and Reppington repulsed from the duke of Lancaster.

The 23. day of October, Reppington reconciled by the archbishop.

John Ashton reconciled by the archbishop.

In the meane time, about the twenty three of the month of September the said yere, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting of a subsidie, and to haue a conuocation of the clergy summoned, against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth day of Nouember. The archbishop likewise on the fifteenth day of October, directed his letters monitory (as the manner is) to Robert Baybroke bishop of London, to giue the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his prouince for the assembling of the conuocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament begunne, being holden at Orford the eighteenth day of Nouember, where the conuocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide in Orford. In the which conuocation, the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, whereby (saith he) to represse heresies, which began newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church. The other cause (said he) was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidie of money to be gathered, which thus declared

A parliament summoned the 15. of October. 1382.

The conuocation of S. Frideswide in Oxford the 18. day of Nouember.



declared, the conuocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19. of Nouember.

The 19. day of Nouember, An. 1382.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelats assembling themselues as before: the archbishop after the vsed solemnitie, willed the procurators of the clergie, appointed to sit euery diocesse, to consult within themselues, in some conuenient seuerall place, what they thought for their parts touching the redresse of things, to bee notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

Furthermore, forsomuch (saith he) as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, which did hold and maintaine conclusions (as he calleth them) heretical and erroneous condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of Diuinitie: he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford and Rochester, with William Rugge then vicechancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, & beliue Robert Rigge (was then displaced) as also William Berton, and John Wodeleton doctors; giuing them his full authoritie with cursing and banning, to compell them to search and to enquire with all diligence and waies possible, ouer all and singuler whatsoeuer, either Doctors, Bachelors, or scholars of the said Vniuersitie, which did hold, teach, maintaine, and defend, in schooles or out of schooles, the said conclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to giue certificate truely and plainely touching the premisses. And thus so, that day the assemblie brake vp to the nert, and so to the nert, and the third being Monday, the 24. day of Nouember: Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

Rob. Rigge displaced from the Vicechancellorship. Inquisition made at Oxford.

The 24. day of Nouember, An. 1382.

On the which day, in the presence of the prelats and the clergie in the chapter house of S. Frideswide, came in Philip Reppington (otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rampington) who there abiured the conclusions and affertions aforesaid, in this forme of words as followeth.

In Dei nomine, Amen. I Philip Repington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholike and apostolike faith, doe curse and also abiure all heresie, namely these heresies and errors vnder written, condemned and reproued by the decrees canonicall, and by you most reuerend father, touching which hitherto I haue beene defamed: condemning moreouer and reproning both them and the authors of them, and do confesse the same to be catholically condemned: And sweare also by these holy Euangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and doe promise, neuer by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions vnder written: but doe and will stand and abhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholike church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Quer and besides, all such as stand contrarie to this faith, I do pronounce them with their doctrine and followers worthie of euerlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrarie to the premisses, I shall be content to abide the seueritie of the canons. Subscribed with mine owne hand, and with mine owne accord, Philip Reppington. And thus the said Rampington was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincolne, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realme, as in processe hereafter may appeare.

The abiuration of Philip Reppington.

Philip Rampington after his abiuration became a terrible persecutor.

After the abiuration of this Repington, immediatly was brought in John Ashton, student of Diuinitie; who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered: that he was too simple and ignorant; and therefore would not, and could not answere any thing clerely or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him Doctor Th. Rugge the vicechancellor, & other diuines, such as he required himselfe, to be instructed in the mysterie of those conclusions against the after noone: who then appearing againe after dinner before the archbishop and the prelats, did in like sort and forme of words abiure as did Repington before.

A short time my lord, for a man in one place, noone to learne a faith against his conscience. The abiuration of John Ashton.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, hee was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we haue yet no certainetie to shew. This is certaine by the plaine words of the Chronicle of saint Albons, that when the archb. with his Doctors and clerks sat in examination vpon this said John Ashton in London: the Londoners brake open the doore of the conclaue, ipsumq; Archiepiscopum in ciuitate sedentem impediuerunt, cum processum fecissct contra Iohannem Ashton, &c. That is, and did let the archbishop himselfe sitting in the citie of London, when he would haue made processe against J. Ashton. An. 1382. And thus much of J. Ashton.

Ex chron. Mon. S. Albani. J. Ashton. The Londoners open the doore where the archbishop sate against J. Ashton.

As touching Nicolas Herford, during the time of this conuocation, he did not appeare; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeale from the archbishop to the king and his counsell. The archb. would not admit it, but finding faults and flops caused him to bee apprehended and inclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God, and good meanes he escaped out of the prison, returning againe to his former exercise, and preaching as hee did before, albeit in as couert and secret maner as hee could.

M. Herford would not appeare. N. Herford appealeth from the archbishop. M. Herford casting prison. Herford escapeth out of prison.

Wherupon the archbishop thundring out his bulles of excommunication against him, sendeth to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches, and all festiuall daies, to diuulge the said his excommunication against him, to all men: Whereto he moreouer and sendeth speciall charge to all and singuler of the latie, to beware that their simplicitie be not deceiued by his doctrine, but that they like catholike children will auoide him, and cause him of all other to be auoided.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his letter vnto the king, requiring also the aide of his temporall sword to chop off his necke, whom he had alreadie cast downe. See and note Reader, the scraphicall charitie of these priestly prelats towards the poore redeemed flocke of Christ. And yet these be they which washing their hands with Pilate, sap and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam: It is not our part to kill any man. The copie of the letter written to the king is this.

## The letter of the archbishop to the king.

TO the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. greeting in him by whom kings doe reigne, and princes beare rule. Vnto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presents we intimate, that one master Nicolas Herford doctor of Diuinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offence in not appearing before vs being called at the day and place assigned, therfore is inwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publikelie by our ordinarie authoritie. And in the same sentence hath continued now fortie daies, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the church, to the great perill both of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. For somuch therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to doe or to proceede any further in this matter; we humblie desire your kingly maiestie, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate according to the custome of this realme of England, wholesomelie obserued and kept hitherto: to the intent, that such whom the feare of God doth not restraine from euill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth the 15. of Ianuarie.

The cruell letter of the archb. against N. Herford to the king.

This is not to seeke against that which is lost by the rule of Scripture.

### To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king (gentle Reader) thus answere againe, and answere well?

YOur letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained we haue receiued and well considered. For the accomplishing whereof, ye shall vnderstand, that as we are readilie bent to gratifie and satisfie your mind in this behalfe on the one side: so we must beware againe on the other, that our authoritie be not abused either to oppresse before we know, or to iudge before we haue tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your letters doe excite and sharpen the seuere discipline of our secular sword, against one Nicolas Herford, for his not appearing before you: and yet shewing in the said your letters no certaine cause to vs what you haue to charge him withall: we therefore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equitie in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part as the other, doe assigne both to him, whensoeuer he may be found, and to you when ye shall be called, a terme to appeare before vs. To the intent that the controuersie betweene you and him, standing vpon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferentlie may be ministred according as the offence shall be found. In the meane time, this we cannot but something maruell at in your said letters; First, to see you men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondlie, to consider you against so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the expresse law of God and his commandements. Thirdly, to behold the vnstable doublenesse in your proceedings, who pretending in your publike sentence, to become as intreaters for them to vs in the bowels of Iesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigor of our seueritie, and yet in your letters you be they which most set vs on. If not appearing before you, be such a matter of contumacie in case of your law, that it is in no case to bee spared: what should then our princelie discipline haue done to men of your calling? Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, being at Canturburie, was sent for by our speciall commandement to come to our speech, denied to come, and yet we spared him. John Stratford archbishop your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof, Scotland the same time was lost, and yet was he suffred. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey in the daies of king Edward the first, and of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, in the daies of king Henrie the third; Stephan Langton was sent for by king Iohn to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket toward K. Henrie the 2. Also in Anselme toward king Henrie the first. All these for their not appearing before their princes, ye doe excuse, who notwithstanding might haue

Prosopeia. What the king might haue answered against.

Bishops of Cant. appeared not before their kings, and yet they were not persecuted.

appeared without danger of life, this one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthie of death: whose life you would haue condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. It is no reason if the Squirill climing to the tree from the Lions clawes would not appeare, being sent for to be deuoured; that the Eagle therefore should faile vpon him without any iust cause declared against the partie. Wherefore according to this and to that aforesaid, when he shall appeare, and you be called, and the cause iustly weighed, due execution shall be ministred.

And thus far concerning Nicolas Herford, and the other aforesaid. But all this meane while that became of I. Wickliffe it is not certainly knowne. Albeit so farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driuen to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wherefoeuer he was, as by his letter may appeare, wherby he abiut this time wrote to pope Vrbane the 6. In the which letter he both purge himselfe, that being commanded to appeare before the pope at Rome, hee came not: declaring also in the same a briefe confession of his faith. The copy of which epistle here followeth.

## The epistle of Iohn Wickliffe sent vnto pope *Vrbane the 6. An.* 1382.

The epistle of I. Wickliffe to pope Vrbane.

VErilie I doe reioyce to open and declare the faith which I doe hold vnto euery man: And specially vnto the bishop of Rome: the which forsomuch as I doe suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirme my said faith, or if it bee erroneous amend the same.

First I suppose, that the Gospell of Christ, is the whole body of Gods law, and that Christ which did giue that same law himselfe, I beleeue him to be a very man, and in that point, to exceede the law of the Gospell, and all other parts of the Scripture. Againe, I doe giue and hold the bishop of Rome, forsomuch as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men vnto that law of the Gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christs disciples, did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the neere and exact following of Christ, in his life and maners: wherevpon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poore man, abiecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospell of Mat. the 8. and the 2. Cor. 8. chap.

The true disciples of Christ seeke no honor.

Hereby I doe fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to follow, neither the pope himselfe, neither any of the holy men, but in such points, as he hath followed the Lord Iesus Christ. For Peter, and the soones of Zebedee by desiring worldly honour, contrarie to the following of Christs steps, did offend, and therefore in those errours, they are not to be followed.

Hereof I doe gather, as a counsell, that the pope ought to leaue vnto the secular power, all temporall dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to moue and exhort his whole clergie, for so did Christ, and specially by his apostles. Wherfore if I haue erred in any of these points, I will most humblie submit my selfe vnto correction, euen by death if necessitie so require: And if I could labour according to my will, or desire in mine owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the bishop of Rome: but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrarie, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. Forsomuch then, as God hath giuen vnto our Pope, iust and true euangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray, that those motions be not extinguished by any subtile or craftie deuice.

And that the pope and cardinals be not moued to doe any thing, contrarie vnto the law of the Lord. Wherfore let vs pray vnto our God, that he will so stir vp our pope Vrbane the sixth as he began, that he with his clergie may follow the Lord Iesus Christ, in life and maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let vs specially pray, that our pope may be preserued from all maligne and euill counsell, as which doe know that euill and enuious men of his household would giue him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer vs to be tempted aboue our power, much lesse then will he require of any creature to doe that thing which they are not able, forsomuch, as that is the plaine condition and maner of Antichrist.

The popes practises to set in schismaticall times that he had no leisure to attend matters.

Thus much wrote Iohn Wickliffe vnto pope Urban. But this pope Vrbane, otherwise tearmed Turbanus, was so hote in his warres against Clement the French pope his aduersarie, that he had no leisure, and lesse list, to attend vnto Wickliffes matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God prouided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest and quietnesse. Concerning which schismaticall warres of these popes forasmuch as we haue here entred into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of Iohn Wickliffe, to touch something of the tragicall doings of these two holy popes, striuing for the triple crowne: to the intent that the christian Reader iudgeing by their fruits and proceedings may see and vnderstand what difference is betweene these popes, and Christ and his apostles. For though in the storie of the Gospell it is read, that certaine of the disciples did striue which should be the greater; yet neither doe we reade that one of them tooke euer weapon against the other: and moreouer in the said storie of the Gospell it doth appeare, that they in so striuing as they did, were therefore sharpely rebuked of our Saiuour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

Difference betweene the apostles and the popes in striuing for preeminence.

About the beginning of the next yeare following, which was An. 1383. Pope Vrbane setting all his studie how to represse and conquer the contrarie pope his aduersarie, being then at Auinion, seeing all his other meanes to faile, and that his crotchets could not so well tooke to him the sword of Romulus, and set vpon him with open warre. And first deuising with himselfe whom hee might best chuse for his cheefe champion: thought none meeter for such affaires then Henry Spencer being then bishop of Norwich a yong and a stout prelate, more fitter for the camping cure, then for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appeare before by his acts done at Lennam in striuing for the maiors mace, mentioned before, pag. 394. Vnto this bishop of Norwich, the pope had sent his buls about this time, to Scotiy wholoener would go with him into France, to destroy the Antipope, which named himselfe Clement, and to make warre against all those that tooke his part. Which buls, for that they gaue vnto him such great authoritie, he caused to be published, in the parliament house, and caused the copies of the same to be sent all about, and to bee set vp and fastned vpon all the church doores and monasterie gates, that all men might reade them. In the which buls their priuiledges were granted, the copie whereof here followeth.

Anno 1383. The popes rest to warre.

The priuiledges of Antichrist.

1 In primis, that the said bishop of Norwich may vse his sword against the Antipope, and all his adherents, fauorers and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.

2 Item that he hath full power to inquire of all and singuler such schismatiks, and to put them in prison: and to confiscate all their goods, moueable and immoueable.

3 Item, that he hath power and authoritie to depriue all lay men that are such schismatiks of all maner secular offices wh[at]soeuer, and to giue their offices to other fit and conuenient persons.

4 Item, that he may depriue all such clerks, and declare them to be schismatiks, and in this behalfe to giue and bestow their benefic. s either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages or offices, to other persons more meet for the same.

5 Item, he hath power and authoritie ouer lay persons that are exempt and clerks both secular and regular, yea although they be friers mendicants, or masters and professors of other hostes or hospitals of S. Johns of Ierusalem, or saint Maries of Flanders, or professors of what order soeuer else.

6 Item, he hath power to dispence with what secular clerke soeuer, being benefited either with cure or without cure, and also with such as haue dignities, parsonages or offices, being regulers either exempt or not exempt, that euery one of them may be absent with him from their dignities and benefices, &c. vnder the clamard of the crosse, without licence of any of their prelats required, and yet to receiue and take the intire commodities of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident vpon the same.

7 Item, there is granted to al that passe the seas in this quarell, either at their owne expences or at the expenses of any other, full remission of their sinnes: and as large priuiledges are granted to all those that goe ouer the sea with him, as to any that pay their money, or go to fight for the holy land.

8 Also al such as with their proper goods and substance shall giue sufficient stipend to able souldiers, at the discretion of the foresaid lord bishop mustered, or by any other his deputie, although he himselfe be not personally at this businesse aforesaid: yet shall hee haue like remission and indulgence, as they which haue been personally with him in this expedition.

9 Item, all they are partakers of this remission, which shall giue any part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismatiks.

10 Item, if any shall chance to die in the iourney, that are souldiers vnder the said standard of the crosse, or else before the quarrell by some meanes be finished: shall fully and wholly receiue the said grace, and shall be partakers of the foresaid remission and indulgence.

11 Item, he hath power to excommunicate, suspend and interdict what persons soeuer be rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authoritie committed vnto him, of what dignitie, state, degree, preeminence, order, place, or condition soeuer they shall be: whether they shall be either of regall, quaenly, or imperiall dignitie, or of what dignitie else soeuer either ecclesiasticall or mundane.

12 Item, he hath power and authoritie to compell and inforce what religious person soeuer, to appoint them and send them ouer sea, if it seeme good to him: yea although they be professors of the friers mendicants for the execution of the premisses.

## The popes absolution by the bishop pronounced.

By the authoritie apostolicall to me in this behalfe committed, wee absolue thee A. B. from all thy sinnes confessed with thy mouth, and being contrite with thy heart, and wherof thou wouldest be confessed if they came vnto thy memorie: and we grant vnto thee, plenarie remission of all manner of sins, and we promise vnto thee thy part of the reward of all iust men, and of euerlasting saluation. And as many priuiledges as are granted to them that goe to fight for the holy land, wee grant vnto thee: and of all the prayers and benefits of the church, the vniuersall Synod, as also of the holy catholike church, we make thee partaker of.

Christs passion hath here no place.

This contagious or rather outragious bishop, armed thus with the popes authoritie, and prompt with his priuiledges, in the yeare aforesaid, 1383. about the time of Lent, came to the parliament, where great contention and combustion and almost no lesse schisme was about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, then was betweene the popes themselues. In the which parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the kings people and subiects, vnto a rude and vnskilfull priest. So great was the diuersitie of iudgements in that behalfe, that the voyage of the said bishop was protracted vnto the Saturday afore passion Sunday. In the which Sunday was sung the solemne antheme, Ecce crucem Domini, fugite partes aduersæ. That is, Behold the crosse of the Lord: flie away all you aduersaries. After which Sunday, the parties so agreed amongst themselues by common decree, that the bishop should set forward in his voyage, hauing to him giuen the fifteenth which was granted to the king in the parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the parliament, this warlike bishop preparing before all things in a readinesse set forward in his pope-holy iourney. Who about the moneth of May, being come to Canturburie, and there tarying for the wind, in the monasterie of saint Augustine, receiued a writ from the king that he should returne to the king, and to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing that if he turned againe to the king, his iourney should be staid, and so all his labour and preparance lost with great derision and shame vnto him: thought better to commit himselfe to fortune with that little armie he had, then by tarying to be made a ridicle to his aduersaries. Wherefore he sent word backe againe to the king, that he was now readie prepared, well forward on his iourney. And that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talke, which peraduenture should bee to no maner of purpose: and that it was more conuenient for him to haiken in his iourney to Gods glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus he calling his men vnto him, entred forthwith the seas, and went to Calis: where he waiting a few daies for the rest of his armie, after the receite of them, take his iourney first to the towne of Grauenidge, which hee besieged so desperately, without any preparance of engins of warre or counsell, of politicke men skilfull in such affaires: that he seemed rather to fly vpon them, then to inuade them. At length through the superstition of our men, trusting vpon the popes absolution, he so hardily approched the walles and inuaded the enemies, that a great number of them were piteously slaine with shot and wild fire: till at the end (the inhabiters being oppressed and banquished) our men entred the towne with their bishop, where they at his commandement destroying both man, woman, and child, left not one aliue of all them, which remained in the whole towne. Sicque ciuitis beneficio factum, vt crucis hostes its deleremur, quòd vnus ex eis non remanst: that is, And so it came to passe by the vertue of the crosse, that our men croysed so preuailed against the enemies of the crosse, that not one of them remained aliue. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

O bloodines of Antichrist.

Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Rich. 2.

From Grauenidge this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkirke, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him ioyned with them in battell: in which battell (if the storie be true) 12. thousand of the Frenchmen were slaine in the chase, and of our men but seuen onely missing. It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these popishwarres. Also it would be no lesse ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temeritie of this new vpstart captaine. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitifull slaughter and murther of Christs people, by the meanes of these pitifull popes, during these wars in France: As when the bishop comming from Dunkirke to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignominie of the bishop. Againe, after the siege of Ypres (thus with shame broke vp) the said bishop proceeding with a small power, to fight with the French kings campe, contrarie to the counsell of his captaines, which counted him rash and vnskilfull in his attempt, was faine to breake companie with them, whereby part of the armie went vnto Burburgh, and the bishop with his part returned to Grauenidge, which both townes shortly after were besieged by the Frenchmen, to the great losse both of the Englith and French men. In fine, when the bishop could keepe Grauenidge no longer, the said bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home againe as wise as he went. And thus making an end of this pontificall warre, we will returne againe from whence we digressed, to the storie and matter of Iohn Wickliffe.

Which John Wickliffe returning againe within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson, there quietly departing this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the yeare 1384. vpon Siluesters day.

Here is to be noted the great prouidence of the Lord in this man, as in diuers other, whom the Lord so long preserued in such rages of so many enemies, from all their hands, euen to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entituled De Sacramentis contra Wicleum: that he was well aged before hee departed: by that which the foresaid Walden writeth of him in the Epilog. speaking of Wickliffe in these words: Ita vt cano placeret, quod iuueni complacebat, &c. That is: so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being yong. Whereby it seemeth that Wickliffe liued till hee was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom hee will haue kept, nothing can hurt.

Walden. 2. tom. de Sacram. manus.

This Wickliffe had written diuers and sundrie workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410. were burnt at Oxford, the abbat of Shrewsburie being then commissarie, and sent to ouersee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme likewise, the bookes of the said Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus archbishop of Prage, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them: The number of the volumes, which he is said to haue burned most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich couerings (as Eneas Siluius writeth) were aboue the number of two hundred.

The number of Wickliffes bookes came to 200. volumes. Eneas Siluius.

Iohannes Cocleus in his booke De historia Hussitarum, speaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, testifieth, that he wrote verie many bookes, sermons, and tractations. Moreouer, the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also: that there was a certaine bishop in England which wrote vnto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custodie two huge and mighty tie volumes of Iohn Wickliffes workes, which for the quantitie thereof might seeme to be equall with the workes of saint Augustine. Hæc Cocleus.

The bookes of Wickliffe.

Amongst other of his treatises I my selfe also haue found out certaine, as de sensu & veritate scripturæ. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Euchristia confessio Wickleui: which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

As concerning certaine answeres of Iohn Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the 2. touching the right and title of the king, and of the pope: because they are but short, I thought here to annexe them. The effect whereof here followeth.

## Iohn Wickliffes answere vnto king Richard *the second, as touching the right and title of* the king and the pope.

IT was demanded, whether the kingdome of England may lawfully in case of necessitie, for his owne defence, detaining and keepe backe the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not caried away to forren and strange nations, the pope himselfe bemanding and requiring the same vnder paine of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe setting apart the minds of learned men, what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England or the ciuill law, it resteth (saith he) now only to perswade and proue the affirmatiue part of this doubt by the principles of Dyalls law. And first I proue it thus: Euery naturall body hath power giuen of God to resist against his contrarie, and to preserue it selfe in due estate, as Philosophers knew very well.

Insomuch, that bodies without life, are indued with such kind of power (as it is enident) vnto whom hardnesse is giuen to resist those things that would breake it, and coldnesse to withstand the heate that dissolueth it. Forsomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the manner and phrase of the Scriptures) ought to bee one body, and the clergie with the communaltie, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power giuen it of God; and so much the more apparant, by how much the same body is more precious vnto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forsomuch then as there is no power giuen of God vnto any creature, for any end or purpose, but that hee may lawfully vse the same to that end and purpose: it followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and detaine their treasure for the defence of it selfe, in what case soeuer necessitie do require the same.

Secondarilie, the same is proued by the law of the Gospell. For the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdome, but vnder the title of almes, and consequently vnder the prætence of the workes of mercy, according to the rule of charity.

The reasons refuse to giue the almes of good men.

But in case aforesaid, the title of almes ought litterly to cease: Ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realme shall cease also in the prætupposed necessitie. Forsomuch as all charitie hath his beginning of himselfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of meere madnesse, to send away the treasures of the realme into forren nations, whereby the realme it selfe may fall into ruine, vnder the prætence of such charitie.

Charitie keth away the popes almes.

It appeareth also by this, that Christ the head of the church, whom all christian priests ought to follow, lined by the almes of deuout women, Luke 7. 8. He hungred and thirsted, hee was a stranger, and many other miseries he sustained, not only in his members, but also in his owne body, as the apostle witnesseth, Corin. 8. He was made poore for your sakes, that through his poucrtie, you might bee rich: whereby in the first endowing of the church, whatsoeuer hee were of the clergie that had any temporall possessions, hee had the same by reason of a perpetuall almes, as both writings and chronicles doe witnesse.

Gaze vpon the lyuing liues of Bernard.

Wherupon S. Bernard, declaring in his 2. booke to Eugenius, that he could not challenge any secular dominion by right of succession, as being the vicar of S. Peter, writeth thus: That if saint Iohn should speake vnto the pope himselfe, as Bernard doth vnto Eugenius, were it to be thought that he would take it patiently? But let it be so, that you doe challenge it vnto you, by some other waies or meanes; but truely by any right or title apostolicall, you cannot so doe. For how could hee giue vnto you that which hee had not himselfe? That which hee had hee gaue you, that is to say, care ouer the church: but did hee giue you any lordship or rule? Hearke what hee saith: Not bearing rule (saith he) as lords in the clergie, but behauing your selues as examples to the flocke. And because thou shalt not thinke it to be spoken onely in humilitie, and not in veritie, marke the word of the Lord himselfe in the Gospell: The kings of the people do rule ouer them, but you shall not doe so.

The pope must leaue his lordship of elle apostleship, for him else vnfeeble.

Here lordship and dominion is plainely forbidden to the apostles, and dareth thou then vsurpe the same? If thou wilt be a lord, thou shalt lose thine apostleship; or if thou wilt beeare apostle thou shalt lose thy lordship. For truely thou shalt depart from the one of them. If thou wilt haue both, thou shalt lose both, or else thinke thy selfe to be of that number, of whō God doth so greatly complaine, saying: They haue reigned, but not through me: They are become princes, and I haue not knowne it. Now if it doe suffice thee to rule with the Lord, thou hast thy glory, but not with God. But if wee will keepe that which is forbidden vs, let vs heare what is said: He that is the greatest amongst you (saith Christ) shall beee made as the least, and he which is the highest shall bee as the minister; and for example, set a child in the middest of them. So this then is the true forme and institution of the apostles trade: Lordship and rule is forbidden, ministration and seruice commanded.

The manner of the apostles.

By these words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reuerence and worship, it doth appeare that the pope hath not power to occupie the church goods as lord thereof, but as minister, and seruant, and procter for the poore. And would to God that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship which this seate doth challenge vnto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way vnto Antichrist. For it is euident by the Gospell, that Christ though his powertie, humilitie, and suffering of iniurie, got vnto him the children of his kingdome.

How the pope ought to occupie the church goods.

The way to obteine the kingdome of Christ.

And moreouer, to farre as I remember, the same blessed man Bernard in his third Booke writeth also thus vnto Eugenius: I feare no other greater poison to happen vnto thee, then greedie desire of rule and dominion.

This Wicklieffe albeit in his life time had many grieuous enemies, yet was there none so cruell vnto him, as the clergie it selfe. Yet notwithstanding hee had many godfriends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also nobility, amongst whom these men are to bee numbred: Iohn Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Nenill, John Montegew, who pluckt downe all the Images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earle of Salisburie, who for contempt in him noted towards the Sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was excomned by Radulfe Stegont bishop of Salisburie, to make in Salisburie a crosse of stone, in which all the stone of the matter should bee written, and he euery Friday during his life to come to the crosse bare-foot, and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling vpon his knees, to do penance for his fact. Ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani in vita Ric. 2.

J. Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, T. Latimer, W. Nenill, John Montegew. The earle of Salisburie.

The penance of the earle of Salisburie.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the Maiors authoritie, who for that yeare was John of Northampton; tooke vpon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to ciuill law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adulterie. For first they put the women in the prison which amongst them then was named Dolium. And lastly bringing them into the market place, where euery man might behold them, and cutting off their golden lockes from their heads: they caused them to be caried about the streetes, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them, to the intent they might bee the better knowne and their companies auoided: according to the maner then of certaine shewes that were named Appellatores, (accusers or prachers of others that were guiltlesse) which were so serued. And with other such like opprobrious and reprochfull contumelies, did they serue the men also that were taken with them in committing the foresaid wickednesse and vices. Here the storie recordeth how the said Londoners were incouraged hereunto by Io. Wicklieffe and others that followed his doctrine to perpetrate this act, in the reproch of the prelats being of the clergie. For they said, that they did not so much abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthie auarice they did as much detest: which for greedinesse of money were choked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due to such persons by the lawes appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons fauourable to continue in their wickednes. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickednesse perpetrated within the citie and so apparantly dissimulate, that God would take vengeance vpon them and destroy their citie. Wherefore they said, that they could doe no lesse then to purge the same: lest by the sufferance thereof, God would bring a plague vpon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow vp both them and their citie. Hæc ex Chron. Mon. D. Albani.

Ex Chron. Monast. D. Albani.

¶ This storie (gentle Reader) albeit the author thereof whom I follow, doth giue it out in reprochfull wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing: yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memorie, which seemeth to me rather to tend vnto the worthie commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessarie example of all other cities to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let vs now adioyne the testimoniall of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, of John Wicklieffe.

## The publike testimonie giuen out by the Vniuersity of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wicklieffe.

VNto all and singuler the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come; the vicechancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetuall health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seene, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed ouer and hidden with perpetuall silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abrode the same in strange and farre distant places, both for the witnesse of the same, and example of others: Forsomuch also as the prouident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath deuised and ordained this buckler and defence, against such as doe blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whensoeuer witnesse by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supplie the same:

Ex tomo operum Ioan. Hussi. fol. vlt.

Hereupon it followeth, that the speciall good will and care which we bare vnto Io. Wickliffe, sometime child of this our Vniuersitie, and professour of Diuinitie; mouing and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no lesse) with one mind, voice, and testimonie, wee doe witnesse, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to haue been most sincere and commendable: whose honest maners and conditions, profound nesse of learning, and most redolent renoume and fame, wee desire the more earnestly to bee notified and knowne vnto all faithfull, for that we vnderstand the maturitie and ripenesse of his conuersation, his diligent labours and trauels to tend to the praise of God, the helpe and safegard of others, and the profit of the church.

Great learning ioyned with good life and godlinesse.

Wherefore we signifie vnto you by these presents, that his conuersation (euen from his youth vpwards, vnto the time of his death) was so praise worthie and honest, that neuer at any time was there any note or spot of suspition noysed of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, hee behaued himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful beggery blasphemed and slandered Christs religion. Neither was this said doctor conuict of any heresie, either burned of our prelats after his buriall. God forbid that our prelats should haue condemned a man of such honestie, for an heretike: who amongst all the rest of the Vniuersitie, had written in Logicke, Philosophie, Diuinitie, Moralitie, and the speculatiue art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singuler things, wee doe desire to testifie and deliuer forth: to the intent, that the fame and renoume of this said doctor, may be the more euident and had in reputation, amongst them, vnto whose hands these present letters testimoniall shall come.

The bones of Wicklieffe were not yet commanded by the councell of Constance to be burned. Ex 2. tomo operū I. Hussi, fol. vlt.

In witnes wherof, we haue caused these our letters testimoniall to bee sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the 5. day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, 1406.

## The testimonie and words of master John Hus, as touching M. John Wicklieffe.

The testimony and iudgement of John Hus concerning John Wicklieffe.

VVCrilie, as I do not beleue neither grant that M. J. Wicklieffe is an heretike: so do I not denie, but firmely hope that he is no heretike: Forsomuch as in all matters of doubt I ought as neere as I can, to chuse the best part. Wherfore I sware by truth, that M. J. Wicklieffe is one of the number of them which are saued. The words of Christ moue me thereunto, saying, Mat. 7. Doe ye not iudge, that yee bee not iudged: and Luke the 6. Doe not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned; and the words of the apostle, 1. Cor. 4. Doe yee not iudge before the Lord himselfe doe come, the which shall open those things that are hid in darkenesse to manifest the priuities of all harts.

Secondly, the loue and charitie which I ought to beare vnto my neighbor (louing him as my selfe) doth moue me thereunto, Luk. 10.

Thirdly, his good fame and report inuoketh me, the which he hath of the good priests, of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and not of the wicked, and commonly of the vulgar sort; although not of the couetous, proud, and luxurious prelats.

Fourthly, his owne workes and writings doe stirre me thereunto, by the which he goeth about with his whole indeauor, to reduce all men vnto the law of Christ, and specially the clergie: that they should forsake the pompe and dominion of this world, and with the apostles leade the life of Christ.

Fifthly, his owne protestations, which he doth oftentimes vse in his sentences, often repeating the same, doe not a little moue me.

Sixthly, his earnest desire and affection which he had vnto the law of Christ, doth not a little allure me thereunto, disputing of the veritie thereof, the which cannot faile in any one iot or title. Whereupon hee made a booke of the veritie of the holy Scripture, approuing euen vnto the vttermost, the truth of Gods law.

Lib. de sensu & veritate scripturæ per I. Wicklewum.

Wherefore if were too foolish a consequent to say, that because the number of the prelats & clergie in England, France, and Bohemme doe count Iohn Wickliffe for an heretike, that therefore he is an heretike, &c. Like as the reason for burning of the bookes; for it is written in the first booke of Machabes, first chapter: that they did burne the bookes of the Lord, tearing them in peices, and whosoeuer was found to haue kept any bookes of the testament or will of the Lord, or the which obserued and kept the law of the Lord, they were by the kings commandement put to death. If then the burning of the bookes by wicked men did argue or proue the euilnes of these bookes, then was the law of God euill and naught.

True iudgement cannot be had vpon number and multitude.

Burning of bookes proueth not by and by an heretike.

So likewise the burning of S. Gregories bookes, and diuers other saints and good men, should argue and proue that they were euill and naughtie men. Whereupon as it doth not follow, that because the bishops, Scribes and Pharises, with the elders of the people, condemned Christ Iesus as an heretike, that therefore he is an heretike: So likewise doth it not follow, of any other man: The bishops, masters of Diuinitie, monks and prelats condemned this man as an heretike: Ergo hee is an heretike. For this consequent is reproued by John Chrysostome, which was twice condemned as an heretike by the bishops and the whole clergie. Likewise S. Gregorie in his bookes, was condemned by the cardinals.

A false consequent reproued by S. Chrysostome.

By like proofe also as they affirme M. John Wicklieffe to be an heretike; John D. of Lancaster (a man of worthie memorie and progenitor of Henrie king of England) should also be an heretike. For the said duke defended, fauoured and greatly loued M. John Wicklieffe: Ergo the said duke is or was an heretike: the consequent is good. The minor is well known vnto the Englishmen. The maior appeareth in the canon, where it is said, He which defendeth an heretike, &c.

John duke of Lancaster defender of John Wicklieff.

But these things set apart, I demand of the aduersarie, whether master John Wicklieffe be damned or euer no? If he say that he is damned because he is an heretike: I propound this vnto him, whether master John Wicklieffe inhibites heresies, held any false doctrine contrarie to the holy Scripture: If he doe affirme it, let him then shew what doctrine it is, and afterward declare that he held it obstinately: And hee shall find, that in his bookes hee alwaies wrote most commendable protestations against obstinacie and stiffenecchednesse. And by and by after, master John Stokes in his Intimation saith, that master John Wicklieffe in England, is counted for an heretike. This seemeth also false by the letter testimoniall of the Vniuersitie of Oxford: vnto the which there is more credit to bee giuen, then vnto him. And this shall suffice for this present.

J. Wicklieffe proued no heretike.

¶ Now as wee haue declared the testimony of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and of John Hus, concerning the praise of John Wicklieffe: it followeth likewise, that wee set forth and expresse the contrary censure and iudgements of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the popes councel gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copie of which their sentence giuen against him by that councell here followeth.

The councell of Constance against Iohn Wicklieffe.

## The sentence giuen by the councell of Constance, in condemning the doctrine and 45. articles of John Wicklieffe.

The sentence of the councell of Constance against Iohn Wicklieffe.

THe most holy and sacred councell of Constance, making and representing the catholike church for the extirpation of this present schisme, and of all other errours and heresies, springing and growing vnder the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, for the perpetuall memorie of the time to come.



We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholike faith, without the which, as the holy apostle saint Paul saith, it is impossible to please God, hath beene alwaies defended by the faithfull and spirituall soulders of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather peruerte impugners: which through their proud curiositie will seeme to know more, and to loue lesse then they ought to bee, and for the desire of the glorie of the world, haue gone about oft times to ouerthrow the same. These kinds of warres and battels haue beene prefigured to vs before in those carnall warres of the Israelites against the Idolatrous people. For in those spirituall warres the holy catholike church, through the vertue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beames of the heauenly light, by the prouidence of God, and being holpen by the helpe and defence of the saints and holy men, hath alwaies continued immaculate, and (the darkenesse of errours, as her most cruell enemies, being put to flight) the hath most gloriously triumphed ouer all. But in these our daies, the old and vncleane enemie hath raised vp new contentions and brifes, that the elect of this world might bee knowne, whose prince and captaine in time past was one John Wicklieffe a false christian. Who during his life time, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrarie and against the christian religion, and the catholike faith. And the same John Wicklieffe wrote certaine bookes which he called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and workes, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which hee wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles: the which his bookes, for the publication and aduancement of his peruerse doctrine, hee did set forth openly for euery man to reade. Whereby beside many offences, great hurt and damage of soule, hath ensued in diuers regions and countries, but specially in the kingdomes of England and Boheme. Against whom the maisters and Doctors of the Vniuersities of Oxford and Prage, rising vp in the truth and veritie of God, according to the order of schooles, within a while after did reproue and condemne the said articles.

The dialogue and trialogue of J. Wicklieffe.

Moreouer, the most reuerend fathers the archbishops, and bishops, (for that time present) of Canturburie, Yorke, and Prage, legats of the apostolike see, in the kingdome of England and Boheme, did condemne the bookes of the said Wicklieffe to be burnt. And the said archbishop of Prage, commissarie of the apostolike see, did likewise in this behalfe determine and iudge. And moreouer he did forbid, that any of those bookes which did remaine vnburned, should bee hereafter any more read. And againe, these things being brought to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the apostolike see, and the generall councell: the bishop of Rome in his last councell, condemned the said bookes, treatises and volumes, commanding them to bee openly burned. Most straitly forbidding, that any men which should beare the name of Christ, should be so hardy either to keepe, reade, or expound any of the said bookes or treatises, volumes, or writs, or by any meanes to vse or occupie them: either else to alleage them openly or priuitie, but to their reproofe and infamie. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthie doctrine should be vtterly wiped away out of the church, hee gaue commandement throughout all places; that the ordinaries should diligently enquire and seeke out by the apostolike authoritie and ecclesiasticall censure, for all such bookes, treatises, volumes, and workes. And the same so being found, to burne and consume them with fire: prouiding withall, that if there bee any such found, which will not obey the same; processe to bee made against them, as against the fauourers and maintainers of heresies. And this most holy Synod hath caused the said 45. Articles to be examined and oft times perused, by many most reuerend fathers of the church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbats, masters of Diuinitie and doctors of both lawes, besides a great number of other learned men: the which articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no lesse) that many, yea and a great number of them to be notoriously for heretical reproued and condemned by the holy fathers; of other some not to be catholike, but erroneous: some full of offence and blasphemie: certaine of them offensiue vnto godly eares, and many of them to be rashfull and seditious. It is found also, that his bookes do containe many articles of like effect and qualitie, and that they doe induce and bring into the church, vnsound and vnwholesome doctrine, contrary vnto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherfore in the name of our Lord Iesu Christ, this sacred Synod, ratifying & approuing the sentences & iudgements of the archbishops & councel of Rome: doe by this their decree and ordinance, perpetually for euermore condemne and reproue the said articles, and euerie one of them, his bookes which he intituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other bookes of the same author, volumes, treatises and workes, by what name soeuer they be intituled: and called, the which wee will here to be sufficiently expressed and nalled, the which wee will here to be sufficiently expressed and nalled, the which wee will here to be sufficiently expressed and nalled

Rud a gard Lord on the backe and he will winne. At Rome, &c. matters goeth well better hitting. Though they be vnlearned & wicked Christ will rule.

forbidding all and singular catholike persons vnder the paine of curse, that from henceforth they here not so hardie openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any meanes to alleage the said articles or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it doe tend vnto the reproofe of them: commanding all those bookes, treatises, works and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome, as is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duely to be obserued and done, the said sacred Synod doth straitly charge and command the ordinaries of the places, diligently to attend and looke vnto the matter, according as it appertaineth vnto euery mans dutie by the canonicall lawes and ordinances.

What these articles were here condemned by this councell, collected out of all his workes, and exhibited to that said councell, to the number of 45. the copie of them following vnder written declareth.

## Certaine other articles gathered out of Wickeliffes bookes by his aduersaries, to the number of 45. exhibited vp to the councell of Constance, after his death, and in the same councell condemned.

Other articles of Wickliff, to the number of 45 condemned by the councell of Constance.

BEsides the 24. articles aboue mentioned, there were other also gathered out of his bookes, to the number of 45. in all, which his malitious aduersaries peruersly collecting, and malitiously expounding, did exhibit vp to the councell of Constance: which for repeate all, though it be not here needfull, yet to recite certaine of them as they stand in that councell, it shall not be superfluous.

25 All such as be hired for temporall living to pray for other, offend and sinne of simonie.

26 The praier of the reprobate preuaileth no man.

27 Hallowing of churches, confirmation of children, the sacrament of orders be reserued to the pope and bishops onely, for the respect of temporall lucre.

28 Graduations, and doctorships in Universities and Colledges as they be vsed, conduce nothing to the church.

29 The excommunication of the pope and his prelats, is not to be feared, because it is the censure of Antichrist.

30 Such as found and build monasteries, do offend and sin, and all such as enter into the same be members of the diuell.

31 To enrich the clergie, is against the rule of Christ.

32 Siluester the pope, and Constantine the emperour were deceiued, in giuing and taking possessions into the church.

33 A deacon or priest may preach the word of God without the authoritie of the apostolike see.

34 Such as enter into order, or religion monasticall, are thereby vnable to keepe Gods commandements, and also to attaine to the kingdome of heauen, except they returne from the same.

35 The pope with all his clergie, hauing those great possessions as they haue, bee heretikes in so hauing, and the secular powers in so suffering them doe not well.

36 The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan, neither is the pope immediatly the vicar of Christ, nor of the apostles.

37 The decretals of the pope doe apocryphally and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clergie that studie them be fooles.

38 The emperour and secular lords be seduced, which so inrich the church with such ample possessions.

39 It is not necessarie to saluation to beleeue the church of Rome to be supreme head ouer all churches.

40 It is but fallie to beleeue the popes pardons.

41 All othes which be made for any contract or ciuill bargaine betwixt man and man, be vnlawfull.

42 Benedict, Frances, Dominicke, Bern. with all such as haue beene patrons of priuate religion, except they haue repented, with such also as haue entred into the same; bee in a damnable state, and so from the pope to the lowest nouices, they be all together heretikes

Besides these articles to the number of 45. condemned (as is said) by the councell of Constance; other articles also I find diuerslie collected or rather wrested out of the bookes and writings of Wickliffe: some by William Woodford, some by Walden, by frier Dillington and other, whom they in their bookes haue impugned rather then confuted. In the number of whom, William Woodford especially findeth out these articles, and writeth against the same, to the number of 18. as here vnder follow.

W. Woodford, Io. Walden, Dillington, writers against Wickliffe.

Articles against Wickliffe by W. Woodford.

1 The bread remaineth in his owne substance, after the consecration thereof vpon the altar, and really not to bee bread still.

2 As Iohn was figuratiuely Helias, and not personally; so the bread figuratiuely is the body of Christ, and not naturally. And that without all doubt, this is a figuratiue speech, to say, This is my body, as to say, This Iohn is Helias.

3 In the decree, Ergo Berengarius, the court of Rome, hath determined, that the sacrament of the holy Eucharist, is naturally true bread.

4 They which do affirme, that the infants of the faithfull departing without the sacrament of baptisme, are not to bee saued, be presumptuous and fooles in so affirming.

5 The administration of the sacrament of confirmation, is not onely reserued to the bishops.

6 In the time of saint Paul, onely two orders of clerkes did suffice in the church: Priests, and deacons. Neither was there in the time of the apostles any distinction of popes, patriarkes, and archbishops, and bishops; but these the emperors pride did find it out.

7 Such as in times past, either for couetousnes of temporall lucre, or of hope of mutuall succour by binding, or for cause to excuse their lust, although they despaired of issue were married: were coupled together, not by true matrimonie.

8 The causes of impedyment, either for spirituall consanguinitie or for affinitie, be not founded in Scripture, but are onely ordinances of men.

9 These words, I will take thee to wife, are rather to bee taken in contract of matrimonie, then these words, I doe take thee to wife. And the contract with any partie by the words of the future tence, ought not to be sufficrate for the contract with any partie afterward made, by the words of the present time.

10 There be 12. disciples of Antichrist, popes, cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deanes, monks, canons, friers, and pardoners.

11 In the booke of Numbers the 18. chapter, and in Ezechiel 44. chapter, it is commanded simplie, that neither the priests of Aaron, nor the Leuites should haue any part of inheritance with other tribes, but should liue meerely of tithes and oblations.

12 There is no greater heretike or Antichrist, then that clerke which teacheth, that it is lawfull for Priests and Leuites of the law of grace, to be indued with temporall possessions. And if there be any heretikes, apostataes, or blasphemers, these clerks be such.

13 It is not onely lawfull for the lords temporall to take away gods of fortune from the churchmen, sinning blinally: but also are bound so to do, vnder paine of eternall damnation.

14 Hee that is the more humble and more seruiceable to the church, and more enamored with the loue of Christ, he is in the church militant the greater and the more verie vicar of Christ.

15 If corporall vnction or anopling were a sacrament (as now it is fained to bee) Christ and his apostles would not haue left the substance thereof vntouched.

16 Vnto the true dominion secular, is required vertuous life of him that ruleth.

17 All things that happen, do come absolutely of necessitie.

18 Whatsoeuer the pope or his cardinals can deduce clearely out of the Scripture, that onely is to be beleeued, or to bee done at their monition: and whatsoeuer otherwise they do command is to be condemned as heretical.

Besides this W. Woodford afore mentioned, diuers other there were which wrote against these articles of Wickliffe aforesaid, maintaining the popes part, as seemeth for flatterie, rather then following any iust cause so to doe, or shewing forth any reason or learning in disproouing the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrarie part, some there were againe both learned and godly, which taking the part of Wickliffe, without all flatterie, defended the most of the said articles, openly in schooles and other places, as appeareth by the workes of Iohn Hus: like as in his publike determinations in the Universitie of Prage, stood in defence of the same against all his aduersaries. Apartly is here to bee seene in these tractations vnder following.

Tractatus fact. per Woodford contra tractatum Wicklefi.

## ¶ The publike defence of certaine articles of Iohn Wickliffe, in the first Act before the whole Vniuersitie of Prage, in Charles Colledge.

## ¶ The determination of Iohn Hus vpon the xiiij. Article of Wickliffe, as touching the preaching and hearing of the word of God, made in the yeare of our Lord 1412.

The whole Vniuersitie is against the iudgement of the Doctors which condemned the 45. articles.

FOrasmuch as to condemne the truth wittingly or without reasonable examination doth tend to great danger of saluation, as the Lord saith, Luke 6. Doe yee not condemne, and ye shall not be condemned: Therefore to auoide this great danger, the Universitie of Prage, and the whole communalrie thereof, the Rector, Maisters, Doctors, Bachelers and Students, in their generall assemblie, not agreeing to the condemnation pronounced by the Doctours in their councell house, requireth of the said Doctours a reasonable proofe of their condemnation, and that they should by Scripture, authoritie, or infallible reason, proue the falshood of euery those fiue and fortie articles. The which being once doone, the said Vniuersitie will agree to the said condemnation as iust: For the Vniuersitie doth well know, that as Augustine saith, in the end of his second booke of christian doctrine: That whatsoeuer a man doth learn besides holy Scriptures, if it be hurtfull, there it is condemned: If it bee profitable, there



there it is found. And when a man hath found all things therein which he hath profitably learned elsewhere, hee shall much more abundantly finde those things which are found in no place else, but are learned in the marueilous depth, and marueilous profoundnesse of those most sacred Scriptures only.

Thus writeth Augustine. And Gregory in his three and twentith booke of Morals, saith thus; God in the holy Scripture hath comprehended whatsoeuer thing may happen vnto any man, and in the same hath, by the examples of those which are gone afore, taught them which are to come, how to reforme their liues. Whereby it appeareth, that euery of the fiue and forty articles, contained in it wholly the thing that is false and vntruth, the same is either plainly or darkly condemned in the holy Scriptures.

Gregor. moral lib. 23.

Excommunication.

Excommunication double.

Secondly, it followeth by the sentence and mind of this holy man, that if the condemnation of the fiue and forty articles be prostitable, the same is found in the holy scriptures. And where as against Saint Augustine writeth vnto Saint Hieronme, in his eighth epistle and the ninth Distinction: I (saith he) haue learned to attribute this honor and reuerence vnto those writers only which are called canonicall, that I dare affirme none of them to haue erred in their works or writings. As for all other writers, I doe so reade them, that although they abound with neuer so much holinesse, or excell in doctrine, I doe not by and by thinke it true, because they themselues doe so iudge: but if they can by other canonicall authors or probable reasons perswade me to proue that they doe not digresse from the truth.

Also the said Augustine in his booke De vnico Baptismo, lib. 2. saith thus: Who doth not know or vnderstand, the holy canonicall Scripture to bee contained in his owne bonds and limits, and the same to be preferred before all other letters and decrees of bishops &c. And a little after he hath the like saying: As for the letters of other bishops which haue bin written, or be written, (after the canon being confirmed) they may lawfully be reprehended and reproued, both by the word of them that be more skilfull in that matter, and also by the ancient authoritie of other bishops, or by the prudence and iudgment of such as be better learned, or more expert, or else by generall councels, if it so chance that they in any point haue erred and gone aliray from the sincere truth.

By these sayings of S. Austen and other like, &c. the Universitie of Prage hath concluded and determined, that they will not receiue the condemnation of the fiue and forty articles, made by the doctors in their councell house as iust and true, except they which condemned them, will proue their condemnation by the holy Scriptures and probable reasons vpon euery of the fiue and forty articles.

Wherefore for the due examination of the foresaid condemnation, whether it be effectuall or no, we will at this present take in hand the fourteenth article of the number of the fiue and fortie; which article is this:

The 14. article of I. Wickliffe.

The defence of this 14. article.

They which leaue off preaching and hearing of the word of God for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicat, and in the day of iudgement shall be counted the betraiers of Christ.

This article containeth, first that all priests omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat.

Secondly, it containeth, that all such as doe omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication, are already excommunicated.

Thirdly, that both these sorts of men in the day of iudgement, shall be counted traitors of Christ.

As concerning the first point, it is presupposed that the preaching of the word of God is commanded vnto the Apostles and their followers, as it appeareth in Matth. 10. where it is said: Iesus sent his twelue disciples, commanding them and saying, Go and preach, that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Also in the last of Matthew, and the 10. of Luke. Wherevpon Peter the Apostle of Christ, acknowledging this precept and commandement for himselfe, and for the other Apostles and successors, in the tenth of the Acts, saith thus; He commanded vs to preach and testifie, that it is he which is ordained of God the iudge both of the quick and the dead. This commandement also the other Apostles did acknowledge, and specially the chosen vessell, pronouncing vnder a great threatning in the first Corinthians, 9. chap. Woe be vnto me if I doe not preach the Gospell. And pope Nicolas considering that great threatning in 43. Distinction, saith: The dispensation and distribution of the heauenly seed is commanded and inioined to vs: This to be vnto vs if we do not sow it abroad, or if we hold our peace. Which thing, when as the bestell of heauen did feare and cry out vpon, how much more ought all other inferiors to feare and dread the same? To the same purpose doth S. Gregory write in his pastorall in the distinction, Sit rector. It is also euident by many other doctors and holy men, as by S. Augustine, Hierome, Isidore, Bernard, whose words it were too long here to rehearse.

The preaching of the Gospell commanded of God.

Gregorius Dist. 44. cap. Sit rector.

August. lib. de doctr. christ. lib. 4.

The hearing of the word commanded by God.

As touching the second point, that the hearing of the word and law of God, is commanded vnto the people, it is euident both by the old and new law: for it is said in the 28. of the Prouerbs; He that turneth away his eare, and will not heare the law of God, his prayer shall be cursed. And our Sauiour rebuking the Scribes and Pharises, concludeth thus in the 8. of saint John, saying; He that is of God heareth Gods word: but forasmuch as you are not of God, therefore you heare not his word.

Thirdly, it is to be noted, that excommunication is a separation from the communion, the 11. Question 3. Nihil. & cap. Canonica. And 27. question, first, Vidua. 24. question 3. Cum sacerdos. And this excommunication is double, that is to say, either secret or manifest. The secret excommunication is, whereby a man is separated from the mysticall body of Christ, and so from God though sin, according vnto the 59. of Esay: Your iniquities haue made separation between your God and you. And with this excommunication doth the Apostle excommunicat euery man which doth not loue the Lord Iesu Christ; saying in the first Corinth. and last chapter; If any man doe not loue the Lord Iesu Christ, let him be accursed. The manifest and apert excommunication may bee diuided into a manifest excommunication by God: whereof it is spoken, Psal. 25. Go ye cursed, &c. And often times also in the law of God. Also into a manifest excommunication by men, whereby the prelat doth either iustly or iniustly cast out any man from the participation of the communion of the church. Whereof this shall suffice at this present.

Excommunication double.

The probation of the first part.

Then, as touching the first part of the article, it is thus argued, &c.

Whosoeuer forsaketh or leaueth the commandements of God vndone, they are excommunicate of God. But the priestes which leaue off the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the vniust excommunication of men, doe leaue the commandement of God vndone. Ergo, those priests which doe leaue off preaching the word of God, are excommunicated of God.

The first part of this article is true: The Maior appeareth by the Psalme: Turned bee they which doe decline and swarue from thy precepts. The Minor is euident by the first proposition, which proueth that the preaching of the word of God, is the commandement of God inioined vnto those priests and ministers. Whereupon the saying of our Sauiour, Mat. 15. is spoken vnto them: Wherefore doe you transgresse the commandements of God for your owne traditions? preaching the word of God for feare of vniust excommunication, and so dishonouring the Father Christ, and the mother the holy church.

It is thus confirmed: All they which do omit or let slip any matter of worke, principally and straitly inioined them of the Lord Iesus Christ, vnder the cloke and colour of grace, for feare of any excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat. But priests, and specially Curats, admonished by the spirit of God, leauing off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, they omit and leaue off for feare of the same excommunication, a worke principally and straitly inioined vnto them of the Lord Iesus Christ, vnder the cloke and colour of grace: Ergo, priests, and specially curats, and such as be admonished and warned by the spirit of God, omitting the preaching of the word of God for feare of excommunication, are excommunicat. The consequence is well knowne. The Maior appeareth by the Psalme: Cursed be they which doe decline and goe away from thy commandements. The Minor is also euident against by the first supposition.

The Apostles did not obey any wicked inhibition.

Item, if the Apostles of Christ had left off the preaching of the word of God for feare of the excommunication of men, which the Lord did foretell vnto them in the 16. of S. Iohn, saying: They shal excommunicat you out of their synagogues: They had bin excommunicated of God. Ergo, by like euidence, the priests and ministers of Christ, being inspired with the same spirit to preach and declare the word of God, if they leaue it vndone for feare of the excommunication of men: They are already excommunicat. The consequent dependeth vpon a similitude. And the antecedent is euident: for if the Apostles had left off preaching for feare of excommunication, they had broken the commandements of God: And so consequently, had bin accursed. Wherefore they willing to obserue and keepe the commandements of God, and to put off the excommunication of men, said vnto the high Priests, Elders, and Scribes at Jerusalem, to Annas, Caiphas, to Iohn and Alexander, and all other of the kindred of the priests which were gathered together and commanded them that they should not preach nor teach in the name of Iesu: Is it be iust in the sight of God, that we should rather obey you then God, that iudge you. Act. 4. And in the 5. of the Acts, they said vnto them; We ought rather to obey God then man. Why this saying of the holy Ghost, it is concluded, that the priests and ministers of Christ, inspired by the holy Ghost to preach the word of God, ought rather obey the holy Ghost then those which shall prohibit and command them to the contrary, and to suffer the excommunication of men patiently. Wherevpon pope Anacletus spake very well in this, as it is written Distinction 43. xlij. We know (saith he) that many doe goe about to molest and trouble the doctors and teachers to this end, that they might vtterly

Anacletus, Dist. xlij.

bitterly destroy them, and fulfill their olwne proper lusts and desires: yet notwithstanding the said doctors, as much as in them lieth, ought not to depart or goe backe from their good doings and intent, knowing assuredly that blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnesse sake. Thus much writeth he. And the reuerend Bede (vpon these words: Yee shall finde an asse tied vp, and an hee fole with her, lose her and bring her vnto mee: and if any man say any thing vnto you, say ye that the Lord hath need of them, writeth thus. Here it is mystically commanded vnto the doctours and teachers, that if any aduersitie doe let or hinder, or any man doe prohibit or stop, that sinners cannot bee loosed from their bonds or snares, and be brought vnto the Lord, by the confession of their faith, that they notwithstanding should not leaue off preaching, but constantly and boldly affirme and say, that the Lord hath need of such, to edifie and build againe his church. For to doo the Apostles: so likewise ought all the humble and meeke ministers of Christ to doo. And Saint Hierom writing vnto Rusticus the bishop of Narbone saith thus: Let no bishop from henceforth be pitted vp or inflamed with the cruell of blacklish temptation, if the priests now and then doe exhort and teach the people, or preach openly in the churches; or as it is said, doo bleese the people. For vnto him which should denye vnto mee the doing hereof, I would say in this manner: Hee that will not that priests should doo those things which they are commanded by God, let him say that hee is greater and aboue Christ. By the which words Saint Hierom doth openly declare, that priests are commanded to exhort and teach the people, and to preach in the churches. Secondly, that a bishop denying or forbidding the same to be done, specially the priests as ministers being apt men thereunto, is crabbed aboue Christ. And therefore consequently, is not to be obeyed nor heard in his doings.

Hieronymus ad Rusticum.

Item, admit that the pope be an heretike, and teach perverse and contrary doctrine vnto the holy Scriptures, and that the bishop bee a catholike man vnto whom the pope giueth in commandement that hee shall not suffer no man to preach contrary to his opinion; as it happened in Pope Leo, and Saint Hillary the bishop: adding this also, that the bishop doe execute the popes commandement vnder paine of excommunication: this notwithstanding if the catholike priests learned in the law of God, doe leaue off preaching against the popes heresies, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicat. The which thing is euident, for so much as they are accursed through the consent of their silence, as Saint Iohn saith 11. Question 1. He that doth consent vnto sinners, or defendeth a sinner, hee shall be cursed both before God and man, and shall be punished with a most seuere rebuke; and in the 7. Question. 4. Omnis, it is said; Hee that doth neglect to amend that which hee may correct, committeth no lesse fault then hee which hab before offended: for not onely they which doe commit the offence, but also they which consent thereunto, are iudged partakers thereof. In like case, priests which doe not preach against the heresie which the pope teacheth, are dumbe dogs, not able to open their mouthes, or barke against the wolfe, which will kill the sheep of Jesus Christ: Ergo, how can it thee be otherwise, but they must needs be betrayers of the sheepe of their owne shepheard?

If the pope be an heretike, the godly bishop is bound to preach against him.

Item, let it be, that the bishop with the chiefe prelats be an aduiterer or otherwise an open offender, and that he together with his prelats doe command vnder paine of excommunication, that none be so hardy to preach against aduiterie, in such a case they which doe omit their dutie in preaching against aduiterie, for feare of excommunication of men, are already excommunicated of God: Ergo, the first part of the article is true. The Antecedent is proued; for our Sauiour in the eighth of Marke saith thus: He that acknowledgeth mee and my words in this wicked and aduiterous generation, the sonne of man shall also acknowledge and confesse him when hee shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels. Therefore hee that shall confesse Christ, and these words of Christ, Matth. 5. You haue heard that it was said to them in old time, Thou shalt not commit aduitery: But I say vnto you, that euery one which shall behold a woman to lust after her, he hath already committed aduitery with her in his heart: Hee, I say, that shall confesse these things before an aduiterous bishop with his chiefe prelats, he which perchance are the wicked and aduiterous generation, the sonne of man shall also acknowledge him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father, and so consequently is he blessed. Contrariwise, hee which for the feare of excommunication of men will not confesse Christ and his words, before the sinfull and aduiterous generation, is accursed. The consequent holdeth by the words of Christ, Luke 9. He that is ashamed of me and my words, him shall the Sonne of man bee ashamed of, when he shall come in his maiestie, and in the glory of his Father and his holy Angels, pronouncing that which is spoken Matth. 25. Verily, I say vnto you, I know you not; goe you cursed into euerlasting fire.

Albeit the chiefe prelats be aduiterers, yet ought they to preach against aduitery.

The example of Christ.

Also our Sauiour Jesu Christ, did not omit or leaue off the preaching of the kingdome of God, for any pretended excommunication of the Bishops, Scribes and Pharisies: so likewise his true and humble priests, ought not to omit their preaching for any pretensed excommunication of men: the consequent holdeth by the saying of Christ, John 15. Be ye mindfull of the words which I haue spoken vnto you, the seruant is not greater then his maister: If they haue persecuted me, they will persecute you also. The antecedent is apparant by the saying of Saint John in his 9. chapter. Euen now the Iewes had conspired, that whosoeuer did confesse him to bee Christ, should be excommunicat. And likewise John 7. Whether did any of the princes or rulers, or any of the Pharisies beleeue in him. But this people which knoweth not the law, are accursed.

Also the humble and iust ministers of God ought not vnder paine of sinne to cease from the fruitfull preaching of the law of God for any vniust excommunication, or vnlawfull commandement; and it is proued thus: the humble and iust ministers of Christ ought to obey their prelats, in such things as are not contrary to God; as all the holy doctors, and such as are learned in the law of God doe wholly with one consent affirme. And forsomuch as an vniust excommunication, and vnlawfull commandement, are against God, therefore the iust and true ministers of God, ought not to obey such vnlawfull excommunication and commandements, and consequently ought not to cease for them, from the fruitfull preaching of the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ; but ought boldly and gladly to preach the same. Forsomuch as the Lord doth comfort them in the 5. of Matth. saying thus: Blessed and happy are ye when as men doe curse you, and persecute you, and speake all kind of euill against you, making lies and flanders vpon you for my sake; reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen.

The obedience of Christian priests toward their prelats.

Also euery minister hauing power giuen him from aboue, to preach the Gospell, he hath the same giuen vnto him for the edifying of the Church, and not for the destruction of the same.

The power of preaching to edification, ought not to cease.

And the Apostle saith 2. Cor. 10. But euery one leaning off the preaching of the Gospell, for feare of any pretensed excommunication of men, he should frustrate the power giuen him, for the edifying of the church. And therefore in so doing, should sinne against God and his church; and consequently, ought rather to preach, not to cease from preaching, for feare of any such excommunication, lest that he be excommunicat of our Lord Jesu Christ.

Item, set case that the pope doth command that there shall be no preaching in any place; then the ministers of Christ leaning off their preaching, for feare of the popes curse, are already excommunicated of God. It is euident, forsomuch as they haue neglected the commandement of God, for the commandement of men. And this case is possible: for by what reason the pope may command vnder paine of excommunication, that there shall bee no preaching in any place, neither in the parish churches, by the same reason, he may command that no man should preach in any place.

The preaching of the Gospell is not to be left off by all the popes prohibition.

The first part is euident by the prohibition of pope Alexander, who in his bull did prohibit to preach the word of God vnto the people in chapels, although the said chapels were confirmed by the priuiledge of the sea apostolike. The which bull, the lord Subincon archbishop of Prage, with his canons, obtained. By these aforesaid, the first part of the article is euident, which is this; that all priests omitting the preaching of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

The second part of the article.

The second part of the article is this, that all they which do omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

And it is proued thus; all such as neglect the commandements of God are excommunicat. But they which neglect the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, are they which neglect the commandements of God. Therefore they which omit the hearing of the word of God for the excommunication of men, are already excommunicat.

Seanes neede vnto saluation are not to be omitted.

The Maior is apparant by the 118. Psalme: Cursed bee they which decline from thy commandements. And the Minor is euident by the second supposition, which saith; that the hearing of the word of God is commanded vnto the people.

This is confirmed: all such as omit the necessary meane vnto saluation, are excommunicat: but such as omit the hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication by men, be such as do omit the necessary meane vnto saluation. Therefore in so doing, they are excommunicat. The consequent is plaine: the Maior is made euident by this: That al such as do omit the necessary meane vnto saluation, doe also neglect their saluation, and so are out of the way of saluation, and be excommunicated of God. The Minor appeareth hereby, that to heare the word of God, is the meane more necessary vnto saluation, as the Apostle doth proue in this 10. chapter to the Romans: How, saith he, shall they beleeue on him, whom they neuer heard of? And how shall they heare without a preacher? And by and by after, the Apostle inferreth vnto the purpose; That faith commeth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

Item,



A man ought to doe nothing against his conscience.

Item, whatsoeuer is doone contrary vnto conscience, doth edifie vnto eternall damnation: as it is said, as touching the restitution of the spoiled goods, chap. Literas porro. But to omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, is a thing which is done against conscience. Therefore to omit the hearing of the word of God for excommunication, doth edifie vnto eternal damnation: and therefore consequently ought not to doe done, for feare of any excommunication. Wherefore a woman being iudged vnto a man, whom shee knoweth to bee within the degrees of consanguinitie, which God in law hath prohibited, ought not to obey that iudgement, lest that she offend against God; but meekely and patiently to sustaine the excommunication; as it appeareth in the chapter before alleaged. So likewise all true christians ought rather then to offend against God, meekly to suffer the excommunication of men, then to omit the hearing of the word of God. To this purpose also seemeth that which is spoken in the 11. quest. 3. He that feareth the omnipotent God, will not presume by any meanes to doo any thing contrary vnto the Gospel or Apostles, either contrary vnto the Prophets, or the institutions of the holy fathers. By these premisses, the second part of this article is manifest, that all such as doe omit the hearing of the word of God, for feare of excommunication of men, they are already excommunicated.

The priestes of the third part.

And forsomuch as all christians being of lawfull age, not repenting at the end, shall be counted in a manner as traitors of Christ in the day of iudgement, because that they were vnfaithfull seruants of Christ; therefore they which through feare omit the preaching and hearing of the word of God, for the excommunication of men, shall be counted as traitors of Christ, and shall render account thereof vnto the Lord. Wherevpon Chrysostome touching both those sorts in the 41. Homily, thelong vnto the Lord would haue some to be teachers, and other some to be disciples, saith thus: For vnto those which he would haue to be teachers, he speaketh thus by his Prophet Esay: Ye priests, speake in the hearts of the people, for if the priests doe not manifest all the truth vnto the people, they shall render account thereof at the day of iudgement: and likewise if the people doe not learne the truth, they shall also giue an account at the day of iudgement. It is also made more euident by him vpon the 10. of Matthew: Doe not feare them which kill the body, lest that through the feare of death, you doe not freely speake that which you haue heard, neither boldly preach that vnto all men, which you haue heard in your eares. So the heare, by alone it is euident, that not only he is a betrayer of the truth, which transgressing the truth doth openly speake lies in stead of the truth: but he also which doth not freely pronounce, or doth not freely defend the truth, which he ought boldly to defend, is also a traitor vnto the truth. For like as the priest is a debter to preach the truth which he hath heard of the Lord, euen so the lay man is bound to defend the truth, which he hath heard of the minister approued by the scriptures; which if he doe not, then is he a traitor vnto the truth. For if stedfast beleefe with the heart, prouaileth vnto righteousnesse; the confession which is made with the mouth, helpeth vnto saluation. Thus much writeth Chrysostome: who together with the people, meekly hearing the excommunication of the bishops, freely preached the truth, and the people heard him; and so by his word and his workes he freely taught the truth, lest he should be a traitor vnto the truth, and consequently be counted as a traitor vnto our Lord Jesu Christ in the day of iudgement. And thus the third part of the Article aforesaid is manifest.

Chrysostome, although he was excommunicat, yet he did preach.

The course of the word of God ought not to be stopped. Bernard.

## The defension of the xv. article of John Wickliffe by John Hus.

The 15. article of Wickliffe.

It is lawfull for any deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority of the Apostolike sea, or of his catholikes.

First, I vnderstand here by the authoritie of the apostolike sea, properly his speciall consent authorising. And likewise I vnderstand by authoritie of the bishop, a speciall consent of the bishop, authorising the said deacon or priest to preach.

The confirmation of the article.

Now as touching the truth of this article, I thus argue: Like as after matrimonie once complete, the man and wife may lawfully without any speciall licence of the pope or bishoppe, procreate carnall children: so likewise deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Jesu Christ, may lawfully without any speciall licence either of pope or bishop, generate spirituall children. Ergo, this article is true, and the antecedent is thus proued. For as it is an acceptable worke vnto God, for man and wife without the speciall licence of the pope or bishop to generate carnall children; so it is acceptable vnto him, that deacons or priests, by the motion of God through the Gospell of Jesu Christ, should lawfully generate spirituall children, without the speciall licence of the pope or of any other bishop: Ergo, the assumption is true.

Every man lawfully called of the church, ought to preach the word of God without the popes licence.

But if any man will deny this similitude, let him shew the diuersitie. Sea seeing it is vnsafe not to receiue, or to choke the seed of Gods word, then the carnall seed: so contrariwise, is it better to receiue and sow abroad that seed of the word of God, whereby children might be raised by vnto God, then to receiue or giue such seed, whereby carnall children may be gotten. Wherevpon our Sauiour in the 10. of Matthew saith thus: Whosoeuer doth not receiue you, neither heareth your words, wipe off the dust from your feet: verily I say vnto you, that in the day of iudgement, it shall be more better vnto the land of Sodome and Gomer then to that citie.

Also a deacon or priest being stirred by the spirit of Jesus Christ may preach the word of God without the speciall licence of the pope or bishoppe. Ergo, it is lawfull for him so to doe. The consequent is thus manifest; for so much as the spirit of God mouing the deacon or priest vnto the preaching of the Gospell, is of greater force then any prohibition of pope or bishop inuented by man: Ergo, according vnto the rule of the Apostles, they ought infallibly to bee obedient vnto the spirit of Christ, which doth so moue them therevnto, and rather to obey God then man: Act. 5. Also by like reason, as Heldad and Medad vpon whom the spirit of God did rest, did lawfullie prophecie without requiring any licence at Moyses hands, as it is written Numeri 11. By the same reason may the meeke minister of Christ, vpon whom the spirit of God doth rest, without the requiring of any licence, either of the pope or bishop, lawfully preach the word of God vnto the people. And would to God in this behalfe all prelats had the spirit of Moyses; for it is said, Numeri 11. That when as Heldad and Medad were prophecying in the tents, a child ran vnto Moyses, and told him, saying: Heldad and Medad doe prophecie in the tents, and by and by Josue the sonne of Nunne, the seruant of Moses, which he had chosen out amongst many, (said) my master Moses forbid them; and he said: Why enuiest thou for my sake? would God that all the people could prophecie, and that the Lord would giue them his spirit. O would to God the pope and bishops had the affections which this holy man the friend of God had. Then would he not prohibit the meeke deacons and ministers of Jesus Christ, to preach the Gospell of Jesus Christ. The like affection had the blessed man Gregory, which in his 22. booke of Morals, writing vpon these words of Job: And I haue afflicted the soule of his husbandmen: hee saith thus: The husbandmen of this earth are these, which being set in small authoritie, with as feruent desire as they can, and with as great labor as they may, doe worke by the preaching of grace, to the erudition of the holy church, the which husbandmen of this world not to affixe, is not to enuie their labors and doings: neither ought the ruler of the church, albeit he doe challenge vnto himselfe also the title of preaching, through enuie gainsay others which doe preach truly and profitably. For the godly mind of the pastor which seeketh not his owne glory amongst men, desireth to be holpen: the which thing also the faithfull preacher doth with, if it might by any meanes be brought to passe, that the truth which he alone cannot sufficiently expresse, all mens mouthes might declare.

God graunt that all the people may prophecie.

Wherefore, whenas Josua would haue reuiled the two which were prophecying in the host, why doest thou enuie (said he) for my sake? for he did not enuie that god in other which he himselfe had. Thus writeth S. Gregory.

Also the meeke ministers of Christ haue by a speciall gift of God, knowledge and mind to preach the Gospell; but neither is it lawfull for the pope or bishop, or any other man to let or hinder them, lest thereby they should let the word of God, that it haue not his free course. Ergo, this article is true; for the king doth not so much rule ouer the goods of his subiects, no not of his owne sonnes, but that they may giue almes to whom they will: much more the bishop hath not so great an charitie ouer the knowledge of the meeke minister, with his other gifts of God, but that he may freely vnder the title of spirituall almes freely preach the Gospell vnto the people. Ergo, forasmuch as it should seem strange, that a bishop should forbid any man to giue any corporall almes to the poore that are an hungred, much more strange and marueilous should it be, if that he should prohibit the spirituall minister of Christ to giue spirituall almes, by the preaching of the Gospell of the word of God.

Item, no catholike man ought to doubt, but that a man able for the purpose, is more bound to teach them which are ignorant, to counsell and comfort the weake in spirit, to correct such as are vnruly, to forgiue those that doe them wrong, then to doe any other worke of mercie: for so much then as he that hath sufficient, is bound vnder paine of damnation to giue corporall almes, as it appeareth Mat. 25. much more he which is able, is bound to doe spirituall almes. And this almes S. Bernard writing vnto Eugenius in his 3. booke, perceiued to be very necessary for the bishop of Rome, where as he saith thus; I feare no greater poison, nor greater sword or mischiefe will happen vnto thee, then this vnsatiable desire of dominion. With what face then can the faithfull minister withdraw or keepe backe the spirituall almes from the poore and any other, euen without the speciall licence of the pope or of the bishop; which licence through the farre distance from the pope, the ministers cannot so easily obtaine or come by: For all prohibition of any prelat being broken through necessitie,

is not to bee blamed, 11. Quest. 3. Intercesse, and also in the chapter following.

Item, all authority of preaching giuen vnto deacons and priests in their consecration were but vaine, except that in case of necessity, without any speciall licence, they might preach the Gospell. Iris cuident, forsomuch as it is not lawfull for them to vse that authority by their auncestary, without a speciall licence. Ergo, it is giuen them in vaine. The consequent is cuident by the common saying of the Philosopher. That power is but vaine, whereof proceedeth no vse of action. But forsomuch as this article doth as it were depend vpon the article before passed, therefore this shall suffice, spoken thereof at this present.

Obiection. But against the affirmations of both these articles, this is obiected out of the 16. quest. 1. All faithfull people, and especialie all priests, deacons, and all others of the clergy, ought to take heed that they doe nothing without the licence of their bishop. It is also obiected out of the 5. booke of Decretals, Titulo de hæreticis cap. cum ex iniuncto. Where it is said, no man ought to vsurpe to himselfe, indifferently the office of preaching, forsomuch as the Apostle saith; How shall they preach, except they be sent? Whereas also Innocentius doth declare, that it is not sufficient for a man to say, that he is sent of God to preach, except he doe shew the same. As touching the first point, the Glosse doth sufficiently answer vpon this word, without licence; That is to be expounded, saith he, without general licence: the which is obtained and giuen, when as a bishop doth appoint any priest to gouerne the people. For there by (saith hee) it seemeth a bishop is thought to giue him generall power to minister vnto the people, and to rule the church. Thus much in the Glosse. And to the same end and purpose it is said in the 7. quest. 1. chapter. Episcopi, bishops or priests, if they come into the church of another bishop, for to visit the same, as it is said Glosse 1. in honore suo. Let them be receiued in their degree, and desired as well to preach the word, as to doe any other consecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, that which is very well spoken in the same place: No man ought to vsurpe vnto himselfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to vsurpe, is vnlawfully to vse any thing: Ergo, the same deacon or priest, doth then vsurpe the office of preaching as indifferently, who liuing vitiously, contrary vnto the law of Christ; or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gaine, or vaineglorie, or liuing, either for his belly or daintie life, or for any vaine glorie: but he which doth liue according vnto the lawes of Christ, and being moued with the affection of sincere charitie, intending purely the honor of God, and the saluation of himselfe and his neighbors, doth preach no lies nor vaine tales, or other things not authorized, but only the law of Christ, and the minds of the holy doctors. And he that doth so preach, necessitie occasioning or meuing him thereunto, in case there be no pope or bishop, or in case perilous to withstand the preaching of heretikes or false preachers, he in so doing in the not vsurpe the office of preaching; and in such case there is no danger but he is sent of God. And this doth also answere vnto that, which is consequently said, that if any man will peraduenture craftily answere, that such preachers are inuisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, whereas that inuisible sending of God is much more better then the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answere thereunto, that forsomuch as that internall sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man onely to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as euery heretike may so say; but he ought to proue the same his inuisible calling, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the scripture.

Foure kinds of sending or calling. Here it is to bee noted, according to Saint Augustine in his 64. booke of quest. vnto Dosilus, that there are foure kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we reade in Moses and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the danger of the statute: so that he whom the spirit of God hath inspired, this priest giuing thanks, may procede vnto a better life. Whereupon pope Vrban said 19. quest. 2. There be (said hee) two lawes, the one publike, the other priuat. The publike law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is onely giuen for transgressions. As for example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of the clergy shall goe from one bishoprickie vnto another, without the letters commendatorie of his bishop; the which was ordained onely for offendors, that no infamed persons should be receiued of any bishop. For they were wont when they could not celebrate or doe their office vnder their owne bishoprickie, to goe vnto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts. The priuate law is that, which by the instruction of the holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh, of manie, which haue the law of God written in their hearts. And in another place: Forsomuch as the Gentiles haue not the law of God, but naturally doe those things which are of the law, these are lawes vnto themselues. And afterward he saith, the priuat law is much more worthy then the publike law. For the spirit of God is a law: And they which are moued by the spirit of God, are led by the law of God. And who is he, that can worthily resist against the holy Ghost? Whosoeuer therefore is led by the spirit of God, albeit his bishop doe say him nay, let him goe freely by our authority, for the law is not appointed for the tall man: for where as the spirit of God is, there is libertie, and if we be led by the spirit of God, we are not vnder the law.

The bishop may appoint any priest to gouerne the people. For there by (saith hee) it seemeth a bishop is thought to giue him generall power to minister vnto the people, and to rule the church. Thus much in the Glosse. And to the same end and purpose it is said in the 7. quest. 1. chapter. Episcopi, bishops or priests, if they come into the church of another bishop, for to visit the same, as it is said Glosse 1. in honore suo. Let them be receiued in their degree, and desired as well to preach the word, as to doe any other consecration or oblation. Secondly, it is to be noted, that which is very well spoken in the same place: No man ought to vsurpe vnto himselfe the office of preaching, as a thing indifferent. For to vsurpe, is vnlawfully to vse any thing: Ergo, the same deacon or priest, doth then vsurpe the office of preaching as indifferently, who liuing vitiously, contrary vnto the law of Christ; or being ignorant of the law of God, doth preach either for gaine, or vaineglorie, or liuing, either for his belly or daintie life, or for any vaine glorie: but he which doth liue according vnto the lawes of Christ, and being moued with the affection of sincere charitie, intending purely the honor of God, and the saluation of himselfe and his neighbors, doth preach no lies nor vaine tales, or other things not authorized, but only the law of Christ, and the minds of the holy doctors. And he that doth so preach, necessitie occasioning or meuing him thereunto, in case there be no pope or bishop, or in case perilous to withstand the preaching of heretikes or false preachers, he in so doing in the not vsurpe the office of preaching; and in such case there is no danger but he is sent of God. And this doth also answere vnto that, which is consequently said, that if any man will peraduenture craftily answere, that such preachers are inuisibly sent of God, although not visibly of men, whereas that inuisible sending of God is much more better then the visible sending of men: A man may reasonably answere thereunto, that forsomuch as that internall sending is secret, it is not sufficient for a man onely to say that he is sent of God, forsomuch as euery heretike may so say; but he ought to proue the same his inuisible calling, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the scripture.

Here it is to bee noted, according to Saint Augustine in his 64. booke of quest. vnto Dosilus, that there are foure kinds of sending. The first is from God only, whereof we reade in Moses and other, which were inspired by God. And this kind of sending looseth from the danger of the statute: so that he whom the spirit of God hath inspired, this priest giuing thanks, may procede vnto a better life. Whereupon pope Vrban said 19. quest. 2. There be (said hee) two lawes, the one publike, the other priuat. The publike law is that which is confirmed in writing by the holy fathers, such as is the canon law, which is onely giuen for transgressions. As for example, it is decreed in the canons, that none of the clergy shall goe from one bishoprickie vnto another, without the letters commendatorie of his bishop; the which was ordained onely for offendors, that no infamed persons should be receiued of any bishop. For they were wont when they could not celebrate or doe their office vnder their owne bishoprickie, to goe vnto another: which now is forbidden by the lawes and precepts. The priuate law is that, which by the instruction of the holy Ghost, is written in the heart, as the Apostle speaketh, of manie, which haue the law of God written in their hearts. And in another place: Forsomuch as the Gentiles haue not the law of God, but naturally doe those things which are of the law, these are lawes vnto themselues. And afterward he saith, the priuat law is much more worthy then the publike law. For the spirit of God is a law: And they which are moued by the spirit of God, are led by the law of God. And who is he, that

The words of pope Vrban.

Euery man may pretend to be sent of God immediatly.

Two kind of preachers.

Of the signes and wonders of antichrist.

Why true miracles shal cease vnder Antichrist.

The principall miracles.

Iob 24.

Behold hereof is affirmed, that the sending by God, though inspiration, is not bound vnder the bondage of the law, for that law is more worthy then the publike law. Secondly, that the law is made for transgressors and offenders, and not for the iust. Thirdly, that whosoeuer is led by the spirit of God, although his bishop stand against him, hee may proceed vnto a better life. Whereby it is cuident, that a deacon or priest, dispensed to preach, and being led by the spirit of God, he may freely preach the Gospell of Christ, without the spirituall licence of his bishop. It is cuident, forsomuch as it is good, that a deacon or priest doe liue well, and preach fruitfully. Ergo, he may proceed from idlenesse vnto the labor and office of preaching, and so vnto a better life.

But whereas it is said afore, that forsomuch as the inward sending or calling is secret, therefore it is not sufficient for a man, barely to affirme onely that he is sent of God, whereas euery heretike may so say; but it is necessary, that he doe confirme and proue his inuisible sending, by the working of some miracle, or by some speciall testimony of the Scripture: there is to bee noted, that there are two kinds of preachers: some true preachers of our Sauiour Christ; and others seducers of antichrist. The first sort following the master Christ, teach the people in truth. The other sort, being of a corrupt mind, and reprobate touching faith, resist against the veritie: and through couetousnesse, by their fained words doe make merchandise of the people. And these men doe giue, and shall giue miracles, as our Sauiour saith Matth. 24. There shall arise false Christs, and false Prophets, the which shall shew great signes and wonders, insomuch that euen the elect themselues, if it were by any meanes possible, should bee brought into error. And the Apostle in the 2. to the Thessal. 2. as touching their head antichrist, writeth thus: Whose comming shall be according to the operation of Satan, with all power and signes, false miracles, seducing vnto iniquitie those which doe perish, because they haue not receiued the charitie and loue of truth, that they might be saued: therefore will the Lord send vpon them the operation of error, that they shall giue credit vnto lies; that all such as haue not beleeued the truth, but consent vnto wickednesse, should be iudged. Behold how expressly our Sauiour by himselfe, and by his Apostle doth teach vs, how the disciples of antichrist with their head, should shine through their great signes and wonders. But the true disciples of Christ shall not so doe in the time of antichrist. For as Saint Ildor. saith in his first booke, 22. De summo bono: Before that antichrist shall appeare, all vertues and signes shall cease from the church, that he may the boldlier persecute the same, as an abiect. For this profit shall all miracles and signes cease vnder antichrist, that thereby the patience of the holy men might be knowne, and the lightnesse of the reprobat which are offended, may be opened, and also that the crueltie of the persecutors should be made more fierce. Thus writeth Saint Ildor. And Saint Gregory in his 24. booke of Morals saith: For why? by a terrible examination of Gods secret dispensation, shall all signes of vertue or power bee taken away from the holy church, before that the Leuiathan appeare in that most wicked and damnable man, whose shape he doth take vpon him. For prophecie is hidden, the gift of healing is taken away, the vertue of long abstinence is diminished, the words of doctrine are put to silence, and the wonderful works of miracles are extinguished: which things nothing can vtterly take away, but onely the dispensation of God. But this dispensation is not so openly and manifoldly declared as it hath been in times past: the which also is done by a marueilous dispensation, that through one onely thing, both Gods loue and iustice should be fulfilled. For a while the power of miracles being taken away, the holy church appeareth the more abiect and forsaken, and the reward of good men doth cease, which reuerenced the same for the hope of heauenly riches, and not for any present signes: and that the minds of euill men against the same, might the sooner be knowen, which neglect to follow the inuisible things, which the church doth promise, whiles they be led with visible signes.

Forsomuch then as the humilitie of the faithfull, as it were destitute of the multitude, and appearing of signes by the terrible working of Gods secret dispensation, wherein mercy is giuen vnto the good and iust, wrath heaped vpon the euill. Forsomuch then as it is truly said, that before this Leuiathan shall plainly and manifestly come, powrtie shall goe before his face; for before that time the riches of miracles shall be taken away from the faithfull. Then shall that ancient enemy (seth himselfe against them by open wonders: that as he is ercelled through signes and wonders, so shall he the more manly bee vanquished of the faithfull, without any signes or miracles. Also in his 16. booke vpon these words, which the blessed man Iob said: Who shall reprehend his way before him, or who shall call in his teeth, what he hath done, whilest hee did speake



The description of antichrist out of S. Gregory.

speake of the body of all euill, he suddenly conuerted his speech vnto the head of all the wicked; for he did see that toward the end of the world Satan should enter into man, whom the Scripture calleth antichrist, he shall be exalted with such pride, he shal rule with such power, he shal be exalted with such signes and wonders, vnder the pretence of holinesse, that his doing cannot be controlled of men, forsomuch as his signes and tokens are ioined with power and terror, and with a certaine shew of holinesse. Wherefore he saith; who shall controll his waies before him, what man is hee that dare once rebuke or checke him, whose looke or countenance is he afraid of? But notwithstanding, not onely Enoc and Elias, the which are brought as example for his probation, but also the elect doe argue and reprooue his way, whiles that they doe contemne, and by the force and power of their mind, resist his malice. But forsomuch as this thing is not done by their owne power and strength, but by Gods helpe and grace, therefore it is very well said; Who shall argue or reprooue his waies before him: who but only God? By whose helpe, the elect are aided and made able to resist.

The proofe of holinesse.

And a little after, vpon the same booke of Iob, Gregory saith, insomuch as holy men doe withstand his iniquity: It is not they themselues which doe so rebuke his waies, but it is he, through whose helpe they are strengthened. Also in his second booke he saith: Now the holy church doth not regard, but despise the signes and miracles of the heretikes, if they doe any: forsomuch as the church doth sufficiently vnderstand, that it is no kind of holinesse: for why? the praise of holinesse is not to make signes or wonders, but to loue euery man as himselfe, to think truly of the very true God, and to thinke better of thy neighbour then of thy selfe: for true vertue and holinesse consisteth in loue, and not in shewing of miracles. This the veritie declareth, saying: Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye loue one another: but he saith not, that hereby men shall know that ye are my disciples, because yee worke miracles; but contrariwise, if ye loue one another: declaring plainly thereby, that it is not miracles, but the meere charity and loue of God, which maketh vs the seruants of God. Wherefore the chiefe testimony of being Gods disciple, is to haue the gift of brotherly loue. This throughout doth S. Gregory write, and often times in other places he speaketh very much of miracles, how that they shall cease amongst the iust, and abound amongst the wicked.

Signes common and indifferent to the ministres of Christ and antichrist.

Also Chrysostome in his 5 tue and fiftith homily saith thus: It is a common and indifferent worke betweene the ministers of God and the ministers of the diuell, to call out diuels; but to confesse the truth and to worke righteousnesse, is the only work of the Saints and holy men: therefore whomsoeuer thou doest see casting out of diuels, if hee haue not the confession of the truth in his mouth, neither righteousnesse in his hands, he is not a man of God: but if thou doest see a man openly confessing and declaring the truth, and doing iustice, although he doe not cast out any diuels, yet is he the man of God. And it followeth: Let vs know, that like as the comming of Christ, before him, the Prophets, and with him the Apostles wrought miracles though the holy Ghost, for such as the thing is which is shewed, such sent and sauor will proceed from the same. He writeth also vpon the beginning of Matthew: The whole world did marueil and wonder at three things, that Christ rose againe after his death, that flesh ascended into heauen, and that he did conuert the whole world by his twelue Apostles. There are foure causes which wrought the same: that is to say, the contempt of riches or money; the despising of pompe and glory; the separation of themselues from all worldly occupation and businesse, and the patient suffering of torments. Thus much writeth Chrysostome also. Also S. Isidore in his first booke and twenty fiue chapter, De summo bono, writeth thus: Like as in the Apostles, the marueilous effect and power of works was much more commendable then the vertue of their signes: euen so now in the church is it much more better to liue well, then to worke any signes or miracles. And the cause why that the church of God doth not at this present worke miracles, as it did in the time of the Apostles, is this: that it was necessary at that time that the world should beleeue miracles, and now at this present euery faithfull beleeuer ought to shine with good works, for to this end were signes and miracles then outwardly wrought, that their faith thereby might be inwardly strengthened and stablished; for whatsoeuer faithfull man he be that seeketh to worke miracles, he seeketh vainglory to be praised of men, for it is written: Miracles are signes and tokens vnto the infidels and misbeleeuers, and not vnto the faithfull. Thus much writeth Isidore.

Why true miracles shal cease vnder Antichrist.

The cause why the church now worketh not miracles.

A great miracle to slone a man conuerting.

Item, Saint Augustine in his booke of confession saith thus: There is no greater miracle amongst men, then to loue our enemies. By these words of these holy men, a man may easily gather, that both in our daies and in the time to come, the disciples of antichrist both doe, and shall more flourish and shew themselues by strange signes and miracles, then the disciples of Christ, according to the saying of our Sauiour Iesu Christ: There shall rise vp amongst you false prophets, which shall worke strange miracles. Secondly, it is apparent, that they are greater and stranger miracles, to confesse the truth, and to doe iustice, then to worke any other kinde of miracle. Thirdly, it is gathered thereby, that whatsoeuer minister or deacon doth loue his enemies, contemneth riches, despiseth the glory of the world, and sleeth from all worldly troubles, meekly sustaineth and suffereth most terrible and cruell threatnings and strokes for the gospels sake, hee worketh miracles, hauing thereby a testimony and witnesse, that he is the true disciple of Iesu Christ. And it is cuident by the saying of our Sauiour Iesu Christ, Mat. 5. Let your good works so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorifie your father which is in heauen. And likewise Iohn 10. Trust vnto your good works. Whereupon S. Gregory in his first booke of Dialogues, writeth thus: The estimation of a true life, consisteth in the vertue of his works, and not in the shewing of signes. Whereby it is fourthly concluded, by that which is aforesaid, that it is a more effectuall testimony and witnesse for a priest or deacon, that he is sent of God to confesse the truth, and follow Christ in the forsaid vertues, then to call out diuels, or to doe any other miracles: as it is cuident by the saying of Chrysostome before alleaged; Whomsoeuer thou doest see to cast out diuels, if the confession or acknowledging of the truth be not in his mouth, neither righteousnesse nor iustice in his hands, he is not a man of God. This is also confirmed by the words of Christ, Mat. 7. Many shall say vnto me in that day: Lord, Lord, haue not we prophecied in thy name; haue not we cast out diuels in thy name; and haue not we also wrought many great wonders and miracles in thy name? Then I will answer and say vnto them: forsomuch as I haue not knowne you at any time, depart from me yee workers of iniquitie: And as touching the second part. Chrysostome saith: If you see a man confessing and preaching the truth, and working righteousnesse, although he doe not cast out diuels, he is a man of God.

The true marks of Christs ministers.

The testimony of a true priest.

Hereby it appeareth, that euery deacon, priest, or minister, confessing the truth, and working iustice, hath a perfect and sure testimony that he is sent of God, and that it is not necessary for him to approue this his sending by the working of any miracle, in stead of working righteousnesse, neither by any testimonial, the which should plainly declare him by name, that he was sent of the Lord to preach.

The first part appeareth manifest, by that which is already spoken, that all miracles in the time of antichrist shall cease in the elect.

The second part is also cuident, forsomuch as none of the present preachers, can shew by the scripture of the law of God, that he is specially named thereunto.

And likewise doe I also affirme and say, as touching all preachers which shall come hereafter, that they are not named by name. But let no man here obiect Enoc and Elias, which were ancient preachers, and prophecied by the holy spirit of God. And it is apparent, that like as it is not a cause sufficient to proue, that this priest or deacon is sent of God to preach, because he worketh miracles; so is it not a cause sufficient to proue, that he is not sent of God to preach, because he doth no miracles; but to confesse the truth, to worke righteousnesse, to contemne the world with the glory thereof, patiently to suffer rebukes, is a sufficient testimony for any priest or deacon, hauing knowledge of the law of God, freely to preach the Gospell of Iesus Christ, forsomuch as in such case he is sent of God. And this is the sending which the Apostle speaketh of in the 10. to the Romans: How should they preach, except they be sent? Whereupon the glosse of S. Augustine writeth thus: These things serue to set forth Gods grace, declaring that all our goodnesse is preuented of grace.

For he saith, beleefe commeth of hearing, hearing commeth of preaching, and preaching by the sending of God; so that all together vtterly commeth out of the fountaine of grace, and preaching truly commeth of sending. This hath the glosse: how shall they then preach, without they be sent of God? And this is cuident, that the first and principall sending is from God alone, as it is approued by Moyses.

The second sending is both from God and man, as by the example of Iosua and others, which were sent both by God and the rulers to preach.

The third is from man alone, the which is not founded in the law of God, but in mens traditions, which they rather esteeme.

The fourth sending, which hath but the name onely, is prayers to them, which of themselues vnworthily vsurpe the office of preaching, as those false Prophets of whom God speaketh in the 23. of Jeremy; I did not send them, and they ran: I spake not vnto them, and they prophecied: if they had continued in my counsels, and had declared my words vnto my people, I would haue conuerted them from their euill waies, and wicked imaginations. And our Sauiour speaketh of these prophets in Matthew, saying: There shall arise false prophets. And Peter his true vicar, in his second Epistle and second chapter, prophecying vnto the faithfull beleeuers in Christ, speaketh thus of them: There were amongst the people false prophets, as there shall be amongst you also masters of lies, through whom the truth shall be blasphemed and slandered. And that he might the better instruct the people to know them,

them, he adiedh that they shall go about with fained words, for couetousnesse sake, to make merchandise of you.

The difference betweene the true and false Church and their markes.

Therefore euery faithfull man, diligently weighing these things in his mind, may now easily perceiue how great a number of false prophets there be, through whom the christian truth is blaspheined: and all couetous dealing is exercised: and these are they which freely preach lies. But the humble and true ministers of Christ, wherefore they doe appeare, by and by they are persecuted, whereby the prophecie of the Apostle is verified, which is written in the second Epistle to Timothy, the 3. All men, saith he, which desire to liue godly, shall suffer persecution: but the euill men and seducers shall proceede in their wickednesse, running hasty more and more into all kind of errors. The wicked haue now so much prevailed, that they doe preach lies, making heretikes of the faithfull christians, neither is there any man that dare prohibit them their lying, so that they doe not preach against the vices of the prelats. How then can you say, that antichrist is not exalted

The ministers of antichrist do close vp the eies of their prelats.

aboue all that which is called God, suppressing vnder the members of Christ in his office, soothsaying and flattering his members in lying: Therefore the true and faithfull disciples of Christ ought to stand ready girt about their loines, and shoes vpon their feete in defence of the Gospell, taking the sword in hand, which is the word of God: Ephes. 6. And to fight against the crafts of antichrist, who goeth about vtterly to extinguish the true preaching of the Gospel of our Lord Iesu Christ.

## ¶ The second disputation in the Vniuersitie of *Prage, vpon the seuenteenth Article of Iohn Wickliffe,*

most fruitfull to bee read; prouing by foure and twentie *reasons out of the Scriptures, how that princes and lords* temporall, haue lawfull authority and iurisdiction ouer the spiritualty and churchmen *both in taking from them, and correcting their abuses, according to their doings and deserts.*

TO the honor of almighty God, and of our Lord Iesu Christ, both for the trying out of truth, and the profit of holy mother the church, according to the congregation of our Vniuersitie of Prage, which auoiding alwaies to doe that shall be prejudiciall to the truth, hath deferred to giue their consent vnto

The condemnation of the 45. Articles, is not lawfull.

the condemnation of the 45. Articles, wishing euen vnto this present, sufficient probation to be giuen of the condemnation of the said Articles, & particularly of euery one of them. Whereupon the said Vniuersitie doth alwaies require due proofe of the same, forsomuch as pope Damasus in his canon distinction 68. chap. Chorepiscopi, saith thus: That it is necessarie that whatsoeuer thing standeth not by due reason, should be rooted out. Whereby it appeareth, that the condemnation of the 45. Articles, if it stand not with proofe and sufficient demonstration for euery Article, it is necessary to be rooted out.

But if any man will obiect and say, that I require a reason of euery thing, is to derogat from Gods diuine power. Vnto this obiection maister William doth answer himselfe in his Philosophie, the first booke, almost at the end; where he intreating of the place, in Gen. 2. God made man of the slime of the earth, &c. hath these words: For in what point (saith we) are we contrary to the holy Scriptures, if wee seeke by reason to declare wherefore any thing is done, which is said in the Scriptures to be done? For if that a wise man should say that a thing is done, and doe not declare how it is done: and another man speaketh the very selfe same thing, and careth how it is done, what contrarietie is there? But forsomuch as they themselues know not the force of nature, to the intent that they might haue all men partakers with them of their ignorance, they would haue no man to inquire it out. But they would haue vs beleeue as ignorant people, neither to seeke any reason of our beliefe, that the prophecie might be fulfilled; Such as the people is, such shal be the priest. But we truly doe say, that in all things a reason is to be sought, if it may by any meanes bee found. But if that any man doe stay at any thing which the Scripture doth affirm, let him commit the same vnto faith, & vnto the holy Ghost. For Moses saith; If the lambe cannot be eaten, let it not be by

An allegorie vpon the 12. of the 2. booke of Exodus lambe.

and by consumed in the fire: but let him first call his neighbour which dwelleth next house vnto him; and if they also be not sufficient to eat the lambe, then let it be burned in the fire. So likewise, whenas we goe about to seeke any thing as touching the Godhead, and that we be not able of our selues to comprehend the same, let vs call our neighbour which dwelleth next house vnto vs: that is to say, let vs seeke out such a one as dwelleth in the same catholike faith with vs; and if then, neither we, neither yet hee be able to comprehend the same, let it then be burned with the fire of faith.

But these men, albeit they haue many neighbours dwelling neere vnto them, yet for very pride they will not call any man vnto them, chusing rather to continue still ignorant, then to ask anie question. And if they doe know any man to inquire for his neighbor in such case, by and by they cry out vpon him as an heretike: presuming more vpon their own heads, then hauing confidence in their wisdome. But I exhort you to giue no credit vnto their outward appearance, for already it is verified in them which the Satyrical Poet saith, No credit is to be giuē vnto the outward shew: for which of them all is it that doth not abound with most shamefull and detestable vices? And in another place he saith: They are very dainty of their speech, and haue great desire to keep silence. And thus much hath maister Wilhelmus. Let all such heare whom this parable doth touch: for I with the rest of the maisters, bachelors, and students of our Vniuersitie, considering how hard a matter the condemnation of the 45. articles of Wickliffe without reason, is, and how greeuous a thing it were, if we should thereunto cōsent, do call together my neighbors, the doctors of this Vniuersitie, & all others which would obiect any thing against the same, that we might presently finde out the reason of the condemnation of this article, concerning the taking away the temporalities from the clergy.

A protestation, layde by the giuing light vnto the reader, touching the proposition aduersaries to vnderstood, and abbrets, that the goods of the clergy are not directly to be taken away, but in case they doe abuse the same.

Notwithstanding I do professe that it is not my intent, like as it is not the meaning of the Vniuersity, to persuade that princes or secular lords should take away the goods from the clergy when they would, or how they would, and conuert them to what vse they list. But our whole intent is, diligently to search out whether this article, as touching the taking away of temporalities from the clergy, may haue in it any true sense, whereby it may be defended without reproofe. Wherefore this article being the 17. in the number of the 45. is propounded vnder this forme: The lords temporall may at their owne will & pleasure, take away the temporall goods from the clergy, if they do offend, and therein continue. It is thus proued: The kings of the old Testament tooke away the temporall goods at Gods commandement from the clergy: that is to say, from the priests offending. Therfore the kings also of the new Testament, at Gods commandement, may doe the like, whenas the priests of the new law doe offend. The consequent dependeth vpon a similitude. And the antecedent is euident. First, it is proued by Salomon in the 3. of the kings, 2. chap. Which Salomon deposed Abiathar the high priest, because he had taken part with Adonias the brother of Salomon, to make him king, without the aduice either of Dauid, or of Salomon himselfe, which ought to raigne; and set vp Sadoc the priest in the place of Abiathar, because he had not consented with Abiathar, vnto Adonias, as it is written in the 3. booke of Kings, 1. chapter: where it is said; Adonias the sonne of Agithe, exalted himselfe, saying; I will raigne, and made vnto himselfe chariots and horsemen, and fortie men which should run before him: neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying, Wherefore hast thou done this? For he was very comely, being second sonne, next to Absolom, and his talke was with Ioab the sonne of Saruia and Abiathar the priest, which tooke part with Adonias. But Sadoc the priest, and Banaias the son of Ioiada, and Nathan the Prophet, and Semei, and Serethi, and Felethi, and all the power of Dauids host, were not on Adonias part.

Case of necessitie.

Dauid.

Elias and Elizeus.

The seuenteenth article proued by 24. argumenta.

The example of Christ paying of tribute. S. Ambrose.

This was the cause of the deposing of Abiathar, because he tooke part with Adonia, that he should be king against Salomon, the eldest son of king Dauid: wherefore it is written in the 3. booke, and 2. chap. of the kings: The king said vnto Abiathar the priest, go your waies vnto Anathoth thine owne field, for thou art a man of death; but this day I will not slay thee, because thou hast carried the arke of the Lord before my father Dauid, and didst labor in all things wherein my father labored. Then did Salomon cast out Abiathar, that hee should be no more the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which he spake vpon the house of Hely in Silo.

Behold the most prudent king Salomon, according to the wisdome which was giuen him of God, did exercise his power vpon the said priest, putting him out of his priesthood, and setting in his place Sadoc the priest. This was a greater matter then to take away the temporalities. If the in the law of Christ, which now raigneth ouer vs, a bishop should likewise rebell against the true heire of the kingdome, willing to set vp another for king, why should not the king or his heire haue power in like case, to take away the temporalities from him so offending?

2. Nabuchodonozor.

Item, it is also euident by the king Nabuchodonozor, which had power giuen him of God, to lead away the children of Israel, with their Priests and Leuites, into the captiuitie of Babylon: as it is written 4. booke of the Kings, 25. chapter.

2. Ioas.

Item, it is read in the 4. booke of Kings, and 12. chap. how that Ioas the most godly king of Iuda, according to the wisdome which God had granted him, took away all the consecrat vessels which Iosaphat, Ieram, and Ochosias, his fore-fathers kings of Iuda had consecrated, and those which he himselfe had offered, and all the treasure that could be found in the temple of the Lord, and in the kings palace, and sent it vnto Azahel king of Syria, and he departed from Ierusalem. Marke how this most holy king exercised his power, not onely in taking away the temporalities of the priests, but also those things which were consecrat in the temple of the Lord, to procure vnto the common wealth the benefit of peace.

4. Ezechias.

Item, in the 4. booke, and 18. chap. of the Kings, it is written, how that the holy king Ezechias took all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the kings treasury, and brake



brake downe the pillers of the temple of the Lord, and all the plates of gold which he himselfe had fastned thereupon, and gaue them vnto the king of the Assyrians, yet was he not rebuked of the Lord therefore, as he was for his other sinnes, as it appeareth in the second booke of Paralip. 32. chapter. For so much then as in time of necessitie, all things ought to be in common vnto christians, it followeth then that the secular lords in case of necessitie, and in many other common cases, may lawfully take away the moueable goods from the clergie, when they do offend.

10 S. Augustine.

Item, S. Augustine writeth; If thou sayest, what haue we to do with the emperour? But now as I said, wee speake of mans law. The Apostle would be obedient vnto kings, and honor them, saying, Reuerence your kings: and do not say, what haue I to doe with the king? What hast thou then to do with possessions? By the kings law thy possessions are possessed. Thou hast said, what haue I to do with the king? but do not say, what haue thy possessions to do with the king? For then hast thou renounced the lawes of men, whereby thou diddest possesse thy lands. Thus writeth S. Augustine in his 8. distinction, by whose words it is manifest, that the king hath power ouer the church goods, and consequently may take them away from the clergie, transgressing or offending.

11 Magistrates, keepers of both tables.

Item, in his 33. epistle vnto Boniface, he saith: What sober man will say vnto our kings, care not you in your kingdome, by whom the church of the Lord is maintained, or by whom it is oppressed; it pertaineth not vnto you, who will be either a religious man, or who will be a church robber? Vnto whom it may be thus answered: Doth it not pertaine vnto vs in our kingdome, who will either liue a chast life, or who will be an vnchast whoremonger? Behold, this holy man sheweth heere how that it is the dutie of kings, to punish such as are robbers of churches, and consequently the proud clergie when as they do offend.

The dutie of kings to punish the clergie.

12

Item, he writeth in the 33. queast. 7. *si de rebus*: The secular lords may lawfully take away the temporall goods from heretickes: and for so much that it is a case greatly possible that manie of the clergie are vsers of Simonie, and thereby heretikes; therefore the secular lords may very lawfully take away their temporalities from them. For what vnworthie thing is it, saith Saint Augustine, if the Catholikes do possesse according vnto the will of the Lord, those things which the heretikes held? For so much as this is the word of the Lord vnto all wicked men, Matth. 21. The kingdome of God shall be taken away from you, and giuen vnto a nation, which shall do the righteousnesse thereof: is it in vaine which is written in the 11. chapter of the booke of Wisdome? The iust shall eate the labours of the wicked.

Matth. 21.

Wisdome 11.

An obiection of the theefe of other mens goods.

And whereas it may be obiected as touching the desire of other mens goods; Saint Augustine answereth, that by that euidence the seuen nations, which did abuse the land of promise, and were driuen out from thence by the power of God, may obiect the same vnto the people of God, which inhabite the same. And the Iewes themselues, from whom, according vnto the word of the Lord, the kingdome is taken away and giuen vnto a people, which shall doe the workes of righteousnesse, may obiect the same vnto the church of Christ, as touching the desire of other mens goods; but Saint Augustines answere is thus:

Christ commaunded tribute to be paid vnto the emperour.

Wee, saith hee, do not desire another mans goods, for so much as they are ours by the commandement of him, by whom all things were made. By like euidence the clergie hauing offended, their temporall goods are made the goods of others, for the profit of the church. To this purpose also, according to Saint Augustine, scrueth the 14. question 4. Vnto a misbeleeuer, it is not a halfe-penie matter, but vnto the faithfull is a whole world of riches: shall we not then conuince all such to possesse another mans goods, which seemed to haue gathered great riches together, and know not how to vse them; for that truelie is not anothers, which is possessed by right, and that is lawfullie possessed, which is iustly possessed, and that is iustlie possessed, which is well possessed. Ergo, all that is euill possessed is another mans, and he doth ill possesse it, which doth euill vse it.

S. Augustine 14. question 4.

If then any of the clergie doe abuse the temporall goods, the temporall lords may at their owne pleasure, according vnto the rule of charitie, take away the said temporall goods from the clergie so transgressing. For then according to the allegation aforesaid, the clergie doth not iustly possesse those temporall goods, but the temporall lords proceeding according to the rule of charitie, do iustly possesse those temporalities, for so much as all things are the iust mans. 1. Corinth. 3. chapter. All things, saith the Apostle, are yours; whether it be Paul or Apollo, or Cephas, either the world, either life, or death, or things present, or things to come; for all things be yours, you be Christs, and Christ is Gods. Also 23. queast. 7. *Quicunque*, it is written: *Iure diuino omnia sunt iusti rorum.* The words of Saint Augustine in that place, *ad Vincentium*, bee these: Whosoeuer, saith hee, vpon the occasion of this law or ordinance of the emperour, doth molest or persecute you, not for loue of anie charitable correction, but onely for hatred and malice to doe you displeasure, I hold not with him in so doing.

1. Corinth. 3.

By Gods law, *cuncta iusti rorum esse dicuntur.*

And although there is nothing heere in this earth, that anie man may possesse assuredly, but either hee must hold it by Gods law, by which *cuncta iustorum esse dicuntur*: that is, all things be said to pertaine to the possession of the iust: or else by mans law, which standeth in the kings power to

set and to ordaine, &c. Here by the words of Augustine alleaged, yee see all things belong to the possession of the iust, by Gods law.

13 The clergie subiect vnto the Emperour and Kings by reason of their possessions.

Item, for so much as the clergie by meanes of their possessions are in danger of the Emperor and King: it followeth, that if they doe offend, the Emperor or King may lawfullie take away their possessions from them. The consequent dependeth on this point, for so much as otherwise they were not in subiection vnder the Emperor or King: and the antecedent is manifest by the 11. question and 1. Parag. *His ita respondetur.* Where as it is specified in Latine thus: [*His ita respondetur, Clerici ex officio Episcopo sunt suppositi, ex possessionibus prædiorum imperatori sunt obnoxij: ab Episcopo ordinantur, decimas, & primitias accipiunt; ab imperatore vero prædiorum possessiones in accipiuntur:*] that is to say: The clergie by meanes of their office are vnder the Bishop, but by reason of their possessions they bee subiect vnto the Emperor: Of the Bishop they receiue vnction, tithes, and first fruites; of the Emperor, they receiue possessions. Thus then it is decreed by the Emperiall law, that liuelihoods should be possessed: whereby it appeareth, that the clergie by the possession of their liuelihoods are in danger of the Emperour: for him to take away from them, or to correct them according to their deseruings, and to haue the controlement of them, as it shall seeme good vnto him.

14 Vsire of Simonie are punished by the ciuill magistrate.

Item, the temporall Lords may take away the temporalities from such as vse Simonie, because they are heretickes. *Ergo*, this Article is true.

*Pasce ecclesiam tuam, pro.vltimo capitulo.*

The antecedent is manifest, for so much as the secular Lords may refuse such as vse Simony, and punish them except they doe repent. For by the decree of Pope Pasthasius in the first and last question it appeareth, that all such as vsed Simonie, were to be refused of all faithfull people, as chiefe and principall heretickes: and if they doe not repent after they be warned, they are also to be punished by the externe power. For all other faults and crimes, in comparison of Simonie, be counted but light, and seeme small offences.

The Laitie controllers of the Clergie.

Whereupon the glosse expounding the same text, saith, that by this word externe, is vnderstood the laitie, which haue power ouer the clergie, besides the Church, as in the 17. distinct. [*Non licuit, & 23. quæst. 5. principes.*] Whereby it is euident, that the temporall Lords may take away the temporall goods from the clergie when as they doe offend.

Gregorie writeth to the French Queene.

Item, Saint Gregorie in the Register vpon his 7. booke and 9. Chapter, writeth thus vnto the French Queene: For so much as it is written that righteousnesse helpeth the people, and sinne maketh them miserable: then is that kingdome counted stable, when as the offence which is knowne, is soone amended.

Wicked priests the destruction of the people.

Therefore, for so much as wicked priests are the cause of the ruine of the people, (for who shall take vpon him, to be intercessor for the sinnes of the people, if the Priest which ought to intreate for the same, haue committed greater offences?) and vnder your dominions the Priests doe liue wickedly and vnchastly: therefore that the offence of a few might not turne to the destruction of many, we ought earnestly to seeke the punishment of the same. And it followeth: If we doe command any person, we doe send him forth, with the consent of your authoritie, who together with other Priests, shall diligently seeke out, and according vnto Gods word correct and amend the same. Neither are these things to be dissimuled, the which we haue spoken of, for he that may correct any thing, and doth neglect the same, without all doubt he maketh himselfe partaker of the sinne or offence.

Therefore foresee vnto your owne soule, prouide for your nephews, and for such as you doe desire to raigne after you, prouide for your countrey, and with diligence prouide for the correction and punishment of that sinne, before our Creator doe stretch out his hand to strike.

And in his next Chapter he writeth vnto the French King: Whatsoeuer you doe vnderstand, to pertaine either vnto the honour and glory of our God, to the reuerence of the church, or to the honour of the priests, that doe you diligently cause to be decreed and in all points to be obserued. Wherefore once againe we doe mooue you, that you commaund a Synode to be congregate, and as we wrote lately vnto you, to cause all the carnall vices which raigneth amongst your Priests, and all the wickednesse and Simonie of your Bishops, which is most hard to be condemned and reproued; vtterly to be banished out of your kingdome, and that you will not suffer them to possesse any more substance vnder your dominion, then Gods commandement doth allow.

S. Gregorie to the french king.

Beholde how carefully blessed Gregory doth exhort the Queene and the King to punish the vices of the clergie, left through their negligence they should be partakers of the same: and how they ought to correct their subiects. For as it is conuenient to be circumspect and carefull against the outward enemies, euen so likewise ought they to be against the inward enemies of the soule. And like as in such warre against the outward enemies, it is lawfull to take away their goods, so long as they continue in their malice, so also is it lawfull to take away the goods of the clergie, being the inward enemie.

The consequent is prooued thus, for so much as the domesticall enemies are most hurtfull.

Item, it is thus argued: If God be, the temporal Lords may meritoriouslie and lawfully take away the temporall goods from the Clergie, if they doe offend. For this point let vs suppose that wee speake of power, as the true autentike Scripture doth speake, Matth. 3. 9. Gods able euen of these stones to raise vp children vnto Abraham.

Whereupon it is thus argued: For if God he, he is omnipotent, and if he so bee, hee may giue like power vnto the secular Lords. And so consequently they may meritoriouslie and lawfully vse the same power. But least that any man may obiect, that a proofe made by a strange thing is not sufficient, it is therefore declared how that the temporall Lords haue power to take away their almes bestowed vpon the church, the church abusing the same, as it shall be prooued hereafter. And first thus: It is lawfull for kings in cases limited by the law to take away the moueables from the Clergie when they do offend: it is thus proued; For the temporall Lords are most bound vnto the works of greatest mercie most easie for them, but in case possible, it should be greater almes, and easier temporall dominion, to take away their almes from such as build therwithal vnto eternall damnation, through the abuse therof, then to giue the said almes for any bodily reliefe. *Ergo*: the assumption is true.

Whereupon first this sentence of the law of Christ in the 2. Thes. 3. is noted, whereas the Apostle writeth thus: When we were amongst you, we declared this vnto you, that hee that would not worke should not eate. Wherefore the law of nature doth licence all such as haue the gouernance of kingdomes, to correct the abuse of the temporalities which would be the chiefe cause of the destruction of their kingdomes: whether the temporall Lords or any other had endowed the Church with those temporalities or not. It is lawfull for them in some case to take away the temporalities, as it were by way of physicke to withhold sinne, notwithstanding any excommunication, or other ecclesiasticall censures, for so much as they are not endowed, but only with condition thereunto annexed.

Hereby it appeareth, that the condition annexed to the endowing, or inriching of any church, is, that God should be honoured; the which condition if it once faile, the contrarie taking place, the title of the gift is lost: and consequently the Lord which gaue the almes ought to correct the offence. Excommunication ought not to let the fulfilling of iustice. Secondlie, according to the Canon law, 16. quest. 7. this sentence is noted, where it is thus spoken as touching the children, nephewes and the most honest of the kinred of him which hath builded or endowed any church: That it is lawfull for them to bee thus circumspect, that if they perceiue the priest do detraud any part of that which is bestowed, they should either gently admonish or warne him, or else complaine of him to the bishop, that he may be corrected. But if the bishop himselfe attempt to do the like, let them complaine of him to his Metropolitane: and if the Metropolitane doe the like, let them not deferre the time, to report it in the eares of the king. For so saith the canon, Let them not deferre to report it in the eares of the king. To what end I pray you, but that he should do correction? neither is it to be doubted, but that correction doth more appertaine vnto the king in this point for their goods, whereof he is chiefe Lord by a subtraction proportionall, according to the fault or offence.

Item, it is thus prooued: It is law full for the secular Lords by their power to doe correction vpon the clergy by some kind of fearefull discipline apertaining to their secular power. *Ergo*, by like reason it is law full for them by their power to doe such correction, by all kind of fearefull discipline pertaining vnto their secular power. For so much then as the taking of their temporalities is in kind of fearefull discipline pertaining vnto the secular power: it followeth that it is lawfull for them therby to doe such correction. And consequently it followeth that the antecedent is to be prooued. The consequent is euident: and the antecedent is prooued by Isidore 23. *quæst. 5. Principes.* Where it is thus written: There should bee no secular powers within the church, but only for this purpose, that whatsoeuer thing the priests or ministers cannot bring to passe by preachings or teachings, the secular powers may command the same by the terror & feare of discipline. For oftentimes the heauenlie kingdome is profited and holpen by the earthly kingdome, that they which are in the church, and doe any thing contrarie vnto faith and discipline, by the rigour of the princes may bee troden downe, and that the power of the rulers may lay that discipline vpon the necks of the proud and stifnecked, which the vtility and profit of the church cannot exercise or vse.

Item, all things that by power ought to worke or bring to any perfect end by the reasonable measuring of the meane thereto, it may lawfully vse by power, the subtraction or taking away of the excesse and the addition of the want of the meanes, according as shall bee conuenient or meete for the measure to be made. For so much then as the secular Lords ought by their power to prouide for the necessarie sustentation of the Christian Clergie by the reasonable measuring of their temporalities, which they are bounde to bestowe vpon the Christian clergie, it followeth that they may law fully by their power vse y taking away or putting vnto of those temporalties according

Tenure and how the title of any gift is lost.

To be lawfull for the ciuill rulers to correct the clergie.



according as shall be conuenient for the performance of that reasonable matter.

Item, it is lawfull for the clergie, by their power to take away the sacraments of the church from the laity customably offending, for so much as it doth pertaine to the office of the christian ministers by their power to minister the same vnto the laie people. Wherefore, for so much as it doth pertaine vnto the office of the laitie, according vnto their power to minister, and giue temporalities to the clergie of Christ, as the Apostle saith, 1. Cor. 9. It followeth, that it is also lawfull for them by their power to take away the temporalities from the clergie, when they doe customablie sinne and offend.

Item, by like power may he which giueth a stipend or exhibition, withdraw and take away the same from the vnworthie labourers, as he hath power to giue the same vnto the worthie labourers: for so much then as temporalities of the clergie, are the stipends of the laytie; it followeth that the lay people may by as good authoritie take away againe the same from the clergy, which will not worthily labour, as they might by their power bestow the same vpon those, which would worthily labour, according to the saying of the Gospell, Matth. 21. The kingdome shall be taken away from you, and giuen vnto a people which shall bring forth the fruits thereof.

Item, it is also lawfull for the secular lords, by their power to chastise and punish the lay people when they do offend, by taking away of their temporalities, according to the exigent of their offence, for so much as the lay people are subiect vnder their dominion. Wherefore the clergie being also subiect vnder the dominion of the secular lords, as appeareth. Rom. 13. and many other places, it is euident that it is lawfull by their power to punish the clergie, by taking away of their temporalities, if their offence do so deserue.

Item, the true and easie direction of the clergie vnto the life of Christ and the Apostles, and most profitable vnto the laitie, that the clergie should not liue contrarie vnto Christs institution, seemeth to be the taking away of their almes, & those things which they had bestowed vpon them. And it is thus proued: That medicine is most apt to be laid vnto the sore, whereby the infirmitie might soonest be holpen, and were most agreeable vnto the patient. Such is the taking away of the temporalities: Ergo, this article is true. The minor is thus proued, for so much as by the abundance of temporalities the worme or serpent of pride is sprung vp, whereupon vnstable desire and lust is inflamed, and thereby proceedeth all kind of gluttonie and leacherie. It is euident in this point, for so much as the temporalities being once taken away, euery one of those sinnes is either vtterly taken away, or at the least diminished, by the contrarie vertue induced and brought in. It seemeth also most pertinent vnto the laitie, for so much as they ought not to lay violent hands vpon their ministers, or to abiect the priestly dignitie, neither to take away of the clergie in their open course. It seemeth also by the law of conscience, to pertaine vnto the lay people, for so much as euery man which worketh any worke of mercie, ought diligently to haue respect vnto the abilitie of them that he bestoweth his almes vpon, lest that by nourishing or helping loiterers, he be made partaker of his offence. Whereupon, if a priest do not minister of their spiritualties, as Hostiensis teacheth in his third booke, of their tithes, first fruits and oblations, that the people ought to take away the almes of their tithes from them.

23 Item, it is confirmed by the last chapter of the 17. question, out of the decree of rents appropriat vnto the church, quicunq. Whereas the case is put thus, that a certaine man hauing no children, neither hoping to haue any, gaue all his goods vnto the church, reseruing vnto himselfe the only vse and profits thereof: it hapned afterward that he had children, and the bishop restored againe his goods vnto him, hoping not for it. The bishop had it in his power, whether to render again or no, those things which were giuen him, but that was by the law of man, and not by the law of conscience. If then by the decree of the holy doctor S. Augustine in his sermon of the life of the clergie, Aurelius the bishop of Carthage had no power by Gods law to withhold that which is bestowed vpon the church for the necessitie of children, by the which law, the wanton, proud, and vnstable clergie being more then sufficiently possessed and inriched, do detaine and keepe backe the temporalities to the detriment and hurt of their owne state, and of the whole militant church, the secular patrons being thereby so impouerished, that they are compelled by penurie to rob and steale, to oppresse their tenants, to spoile and vndo others, and often times by verie necessitie are driuen to beggerie.

24 Item, suppose that a priest and minister, how grieuously soeuer he do offend, by what kind or signe of offence soeuer it bee, as it was in the bishop Iudas Iscarioth, of the religious Monke Sergius, of pope Leo the heretike, and manie other priests, of whom the Scripture and chronicles make mention, and daily experience doth teach vs the same: it is euident that as it is supposed, the priests in the kingdome of Boheme grieuouslie offending, it is the kings part, for so much as he is supreme head next vnder God, and lord of the kingdome of Boheme, to correct and punish those priests. And for so much as the gentlest correction, and punishment of such as be indurate in their malice, is the easting away of their temporall goods, it followeth, that it is lawfull for the king to take away temporalities. Wherefore it should seeme verie marueilous and strange, if that priests riding about, should spoile virgins, violently corrupt and defile honest matrons, if in such case it were not lawfull for them to take away their annours, weapons, horses, guns and swords from them. The like reason were it also, if they had vnlawfully conspired the death of the king, or that they would betray the king vnto his enemies.

Item, whatsoeuer any of the clergie doth require, or desire of the secular power, according vnto the law and ordinance of Christ, the secular power ought to performe and grant the same. But the clergie being letted by riches, ought to require helpe of the secular power, for the dispensation of the said riches. Ergo the secular power ought in such case by the law of Christ, to take vpon them the office or duty of getting, keeping, and distributing all such maner of riches. The minor is hereby proued, that no man ought to haue riches, but to that end, that they be helps, preferring and helping vnto the office which is appointed of God. Therefore in case that secular possession do hinder the clergie from their dutie, the secular power ought to take it away, for so did the Apostles, Act. 6. saying, It is not lawfull for vs to leaue the word of God vntaught, and to minister to tables.

And thus hitherto hath Iohn Hus prosecuted Wickliffes articles, with long arguments and reasons, the which were too long a trauell, neither agreeable for this place, to alleage all the whole order of his reasons and proofes, which he vsed in that disputation, aboue the number of twentie more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which he alleageth out of the Scriptures, Decretals, S. Ambrose in his booke of offices, S. Augustine in his 5. booke and 5. quest. and also vnto Macedo, Isidore, the councell of Nice, Gregorie his 11. quest. Bernard vnto Eugenius in his third booke, and out of Lincolniensis 61. epistle, besides many other moe. The sum of all which testimonies tend vnto this end, that he might vtterlie take away all earthly rule and dominion from the clergie, and to bring them vnder the subiection and censure of kings and emperours, as it were within certaine bonds, the which is not only agreeable vnto equitie and Gods word, but also profitable for the clergie themselues. He teacheth it also to be necessarie, that they should rather be subiect vnder the secular power, then to be aboue them, because that else it were dangerous, left that they being intangled with such kind of busines, they should be an easier prey vnto Satan, and sooner trapped in his snares. And thereby it should come to passe that the gouernance and principalitie of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergie, the lawfull authoritie of kings and princes should not only be giuen ouer vnto them, but in a manner as it were grow out of vse: specially for so much as alreadie in certaine kingdomes and common wealthes, the Ecclesiasticall power is growne vnto such height, that not only in Boheme, but also almost throughout all the common wealthes, they do occupie the third, or at least the fourth part of the rents and reuenues. And last of all, he alleageth the example of Gregorie and of Mauritius, and afterward the prophecie of Hildegardis, writing in this maner:

Hildegardis.

As the ecclesiasticall ministers do willingly receiue reward and praise of kings and rulers for their good deeds: So also ought they when they do offend, willingly suffer and receiue punishment at their hands for their euill doings. The consequent holdeth thus: for so much as the punishment meekely and humblie receiued for his offence doth more profit a man, then his praise receiued for any good worke. Whereupon S. Gregorie writeth thus vnto Mauritius the emperour when he did persecute him, saying: I beleeue that you do please almightie God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which haue bin so euill a seruant vnto him. If then this holy Pope did so humblie and meekely, without any offence, suffer this affliction of the emperour, why should not any of the clergie, when they do offend, meekely sustaine punishment, at the kings or rulers hands, vnder whom he is bounden to be subiect? When as the true vicar of Christs faith, the 1. of Peter and 2. chapter, Be yee subiect vnto euery creature for Gods cause, whether it be vnto the king, as most excellent, or vnto the rulers, as men sent of God, for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good, for so is the good will of God.

Gregorius 2. Mauritium.

Whereupon pope Leo, leaning vnto this rule, submitted himselfe vnto Ludouicus the emperour, as it is written in the 2. quest. 7. vnder these words: If we haue done any thing incompetently, or that we haue not obserued the vpright path and way of equitie amongst subiects, we will amend the same, either by your owne iudgement, either else by the aduice or iudgement of those which you shal appoint for that purpose. For if we which ought to correct and punish other mens faults, do commit more grieuous our selues, we are not then the disciples of the truth (but as with sorow we speake it) we shall bee aboue all other, the masters of errour.

Pope Leo submitteth himselfe vnto the emperor Ludouicus.

And in the tenth distinction he writeth thus: As touching the obedience vnto the emperour, as concerning the precepts and commandements of our emperours, and our predecessours bishops (the which the Glosse nameth emperours, which are annoynted after the manner of bishops) to bee obserued and

Qq. ij. kept

kept vnbroken, we do professe our selues by all meanes possible, as much as in vs lieth, or that we may and can by the helpe of God preserue and keepe them both now and euer. And if peraduenture any man do informe, or hereafter shall informe you otherwise, know you him assuredly, to be a lier and slanderer.

Marke how this deuout and holy pope, calling the emperors bishops, submitted himselfe according to the rule of S. Peter the Apostle vnder the obedience, and also punishment of the emperour. Wherefore then should not the clergie of the kingdome of Bohemie submit themselues vnder the obedience of their king, for Gods cause, for to be punished if they do offend, and not only submit themselues vnto the king, but also vnto the rulers, and not only vnto the rulers, but vnto euery other creature? For by how much they do so humble, and abase themselues in this world for Gods sake, so much the more shall they be exalted with him: but that is the let thereof, but only pride, whereby anti-christ doth exalt himselfe aboue the most humble and meeke Lord Iesus Christ?

The ensample of the clergie.

The proph. cie of Hildegardis.

Also it seemeth to appeare by that which is afore said vpon the taking away of the temporalities out of the prophecie of Hildegardis the virgin, the which he writeth in his bookes vnder Eugenius the pope in the councell of Treuerse, approued and allowed by many bishops of France, Italie, and Almanie, which were there present, where as also S. Bernard himselfe was present; the which virgin prophesying, spake in this manner. The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred vp by the iust iudgement of God, shall set themselues against them, and runne vpon them: saying, We will not haue these men to raigne ouer vs with their rich houses, and great possessions, and other worldly riches, ouer the which we are ordained to be lords and rulers, and how is it meete or comely that those shaudlings with their stoles and chisils should haue more souldiers, or more or richer armour or artillerie then we? So is it not conuenient that one of the clergie should be a man of war, neither a souldier to be one of the clergie. Wherefore let vs take away from them, that which they do not iustly, but wrongfully possesse. And immediatly after the sayeth thus: The omnipotent father equallie diuided all things: that is to say, the heauens he gaue vnto the heauenly creatures, and the earth vnto the earthlie. And by this meanes was there a iust diuision made betweene the children of men, that the spiritualtie should haue such things as belong vnto them, and the secular people, such things as are meete and necessarie for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppresse each other by violence, for God doth not command that the one sonne or child should haue both the cloke and the cote, and the other should go naked, but he willed that the one should haue the cloke, and the other the cote. Wherefore the secular sort ought to haue the cloke for the greatnesse of their worldly cares, and for their children, which dailie increase and multiply. The cote he giueth vnto the spiritualtie, that they should not lacke clothing, and that they should not possesse more then necessitie doth require. Wherefore we iudge and thinke it good that all these aforesaid be diuided by reason and equitie. And whereas the cloke and the cote are both sound, there the cloke be taken away, and giuen vnto the needie, that they do not perish for lacke of want. These aforesaid spake the virgin Hildegardis, plainly foreshewing the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy by the secular Lords, and shewing for what cause they shal be so taken away. And what minster of diuision shall be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent vnprofitablie.

For so much as mention is heere made of Hildegardis, it shall not seeme impertinent, moued by the occasion hereof, to giue forth vnto the reader such things as we haue found in certaine old volumes, touching her prophecie of the commings of certaine false prophets, only meaning, as it seemeth, the begging friers, which sprang vp shortly after her time. The tenour whereof is this, word for word, as we find it written.

In those daies, there shall rise vp a people without vnderstanding, proud, couetous, vntrustie, and deceitfull, the which shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certaine order of foolish deuotion, vnder the fained cloke of beggerie, preferring themselues aboue all other, by their fained deuotion, arrogant vnderstanding, and pretended holines, walking without shamefulnes, or the feare of God, inuenting many new mischiefes, being strong and stout: but this order shall be accursed of all wise men, and faithfull christians; they shall cease from labour, and giue themselues ouer vnto idelenesse: chusing rather to liue through flatterie, then by begging. Moreouer, they shall together studie, how they may peruersly resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noble men: how to seduce and deceiue the nobilitie, for the necessitie of their liuing and pleasures of this world; for the diuell will graft in them foure principall vices: that is to say, flatterie, enuie, hypocrisie and slander. Flatterie, that they may haue large gifts giuen them. Enuie, when they see gifts giuen vnto other, and not vnto them. Hypocrisie, that by false dissimulation, they may please men. Detraction, that they may extoll and commend themselues, and backbite others, for the praise of men and seducing of the simple. Also they shall instantly preach without deuotion or example of the martyrs, and shall detract the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiuing almes of the poore, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselues with the common people, hauing familiarity with women, instructing them how they shall deceiue their husbands and friends by their flattering and deceitfull words, and rob their husbands to giue it vnto them: for they will take all these stollen and euill gotten, and say, giue it vnto vs, and we will pray for you, so that they being curious to hide other mens faults do vtterly forget their owne; and alas, they will receiue all things of rouers, pickers, spoilers, theeues and robbers, of sacrilegious persons, vsurers, and adulterers, heretikes, schismatikes, apostates, whores and bauds, ofnoble men, periurers, merchants, false iudges, souldiers, tyrants, princes, of such as liue contrarie to the law, and of many pertuerse and wicked men, following the persuasion of the diuell, the sweetnesse of sinne, a delicate and transitorie life, and fulnesse euen vnto eternal damnation. All these things shall manifestly appeare in them vnto all people, and they day by day, shall waxe more wicked and hard hearted; and when as their wickednesse and deceits shall be found out, then shall their gifts cease, and then shall they go about their houses hungrie, and as mad dogs looking downe vpon the earth, and drawing in their neckes as doues, that they might be satisfied with bread: then shall the people crie out vpon them: Woe be vnto you ye miserable children of sorow, the world hath seduced you, the diuell hath bridled your mouthes, your flesh is fraile, and your hearts without sauour, your minds haue been vnstedfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanitie and folly, your dainty bellies desire delicate meats; your feet swift to run vnto mischiefe. Remember when you were apparantly blessed, yet enuious, poore but rich, simple, mightie deuout flatterers, vnfaithfull betrayers, peruerse detracters, holy hypocrites, subuerters of the truth, couetous vpright, proud, vnshamefast, vnstedfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gaine, meeke slanderers, religious, couetous, humble, proud, pitifull, hard hearted liers, pleasant flatterers, peace makers, persecutors, oppressors of the poore, bringing in new sects newly inuented of your selues, mercifull, wicked, louers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, vnprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honor, maintainers of mischiefe, robbers of the world, vnfaciable preachers, men pleasers, seducers of women, and sowers of discord: for Moyses the glorious prophet, spake verie well of you in his song: A people without counsell or vnderstanding: would to God they did know, vnderstand and foresee the end. You haue builded so high, and when you could ascend no higher, then did you fall; euen as Simon Magus, whom God ouerthrew, and did strike with a cruel plague; so you likewise through your false doctrin, naughtines, lies, detractions and wickednes, are come to ruine: and the people shall say vnto them, go ye teachers of wickednesse, subuerters of the truth, brethren of the Sunamitie, fathers of heresies, false apostles, which haue fained your selues to follow the life of the Apostles, and yet haue not fulfilled it in any part, sonnes of iniquitie, we will not follow the knowledge of your waies, for pride and presumption hath deceiued you, and insaciable concupiscence hath subuerted your erroneous nesse. And when as yet yee would ascend higher then was meete or comely for you, by the iust iudgement of God, you are fallen backe into perpetuall opprobrie and shame. This blessed Hildegardis whose prophecie this is, flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1046, as it is written in Martins chronicles.

The vnsound faith of the friers.

Also Hugo in his second booke of Sacraments, in the 2. part, 3. chap. and 7. faith: The laytie forsomuch as they intermeddle with earthlie matters necessarie vnto an earthly life, they are the least part of the bodie of Christ. And the clergie, for so much as they do dispose those things which pertaine vnto a spirituall life, are as it were the right side of the bodie of Christ. And afterward interpreting both these parts himselfe, he saith: A spirituall man ought to haue nothing, but such as pertaineth vnto God, vnto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered vnto God: but vnto the christian and faithfull laytie, the possession of the earth is granted, and vnto the clergie the whole charge of spirituall matters is committed, as it was in the old Testament. And in his 7. chapter he declareth how that certaine things are giuen vnto the church of Christ, by the deuotion of the faithfull, the power and authoritie of the secular power reserued, lest there might happen anie confusion: For so much as God himselfe cannot allow an disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly princes do grant the bare vse of the church, and oftentimes vse and power to exercise iustice, which the clergie cannot exercise by any Ecclesiastical Minister, or any other person of the clergie. Notwithstanding they may haue certaine lay-persons, ministers vnto that office. But in such sort, saith he, that they do acknowledge the power which they haue, to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do vnderstand their possessions can neuer be aliened away from the kings power, but (if that necessitie or reason so require) the same possessions in all such case of necessitie do owe him obeysance and seruice. For like as the kings power ought not to turne away the defence or safegard which hee oweth vnto other: so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the clergie, according to

Hugo de sacramentis part. 2.



to the dutie and homage which is due vnto the patronage of the kings power cannot by right be denied. Thus much writeth Hugo.

## In the third act the same yeare, after the feast *of S. Vitis, as touching Tithes, &c.*

¶ Tithes are pure almes.

Almes. Eleemosyna.

VPon this article it is to be noted, that for so much as almes is a worke of mercie, as S. Augustine, Chrysostome, and others do ioyntly affirme, and that mercie (according to Lincolniensis mind) for the present is a loue or desire to helpe the miserable out of his miserie: and for so much as the miserie of man kind is double: that is to say, spirituall and bodily: the which is the want or taking away of the good, and the goods of man is either the goods of the soule or of the bodie: And the goods of the soule is double (that is to say: the lightning of the mind, and the vprightnes of affection) the miserie of the soule is also double, as the darknesse of ignorance, and a froward and wilful swarueing from the truth. And both the goods of the soule are wont to be comprehended vnder one title of name: that is to saie, wisdome; and both the miseries of the soule vnder the name of follie. Whereupon all the whole goodnes of the soule is wisdome, and all the whole miserie thereof is ignorance: the miseries of the bodie are, lack of meat, that is to say, hunger, and lacke of drinke, called thirst: and briefly, all miserie is the want of some thing which is desired. Also these are bodily miseries, nakednes, lacke of harbour, sicknesse, and imprisonment. All the miseries therefore being numbred together, are but one of the soule, the which is follie and lacke of wisdome, and fix of the bodie, the which the Lord in the 25. of Matthew doth plainely rehearse. There are also commonly appointed seuen bodily almes, that is to saie, to feed the hungrie, to giue drinke vnto the thirstie, to cloth the naked, to harbour the stranger or harbourlesse, to visit the sicke, and to burie the dead, the which all together are contained in these verses:

Two kinds of miseries. Two kinds of goodnesse.

Ignorance. Follie.

The miseries of the mind and bodie.

Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

*The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:*

Visit the sicke, the hungrie feed,
Giue drinke to the thirstie, cloth the naked:
Burie the dead, the captiue redeeme,
The harbourlesse receiue to thy lodging.

What is almes.

There be also seuen other spirituall almes appointed, which are these: to teach the ignorant, to counsel him that is in doubt. To comfort him which is in heauines. To correct the offender. To forgiue him which hath offended against thee. To beare those which are grieuous. And to pray for all men: the which are also contained in these verses following:

Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.

*The which verse is thus Englished, word for word:*

Instruct the ignorant, the weake confirme,
Comfort the heauie heart, and correct sinne:
Forgiue the offender, beare with the rude,
Pray for all men both euill and good.

So that notwithstanding vnder the same, counsels and doctrine be comprehended. Thus writeth Thomas in the second part of the second quest. 32. article 2.

What almes is.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that in this present article our intent is only to intreat of bodilie almes, the which (as Thomas writeth in his 2. part. 2. quest. 32. artic. 1.) according vnto some mens minds is thus defined: Almes is a worke whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needie of compassion for Gods sake. And for so much as this definition serueth as well for the spirituall, as for the corporall almes: therefore to the purpose, almes is a worke, whereby any thing is giuen vnto the needie in body for compassion, and for Gods sake. Or that is giuen of compassion or pitie vnto the bodilie needie for Gods sake.

Whereupon it is manifest that almes, as S. Augustine and other holy men say, is a worke of mercie, as also to giue almes. As it appeareth by the name, for in the Greeke it is deriued from this word Elemonia, which is mercie: for as in the Latine, this word Miseratio, which signifieth pitie, is deriued of Misericordia, which is, mercie; so this word Elemosyna, which signifieth almes, is deriued of the Greeke word Elemonia, which is to say, mercie, and of the word Sina, which is to say, commandement, as it were a commandement of mercie, or otherwise of this word Elemonia. By this letter I, which is to say, God, and this word Sina, which is, commandement: As if it were said, the commandement of God, as Ianuensis in his booke intituled Catholicon affirmeth.

Tithes.

For our sauiour doth command in the 11. of Luke, to giue almes, saying, Giue almes, and behold all things are cleane vnto you: left that in this point there may be any equiuocation, it is supposed presently, that the almes giuen of men, is a corporall almes giuen simply vnder the name of almes. Secondly, it is to be noted, that Tithes in this effect are the tenth part of goods of fortune, giuen by a man simplie vnder the name of almes for Gods sake.

These things being thus noted and supposed, the article is thus proued. Euerie gift of fortune, or temporall gift simplie giuen vnder the name of almes, is almes: But some tithes are the gift of fortune, or temporall gift vnder the name of almes. Therfore some tithes are almes. This consequent is manifest of it selfe. The maior appeareth by the first suppofition: And the minor by the second.

Item, euerie gift giuen by a man euen of loue, to relieue and helpe the miserable out of his miserie, is an almes. The tenth part of the goods of fortune giuen by a man, simplie vnder the name of almes, for Gods sake, is giuen by the same man euen of loue, to helpe the miserable out of his miserie: Therefore the tenth part of the goods of fortune being giuen by any man simplie vnder the name of almes for Gods sake, is almes. The consequent is manifest. The maior appeareth by this, that euery such gift is either a spiritual or bodily almes. The minor is meeth hereby true, for so much as many holy men haue giuen, and do giue, euen for loue to relieue the miserable out of his miserie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that such kind of riches are almes. For S. Augustine vpon these words of the Lord in the Gospell writeth thus: Woe be vnto you Pharisies which do tithe mint and anise: If they cannot be clensed without they beleeue in him, he which doth clense his heart through faith, to what purpose is it, that he faith, giue almes, and behold, all things are cleane vnto you? Let vs giue eare, and peraduenture he doth expound it himselfe. They did take out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gaue it for almes; the which any christian man doth not willingly. Then they mocked him, when he spake these words to them, as vnto men which would doe no almes. This the Lord foreknowing, said: Woe be vnto you Pharisies, which tithe mint and rue, and all kind of herbes; and passe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God; for this it is to do almes, if thou doest vnderstand it, begin with thy selfe: For how canst thou be mercifull vnto another, which art vnmercifull vnto thy selfe? This writeth S. Augustine, in plainly saying that tithes are almes.

S. Augustine proueth tithes to be pure almes.

August. in Enchirid.

Also in his Enchiridion 76. chap. vpon these words of Luke in the 11. chapter: Notwithstanding that which is more then sufficient, giue in almes, and all things shall be cleane vnto you, he saith thus: When he had rebuked them that they washed themselues outwardly, and inwardly were full of iniquitie and abomination, admonishing them, what, and how a man ought first to bestow almes vpon himselfe, and first to clense himselfe inwardly, he saith: That which doth remaine, giue in almes, and behold all things are cleane vnto you. Afterward, that he might the better declare what he had giuen them warning of, and what they neglected to do, that they should not adge him ignorant of their almes, he saith, Woe be vnto you Pharisees as though he should say, I verily gaue you warning that you should giue such almes, whereby all things might be cleane vnto you; but woe be vnto you which doe tithe mint, rue, and all kind of herbes, for I do know these your almes, that you should not thinke with your selues that you had giuen me warning therof, and neglect and passe ouer the iudgement and charitie of God, by the which almes ye might be clensed from all your inward filthinesse. And your bodies also which you do wash should be cleane. For all these things both inward, and also outward, as it is said in another place, clense that which is within, and the outward things shall be also cleane.

But lest that he should seeme to refuse those almes which are giuen of the fruits of the earth, he said, you ought to haue done these things: That is to say, the indigement and loue of God, and not to neglect the same. That is to say, the almes of the fruit of the earth. This writeth S. Augustine, expresly calling the tithes almes.

Also Chrysostome vpon the same words in the 11. of Luke, That which remaineth giue in almes, he saith thus: Whereas it was spoken of the Iewish kind of clensing, it is wholly passed. But for so much as tithes is a certaine almes, and the time was not yet expresly come to kill the sacrifices of the Law, for this cause he saith, ye ought to do these things, and not to omit the other. And S. Thomas alleageth him in his glosse vpon S. Luke. And Chrysostome himselfe doth touch two points. First, that tithes is almes. Secondly, that tithes are in a maner lawfull, for so much as the gift thereof vnto the priests did not cease in the time of Christ.

Chrysostomus in 11. Luc.

Also Augustine in a certaine Sermon of giuing almes, saith thus, What is to say, Giue almes: and behold all things are cleane vnto you? Let vs giue eare, and peraduenture he doth expound it himselfe. When he had spoken these words, without doubt they thought within themselues, who did giue almes, and how they did giue it. They tithed all that they had, and tooke out the tenth part of all their fruits, and gaue it for almes: the which no christian lightlie doth so. Marke what the Iewes did, they tithed not only their wheat, but their wine and oyle, and not that only, but also vile things, for the commandement of the Lord, as commin, rue, and anise, of the which they tooke the tenth part, and gaue it for almes. I thinke therefore, for so much as they called vnto their minds, and thought with themselues, that our Lord Christ spake in vaine vnto them that they did no almes, when as they knew their own works, that they tithed the smallest, and worst of all their fruits, and gaue almes thereof: they mocked him amongst themselues, because he did speake in such sort vnto them, as vnto men that did no almes. The which the Lord foreseeing, by and by,

added notwithstanding: Wo be vnto you Scribes, Pharisies and hypocrites, which tithe your mint, cummin, and rue, and all kind of herbs: that you may know, I do vnderstand your almes. Truly, these are your tithes. These are your almes: you tithe out the least and worst of all your fruits, and haue left the waighty matters of the law vndone. Heere S. Augustine often expounded, that tithes are almes: Also he writeth the like in his book of homilies in his 6. homilie.

Item, for the proofe of this article that tithes are pure almes it is thus argued. For this proposition, Tithes are pure almes, is indefinite, taking the truth for many of his particularities. It is most certaine that it is not damnable, but most catholike, that God is something, the which being false in all particulars, it is only true for that alone which doth surmount all kind, Ergo, by like reason this particular is true, tenths are pure almes: For it is thus proued. These tenths of a good lay-man being wholly distributed by a faithfull minister vnto a needie lay-man, according to a good intent, how can they be but pure almes, yea, and more pure then any almes giuen by any of the clergie being a fornicator? The whole antecedent I suppose as possible, and doubtfull vnto the condemners, if it be true.

Item, it is also thus proued: These tithes, and all other goods of fortune, are pure almes in respect of God. For so much as euerie man, emperour and king, is a begger of God. As S. Augustine doth oftentimes affirme, and consequentlie if he do receiue fruitfully any such goodnes at the hand of God, the same is pure almes in respect of God: neither is there any faithfull man that will denie the same, but that it is simplie followeth that the same is pure almes before God, Ergo it is pure almes.

It is also thus argued: All tithes are by themselues, and euerie part of them almes: neither is there any reason contrarie vnto this, that they are almes. Ergo, they are pure almes. For they are by no other meanes or reason, then almes, if they be altogether themselues almes: For so much as it followeth, if they bee by any other meanes or otherwise them almes, then they are otherwise then some almes, and for so much as they themselues are some almes, it followeth, that they are otherwise then they are indeed; the which is false.

Sustenance and clothing giuen to the Apostles, was almes, ergo alms tithes.

But now to passe beyond the bounds of Logicke, it is to be demanded, whether before the church was indowed, or that sustenance and clothing were giuen vnto the Apostles, there was any pure almes, or that they were giuen by any other meanes by bond of debt, amongst men. And for so much as the reason is not to be fained, but that they were pure almes, so afterward the custome of the same thing according vnto like reason doth not alter the kind of the reason. For so might beggers challenge by custome beyond the puritie of almes, the temporalities which they do beg. Neither doth debt vtterly exclude the puritie of almes before God: for euery man duely giuing almes, doth as he ought to do: as euery man duly receiuing his almes, ought so to receiue it as according to Gods will. And simplie to establish any humane title, vpon the continuance of anie such almes, it is altogether contrarie vnto the reason of almes. Therefore they do continually obserue, and keepe the reason of the puritie of almes, which they had from the beginning, when as the bond conditioned, doth not destroy the puritie thereof: wherefore there is no cause why it should be denied that tithes are pure almes, except that the proud should be marueilously extolled, contrarie to the humilitie of Christ. For they do challenge by the title of their lacke or want so to be pleased for their tithes. For so might the begging frier, by the continuance of his daily begging challenge according vnto the like quantitie or circumstance. But it is no argument, that if the curat doe performe his corporall ministerie, that he ought therefore to challenge tithes by any ciuill title, because that as well on the behalfe of him, which giueth the tithe, as also in the behalfe of the curat, euerie such ministerie ought freelie to be giuen, and not by any ciuill exchange. For so much as it is not required, but that rather the comparison of such exchanges are reprehensant, for so much as also a man freely giueth any almes, except he do looke for the dutie of recompence, by the law of conscience.

Item, all temporall goods bestowed vpon the clergie, by the lay people vnder condition, as the goods of the church, are the almes of them which giue it: it is proued thus, for so much as all those goods are the goods of the poore, as it appeareth by manie sayings of holy men and by the lawes.

The clergie beggers.

But they were not the goods of the poore, after they were meere feodarie goods, but only by the meane of the worke of mercie, whereby they were bestowed vpon the poore: Ergo, they were pure almes. The consequent dependeth vpon the definition of pure almes.

Item, all things changed to the vse and power of another, either by ciuill exchange or Euangelicall is changed. But the church goods are so changed by one of these ministeries. But the Euangelicall exchange is not to be fained, because it is not done, either by buying or selling, or any other ciuil exchange. Therefore there doth not remaine, but only a pure gift, for hope of a heauenlie reward, the which is mercie, and so pure almes. And it seemeth to follow consequently, that all the clergie receiuing such almes, are not onlie in respect of God, as all other men, but in respect of men, beggers. For they would not so instantly require those almes except they had need of them: neither ought we to be asshamed thereof, or to be proud beggers: for so much as Christ touching his humanitie became a begger for vs, because he declared his need vnto his Father, saying, &c.

Item, when anie king, prince, knight, citizen, or any other man doth giue vnto the clergie, or to any priest for his stipend, he giueth the same vnto the church of God, and to the priuate partie, as a perpetuall almes, that he should attend to his vocation, preaching, praying and studying. But this kind of giuing doth not suffice to ground any secular dominion amongst the clergie, it followeth that the bare vse remaineth in them, or the secular vse without any secular power.

The maior appeareth hereby, for so much as otherwise almes should not be a worke of mercie. Whereby it may also appeare, that tenths are pure almes giuen to the church, to the vse of the poore.

Tithes are to be distributed in foure parts of goods.

And hereupon the holy men do say that tenths are the tributes of the needie soules. Whereupon S. Augustine in a Sermon made vpon the restoring of tiths saith: The giuing of tuths, most deare brethren, are the tributes of the poore soules, therefore pay your tribute vnto the poore. And by and by after hee saith; Therefore who desireth either to get any reward, or to haue any remission of sinnes, by giuing of his tenthes, let him studie to giue almes euen of the ninth part: so that whatsoeuer shall remaine more then a competent liuing, and decent clothing: that it be not reserued for riot, but that it be laid vp in the heauenly treasurie, by giuing it in almes to the poore. For whatsoeuer God doth giue vnto vs more then we haue need of; he doth not giue it vs specially for our selues: but doth send it vs to be bestowed vpon others by our hands: if we do not giue it, we inuade another mans possessions.

Thus much writeth S. Augustine, and is repeated in the 16. question, 1. Decimæ.

Also S. Ierome in an epistle, and it is put in the 16. question, and 2. chap. Quicquid. Whatsoeuer the clergie hath, it is the goods of the poore.

Also S. Augustine in his 33. epistle vnto Boniface, and it is alleaged in the first question and 12.

Also in the 23. question 7. If we do possesse any thing priuatly, the which doth suffice vs, they are not ours, but the goods of the poore, whose stewards we are, except we do challenge to our selues a propertie by some damnable vsurpation. The glosse vpon that part of the 23. question 7. saith: The prelats are but only the stewards of the church goods, and not Lords thereof.

S. Ambrose also vpon this saying of the Gospell, Luke the 16. Giue account of your bailiffeship, or stewardship: Hereby then do we learne, that they are not Lords, but rather stewards and bailiffes of other mens substance.

And S. Ierome, writing to Nepotianus saith: How can they be of the clergie? which are commanded to contemne and despise their owne substance, and to take away from a friend, it is theft, to deceiue the church it is sacrilege, and to take away that which should be giuen vnto the poore.

The clergie are stewards of the church goods, and not lords thereof.

And S. Bernard in his sermon vpon these words (Simon Peter said vnto Iesus, chap. 17.) said: Trulie the goods of the church, are the patrimonie of the poore: And whatsoeuer thing the ministers and stewards of the same, not Lords or possessors, do take vnto themselues more then sufficient for a competent liuing, the same is taken away from the poore, by a sacrilegious crueltie.

And Eusebius in his treatise vpon the pilgrimage of S. Ierome writeth thus: If thou doest possesse a garment, or anie other thing more then extreame necessitie doth require, and doest not helpe the needie, thou art a theefe and a robber. Wherefore dearely beloued children, let vs be stewards of our temporalities, and not possessors.

*Isidorus de summo bono.*

And Isidore in his treatise De summo bono, chap. 42. saith: Let the bishop know that he is the seruant of the people, and not Lord ouer them.

Also in the 5. booke of decretals, extra. de donationibus, sub authoritate Alexandri tertij, episcopi Parisiensis; he saith: We beleeue that it is not vnknowne vnto your brotherhood, that a bishop, and euerie other prelat is but a steward of the church goods, and not lord thereof. By these sayings of these holy men it is euidentlie declared, that not only tithes, but also all other substance which the clergie hath by gift of worke of mercie, are pure almes, which after the necessitie of the clergie once satisfied, ought to be transported vnto the poore.

Secondly it is declared how that the clergie are not lords and possessours of those goods, but ministers and stewards thereof.

Thirdly it is shewed, that if the clergie do abuse the same, they are theeues, robbers, and sacrilegious persons, and except they doe repent, by the iust iudgement of God they are to bee condemned.

AND thus hitherto I may peraduenture seeme to haue made sufficient long recitall out of Iohn Hus, but to notwithstanding that the commoditie of those things, may abundantlie recompence the prolixitie thereof. Wherefore if I shall seeme vnto any man in the rehearsall of this disputation to haue passed heere farre the bounds of the historie: let him thinke thus of me, that at what time I take in hand to write



write of these ecclesiasticall matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly toyned with the cause of the church.

Neither that I did make more account of the historie which I had taken in hand then of the common vtilitie, whereunto I had chiefe respect. There were besides these certaine other articles: Whereupon the said Iohn Hus had heerie wiselie and learnedly disputed, but these shall suffice vs for this present. And for the residue wee will passe them ouer, to the intent we may the more speedily returne whereas our storie left, declaring what cruelties they vsed not onely against the bookes and articles of Iohn Wicliffe, but also in burning his bodie and bones, commanding them to be taken vp 41. yeeres after he was buried, as appeareth by the decree of the said Synode, the same whereof, wee thought hereunto to annex as followeth.

*The order and maner of taking vp the body of Iohn Wickisse, and burning his bones 41. yeeres after his death.*




❧ The Decree of the Synode of Constance, touching the taking vp of the bodie and bones of Iohn Wicklisse to be burned, 41. yeeres after he was buried in his owne parish at Lutterworth.

The decree of the councell for the burning of Wicliffes dead bones.

*Ex Actis concilij Constant.*

FOrsomuch as by the authoritie of the sentence and decree of the councell of Rome, and by the commandement of the church & the apostolicall see after due delayes being giuen, they proceeded vnto the condemnation of the said Iohn Wicklisse, and his memorie: hauing first made proclamation, and giuen commandement to call forth whosoeuer would defend the said Wicklisse, or his memorie (if there were any such;) but there did none appeare, which would either defend him or his memorie. And moreouer, witnesses being examined by commissioners appointed by pope Iohn and his councell, vpon the impenitence and finall obstinacie and stubbornesse of the said Iohn Wicklisse, referring that which is to be referred, as in such businesses the order of law requireth; & his impenitencie & obstinacie euen vnto his end, being sufficiently proued by euident signs and tokens, and also by lawfull witnesses of credit, was lawfullie giuen thereunto. Wherefore at the instance of the fiskeward of the treasurie, proclamation being made to heare and vnderstand the sentence against this day: the sacred Synod declareth, determineth, and giueth sentence, that the said Iohn Wicklisse was a notorious obstinat heretike, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memorie.

This Synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said Iohn Wicklisse, if it might be discerned and knowne from the bodies of other faithfull people, to bee taken out of the ground, and thrown away farre from the buriall of any church, according vnto the canon lawes and decrees. Which determination and sentence definitiue being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the foresaid presidents of the 4. nations being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premisses, &c.

¶ What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weepe, to see these so sage and reuerend Catoes, to occupie their heades to take vp a pore mans bodie, so long dead and buried before, by the space of 41. yeeres? and yet peraduenture were not able to find his right bones, but tooke vp some other bodie, and so of a catholicke made an hereticke. Albeit, herein Wicklisse had some cause to giue them thanks that they would at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also to giue him so long respite after his death, 41. yeeres to rest in his sepulchre before they vngraued him, and turned him from earth to ashes: which ashes also, they tooke and threw into the riuer. And so was he resolued into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby vtterly to extinct and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wicklisse for euer. Not much vnlike to the example of the old Pharisies and sepulcher-knights, which when they had brought the Lord vnto the graue, thought to make him sure neuer to rise againe. But these and all other must know, that as there is no counsell against the Lord: so there is no keeping downe of veritie, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged vp his bodie, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes: yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruit and successe thereof they could not burne, which yet to this day for the most part of his articles doe remaine. Notwithstanding, the transitorie bodie and bones of the man was thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here aboue set forth to thine eies (gentle Reader) may appeare.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the storie and time of Wicklisse: let vs now (by the supportation of the Lord) proceed to intreate and write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same Vniuersitie, and raised vp (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same persecution. Of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his booke, De sacramentis & sacramentalibus, cap. 52. Where he saith, that after Wicklisse many suffered most cruell death, and many no doubt of late realme.

*Ex Th. Walden. lib. de sacramentis.*

In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Iohn Purney, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Pecocke B. of S. Asaph, and afterward of Chichester.

Laurence Redman, Dauid Sautre, Iohn Archwerby, William Taylor, Walter Brute, Richard Gruthurd, Iohn Scut, Philip Norice.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Laurence Redman maister of Arte, Dauid Sautre diuine, Iohn Archwarby vicar, as they call him, of S. Marie Church at Oxford, William Taylor, Walter Brute, Richard Gruthurd, Iohn Scut, and Philip Norice: whych

which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius the fourth, in the yere of our Lord, 1446. appealed vnto a generall or oecumenical councell.

Peter Paine. Peter Paine, who flying from Oxford vnto Boheme, did stoutlie contend against the Sophisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament of the last supper. Who afterward among the rest of the Orators was one of the 14. that was sent vnto the councell at Basill: whereas by the space of three daies, he disputed vpon the 4. article, which was as touching the ciuill dominion of the clergie, Anno 1438. Also the Lord Cobham. Lord Cobham, &c. with diuers others besides whose names are mentioned in the kings writ sent to the shiriffe of Southhampton, which writ of the king followeth in this tenor: Rex vicecomiti Northamptonie salutem, &c. For somuch as John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, Rio. Beriond, &c. bee Recettours and fautors of heretikes, and especially of John Woodward priest, publikely defamed and condemned of heresie, will not be intimided by the censures of the church, as the reuerend father John bishop of Lincolne hath certified vs: We therefore willing to withstand all defenders and fautors of such heresies, do will and command a liwell the forenamed, as namelp the foresaid John Woodward to bee apprehended, straitly charging the same to bee emprisoned by their bodies or otherwise punished as shall seeme good to the Justices, vntil they and euery of them shall submit themselues to the obedience of the foresaid bishop in this behalfe according lie. Wherof faile you not vnder paine of an hundred pound. Witnesse our selues: Beuen at our Manor of Langley the eight day of March, the 12. yere of our raigne.

To these aboue rehearsed and other fauourers of Wickliffe, within this our countrie of England, wee may adde also the Bohemians: for somuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe, in that countrie also take rote, comming from England to Boheme, by this occasion as in storie here followeth.

The occasion how the doctrin of Wickliffe came to Bohemia. There chanced at that time a certaine student of the countrie of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthie house and also of a noble stocke. Who returning home from the Vniuersitie of Oxford, to the Vniuersitie of Prage: carried with him certaine bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus Vniuersalibus, De ciuili iure, & diuino, De ecclesia, De quæstionibus variis contra clerum, &c. It chanced the same time, a certaine noble man in the citie of Prage, had founded and builded a great church of Matthias & Matthew, which church was called Bethleem: giuing to it great landes, and finding in it two preachers euery day, to preach holie day and working day to the people. Of the which two preachers, this John Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellentlie fauoured for his worthie life and right them. This John Hus hauing familiaritie with this young man in reading and perusing these bookes of Wickliffe, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openlie in the schooles, but also in his sermons: commending him for a good man, an holy man, and heauenlie man, wishing himselfe when he should die, to be there placed with: reas the soule of Wickliffe should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

Hus loued to be mery, saieth, celebrans. The great affection of John Hus to John Wickliffe.

And thus much briefelie concerning the fauorers and adherents of John Wickliffe in generall. Now particularlie and in order let vs by Christs grace) prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties afore mentioned, as the course of their times shall require. First beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby, and Walter Brute.

The historie of William Swinderby.

§ Anno § 1389 § Ex Registro Episcopi Herefordens. Wil. Swinderby first examined. Presumers of Wil. Swinderby 2. Friers. Fryer Vincels, Slaton.

In the yere 1389. William Swinderby priest within the diocesse of Lincolne, being accused and detected vpon certaine opinions, was presented before John bishop of Lincolne, and examined vpon certaine articles in the church of Lincolne, after the same and order of the popes law, according to their vsuall rite obserued, his denouncers were these: frier Frisby obseruant, frier Vincely Augustine: and Thomas Slarton Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in some of words as they put them vp, might seeme something strange here to be recited: yet to the intent that all men may see the spitefull malice of these spider friers, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that is not true, as in processe (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appeare by his answers, I thought good here to notifie the same.

That men may aske their debts by charitie, but in no manner for debt to impeison any man: and that pee so impeisoning is accursed.

That if parishioners doe know their Curate to be a lechour incontinent, and an euill man, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or else they be fautors of his sinnes.

That tithes purelie be almose, and in case that curats bee euill men, the same may lawfullie be conferred to other men.

That for an euillcurate to curse his fuget for withholding of tithes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedlie and vndulie from them their monie.

That no prelat may curse a man, except hee know before that he is cursed of God.

That euery priest may absolue any sinner being contrite, and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop) to preach the Gospell vnto the people.

That a priest taking any annuall pension vpon couenant, is in so doing a simonache and accursed.

That any priest being in deadlie sinne, if hee giue himselfe to consecrate the bodie of the Lord, hee committeth idolatrie rather then doth consecrate.

That no priest entreth into any house, but to euill intreate the wife, the daughter or maid. And therefore hee admonished the good man of the house, to take heed what priest he let into his house.

Another conclusion falslie to him obiected: That a childe is not truelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, or the godfather or godmother be in deadlie sinne.

Item, that no man liuing against the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of any bishop.

These Articles or conclusions vntruelie collected, were as cruellie exhibited against him by the friers in the bishop of Lincolnes court. The which articles although he neuer preached, taught or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the processe following: yet the friers with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to bee conuict: bringing also their wood with them to the token to burne him, and vowsh not leane him, before hee made them promise and sware for feare of death neuer to hold them, teach them, nor preach them priuilie, nor apertlie vnder paine of relapse: and that he should goe to certaine churches to reuoke the foresaid conclusions, which hee neuer affirmed. As first in the church of Lincolne, then in S. Margarets church of Leicester. Also in S. Martines Church in Leicester, and in our Ladies churches at Newarke: and in other Parish Churches also, of Melton Mowbray, of Halowghton, Harebarugh, and Lenthburgh. Which penance, being to him enioyned, hee did obediently accomplish: with this forme of reuocation, which they bound him vnto, vnder these words.

Wil. Swinderby compelled by the Friers to abiure articles, which he neuer taught.

The reuocation of William Swinderby, whereunto *he was forced by the friers.*

I William Swinderby priest, although vnworthie, of the dioces of Lincolne, acknowledging one true catholike, and apostolike faith of the holy church of Rome, do abiure all hereſie and errour repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, whereof I haue been hitherto infamed, namely the conclusions and articles aboue prefixed, and euery one of them to me iudicially obiected, by the commissarie of the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God bishop of Lincolne: and doe reuoke the same, and euery one of them, some as hereticall, some as erroneous and false, and doe affirme and beleeue them to be so, and hereafter wil neuer teach, preach, or affirme publikely or priuily the same. Neither will make any sermon within the diocesse of Lincolne, but asking first and obtaining the licence of the foresaid reuerend father and lord the bishop of Lincolne. Contrarie to the which, if I shall presume hereafter, to say or doe, to hold or preach: I shall be content to abide the seueritie of the Canon, as I haue iudicially by the necessitie of the law, sworne, and doe sweare, &c.

The forced abiuration of Wil. Swinderby.

Thus haue you the conclusions and articles of this good man, falslie obiected to him by the malicious and lying friers: and also the retractation, whereunto they by force compelled him: whereby it may likewise be conteatured, what credite is to be giuen to the articles and conclusions which these cauilling friers wrestling all things to the worst, haue obiected and imputed both to Wickliffe and all other of that sort, whom they so falslie doe infame. So slanderouslie doe belie, and so maliciouslie doe persecute. After these things thus done and wrought in the diocesse of Lincolne: it to befell, the said Wil. Swinderby to remoue to the diocesse and countie of Hereford. Where he was as much or more molested by the friers againe, and by John Trefnant Bishop of Herford, as by the processe and storie here ensuing set out at large out of their owne registers may appeare.

Here followeth the processe of John Trefnant, Bishop of Herford, had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of hereticall prauitie, as the popish heretickes call it.

The storie of the B. of Hereford against Wil. Swinderby. The flourishing inuocation of Gods name.

The glorious name of the Prince of peace, and his counsell (whose counsell our no man is, and whose prouidence in his disposition is neuer deceiued) being inuocated: To all and singular beleeuers of Christ, which shall see or heare this our processe vnderwritten: John by the sufferance of God Bishop of Hereford: greeting, and peaceable charitie in the Lord. Forasmuch as God the creator of all things, the keeper of Justice, the louer of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his prouidence the sonnes of men, now through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest and filthie and detestable mischieues, and to keepe vnder their malice (which wicked transgression did first gender) hath appointed diuers presidents of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whom and their circumspect prouidence, mans audacitie



audacitie should bee restrained, innocencie should bee nourished amongst the good, and terrour should bee stricken into the wicked not to deceiue: also that their power to hurt, and their insolencie should bee bridled in all places. And whereas amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the dutie of the office committed vnto vs, wee are specialie bound to ertend our strength chiefly that the catholike faith may prosper in our times, and hereticall prauitie may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithfull: we therefore being excited through the information of many credible and faithfull christians of our diocelle, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheepe diseased with an incurable sickneſſe, going about to infect the whole and sound flocke, are by the care of the shepheard to bee removed from the flocke, that is to say, Preachers, or more truely execrable offenders of the new sect, vulgarlie called Lollards, which vnder a certaine cloked sheiw of holinesse, running abroad through diuers places of our diocelle, and endeauoring to cut asunder the Lords vnsowed coate, that is to say, to rent the vnitie of the holie church, and of the Catholike faith, and also to teare in peeces with their tempestuous blasts the power of S. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiasticall states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, haue wickedly presumed and doe presume from day to day to speake, to teach, to maintaine (and that which is more horrible to bee vttered) to preach openlie many things hereticall, blasphemies, schismes, and slanderous defamings, euen quite contrarie to the sacred Canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their pathes in the waies of righteousnes & truth, in that, that they expound to the people the holy scripture, as the letter soundeth, after a Judaicall text, otherwise then the holy ghost will needs haue it: whereas the words vttered from their proper significations, and appeare to bring in by gelling new meanings: whereas the words muſt not bee iudged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made, where as the constructions is not bound to the Donates rules: whereas faith is far placed from the capacitie of reason: But they labour by their pernicious doctrines and teachings publike and priuie, to boile out the poison of schismes betweene the clergy and the people. We to encounter against such kind of preachers, nay rather deceiuers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, aduancing and rowsing vp our selues in Gods behalfe, as our holy mother church, with the spirituall sword, which may strike them vtterly, and wound them medicinablie, for their health and welfare: and namelie William Swinderby priest (so pretending himselfe to bee) as a teacher of such kind of pernicious doctrine, and an horrible seducer amongst the people: to whom personallie appearing before vs on the wednesday, to writ the 14. of the month of June, in the parish church of Kington of our diocelle, in the yeere of our Lord, 1391. he being vehementlie defamed to vs of hereſie, schisme, and his peruerse doctrines both manifeſt and priuie: twee therefore haue caused many cases and articles concerning the catholike faith to be minifred vnto him, that hee shuld answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and conuenient, of his owne choice and freewill: that is to say, on the seuenday, being the last of the same moneth of June, neere following, assigned to him, at the church of Wodenhame of the same our diocelle. Of which cases and articles exhibited vnto vs, by many of Christs faithfull people, * zealous followers of the catholike faith, to make information to our office (which cases and articles also were by vs administred, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby) the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus.

Lollards by the popes interpretation, is a word ment for such of Lollium.

Thes counterfeited in the Dolphins words as hpes to intrigue appeareth. Which reprouideth these superstitious letters, let the reader iudge by the Hebrue corpus meum.

Which medicines should be ministred to you, ye know by your Physition little thanke.

Anno 1391

*Such as were in Queene Wickliffes daies, as John Beard, J. Bates, Mebin Bagot, and other like mutherers.

The denunciation of the promoters to the Bp. of Hereford.

¶ Reuerend father and high lord, lord John, by Gods sufferance bishop of Hereford: It is lamentablie declared vnto your reuerend fatherhod on the behalfe of Christs faithfull people, your deuout children of your diocs of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbeleefe of very many lollards, which haue to long a time sprung vp here in your diocelle, there is nowlie come a certaine chyld of wickednes, named William Swinderby: who by his horrible perſuasions and mischieuous endeuours, and also by his open preachings and priuate teachings, doth peruert as much as in him is the whole ecclesiasticall state, and sterreth vp with all his possible power, schisme betweene the clergie and the people. And that your reuerend fatherhood may be the more fullie informed, who and what manner of man the same William Swinderby is: there bee proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhoode on the behalfe of the same faithfull people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles. Which if the same William shall denie, then shall the same cases and articles nolt euidently be proued against him by credible witnesse worthie of beleefe, and by other lawfull waies and sentences, to the end that those being vnued, the same fatherhood of yours, may doe and ordaine therein, as to your pastorall office belongeth.

Would God both they and all men did beware of that leauen.

Inter articles laid against Wil. Swinderby

In primis, the same William Swinderby pretending himselfe priest, was openlie and publikelie conuicted of certaine articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismaticall, and hereticall, preached by him at diuers places and times before a multitude of faithfull christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did he by force of law reuoke and abiure, some as hereticall, and some as erroneous and false: auouching and beleeuing them for such, as that from thenceforth hee would neuer preach, teach, or affirme openlie or priuilie any of the same conclusions. And if by preaching or auouching hee should presume to doe the contrarie; that then hee should bee subiect to the seueritie of the Canons, accordingly as hee did take a corporall oth, iudicially vpon the holy Gospels.

2 Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openlie taught and preached, and afterwards abiured and reuoked, as is aforesaid; are contained before in the processe of the bishop of Lincolne, euen as they be there written and by word. And for the cases and articles, they were consequentlie exhibited by the forenamed faithfull christian people against the said Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written: of which cases and articles, the tenour hereof ensueth.

3 Item, the said William, contrarie to the former reuocation and abiuration, not conuerting to repentance, but peruerted from ill to worse, and giuen vp to a reprobate sense, came into your diocelle, where, he running about in sundrie places hath presumed to preach or rather to peruert and to teach of his owne rathnes many hereticall, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things contrarie and repugnant to the sacred Canons and the determination of the holie catholicke church. What those things were, at what place and what time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

Item, the same William, notwithstanding your commandements and admonitions sealed with your seale, and to all the Curats of your diocelle directed: containing amongst other things, that no person of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or elle expound the holy scriptures to the people, either in hallowed or prophane places, within your diocelle, without sufficient authoritie, by any maner of pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitorie and of inhibition (the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth) is more largely contained: which letters the same William did receiue into his hands, and did read them word by word in the towne of Monemouth of your diocelle, in the yeere of our lord, 1390. to that these your letters and the contents thereof came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the same William: yet notwithstanding hath the same William presumed in diuers places and times to preach within the same your diocelle, after and against your commandement aforesaid. The tenour of the same letters before mentioned followeth, and is this.

The letter inauthorie of the B. of Hereford inhibiting to preach without his licence.

John by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford, to the deane and chapter of our church of Hereford, and to all and singuler abbats, priors, prouosts, deanes rurall, parsons and vicars of monasteries, priories, churches, colledges and parishes, and to other hauing cure of soules within the citie and dioces of Hereford, and to all and euery other being within the same citie and diocelle, greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurell of teaching doctorall, is not from aboue indifferently euery mans gift: neither is the office of preaching granted, saue to such as are called, and especiallie by the church admitted thereunto: we doe admonish and require you all and singuler clerks aforesaid, and doe straitly enioyne you all in the vertue of holie obedience, that you nor any of you doe admit any man to preach or to teach the catholike faith, sauing such as the same office of preaching shall by the authoritie apostolicall, or elle your bishop bee specially committed vnto: but that as much as in you shall lie, you doe by word and deed, labour to let those that would attempt the contrarie. And you lords, ladies, knights, barons, esquires, and all and singuler persons, of what estate, degree, preheminence, or condition soeuer ye be, remaining within the citie and diocelle of Hereford, wee doe beseech and exhort in our Lord, that following the words of our Sauiour, you beware of the leauen of the Pharisies.

Item, according to the saying of the Apostle, be not yee caried away with diuers and strange doctrines: and that in the meane while (as saith the Apostle) you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, left that any man by any meanes should seduce you; but you agreeing together in one minde, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man to whom that thing is not specialie (as is aforesaid) committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholike faith, do ye denie to giue them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and peruerse. And as for vs, we will not omit to proceed according to the sacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, against such as doe the contrarie. Dated at London in the house of our habitation vnder our seale, the last day saue one of December, in the yeere of our Lord, 1389. and of our consecration the first.

5 Item, the same William in his preaching to the people, on Monday being the first of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1390. in the parish of Whitwicke of your diocelle, did hold and affirme, that no prelate of the world of what estate, preheminence

That is proued vnder titles Eccliastes.

Bread he remaineth in substance.

archemincre or degree soeuer hee were of, hauing cure and charge of soules, he being in deadly sinne, and hearing the confession of any vnder his hand in giuing him absolution, doth nothing: As who neither doth lose him from his sin, nor in receiuing or excommunicating him for his demerits doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelat shall be free himselfe from deadly sinne, as S. Peter was, to whom our Lord gaue power to bind and loose.

6 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithfull christian people, that after the sacramentall words vttered by the priest hauing the purpose to consecrate; there is not made the very bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

7 Item, that accidents cannot bee in the sacrament of the altar without a subiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread there to such as be partakers communicant with the bodie of Christ, in the same sacrament.

8 Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne, cannot bee able by the strength of the sacramentall words, to make the bodie of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the church.

9 Item, that all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them, in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or preheminence.

10 Item, that onlie contrition putteth away sinne, if so bee that a man shall be dulie contrite: and that, all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisit of necessitie to saluation.

11 Item, inferiour curats haue not their power of binding and losing immediatly from the pope or bishop, but immediatlie from Christ. And therefore, neither can the pope nor bishop remoke to themselues such kind of power, when they see time and place at their lust and pleasure.

12 Item, that the pope cannot grant such kind of annuall and perrie pardons, because there shal not be so many perces to the day of iudgement, as are in the popes bulles of pardons contained. Whereby it followeth, that the pardons are not of such like value as they speake of, and are prised to bee.

13 Item, it is not in the popes power to grant vnto any person penitent, forgiuenesse of the punishment or of the fault.

14 Item, that person that giueth his almes to any, which in his iudgement it is not in necessitie, doth sin in so giuing it.

15 Item, that it stands not in the power of any prelat, of what religion soeuer hee be of, priuatelie to giue letters for the benefit of his order, neither doth such benefit granted, profit them to the saluation of their soule, to whom they bee granted.

16 Item, that the same William hauing full of his owne saluation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certaine desert wood, called Dernalwood, of your diocelle, and there in a certaine chapell not hallowed, or rather in a prophane cottage; hath in contempt of the keies, presumed of his owne rashnesse to celebrate, nay rather to prophanate.

17 Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe such things in a certaine prophane chapell, being situate in the parish of Newton nigh to the towne of Leuttwarden, of the same your diocelle.

VPon Friday being the last of the month of June, in the yeere aboue said, about 6. of the clocke, in the said parish church of Bodenhone, hath the said William Swinderby personallie appeared before vs. And he willing to satisfie the terme to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out, word by word, before all the multitude of faithfull christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William (in a certaine paper booke of the sheet folded into foure parts) to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath hee already to vs exhibited, auouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any mee with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certaine noble personages, had promised to the same William free accesse, that is to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without perfixing of any terme, or without citation, or else any other offence or harme in bodie or in goods.

As for the tenour of the same answers, exhibited vnto them by the same William, as is before specified; wee haue here rather annexed word for word, and in the same old language, vsed at that time, when it was exhibited. And followeth in these words.

*The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers to the articles by the promoters laid against him, to the bishop of Herford, taken out of the Registers in the same old English, wherein he wrote it.*

The protestation of William Swinderby, with his answers.

IN the name of God, amen. I William Swinderby priest vnworthy, couenting and purposing wholly with all my hart to be a true christian man, with open confession knowledging mine owne defaults and wrivise deds: making openlie this protestation, cleping God to record here before our worshipfull bishop Iohn, through the sufferance of God bishop of Herford, with witnesse of all this people: that it is not mine intent any thing to say or affirme, to maintaine or to defend that is contrarie to holy writ, against the beleefe of holie Church, or that should offend the holie determination of Christs Church, or the true sentences of holy doctors. And if I haue here before through mine vnconning, been vnadvised, or by euill counsell bin deceiued, or any thing said, preached, holden, maintained or taught contrarie to the law of God: whatlie and fullie for that time for now and euer with full will I reuoke it and withdraw it, as enerich christen man should: Praying and beseching ech christen man, to whom this writing shall come to, that gif I ought erre (as God forbid that I doe) or euer erred in any point, contrarie to holie writ, that it bee had and holden of them, as for thing nought said. And all the trothes that I haue said according with the law of God, that may maintaine them, and stand by them for life or death to Gods worship, as a true christen man should, submitting mee meklie to the correction of our bishop that here is, or of any other christen man, after Christes lawes and holy writ; it will euer readie to be amended: and with this protestation I giu and answer to these conclusions and articles that here followen after, the which bene put to mee to answere to.

The first is this: that I William of Swinderby pretending (hee saith) my selfe a priest, was iudiciallie convented of certaine articles, and conclusions of erro, falle, schismaticke and hereselie, by mee in diuers places and times preached (hee saith) before multitudes of true christen men: and the same articles and conclusions by mee of law reuoked and forsworne same as heresies, and some as errors and falle: and sith I affirmed and beleeued them to bee. And that none of them from that time forth I should preach, teach, or affirme, openlie or priuilie, in that I should make no sermon to the people, ne preach but by lawfull leaue asked and gotten. And if I would presume in doing or affirming the contrarie, then to the seueritie of the law, I should bee burnt, as by mede of the law I wrote.

To this I say, witnessing God that is in heauen, to my wit and vnderstanding, that I neuer preached, held, ne taught these conclusions and articles, the which falslie of friers were put vpon mee, and of lecherous priests to the bishop of Lincolne. For I was ordained by processe * per said, of their law, by the bishop and his commissaries, to as I granted them to bring into question of 13. priests of good fame. And so I did, with a letter, and 12. seales thereby, from the Maior of Leicester, and from true Burgesses and 20. men to witnesse with me, as the duke of Lancaster knew and heard, the earle of Darby, and other many great men that were that time in the towne, that I neuer said them, taught them, ne preached them. But when I should haue made my purgation, there flooden forth fiue friers or moe, that some of them neuer saw mee before, ne heard me, and these lecherous priests openly knowne, some living in their lecherie. rr. were (men sayden) or more, as by their chilter was openlie knowne. Some of these they alleaden, denunciations, and some weren sworn comprobations, that weren there falslie forsworne, they saing busslie and crying with many another frier, with great instance to giue the doome vpon me, to burne me, and boughten die wood before, as men tolden in that towne: and these sleighis, and swearing, and manie giuing, as men sayden, with fauour of the bishop (by what law I wot not, but sothly not by Gods law) they saiden they held me as conuicted, and might not haue forth my purgation. So as I sithy forsoke them, and neuer granted y I said them. Ouer this they made me sweare, neuer to hold them, teach them, ne preach them, priuilie ne apertie: and that I would goe to certaine churches to reuoke the conclusions that I neuer said, in slaunder of my selfe, by great instance of the friers. And so for dred of death and for slesshis counsell that I had, I assented, and so I did. And also they maden me to sweare, that I should not preach (by instance of the friers) within that diocelle, without licence asked and granted; and neuer sithen I did. And now the same conclusions bene rehearsed to me againe: whether by friers counsell I will not deme, God wot, but in slander of me it is: and therefore I will answer now (with Gods helpe) to the conclusions. Of the which the first is this.

* Perhaps, that is, before said.

* Perhaps, that the letter of the maior of Leicester and burgesses with 12. seales.

The chastitie of vowaries to be noted.

1. Obiection.

1. Conclusion.

Answer. Vow debt is to be purified.

2. Conclusion.

Answer.

That men owen aften their debts by charitie, but in no manner for debt to prison any man: and that hee so empriloning, is accursed.

So I said not: but thus I haue said, and yet say with protestation put before, that who so pursues his brother with malice, prisoneth him cruellie for debt without mercie, that same would pay it if he might; he sinneth against Christes teaching, Estote misericordes, sicut pater vester misericors est.

The second conclusion, that falle friers and lecherous priests putten vpon me was this: that if the parochiens know her Curate to bene a lechour, incontinent, and an euill man; they owen to withdraw from him tithe, and else they bene sautes of his sinnes.

Thus I said not, but on this wise, and yet I say with protestation



cation put before: that if it be knowne openly to the people, that parsons or curates come to her benefice by simonie, and liuen in notorie fornication, and done not their office and her duties to her parochiens by good ensample of holy life, in true preaching, liuing and residence, warding away from his cure, occupied in secular office: he owes nought to haue of the parochiens, tithes, ne offerings, ne honowes, not to hold him for her curate, ny honowes, nor to geuen him tithes, tell they bin guiltie to God of consent and maintaining of her open sinne. Nemo militans deo, implicat se negotijs seculatibus. 1. q. 1. ca. quisquis per pecuniam, & dist. 80. cap. Si quis.

3. Conclusion.

The third conclusion was this, that friers and priests putten vpon me, that tithes purely bene almesses: And in case that curates bene euill men, they nolwen lesuille bee giuen to other men, by temporall lords, and other temporalties been done away from men of the church, actuallie and openlie trespassing.

Answere.

Thus I said not in these termes: but thus I say with protestation made before: that it were medefull and leefull to secular lords by way of charitie, and power giuen to him of God, in default of prelats that amend not by Gods law, cursed curates that openly misuen the goods of holy church, that ben poore mens goods and cullomable against the law of God: the which poore men, Lords ben holden to maintaine and defend, to take away and withdraw from such curates, poore mens goods, the which they wrongfully holden in helpe of the poore, and their owne willfull offerings, and their bodilie almesdeeds, and giue them to such that duly serue God in the church, and beene medie in vpbearing of the charge that prelats should don doe, and done it not. Alter alterius onera portate, & sic adimplebitis legem Christi. And as anenst taking away of temporalities, I say thus with protestation made before: that it is leefull to kings, princes, dukes, and lords of the world to take away fro popes, cardinals, fro bishops and prelates, possessions in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them, vpon condition they thoulden serue God the better, when they berelie sene that their giuing and their taking bene contrarie to the law of God to Christs liuing and his Apostles: and namely in that, that they taken vpon them (that thoulden bee next followers of Christ and his Apostles in pouerelle and meknesse) to be secular lords: against the teaching of Christ and S. Peter, Luk. xxii. Reges gentium. Et 1. Pet. 5. Neque dominantes in clero. And namely when such temporalties maken them the more proud, both in heart and in array, then they thoulden bene else, more in strife and debate against peace and charity, and in euill ensample to the world more to bee occupied in worldly businesse. Omnem solicitudinem projicientes in eum. And thirdwes them from the seruice of God, from edifying of Christs Church, in empouerishing and making lesse the state and the power of kings, princes, dukes, and lords that God hath set them in: in wrongfull oppression of commons fo vnmightifulnesse of realmes. For Paul saith to men of the church (whose loze, prelats shoulden soueraignly followen) Habentes victum & vestitum, his contenti simus.

4. Conclusion.

The fourth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie, that an euill curate cursing his Soget for withholding of tithes, is naught else, but to take with exaction wickednie and vndulie money from them.

Lecturre. Here may you see the falshood of the papists gathering articles against good men, when they neither said nor meant.

Thus said I not: but thus I said, and yet doe with protestation made before: that an euill curate cursing his parochiens, vnmightie to pay their tithing, with vengeance without pitie, for his singuler worldlie winning against charitie, and not for hed of their soules, there he is hold by his power reasonablie to helpe his nedie parochiens, and doth nought of the goods of the church: wickedly and vndulie bee withholds from them, that which is due to them by the law of God. Dimittite, & dimittetur vobis: date, & dabitur vobis: vetum mihi vindicam, & ego retribuam, dicit dominus.

5. Conclusion.

Lecturre.

*Against.

The fifth conclusion is this, that friers and priests falslie putten vpon me: that no man may curse any man, but if he were wete him cursed of God, ne the comners with him remen not into sentence of curling in any manner.

Thus said I not: but thus I said, and say with protestation put before: that no man ought to curse any man, but for charity and with charitie. Omnia vestra cum charitate fiant. And sikerly I say, that no wrongfull curling of pope or any prelate in earth, binds anenst God, but when they wrongfullie and wittinglie curlen men, for that men will not doe their singuler will, vnreasonable bidding, with highnes of heart and crueltie (standing patience and charity in them that they curlen wrongfully) he is bleffed of almightie God, as they themselfe bene cursed: Matth. 5. Beati estis cum maledixerint homines, &c, Et in Psalmo: Maledicentilli, & tu bene dices. Et Augustinus, xi. q. 3. cap. illud.

6. Conclusion.

*Holden, that is bound. Editor.

The sixth conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that ech priest may assoile him that sinneth, contrition had: and notwithstanding forbiddings of the bishop, is holden to preach to the people the Gospell.

Thus I said not: but thus I said, and yet say with protestation made before: that ech true priest may counsell sinneful men, that they wen to him her sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God has given him, to turne fro sinne to vertuous life. And as touching preaching of the Gospell, I say, that no bishop owes to let a true priest, that God has given grace, wit, and cunning to do that office: for both priests and deacons, that God has ordained deacons and priests, ben holden by power given him of God to preach to the people the Gospell, and namely and soinely, popes, bishops, prelates, and curates: For this is due to the people and parochiens, for to haue an alsle of hem, and they duely and freely owen to done it: Matth. 5. Luke 5. Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Marc. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum. Et Matth. 5. Euntes autem prædicate. Et dist. 21. ca. In nouo testamento. Et Isidor. de summo bono. 44. Et Chrysost. distinct. 34. ca. Nolite. Et Aug. distinct. 34. ca. Quisquis. Et Greg. in suo pastorali, ca. 38. Et Tollitano. ca. ignorantia. Et Ieroim. distinct. 95. ca. Ecce Ego.

7. Conclusion.

Answere.

The vij. conclusion is this, that falle friers and priests putten vpon me falslie, saying that I beleeue falsly as my self saies: that yche priest being in deadly sinne, yef he put him to make Christs bodie, rather he does idolatrie then makes it.

8. Conclusion.

Answere.

Thus said I not: but thus I said, and yet say with protestation put before: that priest that puts himselfe presumptuouslie and vnworthily in deadly sinne, wittinglie to ministr and to receiue that holy Sacrament, and so receods bit curselly and damnable, he receines his doome. Qui manducat & bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat & bibit: 1. Corin. 11.

9. Conclusion.

Answere.

Their. conclusion is this, that friers and priests falslie putten vpon mee: that no priests entres into any house but euill for to treate the wise, the daughter, or the wench: and therefore they sayden, that I prayed the people that their husbands should beware, that they suffer no priest to enter into her house.

And if I had said thus, then I had prayed against my selfe, for I come oft into mens houles: But thus I said, and yet I doe, praying christian men to beware that they nourish not maintaine no lecherous priest in their sinnes: for there bee where (as men well knowne) they ben maintained in many places, continuing homely with her women. And yche man there saine they paine therfoze a certaine to the bishops almes. Et ideo ait Isido. 11. q. 4. Qui consentit peccantibus & defendit alium delinquentem, maledictus erit apud deum & homines.

10. Conclusion.

Answere.

The x. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that a child is not verelie baptised, if the priest that baptiseth, the godfather, or the godmother, bene in deadly sinne.

God wot in heauen they said full false: but thus I said, and yet I say: that the prayers that an euill priest praies (living in lecherie or other deadly sinne) ouer the child when it shall be hollowed, ben not acceptable to God as ben the prayers of a good priest. And the better and cleaner the priest is, the godfather, and the godmother; the more gracious the God will heare him, if all they ben not greatest nor most rich in the world. Vnde gg. xiij. q. vij. cap. in grauibus. Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum peccator admittitur, irati animus proculdubio ad deteriora prouocatur.

11. Conclusion.

Answere.

The xi. conclusion is this, that friers and priests putten vpon me falslie: that no man living against the law of God is a priest, how euer he were ordained priest of any bishop.

Certes this is falle, for I said neuer thus in this termes: but thus I said, and thus I say with a protestation put before: that what euery pope, or cardinall, bishop or priest, or any prelate of the Church comes to his state or dignitie by simonie, and in simonie occupies that office, and holy churches goods: I say that hee is a theefe, and that by the doome of God, and comes but to steale and kill: Joh. 10. Furnon venit nisi vt furetur, & macter, & perdat. And furthermore I say, that what pope, cardinall, bishop, prelate, or priest, in manner of living, or teaching, or lawes making contrarie to Christes living and his lawes, or any other ground put in ruling of the church of Christ, but by Christ and his lawes: is very Antichrist, aduerlarie to Jesus Christ and his Apostles. Aliud fundamentum nemo potest ponere, præter id quod positum est, quod est Christus. Et patet 1. q. 3. c. Si quis. Et 1. q. 6. c. Ego autem. Quicunque.

There we detect no exception who was Antichrist.

But this worshipfull father bishop of Hereford, that here is, faies thus in his writing: that I William of Swinderby, notwithstanding the forsaid reuocation and abiuration (not setting at heart, but from euill to woze, he saie, peruerted so his

his diocey) hee saies I come running about by diuers places: and by mine owne fellie he saies that I haue presumed to preach many heresies, errours, blasphemies, sclaunders, and other diffames, and to holy canons and determination of holy Church contrarie and repugnant: which where and when within forth more specialie it shall be shewed, that yee bee false enformed, that I haue presumed in diuers places in your diocese to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, sclaunders and other diffames. And sir, all the countrie knowes whether this be sooth or not: for sir I presume not, sithen it is the office of a priest, by the law of Christ, to preach the gospell: ne nought I find it for presumption, but for the charge that I haue of God by priesthood (if all I be be worthie) and to the worship of God, and helpe of Christen soules, freely without gathering of her goods for my preaching. If I erred in this, I will bee amended. And sir, touching your mandement that ye sended to me, there was sent none. And sir, I made neuer yet disobedience vnto you, ne to your ministers: and yet all I had, me owes more to obeyche to God then to you, in that that ye bidden contrarie to Christs bidding. And sir as ye saine, that I had no mind of my helle, it is too lightly demed: for God wot for helle I did it, of more then in your bidding. For God wot for helle I did it, of mine and of the people, and that I was in my mind. But sir, it semes me that ye charge not by euidence of the punishing so greatly the breaking of Gods helles, as ye done of your owne. And sir, if it be your will, in default that the people wanted, you to teach hem (and her curats did not) by the desire of the people that weren hungrie and thirstie after Gods word, ich me to beare vp others charge as Gods law bids: I preached not for disobedience to you: but sir in fulfilling of the obedience that Gods law bids me doe, in erecting of my selfe to you of that ye blame me of, in open shewing to holy church, with the protestation that I first made, I answere thus to the articles that ye haue put to me.

1. Article. Anno 1390

The first is this, that I William of Swinderby, the Monday the first of August, the yere of our Lord, 1390. preaching to the people in the Church of Whitney of your diocese, held and affirmed (as ye saine) that no prelate of the world, of what state or degree that he be, hauing cure of soules, being in deadly sinne, and hearing confession of his suget, does nought in assoiling him, ne he assoiles him not of his sinne: and also in amending his suget openlie sinning and him for his deserts cursing, his sentence binds not, but if that prelate be as cleane out of deadly sinne as was saint Peter, to whom our Lord gaue power of binding and vnbinding.

Note here how the vnquiet is falsifie to what good intens sayings and articles.

Answere. I neuer thought this ne spake this, ne heard it to the time that I sain it written in our bokes: and that will witnesse the Lord of the toune that has the same sermon written, and many gentiles and other that hearden me that day. But thus I said, and thus I say with protestation put before: that there is no man, pope, ne bishop, prelate ne curate, that binds sothlie, verdie and ghostly, but in affirmyd as his binding or vnbinding accords with the lores of hem that God gaue to Peter. And as S. Gregories saies, that power han they only, that hold together the enlampe of the Apostles with here teaching. Illi soli in hac carne positi ligandi atque soluendi potestatem habent, sicut sancti Apostoli qui eorum exempla simul cum doctrina tenent: gg. li. quarto sententiarum.

The popes binding halw fast it accordeth.

Greg. lib. 4. sent.

2. Article. And what if he had said it?

Answer.

The second article that is put vpon mee, is this: that I should haue said, preached, and affirmed in many places before many true men of Christ: that after the Sacramentall words said of the priest, hauing intention of consecration: That in the Sacrament of Gods bodie, is not very Gods bodie.

This said I neuer God wote, and true men that haue heard mee.

3. Article.

The third article is this, that our bishop put vpon me; that I should haue said in many places, and affirmed, that accidents mowe not be in the sacrament of the aultar without subiect, and that materiall bread leues not there with Gods bodie in the sacrament.

Answere. This conclusion I haue not holden, ne taught, ne preached, for I haue not medled me of that matter, my wit sufficeth not thereto. But here I tell my beleefe with protestation put before: that the sacrament of the aultar made by vertue of hea wenlie words, that Christ himselfe said in the Cene, when he made this sacrament, that it is bread and Christs bodie, so as Christ himselfe saies in the gospell, and S. Paul saies, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined to this sentence. Mat. 26. Mar. 14. Luk. 22. Pa. 1. Cor. 10. & 11. de con. distinct. 2. panis: & de consecr. dist. 2. Corpus. Io. 6. verus panis.

Bread and Christs body in the Sacrament.

4. Article.

The fourth article is this, that our bishop accuseth me of, that I should haue preached about and said: that a priest being in deadlie sinne, may not by the strength of the Sacramentall words make Gods bodie, or none other Sacrament of the church, either performe to minister them to members of the same.

Answere. The wickednes of the priest hindereth no Sacrament.

Thus I neuer said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it, for well I wot, the wickednesse of a priest may appaire no verie Sacrament: but the wickednesse of the priests appaires himselfen, and all that boldnesse and crample of his sinne causen the people to lolnen the worse against Gods law. Vnde Greg. Et si sacerdos in peccatis fuerit, totus populus ad peccandum conuertitur.

The 5. article is this, that our bishop puts vnto me: that all priests ben of euen power in al things, notwithstanding that some of this world bene of higher dignitie or more pulling in highnesse of degree. 5. Article.

Certes no man would say thus as I suppole, no more did I, ne neuer heard it that I wot of: But this I say with protestation made before: that what priest liues most holilie next following the law of God, he is most lower of God, and most profitable to the church. I men speaken of worldlie power and lordships and worldlys, with other vices that raignen therein, what priest that desires and has most per cost (in what degree so he be) he is most Antechrist of all the priests that ben in earth. Vnde Augustinus sed Valerium scribens ait: Nihil est in hac vita, & maxime hoc tempore facilius & leuius, & hominibus accepta bilius, Episcopi, presbyteri, aut decani officijs: sedi sperfunctione aut adulatorie, nihil apud Deum miserabilius aut tristius & damnabilius. Answere. Comparitie of priests. Aug. ad Valentinian.

The sixth article is this, that only contrition does away sin, if a man be duly contrite: and all outward confession by word is superfluous and not requiret of need of health. 6. Article.

This confession said I neuer that I know of. But thus I say with protestation put before; that very contrition of heart, that is neuer without charitie and grace, does away all sinnes before done of that man that is verilie contrite. And all true confession made by mouth outward to a lwise priest, and a good, profiteth much to man, and it is needfull and pleasing that men shewe their life to such, trusting full to Gods mercie, and that he forgiues thy sinne. Vnde August. de confe. distinct. 4. Nemo tollit peccata mundi nisi solus Christus, qui est agnus tollens peccata mundi. Answere. Confession. God forgiueth sinne. Aug. de confe. dist.

The 7. Article is this, that I should say that lower curats haue not here power of binding and assoiling, by meane of pope and bishop, but of Christ without monp. And therefore neither pope ne bishop may reuoke such maner power for time and place at her will. 7. Article.

Thus said I not, but * not for thy it semes me thus, that no man should grant any thing after his owne will, ghostlie, ne bodilie. But euerich man should be well aduist, that hee grant nothing but if it be the will of God that hee so grant it. And it is no doubt that ne God grants * by meane persons, as does Antichrist to torment Christs people. Vnde & Ioh. 19. ait Pilatus, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittere te? Et Christus: Non haberes potestatem aduersum me vllam, nisi esset tibi datum desuper. Answere. * Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding. * Some thing here lacked in the copie.

The 8. Article that our bishop puts me to, is this, that I should say that the pope may not grant such maner indulgence of peeres, for there shall not bee so many peeres vnto the day of doome, as bene contained in his bulls, or in the popes indulgences: whereof it follows that indulgences been not so much worth as they semen and bene preached. 8. Article.

This article I said not thus: but I say, that the pope may grant indulgences written in his letter of peeres, all so farre forth that he may grant him in Gods law, so farre to grant, and farther not: peeres may he grant no mo then God hath set. If indulgence ben forgiuenesse of sinne, I wot well all onelie God forgiues sinne. If it bee releasing of paines in purgatorie ordeinet of God, if God haue ordein him releasle so many, or ordeined that he should release so many, he may then release him: if it be in his owne disposing to release whom him likes, and how much, then he may destroy purgatorie and let none come there and release his owne paine, as charities wots. So it seemes he may be liker to be saued, if himselfe lift. I fany goe to purgatorie, then it seemes he full failes charity. If bulls ben the indulgence that men bringen from the Court, then ben they not so much worth, as they coltea there: for lightly they might be lost, drenched, or biend, or a rat might eaten them: his indulgence then were lost. Therefore sir haue me excuse, I know not these termes: teach me these termes by Gods law, and truly I will learne hem. Answer. Against pardons.

The 9. Article is this, that I should haue said: that it is not in the popes power to grant to any man (doing penance) remission from paine, ne from blame. 9. Article.

Leand I am, but this article said I not thus leaudly: But thus I say, that sithen it is onelie due to God to giue and to grant plenarie remission from paines and from blame: that what euer he be, pope or other, that presumptuoulie misakes vpon him that power that is onely due to God: in that (in as much as in him is) he makes himselfe Christ, and blaspheme th in God, as Lucifer did, when he said: Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo. Further I say, if the pope hold men of armes, in maintaining his temporalties and lordship to benge him on hem that gilten and offenden him, and geues remission to fight and to slay hem that contrarien hem, as men sayden hee did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sword into his heath, as God commanded Peter, Mitte, &c. he is Antichristus; for he does contrarie to p commandements of Jesus, that bad Peter forgiue to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. Si peccauerit in me frater meus, quoties dimittā ei? Septies? &c. Et Christus: non dico tibi septies, sed septuagesies septies. The popes priests a blasphemer. *Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding. Of this Henrie Spencer bishop of Norwich did the yere 1382. Greg. Regist. lib. 10.

The



10. Article. The 10. article is this, that our bishop puts to me, that I should haue said: that a man geuing his almes to anie man after his dome (not hauing need) sinnes, in so giuing.

Answere. This article soothlie I said not in these termes: But of this matter I haue spoken, and will with protestation made before on this wise: that it is needfull to give almes to ich man that asketh it bodily or ghostlie, but not to giue to ich shamelesse begger, strong and mightie of bodie, to get his liflode lecherlull and will not, and in that degree so he be, men owen not to giue it to such a one, that bee vnreasonable and herth, so if he giue it to him wittinglie, he sinnes as fautor of his dilenes. Vnde Sap. 12. Si beneficeris, scito cui beneficeris, & erit gloria in bonis tuis multa.

Of the meteneth of begging freers.

11. Article. The 11 article is this, that is put to me, that I should haue said, that it is not in the power of anie prelate of what euer priuate religion, to grant letters of the good dedes of her order, ne such benefices grauntet profits not to hele of soules to hem that they ben grauntet to.

Answere. I said neuer thus in these termes: but thus I say with protestation, that prelates of priuate religion mowen graunt, letters of the good dedes of her order: But the ghostly mede that comes of good dedes, they mow not grant, for that is onelie proprie to God. And if they blinde the people in misbeleefe for her worldlie winning, wittinglie beheeting hem of her owne graunt ghostly medes in heauen by her letters and her seale (uncertaine, who shall be damned) but make the people bolder to sinne by trust of her praiers: bit is none heal to the soules, but harmes to that one and to that other. For God shall yeld to echone after here werks. Ipse reddet vnicuique secundum opera sua.

Good dedes of the other profit nothing.

12. Article. The 12. article is this: that our bishop puts to me, that I many times and oft haue come (he saies) to a desert wood, cleped Derwallwode of his Diocese: and there in a chappell not hallowed, but accurset * Thephearde his halke, by mine owne follie he saies haue presumed to sing (but rather to curse) in contempt of the rules.

Of thecrycote.

Answere. Hereto I say, that this is falsly put vpon me of hem that told you this. For it is a chappell where a priest sings certaine daies in the yeare, with great solemnitie: and certes I neuer song therin seth I was borne into this world.

The accusers proued with a lie.

13. Article. The 13. article is this, that I should also presume to sing in an vnhallower chappell, that stonds in the parke of Newton, besides the towne of Leyntwardy of this same Diocese.

Another lie. Answere. 14 Article. Truely I wot not where the place stonds.

The 14 article is this, that I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply without oth to affirme or to denie, and if he sweare he sinnes.

Answere. This article said I not that I haue mind of, in this maner: But oft I haue said and yet will, that men should not sweare by anie creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel, as wolnigh all the people vseth, and therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in sweating. For from the old vnto the yong, and namely men of holie Church, beten his hell, and few bishops purtuen hem therefore.

Soliweare by no creature.

15. Article. The 15. article is this, that I should haue taught to true men of Christ, that on no maner they should worship the Image of him that was done on the crosse, or the Image of the blessed mayd his mother, or of other Saints into honour and worship of the same ordeinet in y mind of them. And oft sithes the worshipper of such image, he has repioued, saying and strongue affirming, that churchmen sinnen and done Idolatrie. 15. Article.

Answere. This conclusion haue I not said in these termes. But this I say with protestation, that God commaundes in his lawe in diuers places: Exod. 20. Leuit. 19. & 26. Deut. 5. & 7. Tobiæ 1. Baruc. 6. 2. ad Corin 10. Esay 45. Iere. 2. 6. 8. & 10. 22. & vltimo, Sapient. 13. & 14. & 15. Mac. 5. & Threnorum 4. & postremo that men should not worshippen grauen Images that ben werkes of mens hands: And also he bids that men should not make to hem grauen Images in likenesse of the things that ben in heauen, to that end to worshippen hem: sethen neither God ne Christ by his manhood gaue neuer commandement to make these Images, ne expresse counsell, ne his Apostles in all his lawe, ne to worship such that bene made. But well I wote, that by mens owne relation that haue misbeleeue in hem, that many men sinnen in maumetrie worshipping such dead Images: * Not for thy, to tho men bene I nogge good to whom they haue bene but talendars, a through the sight of hem they knowen the better and worshippen oft God and his Saints. And for such men they done harme that setten her hope and trust in hem or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his heft. Vnde ait Gregorius in Registro libro 10. in Epistola ad Serenum Episcopū: Si quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe: adorare omnino prohibe. Sed hoc solicitè fraternitas tua admoneat, vt ex visione rei gestæ, ardorem compunctionis percipiant, vt in adoratione tocius trinitatis prosternantur. Images not to be worshipped. *Not for thy, that is, notwithstanding. Greg. Regist. lib. 10.

These conclusions, points, and articles that I haue vnder protestation, in this booke affirmed: I will stand by hem, and maintaine hem (with the grace of almighty God) to the time that the contrarie be proued buelie by Gods law. And this protestation I make for my faith & my beliefe as I did at the beginning: that whensoeuer this worshipfull or any other christen man shewes me beraily by Gods lawe the contrarie of this, I will holy forsake hem, and take me to the verray trouth and better vnderstanding of wiser men, readie to be amended by the law of Jesu Christ, and be a true christen man and faithfull some of holy church: And of these I beseech you all beare witnesse where ye commen.

*Subsequenter vero, quia fide dignorum relatione recepimus, quod idem Gulielmus Swinderby latitabat, quo minus posset in propria persona citari, ipsum Gulielmum vigi & modis per Edictum publicum ad instar albi prætoris in Ecclesia nostra cathedrali Herfordensi & parochialibus ecclesiis de Kington Croffte, & Whitney nostræ diocesis: vbidem Gulielmus solebat commorari citari fecimus, prout & quemadmodum in modo citatorio continetur, cuius tenor sequitur in hac verba.*

Will. Swinderby hearing himselfe front the Bishop was cited as ye follow-eth.

## ¶ The citation.

The tenors of the citation.

IOhn by Gods permission bishop of Hereford, to his deare sonnes our deane of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almaly, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Ky: ngton, Lardersley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of S. Johns aultar in our cathedrall church of Hereford, and to the reft of the deanes, parsons, vicars, chaplcines, parish priests, and to other, whosoeuer in any place are appointed through our citie and dioces of Hereford: sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

We bid and commaund, charging you straitly, in the vertue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to bee cited peremptorily (and vnder the paine of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be a priest: That he appeare before vs, or our Commissarie the 20. day of this present moneth of July, at North Lodebury, within our dioces, with the continuance of the dayes following in the same place also to be affigned vnto him if it be expedient, till such things as haue bene and shalbe laid against him be fully discussed, to answere more at large to certaine positions and articles, touching the catholike faith, and the holy mother churches determination, that haue been exhibited and minisired vnto the said William. And to see and heare also many things that haue openly in iudgement before vs, and a great number of faithful christians by him bene euen in writing confessed, to be condemned as hereticall, falle, schismaticall and erroneous. And to see and heare positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proued by faithfull witnesses and other lawfull crials against the said William. And to receiue for his false, hereticall, erroneous and schismaticall doctrine that iustice shall appoint, or els to shewe causes why the premisses should not be done.

And if the said William lieth priuily, or els cannot be so cited in his proper person: we will that in your churches when most people shall then come together to diuine seruice, you openly with a loud voice, and that may be vnderstanded, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited vnto the premisses, certifying the same William, that whether hee shall appeare the day and place appointed or no, wee notwithstanding will proceede vnto the premisses against the said William according to the canonicall decrees by forme of law, in the absence or contumacie of the said William notwithstanding. We will moreouer if the said William shal appeate at the said day and place, as is aforesaid, before vs, friendly heare him, and honestly, and fauourably, as farre as we may with Gods leaue, deale with him: granting free licence to come and to go for his naturall liberrie without any hurt either in bodie or goodes. And see that you fully certifie vs of the things that you or any of you shall doe about the execution of this our commandement, and that by your letters patents signed with your seale aurenticall, giuing also faithfully to the said William or to his lawfull Procter, if he require it, a copie of this our present commandement.

Giuen at our house of Whitburne vnder our seale the fift day of the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lord 1391.

The first sitting against William Swinderby. Anno 1391

On Thursday, the 11. of Julie, in the peare of the Lord aforesaid: We in the parish Church of North Lideburie afore said, about 6. of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, after that it was reported vnto vs how the aforesaid William was personallie taken and lawfullie cited: Caused the same William and there appeare in iudgement to be called out, to do, heare & receiue such things, where to he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that shuld inflice thonld perswade. And the said William appeared neither by himselfe, nor by procter: but onely by a seruant (whose name we know not) he sent a certaine schedule of paper, made like an indenture vnto vs to excuse him. After which schedule seen, read and with right deliberation waighed, and in any wise not withstanding, we adiudged the said William, after he was often called, and long euen to the due houre taried for, and by no meanes appearing, worthily for his obstinacie, & for his stubbornnesse, assigned vnto him the 29. date of Julie in y church of Paulley, to appeare before vs with the foresaide saueguarde, to answere more fully to such articles and other wise to heare, receiue, and doe as bifore is noted.

Mr. s. The

The second dayes act.

The second sitting against William Swinderby.

Upon Saturday being the 29. of Julie, and in the yeare of the Lord aforesaid, we John by Gods permission the foze reuerend bishop in the church of Pontefburie, of our Diocez, at fire of the clocke, or thereabout, sitting in iudgement; made the said William of Swinderby to be openlie called, that (as was to him appointed and assigned) he should appeare before vs, to answere to the foresaid articles more fully, and to declare the said articles as the darknesse of his answeres did worthilie require. And that the said William being called, and long for a due time looked for, did make no meanes to appeare: and so we pronounced him to be obstinat, and for his obstinatenesse (to ouercome his malice, and of our exceeding fauour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the 8. of August, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our diocez, vnto the said William for the same thing.

The third daies act.

The third sitting against William Swinderby.

Upon Tuesday, the 8. of August, the yeare aforesaid, I John by Gods permission Bishop of Herefoid aforesaid, in the church of Cleobury Mortemere, about fire of the clocke, sitting in iudgement, caused foresaid William Swinderby, to be called manie times openlie, to doe and receiue about the premisses, according to the appointment of the same daie that iustice should aduise; which William did not appeare at all. Wherevpon, we after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but not appearing at all, did iudge him worthilie (as of right apperteined) obstinate: and for his obstinatenesse assigned him the 16. day of the same moneth of August next following, in the parish Church of Whithorne of the same our diocez, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all lawes, muniments, and other kindes of proofes, and to see all witnesses brought forth, admitted and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to proue the foresaid articles, or at leastwise some of the same.

The fourth dayes act.

The fourth sitting against William Swinderby.

Upon Wednesday the 16. day of the moneth of August the yeare aforesaid, we John the bishop in the parish church of Whithorne aforesaid of our diocez, sitting in iudgement, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called: who (as is aforesaid) appeared not at all: whom after that he was so called, proclaimed and long looked for, and yet by no meanes appearing, we pronounced to be obstinate. We recited also by certaine faithfull christians, and zealous men for the catholicke faith of our diocez a certaine proces made and had at another time against the same William, before the reuerend father in God and Lord, Lord John by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincolne, confirmed by the hanging on of the seale of the same reuerend father, the Lord Bishop of Lincolne. The tenor whereof word for word is contained before. And these faithfull christians moreouer against the obstinatenesse of the said William Swinderby brought forth discreete men, M. William Lewes, parson of the parish Church of Bruneriie, and also Edmund Materdon, parish Chaplaine of the Chapell of S. and Roger Newton, and Hugh Shepperd, lay men of the diocez of Lincolne, asking instantlie that they might be receiued for witnesses, to proue some of the foresaid articles, whom against the obstinatenesse of the said William Swinderby, we thought good to receiue and did receiue, and their oathes to the holy Gospels of God, being layd hands on corporally in our hand. And did diligently examine them in proper person seuerallie in forme of law: whose sayings and depositions are afterward brought in, and at the instance of the same faithfull christians, we assigned the second day of September then next following to the said William Swinderby, to sale and alledge against the said processe, witnesses, and their sayings, in the said church of Whithorne: decreeing that a copie should be made for him of these things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses.

Of this processe mention is made before pag. 428

Here we faile in our copy, till the Register come to our hands againe.

by the doze, but wendith vpon an other halfe, hee is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth, how he that sieth from the flocke, is not the shepheard but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheepe.

7. Conclusion.

☞ To the second conclusion that he taleth is errour as here, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of Lordships of priests that bene euill liuers.

Declaration.

I say, me seemeth that the conclusion is true, and is this: that it were needefull and lefull to secular Lordes by way of charity, and by power giuen to them of God, in default of Prelates that amend naught by Gods lawe: Curses curates that openlie misuse the goods of the holy church, that ben poore mens goods: and cullomably ayens the law of God, the which poore men, Lordes ben holden to maintaine and defend) to take awaie and to deale from such curates, poore mens goods in helpe of the poore, and their owne willfull offerings, and their bodily almes deedes of worldly goods, and giue them to such as bielie seruen God in the church: and ben readie in vpbearing of the charge that prelates shoulden doe, and done it not. And as auences taking away of temporalities: I say thus, that it is lefull to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalties, and their almes that they haue giuen them vpon condition, that they shoulden serue God the better: when they wexily serue that their giuing and taking bene contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christes liuing, and his Apostles, and namely in that they taken vppon them, that they shoulden be nere followers of Christ and his apostles, in poornesse and meeknesse, to be secular lords against the teaching of Christ and of Saint Peter. Cruelie me seemeth that all christen men and namelie Priestes shoulden take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The Priestes of the olde law weren forbidden, to haue lordships among their brethren: for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the new Testament forsooke worldlie lordship, and was here in fourme of a seruant, and forbad his priests such lordships, and said. Reges gentium dominantur eorum, &c. vos autem non sic. That is: the kings of the heathen, beare dominion and rule, &c. But you shall not do so. And as Saint Peter saith: Neque dominantes in clero, &c. Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie, &c. So it seemeth me, that it is against both lawes of God, that they haue such lordships, and that their title to such lordships is not full good: And so it seemeth me, that if they haue bene herto of euill liuing, it is no great perill to take away from them, such lordships, but rather meedfull, if the taking abate were in charitie, and not for singular couetousnesse ne enuie. And I suppose that if riers, that bene bounden to their saudders, haue in powerlie, would breake their rule and take worldlie lordships: might not men lawfullie take from them such Lordships, and make them to liue in peuertie as their rule would? And forsooth it seemeth me, that Priestes oughten also well to keepe Chiftes rule, as friers oweu to keepe the rule of their founder. Jeremie witnesseth, how God commended Rachabs children, for they would not breake their fadders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremie profered them wine to drinke. And so I trowe, that God would commend his Priests, if they wouldden forsake worldlie lordships, and holden them as apseth with licfot, and with clothing: and liuke them to fast about their heritage of heauen. And God saith, Numer. 18. In terra eorum nihil possidebitis, nec tenebitis partem inter eos: Ego pars & hæreditas vestra in medio filiorum Israel, &c. Et Deut. 18. Non habebitis sacerdotes & Leuitæ & omnes qui de eadem tribu estis, partem & hæreditatem cum reliquo Israel, quia sacrificia Domini & oblationes eius comedent, & nihil accipient de possessione fratrum suorum. Dominus enim ipse hæreditas ipsorum, sicut locutus est illis. Et Lucæ 14. Sic ergo omnis ex vobis, qui non renunciauerit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus. Et Deuteronymus in Epistola 34. Et Bernardus libro 2o. ad Eugenium Papam. Et Hugo de Sacramentis, parte 2. libri Secundi cap. 7. Et 12. q. pri. cap. duo sunt: Et cap. clericus. Et Bernardus in Sermone de Apostolis, super illud: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia. Et Chrysost. super Matth. Et vetus Testamentum. That is: You shall haue no inheritance in their land, nor haue no part amongst them: I will be your part and inheritance amongst the children of Israel, &c. Deut. 18. The Priests and Leuites, and all that bee of the same tribe shall haue no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel: because they shall eate the sacrifices of the Lord and his obiations, and they shall take nothing of the possession of their brethren. The Lord himselfe is their possessions, as he spake vnto them. And the 14. chapter of Luke: Sucn is euery one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. And Jerome in his 14. Epistle hath the like words. And Bernard in his 20. Boke to Eugenius the Pope. And also Hugo in his Boke De Sacramentis, the second part of his second boke the 7. chapter. And also in the 12. q. first chapter, Duo sunt, and in the chapter Clericus. And againe, Bernard in his boke De sermone de Apostolis, vpon this place: Ecce nos reliquimus omnia: Behold we leaue all, &c. Chrysostome vpon the Gospell of S. Matth. &c.

Euery gift giuen vpon condition is fruitlesse vpon the breach of euery such condition.

3. Conclusion.

☞ The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of Priests, withouten leaue of Bishops, and is this, that such true Priests may counsell sinfull men; that theiven to them their sinnes, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turne hem from sinne to vertuous life, and as touching preaching of the Gospell.

Declaration.

I say that no Bishop oweth to let a true Priest, that God hath giuen grace, wit and cunning to doe that office. For both Priests and Deacons that God hath ordained Deacons or Priests bene holden by power geuen to them of God, to preach to the people the Gospell: and namely, and somerelie popes, bishops, prelates and curates: for this is due to the people and the parishiers, to haue it and aske it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his Disciples: Ite & prædicate Euangelium omni creaturæ, Goe and preach the Gospell to all creatures, as well as he said, Ite & baptizate omnes gentes, Goe and baptise all nations, that also as well longeth preaching

Remission double.



A priest admitted ought to preach, though the prince and bishop forbid, so that he preach the word.

thing to priests without leaue of a bishop, as both baptising; & then why may he not preach Gods word withouten a bishops leaue? And sithen Christ bod his Priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The Apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Jerusalem, to speake more of the name of Jesus; but Peter said: Si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire quam Dominum, iudicate. That is, whether it be iust in the sight of God to heare and obey you before the Lord; be your selues iudges. A bishop may not let a priest of giuing bodnise alwes in his diocesse: much more may he not let the doing of spiritual almes in his diocesse by Gods law. A priest may say his Dattins withouten the bishops leaue: for the pope that is aboue the bishop, hath charged priests therewith: And me thinketh that Chists bidding should be all so much of charge as the popes. Mathew 10. Euntes autem prædicate, Ite, ecce ego mitto vos. Et Mar. 16. Euntes in mundum vniuersum, &c. Lucæ 10. Et Anacletus pap. dist. 21. cap. In nouo Testamento. Et Beda super illud: Messis quidem multa. Et Isidorus de summo bono, cap. 44. Et Gregorius in canone dist. 43. Præconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. Et Chrysostom. distinct. 43 Nolite timere. Et August. dist. 34. cap. quisquis. Et Gregorius in suo pastorali, cap. 38. qui enim est. Et Chrysostom. hom. 31. & in Tollitano concilio: Ignorantia. Et August. in Prologo sermonum suorum, & Ieronymus, dist. 9. Ecce ego. Et August. super id: Homo quidam peregrinus. That is, Goe you forth and preach. And againe, Behold I send you, &c. Mark. 16. Go you into all the world, &c. and Luk. 10. cap. in nouo Testamento. And Beda vpon this place, Messis quidem multa: the harnest is great. Also Isidorus, De summo bono, cap. 44. And Gregorius in the canon in distinct. 43. Præconis quippe officium suscipit, &c. and Chrysostome in his 34. distinction, Nolite timere: And Augustine in the 34. distinction, cap. quisquis. And Gregorius in his pastorall, cap. 38. Qui enim est. And Chrysostome in his 31. Homilie, Et in Tollitano concilio, Ignorantia. And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95. distinct. Ecce ego. And Augustine vpon this place, Homo quidam peregrinus: A certaine traueller.

If the Pope may take from the Friers to make them obey Saint Francis rule, may not the Emperour take from the Pope to cause him keepe Christs rule?

The fourth conclusion.

☞ The fourth conclusion toucheth the Sacrament of the altar, and is this:

Declaration.

That wholly I beleue that the sacrament of the altar made by vertue of heauenly words, is bread and Christs bodie: so as Christ himselfe saith in the Gospell, and as Saint Paul saith, and as Doctors in the common law haue determined: To this sentence John 6. Moses hath not giuen you bread from heauen, but my Father will giue you bread from heauen. He is the true bread that came downe from heauen, and giueth life vnto the world. My Father giueth vnto you bread in deed: the verie true bread of God is that, which came downe from heauen and giueth life vnto the world. I am the bread of life: The bread which I will giue is my flesh. And in the canon of the Masse, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, the holie bread of life. And Cointhians the tenth chapter and first epistle: The bread which we breake, is it not the communicating of the bodie of the Lord? Let a man proue himselfe, and so eat of that bread, &c. And Canon De consecratione, distinction 2. vnder the authozitie of Hilarius the pope: Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari, &c. And Augustine in the foresaid distinction: That which is seene, is bread, &c. That which faith requireth, is bread and is the bodie of Chsill. And in the foresaid distinction, cap. Omnia quæcunque, &c. Bp these things bene faces it is manifestly declared, that that bread and this, be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he saith, the bread and flesh. And the author, De diuinis officiis, and also Augustine in his boke De remedijs pœnitentiæ: Why prepareste thou thy teeth? &c. And Ambrose, De Sacramentis: de consecratione, dist. 2. Reuera mirabile est, &c. This meate which you receiue, and this bread of one which descended from heauen, doth minister the substance of eternall life, and whosoeuer shall eat the same shall not die euerlastingly, and is the bodie of Chsill. Note how he saith, and is the bodie of Chsill.

The seuenth conclusion.

Declaration.

☞ The seuenth point speaketh of the pope, and is this: Sith it is only due to God, as I haue said before, to geue and to grant plener remission, from paine, and from blame: that whatsoeuer he be pope or other that presumptuously misfaketh vpon him the power that only is due to God, in that, in as much as in him is, he maketh himselfe euen with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said: Ascendam, & ero similis altissimo: That is, I will ascend, and be like the highest, &c.

The pope maketh himselfe euen with Christ.

For that I say, if the pope hold men of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordship, to benge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geueth remission to fight and to slay them, that contrarien him, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Herwich, not putting his sword in his heath, as God commanded to Peter: he is Antichsit. For he doth the contrarie of the commandement of Jesus Christ, that bad Peter seignen to his brother seuentie sithe seuen sithe. Well I find in the Gospell, that when Christ sent his disciples to Samaria, the Samaritans would not receiuen them. And some of them bidden Christ, that he should make a fire come downe from heauen, to destroy the citie. And he blamed them and said: Nescitis cuius spiritus estis: Filius hominis non venit animas perdere, sed saluare. That is, ye know not of what spirit ye are: The Sonne of man is not come downe to destroy, but to saue the liues and soules of men, &c. If Christ come to saue men, and not to slea them: who that doth the reuers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is Antichsit. Christ had Peter in his sword in his heath, and said: Omnes qui gladium acceperint, gladio peribunt. That is: All which take the sword, shall perish with the sword. And I cannot find that Peter dieu out his sword after that time, but suffered as Christ said: Cum senueris, alius cinget te, & ducet quò tu non vis. That is, when thou shalt wax old, another shall gird thee and lead thee whither thou wilt not. And therefore said Peter, Christ suffered for vs, leauing vs example that we should follow his steps. And Paul saith, Not defending your selues, but giue place to anger: leaue reuenging to me, and I shall reward them, &c. And therefore he seemeth to me, that it is much against Christs loze, that his vicar should be a fighter, sithen that he mate be a shepheard, that should go before his sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with swords to driue them away from him. For as Christ saith, a good shepheard shall put his life for his sheepe. And zit all that Christ had two swords then that he was taken of the Jewes, he said himselfe, it was for that the Scriptures mote zit be fulfilled: Quoniam cum iniquis deputatus est: that is, he was reputed among the wicked, and not to figure two swords, that men sayen the pope hath to gouerne with the church. And sithen I see such doings of the pope, and many other that ac-

The bishop of Herwich, Deuise Spalter the popes warriour lee by of the pope to slay his enemies, pag. 411.

The pope contrarie to Christ.

The pope against Peters sword Antichsit.

Two swords neuer giuen to the pope.

The texts of scripture in Wiclifes translation.

ordeined not with Christs lore, ne his living: And when I reade diuers Scriptures of holy writte, I am sonie astonied whether they shoulden be vnderstanded of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Godes loue tell me the soth. Christ saith: Manie shall come in my name, saying: I am Christ, and shall deduce manie, &c. Christ I wot well is as much to say, as he that is annointed, and two annointings there weren in the law, one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope saith that he is. And if all that haue bene enuerours of Rome, and other heathen kings haue bene Antichrists, they come not in Christs name. But who so commeth in Christs name, and fairest him Christs friend, and he be pitilie his enemie, he may lightlie beguile manie. Saint Paul saith: before there commeth a defection first and the sonne of perdition shall be reuealed, which is the aduersarie, and is extolled aboue all that is named God, or which is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as God. And it followeth in the same place: And now ye know what holdeth till he be reuealed in his time, for he worketh already the mysterie of iniquitie. Only he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be reuealed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, &c. And Saint John saith in the Apocalyps: I saw another beast ascending out of the earth, and two hornes like to the lambe. He spake like the dragon, and had the power of the first beast. Manie such authorities astonieth me of sithes: And therefore I praie you for the loue of God, to tell me what they meane.

Mention was made of this in the first Parliament before the first Rich. Act. pag 433.

## The sentence.

THe which schedule afore mentioned, wish the contents thereof diligently of vs perused, we considering the diseases which be not easily cured with gentle remedie, must haue harder plasters. Considering moreouer these his articles with his answeres to the same, and to other articles also lastly against him produced, first mature deliberation had before vpon the whole matter, with the foresaid maisters and doctors of diuinitie, and as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalfe, haue giuen sentence against the said William in forme as followeth.

The sentence gone against him.

The name of Christ being inuocated, we Iohn by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunall seat, hauing God before our eies, weighing and considering the articles by the foresaid faithfull christians put vp against the said Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be priest, with his answeres vpon the same, Actis & Actitatis before vs in the cause of hereticall peruersitie, with mature deliberation had before in this behalfe, with maisters and doctors of diuinitie, and also of other faculties, with their counsell and consent: Do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to haue bene and to be an heretike, schismatike, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be anoided of faithfull christians. Wherefore we admonish, vnder the paine of the law, all and singuler christians, of what sexe, state or condition so ever they be, straitlie charging: that neither they nor any of them within our diocesse, or any other, do beleeue, receiue, defend, or fauour the said William, till he shall deserue fully to be reconciled to the bosome againe of holy church.

## The appeale of William Swinderby from this sentence of the bishop prefixed, vnto the king and his counsell.

The appeale of William Swinderby from the sentence of the bishop to the king and his counsell.

IN nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen. I William Swinderby priest, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the bishop of Hereford, the third day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to answere to certaine conclusions of the faith that I was accused of. And mine answere was this, that if the bishop or any man couthe shein me by Gods law, that my conclusions or my answeres were errour or heresie, I would be amended, and openly reuoke them before all the people. I knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden sligly with word, that there was errours in them, and bidden me subiect me to the bishop, and put me into his grace and reuoke mine errour, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proued which they weren. And for I would not knowledge me guiltie, so as I knew no errour in them, of which I should be guiltie, therefore the bishop sate in dome in mine absence, and demned me an heretike, a schismatike, and a teacher of errours, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore for this vnrightfull iudgement, I appeale to the kings Iustices for many other causes.

* Something is left out here in the copie.

The causes why he appealed to the kings court.

One cause is, for the kings court, in such matter is aboue the bishops court: For after that the bishop has accursed, he may no feare by his law, but then mote he seek succour of the kings law, and by a writte of Significauit, put a man in prison.

The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth iudgement of death, and that dome may not be giuen without the kings Iustices. For the bishop will say: Nobis non licet inferficere quenquam: That is, It is not lawfull for vs to kill a nie man: as they saiden to Pilat, when Christ should be demed. And so: I thinke that no Iustice will giue sodainly and vntrue dome, as the bishop did, and therefore openly I appeale to hem, and send my conclusions to the knights of the Parliament, to be shewed to the lords, and to be taken to the Iustices, to be well assist or that they giuen dome.

The third cause is, for it was a false dome: for no man is an heretike, but he, that maisterfully defends his error or heresie, and stiffely maintaines it. And mine answere has bene alway conditionall, as the people openly knowes, for euer I say, and yet say, and alway will: that if they cannen shein me by Gods law that I haue erret, I will gladly bene amended, and reuoke mine errours, and so I am no heretike, ne neuermore in Gods grace will ben en no wise.

What is an heretike.

The fourth cause is: For the bishops law, that they demne men by, is full of errours and heresies, contrarie to the truth of Christs lore of the Gospell.

The bishops law of condemnation full of heresies and errours.

For there as Christs law bids vs loue our enemies, the popes law giues vs leaue to hate them and to slay them, and grants men pardon to werren against heathen men, and slay hem. And there as Christs law teach vs to be mercifull, the bishops law teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greatest wretch that men moiwen done on him that guiltie is.

There as Christs law teaches vs, to bleslen him that discaren vs, and to pray for him: the popes law teacheth vs to curse them, and in their great sentence that they giuen, they presume to daunne hem to hell that they curssen. And this is a foule heresie of blasphemie: there as Christs law bids vs be patient, the popes law inditties vs to swoords, that wherewith he smiteth the sheep of the church. And he has made lords and kings to sweare to defend him and his church.

There as Christs law forbiddeth vs lechery, the popes law inditties the abominable whoredome of common women, and the bishops in some place haue a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

The contraire betweene the pope and Christ.

There as Christs law bids to minister spirituall things freely to the people: the pope with his law sels for money, after the quantitie of the gift, as pardons, orders, blessing, and Sacraments, and prayers, and heresies, and preaching to the people, as it is knowne amonght them.

There as Christs law teaches peace: the pope with his law astailes men for money to gouer the people, priests, and other to sight for his cause.

There as Christs law forbids sweating: the popes law inditteth sweating, and compels men thereto.

Whereas Christs law teacheth his priests to be pore, the pope with his law, inditties and maintaines priests to bee lords.

And yet the fifth cause is, for the popes law that bishops demen men by, is the same vnrightfull law that Christ was demet by of the bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisies. For right as at that time they gauen more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, then they creden to all the people that witnesseden to his true preaching and his miracles: so the bishops of the popes law geuen more leuer by their law to two heretikes and apostates, or two comen women that woulden witnessleden against a man in the cause of heresie, than to thousands of people that were true and good. And for the pope is this Antichrist, & his law contrarie to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I red all christen men. For thus by another point of this law, they mighten compell much of this law to: For whom they can by this law present a man an heretike: his goods shulen be forfet from him and from his heires, and so might they lightly haue two or three false witnesses to record an heresie against what true man so hem liked. Therefore me thinkes, that what soeuer that I am a christen man I may lawfull appeale from a false dome of the law, to be rightcously demet by the trouth of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serue, I appeale openly to my Lord Iesu Christ that shall deme all the world, for he, I wot well, will not share for no man to deme a trouth. And therefore I praie God almightie with Dauid in the Sauter booke, Deus iudicium tuum regi da, & iustitiam tuam filio regis: iudicare populum tuum in iustitia & pauperes tuos in iudicio. That is, O God giue thy iudgement to the king, and thy iustice to the kings sonne: to iudge thy people in iustice, and thy powre ones in iudgement, &c.

The cause why Swinderby forsooke the pope.

## A letter sent to the nobles and burgesses of the parliament, by master William *Swinderby*.

A fruitfull letter to the lords and burgesses of the parliament.

IEsu that art both God and man, helpe thy people that louen thy law, and make knowen through thy grace thy teaching to all christen men. Deare firs, so as we seen by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, and all that euer haue bene forth brought of Adams kind into this world shulen come to gedeer at domesday rich and poore, ichone to geue accompt and receiue after his deeds, ioy or paynen for euermore: Therefore make we our werkes good, ye while that God of mercie abides, and be ye stable and true to God, and ye shulen see his helpe

Psalm. 119. Louit. 16.



helpe about you. *Confitantes estote & videbitis auxilium Domini super vos:* This land is full of ghostly cowards, in ghostlie battell few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of al that falleth (to that his heart brast for our loue) against the fiend the doughtie duke comforteth vs thus: *Estote fortes in bello*, &c. Be ye strong in battel, he saies, and fight ye with the old adder. *State in fide, viriliter agite*, &c. Wake ye and pray ye, stond yee in beleeue, doe yee manly and bee yee comforter, and let all your things be done with charitie: For S. Paul bids thus in his epistle, that saw the priuities of God in heauen: *Euigilate satis*, &c. Awake ye that been righteous men, be ye stable and vnmoueable: Awake yee quickly and sleepe nought, and stond now strongly for Gods law. For S. John in the Apocalypse saies, blessed be hee that awakes: for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the houre is now as Paul saith to vs, from sleepe for to rise, for he that earely awakes to me, he shall find me, saith Christ himselfen. This waking ghostly is good liuing out of sinne: this sleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same thorough a deceiueable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heauen: the fiend makes men bold in sin, and ferd to do worship to God: death is a likening to a theefe that priuie stealeth vpon a man that now is rich, and full of weale, anon he makes him a needie wretch: therefore said God by S. John in the Apocalyps in this wife, Be thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre. And if the husbandman (saies Christ) wist what houre the theefe should come, he would wake and suffer him not to vndermine his house. Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith, wake and be ye ware, suffer ye no man (he saies) as a theefe, but willinglie for Gods loue, for it is time (as Peter saies) that dome begin from the house of God. Yee bene the bodie of Christ (saieth Poul) that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies bene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curset be he (saies Poul) that loues not Iesu Christ. And who it is that loues him, Christ himselfe tels in a spell, he that has my hests, and keepes them, he it is that loues me. Cursed he be therefore (saies Poul) that doth Christs workes deceiueable. Be ye not therefore (saies Poul) ashamed of the true witnesse of Iesu Christ, for Christ our God saies in his Gospell, he that shames me and my words, him shall mans sonne ashame when he shall come for to set in the siege of his Maiesty. And each man, he saies, that knowes me and my words before men, in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans sonne shall knowledge him before my father, saies Christ himselfe, when he shall come with his Angels in the glorie of his father. Sith ye therefore bene christen men, that is to say, Christes men, shew in deed that ye been such as ye daren shew you the kings men, for his had bene, as Peter saies, better not to haue knowen the way of trouth, then after the knowing thereof to bee conuerted backward there from. Wee knowen Christ, that is trought, we sain all through our beliefe, if we turne from him for dred, truly we deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knowes but God, do we the good that we may to Gods worship, when wee haue time. Bee true (saies God) to the death, and you shall haue the crowne of life. And thinke on Iudas Machabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to be the followers of his law. And geue ye, he said, your liues for the Testament of your fathers. And ye shullen win, he said, great ioy, and a name for euermore. Was not Abraham, he said, in temptation founden true, and was * areckted vnto him euermore to righteousnes: Ioseph in time of his anguish hee kept truly Gods hest, he was made by Gods prouidence lord of Egypt, for his trouth. Phinees our fadure louing, he saith, the zeale of God tooke the testament of euerlasting Priesthood. Iosue for he fulfillee the word of God was domes man in Israel. Caleph that witnessed in the church, he tooke therefore the heritage, he saith. Dauid in his mercie he gate the siege of the kingdome in worlds: Holy for that he loued the zeale of Gods law, was taken vp into heuen. Ananie, Azarie, and Misael, hee saies, weren deliuered thoore through true beliefe out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenes was deliuered from the lions mouth. Bethinke ye therefore, he saies, by generation and generation, and thou shalt neuer find that he failed that man that truly trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, he saies, of the words of a sinfull man: his glorie is, he saies, but wormes and tords: he is to day, he saith, ymade hie, to morrow he saies he is not founden, for he is turned, he saies, into his earth againe, and the mind of him is perisher. Sonnes therefore, he saies, be ye comforters, and die manly in the law: for when ye han done that that God commands you to do, ye shullen be glorious in him. And Dauid the king saies also on this wise in the Psalter booke: blessed be they (Lord) that keepen thy law, in worlds of worlds they shall praise thee. And in Leuiticus saies God thus, gif that ye wenden in mine hests and keepen my commandements, and done hem, I shall bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shullen eat your bread in fulnesse, yee shoulen dwell in your land without drede, I shall giue peace in your coastes, ye shall sleepe and no man shall disseyse. Euill beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not passe your termes, ye shulne pursue your enemies, and they shal fall

* Reckoned.

Daniel 14.

before you, fifte of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies, he saith, shullen fall through sword, and your sute. I shall, he saies, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall be multiplied: And I shal strengthen with you my couenant, ye shall eat the aldest, and the new shull come in thereon. And ye shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amonges you, and shall be your God, and ye shulne be my people. If that ye heare me not, ne done nought all my hests but dispisen my law and my domes, and that yee done not tho things that of me bene ordenet, and breaken my commandements and my couenant: I shall do these things to you. I shall visit you surely in nede and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall waste your liues about nought. Ye shulne sow your sede, for his shall be deuourer of enemies, I shal put my face against you, and ye shall fall before your enemies. And ye shullen be vnderlings to them that han hatet you, ye shal flee, no man pursuing. And if ye will not be buxome to me, I shall adde thereunto thornes and feuenfold blame. And I shall all to brast the hardnes of you, I shall geue the heauen aboue you as iron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour be, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruit, ne tree shall geue none apples to you. If that ye wenden against me, and will not heare me, I shall adde hereto, feuenfold wounds for your sins. I shall send amonges you beasts of the field that shall deuour you and your beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and waies shulne be desart. And if that ye will not receiue lore, but wenden against me, I will also wenden against you, and I shall smite you feuen sithes for your sinnes. I shall lead in vpon you, sword, venger of my couenant: and vpon the fleen into cities, I shall send pestilence in the middest of you. So that ten women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them againe by waight, and ye shall eat, and be not fillet. If that ye heare me not by these things, but wenden against me, I shall wend in against you in a contrarie woodnesse, and blame you with seuen plagues for your sins, so that they shoulen eat the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And insomuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wildernesse, and your sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shall not ouer that receiue sweet oder of your mouth. And I shall disperkle your land, and enemies shullen maruell thereon, when they shulen inhabit it, I shall disperkel you among Heathen, and draw my sword after you. These vengeances and many mo, God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and dispiseth his lawes, and his domes. Than sith Christ become man, and bought vs with his heart blood, and has bowed vs so great loue, and giuen vs an easie law, of the best that euer might be made, and to bring vs to the ioy of heauen, and we dispise it and louen it nought: what vengeance will be taken hereon, so long as he has suffered vs, and so mercifully abidden, when he shall come that righteous iudge in the clouds to deme this world? Therefore turne we vs to him, and leaue sinne that he hates, and ouer all things maintaine his law that he confirmed with his death. For other lawes that men had made, should be demed at that day by the iust law of Christ, and the maker that them made, and then we wonne this long life and that ioy that Paul speaketh of, that eye ne see nor, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and ioy that God hath ordained to them that louen him and his lawes.

The faithfull counsell of Christian Swinderby.

Deare worshipfull firs in this world I beseech you for Christs loue, as ye that I trew louen Gods law and trouth (that in these daies is greatly borne abacke) that they wollon vouchsafe these things that I send you written to Gods worship, to let them be shewed in the Parliament as your wits can best conceiue, to most worship to our God, and to shewing of the trouth and amending of holy church. My conclusions and mine appeale and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can find therin error, falsenes, or default, prouer by the law of Christ clearely to christen mens knowledge) I shall reuoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law be amended: euer readie to hold with Gods law openly and priuily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine that is contrarie to his law.

¶ Of this procelle, answeres, and condemnation of this worthie Priest and true seruant of Christ, William Swinderby, you haue heard. What afterward became vpon him, I haue not certaulie to say or affirme, whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certaine relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the time of king Richard the second no great harme was done vnto him. Which was to the yere 1401. at what time king Richard being wrongfullie deposed, Henrie the fourth inuaded the kingdome of England. About the beginning of whose raigne we reade of a certaine Parliament holden at London, mentioned also of Thomas Walden (as is aboue specified) in which Parliament it was decreed: that whosoeuer shewed themselues to be fauourers of Wicklifes they should be apprehended, who at that time were called Lollards, and if so be they did obstinately persenere in that doctrine, they should be deliuered ouer vnto the bishop of the diocelle, and from him should be committed to the correction of the secular Magistrate. This law (saith the storie) brought a certaine Priest vnto punishment the same yere, who was

burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This we haue drawen out of a peece of an old storie: and it is most certaine that there such a priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith, but it doth not appeare by the storie, what the priests name was. Notwithstanding by diuers coniectures it appeareth vnto me that his name was Swinderby that was forced to recant before by the bishop of Lincolne. Whereby that is to be coniectured by the premisses, let other men iudge what they thinke. I haue nothing hereof expressly to affirme. This is plaine for all men to iudge (which haue heere sene and read his storie) that if he were burned, then the bishops, friers and priests, which were the causes thereof, haue a great thing to answere to the Lord, when he shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, & seculum per ignem.

## The storie and processe against Walter Brute.

The storie of Walter Brute a Sutton.

AFter the storie of William Swinderby, I thought god and conuenient, next to adioyne the acts and doings of Walter Brute his fellow and companion, being a lay man, and learned: brought vp as it seemeth in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, being there also graduat. The tractation of whose discourse as it is something long, so therein may appeare diuers things worthy to be read and considered.

First, the mightie operation of Gods Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicitie, his valiant constancie, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts sustained against Gods enemies. On the contrarie part in his aduersaries may appeare, might against right, mans authoritie against plaine veritie: against which they hauing nothing directly to answere, proceed in condemnation against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chiefest occasion that seemed to stir vp the heart and zeale of this Walter against the pope: was the impudent pardons and indulgences of pope Vrbane, granted to Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich: to fight against pope Clement, mentioned before pag. 410. Secondlie, the wrongfull condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby, the whole order whereof, in the processe heere following more plainlie may appeare.

Nota zelles Ecclesiæ Hereford.

The processe had by Iohn bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute lay man, and learned, of the diocesse of Hereford, touching the cause of hereste, as they called it, set forward by the way of the bishops office, &c. at the instruction of certaine faithfull christians, as he termed them, but indeed cruell and false promoters.

Wrestling hearts in hiding vnder fayning words.

IN the name of God, Amen. To all maner of faithfull christian people, that shall see and heare this our present processe, Iohn by the sufferance of God bishop of Hereford send greeting and continuall charitie, in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late by many faithfull christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholike faith, it was lamentable done vs to vnderstand by way of complaint: that a certaine son of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute lay person, learned, of our diocelle, hath vnder a cloked shew of holines, damnablie seduced the people; and setting behind him the feare of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day, informing and teaching openly and priuily, as well the nobles as the commons, in certaine conclusions, heereticall, schismaticall, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned. And they haue also probablie exhibited against the same Walter, articles vnderwritten, in maner and forme as followeth.

### *Articles exhibited and denounced to the bishop,* against Walter Brute.

Articles heretofore exhibited against William Swinderby by priests and clarkes.

RVerend father and lord, we the faithfull people of Christ, and zealous louers of the catholike faith, and also your humble and deuout children: do minister and exhibit to your reuerend fatherhod, the articles vnder written, touching a catholike faith, contrarie and against malicious persons, and detractours of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church, and namely against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst the people. Humble beseeching, that you would vouchsafe to haue regard to the correction of the enormities vnder written, according vnto the canonicall constitutions, euen as to your office pastorall doth lie and belong.

The first article.

In primis, we do giue and exhibit and intend to proue, that the saide Walter Brute being vnmindfull of his saluation, hath ben by many and diuers faithfull christian people sundrie times accused of the cursednesse of heresie: As by the swift report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceding before the most reuerend father and lord, lord William archbishop of Canturburie, and also before the reuerend father and lord, lord Iohn late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of S. Asse, hath ben testified, and also hath ben many and diuers times cited to answere vnto articles by him against the catholike faith auouched, and openly and publikely taught: But he in this matter of heresie hath openly, publikely, and notoriously refused (by grieuous and shamefull speech of) hath neuer regarded to purge his innocencie, but lurkingly and running into corners, hath many and sundrie yeres laboured to aduance things erroneous, schismaticall, and also heresies, and to imprint them in the harts of faithfull people.

The second article.

Item, the foresaid Walter Brute hath openly, publikely, and notoriously auouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornely affirmed: that euerie christian man (yea and woman) being without sin, may make the bodie of Christ so well as the priest.

The third article.

Item, the same Walter hath notoriously, openly and publikely auouched and taught, that in the Sacrament of the altar there is not the verie bodie, but a signe and a memoriall only.

The fourth article.

Item, the foresaid Walter hath said commonly and auouched, and also hath laboured to insome men and companies, that no man is bound to giue tithes, nor oblations: and if anie man will needs giue, he may giue his tithes, and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curats.

The fifth article.

Item, that such as do preach and prefer croised matters, and pardons (granted by the high bishop to them that helpe the purpose of the reuerend father lord Henrie by the grace of God bishop of Norwich, when as he take his iourney vpon him to fight for the holy father the pope) are schismatikes and heretikes, and that the pope cannot grant such maner of pardons.

The sixth article.

Item, the said Walter hath oftentimes said, and commonlie auouched, that the pope is Antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and vtterly against the law and life of Christ.

The seuenth article.

Item, whereas of late your reuerence did (at the instance of faithfull christian people) proceed in forme of law against William Swinderby, and that the said William Swinderby had vnto the said articles obiected against him, giuen by his answeres in writing, containing in them errors, illusines and heresies, euen as you with the mature counsell of masters and doctors in Diuinitie, and other faculties haue determined and giuen sentence, and haue pronounced the same William Swinderby to be an heretike, and a schismatike, and an erroneous teacher of the people: Neuertheles the forenamed Walter hath openly, publikely, and notoriously said, auouched, and stubbornely affirmed, that the said Williams answeres (whereof notice hath ben giuen before) are good, righteous, and not able to be conuinced, in that they containe none error, and that your sentence before said, giuen against the same William, is euill, false and vniust: And that your assistants haue wickedly, naughtily, peruerstly, and vniustly condemned the answeres aforesaid.

Otherwise bloonte pronounced.

Now thereupon immediatly those same faithfull christian people haue instantly required that we would vouchsafe that other articles giuen by the same faithfull christians against the said William Swinderby, together with the writings and answeres of the same William thereunto: should be admitted against Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresie: of which articles and answeres, the tenors do follow in these words.

These conclusions and articles of William Swinderby heere repeated, and obiected to Walter Brute are to be found before, pag. 429. and 430.

In primis, that one William Swinderby pretending himselfe priest, was of certaine articles and conclusions erroneous, false, schismaticall and heretical, by him preached, at diuers places and times, before a great multitude of faithfull christians, iudicially conuinced: and the same articles and conclusions did he (inforced by necessitie of law) reuoke and abiure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false: and for such did he auouch them euer afterward, promising to take and beleeue them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or priuily preach, teach, or affirme none of them: nor that he should make sermon or preach within your diocesse without licence demanded and obtained. And in case he should to the contrarie presume, by preaching or auouching, that then he should be subiect to the seueritie of the canons, euen as he iudicially sware accordingly as the law inforced. Also the conclusions abiured by the said William do follow, and are such.

1. Conclusion.

1 In primis, that men by the rule of charitie, may demand debts, but by no meanes imprison any man for debts: and that the partie is imprisoning a bodie, is excommunicated, before pag. 428.

2 Item, that if the parishioners shall know their curat to be incontinent and naughtie; they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c. pag. 428.

3 Item, that tithes are meere almes, and in case that the curats shall be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed vpon others by the temporall owners, &c. pag. 428.

4 Item, that an euill curat to excommunicat any vnder his iurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought else, &c. pag. 428.

5 Item, that no man may excommunicat any bodie, except that first he know him excommunicat of God: neither do those that communicat with such a one, incur the sentence of excommunication by any maner of meanes: ibid.

6 Item, that euery priest may absolue curry sinner being contrite, and is bound to preach the Gospell vnto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops: pag. 428.

7. Item,



7 Item, that a priest receiuing by bargaine any thing of priuely annuitie, is in so doing a schismaticue, and excommunicate: pag. 428.

8 Item, he doth affuredly beleeue (as he auoucheth) that euery priest being in deadly sin, if hee dispose himselfe to make the bodie of Christ, doth rather commit idolatrie, then make Christs bodie, ibid.

9 Item, that no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the Wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c. pag. 428.

10 Item, that the child is not rightly baptised, if the priest, &c. ibid.

11 Item, that no manner of person ishe liue against Gods law, &c. ibid.

12 Item, the same William against the things premised, and his reuocation and abiuration (not to his heart conuerting, but from euill to worse peruerting) did turne aside into our diocesse: where running to and fro in diuers places, hath of his owne rash head presumed to preach, or rather to peruert, &c. pag. 429.

13 Item, after that we had heard diuers rumors, and slanders of very many, we directed diuers monitions and commonitions comminatorie, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundrie places of our diocesse: that no person of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he were of, should presume to preach, or to teach the sacred Scripture to the people in places holy or prophane, within our diocess, &c. pag. 429.

14 Item, that the same sort of monitions, inhibitions and precepts confirmed by our seale, came to the true and vndoubted knowledge of the said William.

Infandum facinus fecisse.

15 Item, the same William vnmindful of his owne saluation hath stiffnece and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to bee spoken) in contempt of the high bishops dignitie, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed in diuers places of our said diocesse, to preach or rather to peruert and to teach the forementioned, and other heretical, erroneous and schismaticall deuices.

16 Item, the same William in preaching to the people, on monday, to wit, the first of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1390. in the Church of Whitney in our diocesse, held and affirmed; that no prelate of the world, of what state, preheminence or degree soeuer hee were of, hauing cure of soules and being in deadly sinne, &c. pag. 429.

A persons booke to open.

17 Item, the same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithfull Christian people, after the sacramentall words vttered by the priest, hauing the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very bodie of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist pag. 430.

18 Item, that accidents cannot bee in the sacrament of the altar without their subiect: and that there remaineth materiall bread Concomitanter with the bodie of Christ in the Sacrament. Vide supra, pag. ibid.

19 Item, that a priest being in deadly sinne cannot by the power of the sacramentall words, make the bodie of Christ: pag. 430.

20 Item, that all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher dignitie, degree, or preheminence: pag. 430.

21 Item, that contrition only putteth away sinne, if a man shall be duly contrite: and that all vocall confession and exercise, is superfluous, and not requisite of necessitie to saluation: ibidem.

22 That inferiour curates haue not their power of binding and losing immediatly from the pope or bishop, but immediately of Christ, &c. pag. 430.

23 Item, that the pope cannot grant such a kind of annuall pardons, because there shall not bee so many yeres to the day of iudgement as is contained in the popes bulles or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be: ibid.

24 Item, that it is not in the popes power to grant to any penitent body forgiuenesse of the paine, or of the trespasse: pag. 430.

25 Item, that one giuing his almes to any bodie which as he iudgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giuing it: pag. ibi.

Matters and conclusions inuented against Walter Brute.

26 Item, that it standes not in the power of any prelate, of what priuate religion soeuer he bee, to giue byletters dimissis of their order. Neither doe such kind of benefits giuen profit them to whom they be giuen for the saluation of soules. Vide supra, pag. ibid.

This conclusion seemeth to be falsly collected, as wares before the articles of Chri. Swinderby.

A foule faule fayleth.

27 Item, that the same William vnmindfull of his owne saluation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Werlualswod of our diocesse, and there in a certaine vnhallowed chapell (nay a prophane cottage) hath presumed of his owne proper rashnesse, to celebrate, &c. pag. 430.

This conclusion also is not rightly gathered.

28 Item, the same William hath also presumed to doe the like things in a certaine prophane chapell, situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the towne of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocesse pag. ibid.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

¶ Which things being done, the same faithfull christian people, and specially sir Walter Pryde the penitentiarie of our cathedrall Church of Hereford, personallie appearing before vs, sitting in our iudgement seat in the parish church of Whitborne of our diocess: brought forth and exhibited two publike instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresie aforesaid, of which instruments heere followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

Walter Pryde promoter or father, a great promoter.

The first instrument exhibited by certaine citizens of Hereford against Walter Brute.

IN the name of God, Amen. Be it euidently knowne to all persons by this present publike instrument: that in the yeere from the incarnation, after the course and computation of the Church of England 1391. the indiction xv. of the pontificall office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, lord Boniface the ninth, by Gods sufferance pope, the second yeere, the 19. day of the moneth of October, in the dwelling house of the worshipfull man, master Iohn Codemanton, canon of the Cathedrall Church of Hereford, in the presence of mee the publike Notarie vnder written, and of witnesses subscribed: Walter Brute lay man, learned, of Hereford dioces, personallie appearing said, auouched, and stiffely maintained: that the said bishop of Hereford and his assistances, which were with him the third day of the foresaid moneth of October, the yeere of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford; did naughtilie, wickedly, peruerstlie, and vniustlie condemne the answeres of sir William Swinderby chaplaine, giuen by the same sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministred by the same sir William.

Bishop of Hereford vniustly condemned the articles of sir Chri. Swinderby.

And furthermore he said, held, and auouched, that the same conclusions giuen by the same sir William, euen as they were giuen, are true and catholike.

Matters obiected against Walter Brute.

Item, as touching the matters obiected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar: hee said, that after the sacramentall words, there doth remaine very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the bodie of Christ, and that there doe not remaine accidents without substance: subiect after the consecration of the bodie of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold diuers opinions.

The pope antichrist.

Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he said, held, and auouched: that hee is the very antichrist, because that in life and maners he is contrarie to the lawes, doctrines and deeds, of Christ our Lord.

All and euery of these things were done, euen as they be aboue written and rehearsed in the yeere of our Lord, pontificall office, month, day and place aforesaid, at supper time of the day aforenamed, then and there being present the worshipfull and discrete men, sir Walter Ramsburie, chiefe chaunter of the said cathedrall Church of Hereford, Roger Vaye Chanon of the same Church, Walter Wall, chaplaine of the said Church of Hereford, being a vicar of the choyall, and certaine other worthie witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premisses: Ex Regist. Hereford.

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

And I Richard Lee wheeler, clerke of Worcester, being a publike notarie, by the authoritie Apostolike; was personally present at all and singuler the premisses, whilest that (as is before rehearsed) they were done and a doing in the yeere of our Lord 1391. pontificall office, month, day, place, and the houre aforesaid: and I did see, write, and heare all and singuler those things thus to bee done, and haue reduced them into this publike manner and forme: and being desired truely to testifie the premisses, haue sealed the said instrument, made hereupon, with mine accustomed seale and name.

Richard Lee Register and writer hereof.

The forme of the second instrument.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainely knowne to all persons, by this present publike instrument: that in the yeere from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of England, 1391. the indiction fiftene, in the third yeere of the pontificall office of the most holy Father in Christ, and our lord, lord Boniface pope by the prouidence of God the ninth, and in the 19. day of the moneth of Ianuarie: Walter Brute layman, of Hereford diocesse, personally appearing before the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, lord Iohn by Gods grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me being a publike notarie, and one of the witnesses vnder written: did say, hold, publish, and affirme, the conclusions here after written, that is to say: that christian people are not bound to pay tithes neither by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ.

Matters and conclusions inuented against Walter Brute.

This conclusion seemeth to be falsly collected, as wares before the articles of Chri. Swinderby.

Item, that it is not lawfull for christians for any cause in any case, to sweare by the Creator neither by the creature.

This conclusion also is not rightly gathered.

Item, he confesseth openly and of his owne accord: that within the same moneth of Ianuarie, he did eate, drinke, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reuerend father: whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced an heretike, schismatike, and a false seducer of the common people. Which conclusions, the same reuerend father caused to bee written, and in writing to bee deliuered to the same Walter. Which when he had seene and read, he said also that he did maintaine and iustifie them according to the lawes aforesaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manour of Whitebourne of the said diocesse of Hereford: then being there present the same bishop aboue said. master

Witnesses against Walter Brute.

Reynold

Reynold of Wolfden, Canon of Hereford, sir Philip Dicester parson of the parish church of Blamurin, Thomas Culdefild parson of the Church of Englishplinose, John Crosset parson of the Church of Whiteborne, and Thomas Wallewaine houshold seruant, for witnesses specially called and desired to the premisses of the diocesse of Hereford and saint Asse.

Benedict Come register, witnes and writer of this instrument of the graue Walter Brute.

And I Benedict Come clerk of the diocesse of S. Asse, publike notarie by the apostolike authoritie of the diocesse of saint Asse, was personally present together with the witnesse before named, at all and singuler these and other things here premissed, whilest they were so done and a doing, and did see, heare, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned: and did write the same and reduce them into this publike forme, and with my wonted and accustomed seale and name haue sealed it, being desired and required truely to testifie the premisses.

At the last, the aforesaid Walter Brute, did present and cause to be presented to vs, at diuers places and times assigned by vs to the same Walter, to answere to the former conclusions and articles) diuers scroules of paper, written with his owne proper hand, for his answeres to the same articles and conclusions aboue written: he partly appearing by his owne selfe, before vs sitting in our iudgement seate, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose: of which scroules, the tenors doe follow in order word by word, and be on this manner.

Certaine confessions of Walter Brute in writing presented to the Bishop for his defence. Walter Brute a Britton borne.

In the name of the father, and of the son, and the holy ghost, Amen. I Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian (hauing mine offspring of the Britons, both by my fathers and mothers side) of the Britons, haue been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I did erre in many matters concerning the catholike Christian faith: by whom I am required, that I should write an answere in Latine to al those matters. Which desire I will satisfie to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world: that like as it is not my mind through Gods grace, to refuse the knowne truth, for any reward greater or smaller, yea bee it neuer so big, nor yet for the feare of any temporall punishment: euen so it is not my mind to maintaine any erroneous doctrine for any commodities sake. And if any man, of what state, sect or condition soeuer he be, will shew me that I erre in my writings or sayings, by the authoritie of the sacred scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred scripture, I will humblie and gladly receiue his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ only excepted) I will not simplie beleeue, except he shall be able to stablish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture: for because, that in the holy Apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the testimonie of the holy Scripture, because that Paul himselfe doth confesse that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthie to be rebuked, Galath. the 2. chapter. There haue been errours found in the holy doctors, that haue been before vs, as they themselues confesse of themselues. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is errour found in the teachers in our age: who are of contrarie opinions among themselues, and some of them doe sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others to condemne the selfesame thing to be heresie and errour. Which protestation premised, I will heere place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions stablished vpon the same, and vpon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when as they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainlie appeare what my opinion and iudgement is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and vnlearned, I will get me vnder the mightie defences of the Lord. O Lord Iesu I will remember thine only righteousnesse.

No writer or doctor without the holy scripture only excepted. Errour in the Apostles. Errour in the Doctors. Errours and contrarieties among the popish writers.

Protestation made.

Diuers modestly refuseth his learning.

The first case or supposition.

God the Father almightie diuerse ate, the maker of heauen and earth, hath sent his Sonne (that was euerlastinglie begotten) into this world: that he should be incarnated, for the saluation and redemption of mankind, who was conceiued by the holy Ghost, euerlastinglie proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, and was borne of Marie the virgin, to the end that he might be borne anew. He suffered passion vnder Pontius Pilate for our sinnes, laying downe his life for vs, that we should lay downe our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to vs. He was dead, that he might redeeme vs from death, by purchasing for vs forgiuenesse of sinnes. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by Baptisme, and that we dead to sinnes, should liue to righteousnesse. He descended into hell, thereby deliuering man from thraldome, and from the bondage of the diuell, and restoring him to his inheritance, which he lost by sinne. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glorie of his Father, that we also should walke in newnesse of life. He ascended vp to the heauens, to which no bodie hath ascended, sauing he that descended from heauen, euen the Sonne of man which is in heauen. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father almightie, vntill his enemies be made his footstoole. Hee being in verie deed so much better then the Angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name then they. From thence hee shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, according to their workes, because the Father hath geuen all iudgement to the Sonne. In whose terrible iudgement we shall rise againe, and shall all of vs stand before his iudgement seat, and receiue eyther as well bodily as spiritually, pain euer to endure, if we be of the sheepe placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of bodie and soule, if we shall be found amongst goates, placed on the left hand, &c.

The second case or assertion.

Jesus Christ the Sonne of God, very God and very man a king for euer, by stablishing an euerlasting kingdome, hyeking to powder all the kingdomes of the world, Daniel 2. 8 Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, whereby also he is able euermore to saue such as by him come vnto God, and alwaies liueth to intreat for vs, Heb. 7. He offering one sacrifice for our sinnes, hath made perfect for euer by one oblation, those that be sanctified, Heb. 10. Being the wisedome that cannot be deceiued, and the truth that cannot be vttered: he hath in this world taught the will of the Godhead of his Father, which will hee hath in worke fulfilled, to the intent that hee might faithfully instruct vs, and hath giuen the law of charitie to be of his faithfull people obserued, which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithfull with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be obserued aboue all other doctrines, whether they be of Angels or of men, because that he could not nor would not erre in his teaching. But in mens doctrine there chance oftentimes to be error, and therefore we must follow their doctrines, if (likelihood or perpetly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Mens doctrines being made for the peoples profit must be allowed and obserued, so that they be grounded vpon Christs doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

The fall of Babylon. Apoc. 14.

Esay 13.

Ieremie. 51.

If the high bishop of Rome calling himselfe the seruant of the seruants of God, and the chiefe vicar of Christ in this world, do make and maintaine many lawes contrarie to the Gospell of Iesu Christ: then is he of those that haue come in Christs name, saying I am Christ, and haue seduced manie a one, by the testimonie of our Sauiour in Math. chap. 24. and the idoll of desolation sitting in the Temple of God, and taking away from him the continuall sacrifice for a time, times, and halfe a time. Which Idoll must be reuealed to the chiefe an people by the testimonie of Daniel. Whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospell: When you shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the holy place: let him that readeth, vnderstand, and he is the perfidious mountaine infecting the whole vniuersall earth, as witnesseth Ieremie, chapter 51. and not the head of Christs bodie. For the ancient person in yeeres, and honorable in reuerence, he is the head, and the Prophet teaching lies is the taile, as Esay alleageth chapter 9. And he is that wicked and vnfull captaine of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquitie is come in time of iniquitie, who shall take away Charim, and take away the crowne. Ezechiel chapter 21. to whom it was said: For so much as thy heart was exalted, and thou dost say, I am a god, and sittest in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not God, and hast giuen thine heart, as if it were the heart of God: therefore behold I will bring vpon thee the most strong and mightie strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords vpon the beautie of thy wisedome, and shall defile the commandements and kill thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slaine, and it followeth:

The first beast like the lambe.

The pope an idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God. The pope is this idol, for he is the perfidious mountaine infecting the whole earth. Ieremie 51.

The pope, the sinfull captaine of Israel, spoken of Ezechiel 21.

In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandize, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire from the middest of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes vpon earth. Thou art become nothing, and neuer shalt thou be any more, Ezech. chap. 28. Furthermore he is the idle shepheard forsaking his flocke, hauing a sword on his arme, and another sword on his right eye, Zach. 11. and sitting in the temple of God, doth aduance himselfe as a bone all thing that is called God, or that is worshipped, by the testimonie of Paul to the Thessal. 2. epist. 2. chap. And in the defection or falling away that the man of sinne be reuealed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For euery kingdome diuided in it selfe shall be brought to desolation. He is also besides, the beast ascending vp out of the earth, hauing two hornes like vnto a lambe, but he speaketh like a dragon, and as the cruell beast ascending vp out of the sea, whose power shall continue 42. moneths. He worketh the things that he hath giuen to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poore, freemen and bondslaues, to worship the beast, and to take his marke in their forehead or their hands, Apocal. 13. chap. And thus by the testimonie of all these places is he the chiefe Antichrist vpon the earth, and must be slaine with the sword of Gods word, and cast with the dragon, the cruell beast and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented for euer and euer without end.

Antichrist described.

The pope an vniuersall Antichrist.

Zach. 11.

Apocal. 13.

The beast ascending out of the earth. Terrible scriptures against the pope. Apocal. 13.

If the citie of Rome do allow his traditions, and do disallow Christ holy commandements, and Christs doctrine, that it may confirme his traditions: then is the Babylon the great of the daughter of Babylon, and the great whore sitting vpon manie waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotrie lying open to bawdrie. With whose spirituall whoredome, enchantments, witchcrafts, & Simon Magus marchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced: saying in her heart, I sitte as a Queene, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorrow and mourning. Yet is she ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruine by the testimonie of the Apoc. chap. 17. Because that from the time that the continuall sacrifice was taken away, and the abhomination of desolation placed, there be pulled 1290. dayes by the testimonie of Daniel, and the Chronicles added doe agree to the same. And the holy citie also hath bin troden vnder foot of Heathen, for 42. moneths, and the woman was nourished vp in the wildernesse (vnto which she fled for feare of the face of the serpent) during 1260 dayes, or else for a time, times, and halfe a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the testimonie of the Apocalyps, and the Chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaide, it is manifest in the Apocalyps, where it is said: In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall bee burned with fire. For strong is the Lord which will iudge her. And againe, Babylon that great citie is fallen, which hath made all nations to drinke of the wine of her whoredome. And thirdly, one mightie angell tooke vp a mill stone that was a very great one, and did cast it into the sea, saying: With such a violence as this is, shall that great citie Babylon be ouerthrown, and shall no more be found. For her marchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations haue gone astray, and in her is there found, the blood of the saints & prophets. And of her destruction speaketh Esay in the 13. chapter: And Babylon that glorious citie, being so noble amongst kingdomes in the pride of the Caldeans, it shall be that like as the Lord did ouerturne Sodome and Gomorre vpside downe, it shall neuer more be inhabited, nor haue the foundation laid in no age, from generation to generation. Ieremie saith: Your mother that hath borne you, is brought to very great confusion and made euen with the ground. And againe: The Lord hath deuised and done as he hath spoken against the inhabiters of Babylon, which dwell richly in their treasures vpon many waters, thine end is come. And thirdly: Drouth shall fall vpon her waters, and they shall begin to bee drie, for it is a lande of grauen images, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: It shall neuer more be inhabited, neither be builded vp in no age nor generation. Verily, euen as God hath subuerted Sodome and Gomorre with her cities.

Pardon me (I beseech you) though I bee not plentifull in pleasant words: For if I should runne after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not bee Christes seruant. And because I am a poore man, and neither haue nor can haue notaries hired to testifie of these my writings: I call vpon Christ to be my witnes, which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I haue written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christen people, and to the hurt of no man liuing, and am readie to be reformed if any man will shew me where I haue erred: being readie also (miserable sinner though I be) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ & of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and loue to assist me a miserable sinner. In witnesse of all these things, I haue to this writing set the seale of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ: which I beseech him to imprint vpon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of marke of Antichrist: Amen.

Esay 6.

Esay. 16.

Esay 29.

Libanus and Chiamell, two hils, the one in Phœnicia, the first a pleasant, the other in the borders of Iewry, barren & vnpleasant, which is Chiamell.

¶ These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schooles) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited vnto the Bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfie the bishop if he had bene disposed to learne, or else to haue prouoked him to replie againe, if his knowledge therein had beene better then his: yet could they worke neither of them effect in him. But he receiuing and perusing the same, then he neither could confute that which was said, neither would replie or answere by learning to that which was truth, finding other by cauillations, said that this his writing was to short, difficult, and therefore required him, to write vpon the same again more plainelie and more at large. Whereupon the saide maister Walter (satisfying the bishops request, and readie to giue to euerie one an account of his faith) in a more ample tractation reuieweth his matter againe before declared, writing to the bishop in words and some as followeth:

Another declaration of the same matter before written in more ample tractation exhibited by M. Brute vnto the B.

RVerend father, forsomuch as it seemeth to you that my motion in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat darke: I will gladlie now satisfie your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions. In opening whereof, it shall plainelie appeare, what I doe iudge in all matters, that I am accused of to your reuerence, desiring you first of all that your discretion would not beleeue that I doe enterprise of any presumption to handle the secrets of the scriptures, which the holie, and iust, and wise doctors haue left vnexpounded. It is not vnknowen to manie, that I am in all points farre inferiors to them, whose holinesse of life and profoundnesse in knowledge, is manifolde wayes allowed. But as for mine ignorance, and multitude of sinnes, are to my selfe and others sufficiently knowen: wherefore, I iudge not my selfe worthie to vnlose or to carie their shoes after them. Doe you therefore no otherwise deeme of me, then I doe of mine owne selfe. But if you shall finde any goodnesse in my writings, ascribe it to God only: who according to the multitude of his mercy doth sometimes reueale those things to Idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holie and wise, according to this saying: I will praise and confesse thee O father, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones. Euen so father, because it hath thus pleased thee. And in another place: I am come to iudgement into this world, that they which see not, may see, and that they which see, may be made blind. And Paul saith: that God hath chosen the weake things of the worlde, to confounde the mightie, that no man shall boast in himselfe, but that all men should giue the honour to God.

It was commanded to Esaie, bearing the type of Christ: Go and say to this people: Heare yee with your hearing, and doe not vnderstand? Behold ye the vision, and yet knowe yee not the thing that yee see? Make blinde the heart of this people, and make dull their eares, & shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their eares they should heare, and with their hearts they should vnderstand, and be conuerted, and I should heale them. And I said, how long Lord? And he said, vntill that the cities be made desolate, without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it. Also in Esay thus it is written: And the multitude of all nations, which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that haue warred, and besieged and preuailed against it, shall be as a dreame that appeareth in the night, and as the hungrie person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake our of sleepe, his soule is emptie. And like as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake, hee is still wearie and thirstie, and his soule voide of nourishment: euen so shall it be with the multitude of all nations that haue fought against the mount Sion. Be you amazed, and haue great wonder: reele ye to and fro, and stagger yee: be yee drunken, and not with wine: stagger, but not through drunkennesse for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drousines. He shall shut your eyes, he shall couer your Prophets and Princes that see visions. And a vision shall bee to you altogether like the wordes of a sealed booke, which when he shall giue to one that is learned, he shall say: Reade here, and he shall answere, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the booke shall be giuen to one, that is vnlearned and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be saide vnto him, Reade, And he shall answere, I know not the letters, I am vnlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith: For as much as this people draweth nigh me with their mouthes, and glorifieth me with their lippes, but their heart is farre from me, and they haue rather feared the commandements of men, & haue cleaued to their doctrines: Behold therefore I will adde besides, & bring such a muse and marueil vpon this people which shall make men amazed with marueiling. For wisedome shall perish from their wise men, and the vnderstanding of their prudent persons shall be hidden. And soone after it followeth in the same place, yet a little while and Libanus shall bee turned into Charmell, and Charmell counted for a cops or grouse, and in the same day shall the deafe folkes heare the word of this booke, and the eyes of the blinde (changed from darkenes and blindnesse) shall see.

Daniel 12.

Babuchodonosor enquiring of Daniel said: Thinkest thou that thou canst truely declare me the dreame that I haue seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said: As for the mysterie whereof the king doth aske, neither the wise men, magicians, soothsayers, nor enchanters can declare to the king: But there is a God is heauen, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O king Nabuchodonosor) what things shall come to passe in the last times of all. To me also is this sacrament or mysterie disclosed (not for any wisedome that is in me more then in all men liuing) but to that the interpretation might be made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldest know the cogitations of thy minde.

Daniel 12.

It was also said to Daniel: And thou Daniel, shut vp the words, seale vp the booke, vntill the time appointed. Verely many people shall passe ouer, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel sayde to the man that was clothed with linnen garments, who stood vpon the waters of the floud, How long will it be before the ende shall come of these marueilous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linnen apparell, who stood vpon the waters of the floods, when hee had lift vp his right hand and his left hand vnto heauen, and had sworne by him that liueth for euermore, that for a time, times, and halfe a time. And when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall bee accomplished; then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and vnderstood not, & I said: O my Lord, what shall be after these things? and he said: Go thy wayes Daniel, for this talke is shut and sealed vp, vntill the time that is before appointed.

All

All these things haue I written, to the ende, that hee that hath the key of Dauid, who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth: both (when and how long it pleaseth him) vnde the mysteries, and the hid secrets of the Scriptures from the wise, prudent, and righteous: and otherwhiles at his pleasure, reuealeth the same to sinners and lay persons, and simple soules, that hee may haue the honor and glorie in all things. Therefore as I haue before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone: If you shall find otherwise, thinke yee the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of errour be shewed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

But why that such maner of matters are moued touching the disclosing of antichrist in this kingdome, more then in other kingdomes, and in this time also more then in time past: the answere, as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the last coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter in the signe of the Twinnes, which is the house of Mercurie, being the signifier of the Christian people: which coniunction seemeth to me to betoken the second comming of Christ, to reforme his Church, and to call men againe by the disclosing of Antichrist, and to the perfection of the Gospell, from their heathenish rites and vsages of the Gentiles. By whom the holy citie was trampled vnder foote: for 42. monethes, euen as the coniunction of the said two planets being inclosed in the signe of the Virgine, which is also the house of Mercurie: did betoken the first comming of Christ, for the saluation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, thereby to call them through the same comming, to the full perfection of the Gospell. As touching this calling of the heathen, speaketh Christ in the Gospell, I haue also other sheepe, that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall heare my voice, and there shall bee one sheepefold, and one shepheard. For although the Gentiles be conuerted from the infidelitie of their idolatrie, to the faith of Christ: yet are they not conuerted to the perfection of the law of Christ. And therefore did the Apostles in the primitiue Church, lay no burthen vpon the Gentiles, but that they should abstaine from hainous things, as from things offered to Idols, and from bloud, and strangled, and fornication. As touching this second comming, speaketh Esay: On that day the roote of Iesse which standeth for a signe, or marke to the people, to him shall the heathen make their homage and supplication, and his sepulchre shall be glorious: and in that day shall it come to passe, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possesse the remnant of his people, &c. And hee shall lift vp a token toward the nations, and he shall assemble the runnagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Iuda shall he gather together from the fower quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to peeces, and the enemies of Iuda shall come to nought. Paul to the Thessalonians saith: Wee beseech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of our gathering together before him, that you bee not soone removed from your vnderstanding, neither that you be put in feare, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter sent by vs, neither by spirit, nor yet by talke. Let not any bodie by any meanes bring you out of the way, or seduce you. For except there shall first come a departing, and that the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance, and is aduanced aboue all thing that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he doth sit in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as if he were God. Do ye not remember that whilest I was yet with you, I told you of this? and now ye know what keepeth him backe, that he may be vttered in his due time: For euen now doth he work the mysterie of iniquitie, only that he which holdeth, may hold still vntill he be come to light: and then shall that wicked one be disclosed, whom the Lord Iesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comming, euen him, whose comming is according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signes and lying wonders, and in all deceitfull leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receiue not heartily the loue of truth, that they might be saued.

Christ being demanded of the Apostles what should be the token of his comming, and of the end of the world; said vnto them: There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many. Also he telleth them of many other signes, of battels, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the greatest signe of all he teacheth to bee this: When you shall see (saith he) the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him vnderstand. But Luke 21. in his gospell, speaketh more plainely hereof: When you therefore shall see Ierusalem to bee compassed about with an armie, then know yee, that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh. And afterward it followeth: And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shall be led away captiue to all nations, and Ierusalem shall bee troden vnder foote of the heathen, vntill the times of the Nations bee fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter: And after 72. weekes, shall Christ be slaine, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the citie and sanctuarie, shall a people (with his captaine that will come with them) destroy the said citie and sanctuarie, and his end shall be to bee washed vtterlie, till it bee brought to nought, and after the end of the warre, shall come the desolation appointed. In one weeke shall hee confirme the couenant to many, and within halfe a weeke shall the offering and sacrifice cease. And in the temple shall there bee the abomination of desolation, and euen vnto the end shall the desolation continue. And else where in Daniel, thus it is written: From the time that the continuall sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall bee placed in desolation, there shall be one thousand, two hundred, and ninetie daies.

Now, if any man will behold the Chronicles, he shall find, that after the destruction of Ierusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holie people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination, that is to say, the Idoll of desolation of Ierusalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had passed 1290. daies, taking a day for a yeere, as commonly it is taken in the Prophets. And the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rites and customes God suffered the holy citie to be trampled vnder foot for, foztie and two monethes. For although the Christian Church, which is the holy citie, continued in the faith from the Ascension of Christ, euen till this time: yet hath it not obserued and kept the perfection of the faith all this whole season. For, some after the departure of the Apostles, the faith was kept with the abstersion of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses law, nor of the law of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. Wherefore seeing that this time of the erroz of the Gentiles is fulfilled: it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rites of their gentilitie, to the perfection of the Gospell, as hee called the Iewes from the law of Moses to the same perfection, in his first comming: that there may be one sheepefold of the Iewes and Gentiles, vnder one shepheard. Seeing therefore that Antichrist is knowne which hath seduced the nations: then shall the elect after that they haue forsaken the erroz of their gentilitie come through the light of Gods woꝛd, to the practise of the Gospel, and that same sonne shall be slaine with the sword of Gods woꝛd. So that by these things it doth partly appeare vnto me, why at this time rather then at any other time, this matter of antichrist is moued.

And why that this motion is come to passe in this kingdom rather then in other kingdomes: me thinkes there is good reason, because that no nation of the Gentiles was so soone conuerted to Christ as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdome. For to other places of the woꝛld, there were sent preachers of the faith, who, by the working of miracles and continuall preaching of the woꝛd of God, and by grieuous passion and death of the bodie, did conuert the people of those places: but in this kingdome, in the time of Lucius king of the Britons, and of Eleutherius bishop of the Romans, did Lucius heare of the Romans that were Infidels (by the way of rumors and tales) of the Christian faith, which was preached at Rome. Who beleeued straightwaies, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius for men skilfull to instome him moze fully in the very faith it selfe: at whose comming hee was toyfull, and was baptised with his whole kingdome. And after the receiuing of the faith, they neuer forsoke it, neither for any manner false preaching of other, neither for any manner of tormentes, or set assaults of the Painims, as in other kingdomes it hath come to passe. And thus it seemeth to meethe Britons amongst other Nations, haue been, as it were by the speciall election of God, called and conuerted to the faith of Christ.

Of them as me seemeth, did Esay prophesie, saying: For they did see to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him. And againe, Behold, thou shalt call a nation which thou knewest not: and nations that haue not known thee, shall run vnto thee for the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel, shall glorifie thee.

Of this kingdom, did saint John in the Apocalyps prophesie (as me seemeth) where hee said, The Dragon stood before the woman, which was about to bee deliuered of child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the world, hee might deuoure vp her sonne: and shee brought forth her child which was a manchild, who should gouerne all nations with an iron rod. And the same sonne was taken vp to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wildernesse, whereas she had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her 1260. daies. And againe in the same chapter, after that the Dragon saw that he was cast out vpon the earth, hee did persecute the woman, which brought forth the manchild. And there were giuen to the woman two wings of a great Egle, that shee might flee into the Wildernesse into her place, where as she is foztred vp for a time, times, and halfe a time, from the face of the Serpent. And the Serpent did cast as it were a flood of water after the Woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood: and the earth opening her mouth, did helpe the woman, and did swallow vp the flood which the Dragon did cast out of his mouth. Let vs see how

Destruction of the Iewes temple.

1290. daies, in Daniel expounded.

For these 42. monethes looke pag. 365.

Britons by the speciall election of God called to faith.

The calling of the Gentiles to faith.

The woman fled in the desert 1260. daies.



how these sayings may be applied vnto this kingdome rather then to other kingdomes. It is well knowne that this kingdome is a wildernesse or a desert place, because that the philosophers and wise men did not passe vpon it, but did leaue it for a wildernesse and desert, because it is placed without the climates.

Vnto this place fled the woman, that is to say, the Church, (that by faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the woꝛld) where as she was fed with the heauenly bread, the flesh and bloud of Iesus Christ, for one thousand, two hundred and sixtie daies, seeing that for so many daies, taking a day for a yeere, the Britons continued in the faith of Christ, which thing cannot be found so of any christian kingdome, but of this desert: and well is it said, that shee fled vnto this place. For from the East came the faith into Britaine, not by walking in iourney, nor yet by sailing: for then should it haue come by Rome, Italie, Almaine, France, which cannot bee found: and therefore she flew ouer those places, and rested not in them, euen as a bird flying ouer a place, resteth not in the same: but refled in this wildernesse for a time, times, and halfe a time, that is, 1260. yeeres, from the first comming of the faith into Britaine vntill this present.

In saying for a time, times, and halfe a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the lesse. The greatest time that we name, is a 1000. yeeres, there is a time: and the next time that is lesse in the singuler number, is one 100. yeere. In the plurall number, times signifie that there be two hundzeds then one, at least 200. yeeres. Wherefore if they be put vnder a certaine number, it must needs be that they be two, but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundzeds. For in that, that there is a going downe from the greater to the lesse, when as it is said a time, times, and halfe a time, and that the number of a 1000. is likely assigned for a time: it must needs follow that times must be taken for hundzeds, and halfe a time for 60. because it is the greater halfe of a hundzed yeeres, though that 50. be the euen halfe.

And when that the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood: then did the earth, that is to wit, the stablenesse of faith helpe the woman, by supping vp the water of tribulation. For in the most cruell persecution of Diocletian and Maximian against the Christians, when as christianitie was almost euery where rooted out: yet did they in this kingdome stand continuallie in the faith vnmoueable. And so, considering that the Britons, were conuerted to the faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election, and picking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that after they had receiued the faith, they did neuer start backe from the faith for no manner of tribulation: it is not to bee maruelled if in their place, the calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profiting of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, by the reuealing of Antichrist.

But besides this, me seemeth that Ezechiel doth specially speake of them, whereas he speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying: Because thy heart is lifted vp as if it were the heart of God, therefore behold I will bring vpon thee some of the strongest of the heathen, and they shall draw their naked swoords vpon the beautie of thy wisedome, and they shall defile thy cominesse, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out, and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slaine persons, in the heart of the sea.

This prince who saith, that he himselfe is God, and doth sit in Gods chaire in the heart of the sea, doth signifie (as most likely it seemeth to me) that Antichrist shall bee destroyed by the most mightie people of the gentiles sorte, though the sword of the woꝛd of God. Because that amongst the other gentils, there haue been none moze strong then the Britons, either in their bodie or their faith, and in their bodilie warres there haue been none moze mightie then they. For neuer in warres haue they been vanquished, but by their owne sedition or treason. But how many kingdomes haue they conquered? Yea, and neither by the most mightie citie of Rome, could they be driuen out of their kingdome, vntill that God sent vpon them pestilence and famine: whereby they being wasted, were compelled to leaue their countrie, which thing I haue not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, haue they been amongst all the people, the strongest, as is before said, because that by no tribulation, could they be compelled to forsake the faith.

Wherefore of them, this seemeth to mee to bee vnderstood: When I will bring vpon thee some of the most strongest people, and they shall draw their naked swoords, &c. By these things it may plainely appeare, why at this time (rather then in time past) this matter is stirred vp: and why in this kingdome (rather then in other kingdomes) the calling of the gentiles is intreated of, to the verifying of the Gospell, through the disclosing of Antichrist.

But forasmuch as many tales and fables are told of Antichrist and his comming, and many things which doe rather seduce then instruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the Prophets: wee will briefly write those things which are spoken of him, and wee will shew that the same fable sprang from the erroz of people imagining, and from no truth of the scriptures prophesying. Now then they doe say, that antichrist shall be borne in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, and conceiued of the mixture of man and woman in time, because that Christ was borne of a virgin, and conceiued of the holy Ghost. They say, that he shall bee an ill fauoured personage, because that it is written of Christ: Comlie and beautifull is he, beyond the sons of men. They say that he shall preach three yeeres and an halfe where Christ preached, and that he shall circumcise himselfe, and say that he is Christ, and the Iewes sent for the saluation of the Iewes. And they say, that he shall three maner of waies seduce the people, by false miracles, gifts, and tozments. So that whom he shall not bee able to ouercome with miracles nor with gifts, those shall he goe about to ouercome with diuers kinds of tozments. And those that he shall seduce, will he marke with his tokens in their foꝛehead or hands. He shall sit in the temple of God, and cause himselfe to be worshipped as God. He shall fight (as they say) with the two witnesses of Christ, Enoch and Helie, and shall kill them, and he himselfe shall finallie be slaine with lightning. To this imagined man of their owne imagination, but of none of the prophets foꝛethewed (at least in no such wise as this is) doe they apply the Prophets, as this of Daniel: When that continuall sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to desolation: That is (say they) when the worshipping of God shall be taken away, and desolation (to wit, antichrist) shall abominable shew forth himselfe to be worshipped, then shall there bee 1290. daies: that is to say, three yeeres and a halfe. And this time doe they say is the time, times, and halfe a time. And when it is said in Daniel: Blessed is he that waiteth for, and commeth to 1335. daies: As this doe they say, is thus to be vnderstood, 45. daies of repentance to such as haue worshipped antichrist: which 45. bates added to the 1290. make 1735. daies. Which daies they that shall reach vnto, shall be called blessed.

They apply also to this antichrist, this saying of the Apocalyps: I saw a beast rising vp out of the Sea, hauing 7. heads, and 10. hornes, who had power giuen him to make 42. monethes. Which monethes (as they say) doe make 3. yeeres and a halfe, in which antichrist shall raigne. And many other things there are told, and applied vnfitly to this imagined antichrist, that are not truly grounded vpon the scriptures.

Now, let be this to the erroꝛs of this fable. First of all, if there shall come such one (saying expressie that hee is Christ) what Christian would be seduced by him, though he could neuer so many miracles: neither shall he come after the maner of a seducer, which shall shew himselfe an expresse aduersarie. Neither is it likelie that the Iewes can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised vnto them of the stocke of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the stocke of Iuda: nor yet is he promised to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking warre away, and not making warre. For of Christ saith Esay: And in the last daies, shall there be prepared the mountaine of the house of the Lord, in the top of the mountaines, and it shall be exalted aboue the hils: and to it, shall all the nations haue great recourse, and many people shall goe and say: Come, let vs goe vp to the mountaine of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Iacob, and he shall teach vs his waies, and we shall walke in his pathes. For out of Sion shall there goe a law, and the word of the Lord from Ierusalem, and he shall iudge the nations, and reprooue much people. And they shal turne their swords into plowshares, and their speares into sithes. There shall not a nation lift vp it selfe against another nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to war. And againe, A little babe is borne to vs, and a sonne is giuen to vs, and his imperiall kingdome vpon his shoulder, and his name shall be called, The great counsellour, The mighty God, The father of the world to come, The prince of peace. His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of his peace. He shall sit vpon the seat of Dauid, and vpon his kingdom: that he may make it stedfast and strong in iudgement, and in iustice, from henceforth and for euermore. Zacharie doth say of Christ: Reioyce thou greatly, O thou daughter Sion, bee thou exceeding merrie, O daughter Ierusalem: Behold thy king shall come a righteous person, and a Sauior vnto thee, and yet he a poore man, and getting vp vpon an asse, euen vpon a young colt of the shee asse. And I will scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Ierusalem: And the bow of war shall be dispersed, and he shall speake peace to the nations, and his power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the floud vnto the borders of the earth.

By which things it is manifest, that the wise Iewes knew well enough, Christ to be promised to them of the stock of Iuda; and not of the stocke of Dan; and that he was giuen, all to peace, and not to warre: Therefore it is not likelie, that they can be seduced to be such a one. But if there should haue been in time to come some such singuler antichrist, then would Christ (seeing he loued his) haue said somewhat vnto them of him. Now, of one singularly doth he not speake: but of many, saying: Many shall come in my name, and say, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many persons. But now let vs see, how the prophecies in Daniel, and the Apocalyps (also said)

lie

This place of the desert in the Scripture seemeth here some thing hardly expounded.

Faith came into Britaine from the East, not from Italie, or Rome.

Time, times, and halfe a time expounded.

Persecution in Diocletians time wel followed by, looke pag. 70.

The reuealing of Antichrist.

A friend to the Welshmen.

The strong faith of the Britons.

Tales of antichrist.

A false imagination of Antichrist.

The Scripture and Prophets not rightly vnderstood touching antichrist.

Touching these 42. monethes, see about pag. 365.

Antichrist commeth not so grossly as the papists imagine.

Esay cap. 2.

Esay 9.

Zach. 9.

Antichrist cannot come of the tribe of Dan.

Daniel 9. be fully and erroneouslie applied to the same imagined Antichrist. For in Daniel the 9. chap. thus it is written: And after 72. weekes shall Christ be slaine, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the citie and sanctuarie, shall a people, with their captaine that shall come with them destroy, whose end shall be utter desolation, and after the end of the warre a determined destruction. Loe, hee shall in one weeke confirme his covenant towards many, and in the halfe weeke shall the offering and sacrifice cease, and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation, and euen to the fulfilling vp of all, and to the end, shall the desolation continue. It is plaine and manifest that this prophecie is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome with their captaine, destroyed Jerusalem euen to the ground, and the people of the Iewes was slaine and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the Foul of desolation was placed of Adrian, in the last destruction, in Jerusalem in the holy place, that is to say, in a place of the temple. And from that time hitherto haue pastred neere about 1290. dates, taking a day for a yere, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel speaking of 62. weekes, doth not speake of the weekes of daies but of yeres. So therefore when hee saith: From the time that the continuall sacrifice was taken away, &c. 1290. dates must be taken for so many yeres, from the time of the desolation of Jerusalem, euen vnto the reuealing of antichrist: and not for three yeres and a halfe, which they say, antichrist shall raigne. And againe, whereas Daniel said, How long till the end of these marueilous matters? it was answered him: For a time, and times, and halfe a time. Behold also, holie writtie they bid all gene this time, by three yeres and a halfe, which, they say, Antichrist shall raigne. For when as it is said, a time, times, and halfe a time; there is a going downeward from the greater to the lesse, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to halfe a time. If therefore, there be a going downeward from the whole to the part, by the middest (which is greater then the whole it selfe) the going downeward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when as it is said, that a time, times, and halfe a time, is a yeere, two yeers, and halfe a yeere. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and halfe a time, doth signifie 1290. yeres, as is before said in the chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecie of Daniel falsly applied to that imagined Antichrist.

The abomination or desolation standing in the holy place.

Antichrist to raigne only 3. yeeres and a half, is false.

Looke before in the story of the 12. first persecutions.

Likewise is the prooefe of the Apocalyps applied to the same imagined Antichrist, too much erroneouslie. Because that the same cruell beast which came vp out of the sea, hauing seuen heads and ten hornes, to whom there was power giuen ouer euery tribe, people, and tongue, and the power giuen for the space of 42. months: This beast doth note the Romane Emperors, which most cruellie did persecute the people of God, as well Christians as Iewes. For when as the condemnation of the great whore sitting vpon the many waters was shewed to Iohn: he saw the same woman sitting vpon the purple coloured beast full of the names of blasphemie, hauing 7. heads and 10. hornes: and hee saw a woman being drunken with the bloud of the saints and martyrs of Iesu. And the angell expounding and telling him the mysterie of the woman and the beast that carried her, said: That 7. heads are 7. hilles, and are 7. kings: Fiue are fallen, one is, the other is not yet come: and when hee shall come, hee must raigne a short time. And the ten hornes which thou sawest, are 10. kings, who haue not yet taken their kingdome, but shall receiue their power as it were in one houre, vnder the beast. And finallie hee saith, the woman whom thou sawest, is the great citie, which hath the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And it is manifest that the citie of Rome, at the time of this prophecie, had the kingdome ouer the kings of the earth. And this citie was borne vp and vpholden by her cruell and beastlie Emperors: who by their cruelties and beastliues, did subdue vnto themselues in a manner, all the kingdomes of the world, of a zeale to haue lordship ouer others, and not vertuouslie to gouerne the people that were their subiects, seeing that they themselues did lacke all vertue, and drew backe others from the faith and from vertue.

Apoc.13.

The beast in the 13. of the Apocalyps expounded.

The purple beast with the 7. heads and 10. hornes, is Rome.

Therefore that cruell beast comming vp out of the sea, doth rightly note the Romane Emperours, who had power ouer euery language, people, and countrie. And the power of this beast was for 42. moneths, because that from the first Emperor of Rome, that is to say, Julius Cesar, vnto the end of Fredericke the last emperor of Rome there were 42. moneths, taking a moneth for 30. daies, as the moneths of the Hebrewes and Grecians are, and taking a day alwaies for a yere, as commonly it is taken in the prophets. By which things it may plainely appeare, how inistlie this prophecie is applied to that imagined Antichrist, and the 42. moneths taken for three yeres and a halfe, which (they say) he shall raigne in, against the saying of the prophets, because that dates are taken for yeres. As in the 1. of the Apocal. They shall be troubled 10. daies. Which doe note the most cruell persecution of Diocletian against the christians that endured 10. yeeres. And in another place of the Apocalyps, it is written of the smoake comming vp out of the bottomlesse pit: Out of which pit there came forth grashoppers into the earth, and to them was power

For these 42. moneths, looke before pag. 397.

Apoc.1.

Apoc.9.

giuen, as Scorpions haue power, to vexe and to trouble men 5. moneths. Now it is manifest, that from the beginning of the friers minors and preachers, to the time that Armachanus began to disclose and vncourt their hypocrisie, and their false foundation of saliant begging vnder the pourtie of Christ, were 5. moneths, taking a moneth for 30. daies, and a day for a yere. And to Ezechiel mens daies giuen for yeres. Therefore it is an vnfit thing to assigne the 42. moneths being appointed to the power of the beast, vnto 3. yeres and a halfe, for the raigne of that phantasticall and imagined Antichrist: specially seeing that they doe applie to his raigne the 1290. dates in Daniel, which make 42. moneths, and in the Apocalyps they assigne him 42. moneths. It is plaine that the Psaltery and the harp agree not. And therefore seeing that it is sufficiently shewed, that the same falling tale of that imagined antichrist to come, is a fable and erroneous: let vs goe forward to declare whether antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must bee opened and disclosed within a little while, according to the truth of the holy scripture, for the saluation of the faithfull.

The beginning and end of the vailand begger-ly friers spoken of in the Apocalyps, expounded at Armachanus: looke before pag. 378

Non conuenit Psalterium cum cithara. Whether antichrist be already come.

And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer, I haue conditionallie put it, who is that antichrist lying priuie in the hid scriptures of the prophets: I will passe on the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkenesse, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing couered that shall not bee knowne: And therefore, the thing that was said in the darkenesse, let vs lay in the light: and the thing that wee haue heard in the eare, let vs preach vpon the house tops. Therefore as I haue before said, so say, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the seruant of God, and the chiefe vicar of Christ in this world, doe make and institute many lawes contrarie to the Gospel of Iesu Christ: then is hee the chiefe of many, which comming in the name of Christ, haue said, I am Christ, who haue seduced many. Which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest. For Christ is called of the Hebrues the very same that we call anointed. And amongst them there was a double sort of legall annointing by the law, the one of kings and the other of priests. And alwell were the kings as the priests, called in the law, Christs. The kings, as in the Psalme: The kings of the earth stod vp together, and the princes met themselues in one against the Lord and against his Christ or annointed. And in the books of the kings very often are the kings called Christs. And our Sauiour was Christ, or annointed king, because hee was a king for euermore vpon the throne of Dauid, as the Scriptures doe verie ostentimes witnesse. The priests also were called annointed, as where it is written, Doe not yee touch my Christs, that is, mine annointed ones, and bee not yee spitefull against my prophets. And so was our sauior Christ, a priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech.

The pope the very Antichrist.

Annointing possible in scripture.

Kings and priests annointed.

Seeing then, that the bishops of Rome doe say, that they are the high priests: they say also therein that they are kings, because they say that they haue the spirituall sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the corporall sword, which appertaineth to a kings state. So is it plaine, that really and in verie deed they say that they are Christs, albeit that expressie they bee not called Christs. Now, that they come in the name of Christ, it is manifest, because they say that they are his principall vicars in this world, ordained of Christ specially for the gouernment of the christian Church. Therefore, seeing they say, that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chiefe friends of Christ: if they make and institute manie lawes contrarie to the Gospell of Iesu Christ, then is it plaine that they themselues in earth are the principall Antichrists, because there is no worse plague and pestilence, then a familiar enemie. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceiue the christian people, because that a manifest enemie shall haue much adoe to deceiue a man, because men trust him not: but a priuie enemie pretending outward friendship, may easilie seduce, yea those that be wise.

The popes make themselues priests and kings. The pope meeteth diuinitie with Christ.

The pope commeth in the name of Christ. Popes vpheld principall Antichrists.

The pope an outward friend and a priuie enemie to Christ.

But that this matter may the more follie be knowen, let vs see what is the law and doctrine of Christ, that ought to be obserued of all faithfull people: which being knowne, it shall bee an easie thing to see, if the bishop of Rome doe make or maintain anie lawes contrarie to the law of h gospel of Iesu Christ.

Whether the pope doth maintaine any lawes against the lawes of Christ.

I say then, that the law of Christ is charitie, which is the perfect loue of God and of Christ. This thing is plaine and manifest: For Christ being demanded of a certain doctor of the law; What is the greatest commandement in the law? answered: Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy minde: That is the principal and greatest commandement. And as for the second, it is like vnto this: Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thine owne selfe. In these two commandements, doth the whole law and prophets depend. And in another place Christ saith: All manner of things therefore, that you would that men should doe to you, the same also do ye vnto them. For this is the law and the prophets. And in Iohn the thirteenth chapter saith Christ: And now doe I say vnto you, I giue you a new commande-

The law of loue commanded in the Gospell.

John 13.



ment, that you should loue each other as I loued you, in like manner that you also should loue one an other. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall haue loue one towards an other. And Iohn 15. chapter: This is my commandement, that you loue together as I haue loued you. Greater loue then this hath no body, that a man should giue his life for his friends. The apostle Peter saith in his first Epistle 4. chapter: Above all things hauing continually charitie one towards an other, for charitie couereth the multitude of sinnes. Be ye harborers, and entertaine yee one an other without grudging; euery one as he hath receiued grace, so let him bestow it vpon an other man, as the good stewards of the manifold graces of God. If any man speake, let him speak as the word of God. If any man doe ought for an other, let it be done with singlenes and vnfeined veritie, ministred of God to vsward, that in all things God may bee honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord. James in his Epistle the 2. chapter: If ye performe the royall law accordingly to the Scriptures, (thou shalt loue thy neighbour) ye doe well: But if ye be partiall in receiuing and preferring mens personages, ye worke wickednes, being blamed of the law as transgressors. And againe, So speake ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be iudged by the law of libertie. What shall it auaile, my brethren, if a man say he haue faith, and haue no workes? neuer shall the faith be able to saue him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and haue need of daily foode, and some of you say to them, go ye in peace, bee ye made warme and satisfied: and if ye shall not giue those things that are necessarie for the body, what shall it auaile? Euen so faith, if it haue not workes, is dead in it selfe.

John 15.

1.Pet.4.

James 2.

Coloss.3.

John in his first epistle the 3. chapter: This is the tidings which you haue heard from the beginning, that you should loue one an other. And againe, we know that we are translated from death to life, if we loue the brethren: He that loueth not, abideth in death. And againe, Herein do we know the loue of God, because that he hath laid downe his life for vs, and wee ought to lay downe our liues for the brethren. Hee that hath haue the substance of this world, and shall see his brother haue need, and shall shut vp his bowels from him, how abideth the loue of God in him? My little children, let vs not loue in word, nor tongue, but in deed and truth. And againe 4. chapter: Not dearely beloued, let vs loue together. For loue is of God, hee that loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is loue. In this thing hath the loue of God appeared in vs, that God hath sent his onely begotten sonne into the world, that wee should liue by him. Herein is loue: not that we haue loued God, but that he hath first loued vs, and hath sent his sonne an attonement for our sinnes. Not dearely beloued, if God haue loued vs, we so ought to loue together. No man hath seene God at any time: if wee loue together, God abideth in vs, and his loue is perfect in vs. And againe, Let vs loue God, for he hath first loued vs. If a man shall say, I loue God, & do hate his brother, he is a liar. For he that loueth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he loue God whom he seeth not? And this commandement haue we of God, that who so loueth God, should loue his brother also. Paul the apostle in his epistle to the Romans the 13. chapter: Owe yee nothing to no body, sauing that yee should loue together, for hee that loueth his brother hath fulfilled the law. For thou shalt not commit adulterie, thou shalt not murther, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false witnesse, thou shalt not couet thy neighbours good: and if there bee any other commandement, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is loue.

1.John 3.

1.John 4.

Rom.13.

Paul to the Corinths the 13. chap. saith: If I should speake with the tongues of men and angels, and yet haue not charitie, I am become as it were a piece of sounding mettall or tinkling cymball. And if I shall haue all prophecie, and know all mysteries, and all knowledge, and shall haue all faith, so that I might remoue mountaines, and yet shall not haue charitie; I am nothing. And if I shall giue abrode all my goods to feede the poore, and shall giue vp my body to be burned, and yet haue not charitie, it profits me nothing. To the Galanthians 5. saith Paul: For you my brethren, are called vnto libertie: do not giue your libertie for an occasion of the flesh, but by charitie of the spirit serue ye one an other. For all the law is fulfilled in one saying; Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thine owne selfe. To the Ephesians 4. chapter he saith: I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord, doe beseech you, that you would walke worthie of the calling wherewith yee are called, with all humblenesse and mildnes, with patience, forbearing one another in loue, being carefull to keepe the vnitie of the spirit, in the bond of peace: that you be one body, and one spirit, euen as you bee called in one hope of your calling. And againe in the 5. chap. Be ye followers of me, as most deere children, and walke yee in loue, as Christ also hath loued vs, and hath deliuered by himselfe for vs, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweete sauour. To the Philip. thus he speaketh in the first chap. Onely let your conuersation be worthie of the Gospell of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may heare of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit labouring together with one accord for the faith of the Gospell. And in nothing be ye afraid of the aduersaries, which is to them a

1.Cor.13.

Galat.5.

Ephes.4.

Ephes.5.

Philip.1.

cause of damnation, but to you of saluation, and that of God. For to you it is giuen, not onely that you should beleeue in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battell that both you haue seene in me, and also now do heare of me. If therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charitie, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfill you my ioy, that you may be of one iudgement, hauing one and the selfe same charitie, being of one accord, of one minder of iudgement, doing nothing of contention, nor of vaine glory, but in humblenes, accounting other amongst you, euery one better then your selues; not euery bodie looking vpon the things that bee his owne, but those that belong vnto others. And to the Coloss. 3. chap. thus he writeth; You therefore as the elect of God, holy and beloued, put vpon you the bowels of mercy, gentlenesse, humblenesse, lowlinesse, modestie, patience, bearing one with an other, and giuing place to your selues (if any haue a quarrell against any body;) euen as the Lord forgaue you, so doe you also. Aboue all things haue yee charitie, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body. And be ye kind and thankefull. And to the Thessalonians thus Paul writeth in the 4. chapter; As concerning brotherly charitie, wee haue no need to write vnto you: for you your selues haue learned of God, that you should loue one an other. And the same thing ye do towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia.

Ephes.5.

1.Thess.4.

Out of all these and many other places of the holy Scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charitie, neither is there any vertue commanded of Christ, or any of his apostles, to be obserued of the faithfull people, but that it commeth out of charitie, or else doth nourith charitie.

Many things obserued in the old law, which be not obserued now.

The law is giuen by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to vnloose the law, but to fulfill them. But yet many things were lawfull and might haue been obserued in the time of the law, which in the time of grace must not be obserued. And many things were vnlawfull to them that were vnder the law, which in the time of grace are lawfull enough. After what sort then he did not loose the law, but did fulfill it, it is necessarie to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said. For amongst christians, many things are iudged to be lawfull, because in the former testament in the law they were lawfull; and yet they bee expressie contrarie to Christs Gospell. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus: Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now after what sort he did not vnloose them, it is manifest by the holy Scripture: that the law giuen by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardnes of the peoples heart towards the loue of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his law in the hearts and in the minds of his, that is to say, the law of perfect loue of God, and of Christ. Which law whosoeuer obserueth, hee doth obserue the law of Moles, and doth much greater workes of perfection, then were the workes of the law. Thus therefore were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of the charitie of Christ, and not vnloosed: because they are much more perfectly obserued, then of the Iewes. This I say, if the christians doe obserue the commandements of Christ in such sort, as he commanded the same to bee obserued. Christ hath fulfilled the lawes morall of the old testament, because that the morals & iudicials were ordained, that one person should not do iniurie to an other, & that euery man should haue paid him that is his. Now they that are in charitie, will do no iniurie to others, neither doe they take other mens goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her owne things. For charitie seeketh not the things that be her owne. Wherefore, much lesse by a stronger reason it ought not to seeke for other mens goods. And when as the iudicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not by the workes of the law iustifie the beleeuers in him, but by grace iustified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfill that by grace, that the law could not by iustice.

Christ entirely not vnto the temple made by man, but into the very heauē.

Paul to the Romans declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galathians likewise, that none shall bee iustified by the workes of the law, but by grace, in the faith of Iesu Christ. As for the morals & ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences and for sinnes, firstfruits, tenths, vowes, diuers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of bloud, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from vncleane meates, which are ordeined for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sinne, no not yet the praiers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets, could clense a man from his sin. For death reigned euen from Adam to Moses, and sinne from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romans in the fifth chapter. But Christ, willing to haue mercy, and not sacrifice, being a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, and an high priest of good things to come, did neither by the bloud of goats or calues, but by his owne bloud enter in once into the holy places, when as euerlasting redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made vnto hands, which are the examples of true things, but into the heauen, that now he may appeare before the countenance of God for vs. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer vp himselfe ostentimes, as the high bishop entred into the holy place euery yeer with straunge bloud (for otherwise hee must needs haue suf-

Free iustification by faith onely.

Grace, that is, free fauour, mercy and goodnes of God.

Rom.5.

Hebr.9.

The sacrifice of Christ not expreslie taken away by him.

fred oftentimes sithence the beginning of the world, but now in the latter end of the world hath he once appeared by his owne sacrifice, for the destruction of sinne. And like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that commeth iudgement: euen so was Christ once offered vp to confume away the sinnes of many. The second time shall he appeare without sinne to the saluation of such as looke for him. For the law hauing a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of substance it selfe of the things, can neuer, by those sacrifices which they offer (of one selfe same sort continually euery by yeare) make them perfect that come vnto her. Otherwise men would leaue off offering, because that those worshippers being once cleansed, should haue no more pricke of conscience for sinne afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins euery yeare.

Hebr.10.

For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and bulls, sins should be taken away. Wherefore, he entring into the world, doth say: As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not haue, but a body hast thou framed vnto me. And sacrifices for sinne haue not pleased thee: then said I, behold I come: In the head, or principall part of the booke it is written of me, that I should doe thy will O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations, and burnt offerings, and that for sin thou wouldest not haue: neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law: then said I, behold I come, that I may doe thy will O God: He taketh away the first, that he may stablish that that followed. In which will, we are sanctified and made holy by the offering vp of the body of Iesus Christ once. And verily euery priest is readie euery day ministring, and oftentimes offering the selfe same sacrifices, which neuer can take away sinnes. But this man offering one sacrifice for sins, doth for euer and euer sit at Gods right hand, looking for the rest to come till that his enemies bee placed to be his footstoole. For with one offering hath he for euer made perfect those that be sanctified. By which things it plainely appeareth, that Christ by one offering hath cleansed his from their sinnes: who could not be cleansed from the same, by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfill that which the priesthood of the law could not. Wherefore onely the morals and iudicials be fulfilled by the laws of charitie, and by grace; and the ceremonials, by one offering vp of his body on the altar of the crosse. And so it is plaine, that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

All the doctors ought to cease and stop their cauillations.

Wherefore sithence that the holy things of the law, were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meet that all those things should vtterly cease amongst christians, which should either bee against charitie or the grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawfull, and not vtterly contrarie to it, but were figures of perfections in Christs faith: yet it were meet that they should cease at the comming of the perfection which they did prefigurate: as circumcision, the eating of the paschall Lambe, and other ceremoniall points of the law. Whereupon also Paul to the Hebrues the 7. chapter saith thus: If therefore the making vp of the perfection of all was by the Leuiticall priesthood (for the people receiued the law vnder him) why was it necessarie before, that an other priest should rise vp after the order of Melchisedech, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is remoued, it must needs be, that the law also be remoued. For he in whom these things are spoken, is of an other tribe, of which, none stood present at the altar: because it is manifest that our Lord had his offspring of Iuda, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this, it is manifest: if according to the order of Melchisedech there doe rise vp an other priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnall commandement, but according to the power of the life perpetuall. For thus he beareth witnes, that thou art a priest for euer, after the order of Melchisedech: so that the commandement that went before, is disallowed for vnprofitablenesse thereof. For the law hath brought no body to perfection. By which things it appeareth, that Christ making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make vp a full end of the law belonging to that priesthood. Whereupon I maruell that your learned men doe say, that christian folkes are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

Heb.7. Christ by the priesthood of Melchisedech is proued to be the mediator of the new Testament by the mediator of Christ the law and ceremonies of Moses is proued to be remoued.

The cause why Christ would not haue the ceremonies of the law obserued.

It is plaine, that the tithes were giuen to the sonnes of Leui, for their seruing in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first fruits were giuen to the priests, and also to part of the sacrifices, and so were the vowes of their ministerie, as it appeareth in the booke of Numbers the 22. chapter. But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the comming of Christ, how should those things bee demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing that the first fruits were not demanded of christians, which first fruits were then rather and sooner demanded then the tithes: why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore preuidence because that the tithes be more worthy in value then be the first fruits?

If tithes be claimed by the priests of the old law, how can the Christian priests claime tithes of the people, but not by the old law.

Secondly, who are the lay people bound to the payment of tithes, more then the Leuites and the priests were to the not hauing of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfe same law in the selfe same place (where he saith that the tithes ought to be giuen to Leuites) saith also to the Leuites, Non shall bee contented with the offering of the tithes, and haue none other thing amongst your brethren. Wherefore seeing that the priests be bound, to the not hauing of temporall lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law of God he meaneth, and not of man, to the paiment of tithes?

The priests not content, but that they be due by the ordinance of man: Although not by the ceremoniall law of Moses.

Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was giuen before the law, and was an vniuersall ceremonie, concerning the couenant betweene God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said: The soule, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from amongst his people: yet did this ceremonie vtterly cease at the comming of Christ, although that certaine of the Iewes did lay in the primitiue church, that the christians must needs keepe the commandement of circumcision with the faith: whom Paul reproueth, writing thus to the Galathians the fourth chapter, where he speaketh of the children of the bondwoman and of the freewoman, which doe signifie the two Testaments. But we (O brethren) are the children of the promise after Isaac: but like as at that time he that was borne after the flesh, did persecute him which was after the spirit, euen so it is now also. But what saith the Scripture? Throw out the bondwoman and her sonne. The sonne of the bondwoman shall not be heire with the sonne of the freewoman. Wherefore brethren, we are not the sonnes of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye fedfast in the libertie wherewith Christ hath deliuered you, and be not ye holden againe vnder the yoke of bondage. Behold, I Paul say vnto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testifie againe to euery man that circumcideth himselfe, that he is bound to keepe all the whole law. Ye are vtterly void of Christ: whosoeuer will bee iustified in the law, are fallen from grace.

Sithes due to be paid by the positiue law of man.

Galath.4.

Christians liberte from the bondage of the law.

In like maner we may reason, if wee be bound to tithing, we are debters, and bound to keepe all the whole law. For to say that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either therefore wee are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old law, men are not bound to pay tithes, it may bee shewed by many reasons, which we needs not any more to multiplie since we alleage the things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some doe say, that by the Gospell wee are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisies, Matth. 23. chap. Woe be to you Scribes and Pharisies, which pay your tithe of Mint, of Anise seed, and of Cummin: and leaue iudgement, mercy, and truth vndone, being the waighties things of the law: both should ye haue done these things, and also not haue left the other vndone. Ye blind guides, that straine out a gnat, and swallow vp a camell. This word foundeth not as a commandement or maner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be giuen: but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisie of the Pharisies, who of couetousnesse did rather weigh and esteeme tithes, because of their owne singuler commoditie, rather then other great and weightie commandements of the law. And we seeme by that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisies, which do leaue off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping onely the commandement of tithing. It is manifest and plaine enough by the premisses, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedech, of the tribe of Iuda, not of the tribe of Leui: who gaue no new commandement of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom he would place after him: but when his apostles said to him: Behold, we leaue all things and haue followed thee, what then shall wee haue; he did not answere them thus: Tithes shall be paid vnto you: neither did he promise them a temporall, but an euerlasting reward in heauen. For he, both for soul, and also apparell, taught his disciples not to be carefull: We pe not carefull for your life, what ye shall eate, or for your body what ye shall put on: Is not the life of man more worth then the meate: and the body more worth then apparell? Behold ye the birds of heauen, which doe not sow, nor reape, neither yet lay vp in barnes, and yet your heauenly father feedeth them. And as for apparell, why should you be carefull? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither doe they spinne, &c. In conclusion he saith, We not ye carefull, saying, what shall we eate, or what shall we drinke, or wherewithall shall we be couered? For all these things doe the Gentiles seeke after: For your father knoweth, that you haue need of all these things. First therefore seeke ye for the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof, and all these things shall bee cast vnto you. And Paul right well remembring this doctrine, inferreth Timothie and saith thus: But we hauing food, and wherewithall to be couered, let vs therewith be contented. And as the Acts of the apostles doe declare; in the first conuersion of the Iewes at Ierusalem, they had all things common, and to euery one was distribution made as neede required. Neither did the priests make the tithes their owne proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people being conuerted, should haue propuetie of goods: euen so neither that priests should haue propuetie of tithes. So that if

Tithes not expreslie commanded anew by Christ in the Gospell. Matth.6.

Tithes not expreslie commanded by the holy Ghost. 1.Tim.6.

Christ in answering to his brother, did not breake his rule of patience outwardly.

The precept of Christ to returne the other cheek, hath a priuie comparison and if he would say, rather be you ready to suffer two iniuries, then to reuenge one.

This article of Paule must haue a declaration ouer to the Lutenist of the clergie.

If the priests started backe from seruent charitie in challenging to themselues the propuetie of tithes; it is no maruell of departing backward (as doe the priests from the perfection of charitie) also of the latitie to be willing to appropriate to themselues, the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the apostles, commanded to pay tithes: it is manifest and plaine, neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christs law, christian people are bound to pay tithes: but by the tradition of men, they are bound.

Sithes due to be paid by the positiue law of man.

By the premisses now it is plaine, that Christ did not vndo the law, but by grace did fulfill it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawfull, which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then vnlawfull, which now are lawfull enough. For nothing that is contrarie to charitie, is lawfull to a christian.

Let vs now heare what maner of commandements Christ hath giuen vs in the Gospell, without the obseruation of which commandements, charitie shall not perfectly bee kept. By which commandements, Christ did not vndoe the old law, but did fulfill it. By the obseruation also of which commandements, he teacheth vs to passe and goe beyond the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisies, who most perfectly thought themselues to keepe the law. This absolute and perfect righteousnesse, which we are bound to haue beyond the righteousnesse of the Pharisies and the Scribes, he teacheth in Matthew 5. 6. and 7. chap. Which being heard, and compared to the traditions made and commanded by the Romane prelats, it shall plainely appeare, whether they be contrarie or no. Christ therefore saith, You haue heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill. For he that killeth shall be guiltie of iudgement. But I say vnto you, that euery one that is angrie with his brother, shall be in danger of iudgement. In this he doth teach, that wee ought not to bee angrie with our brethren: not that he would vndoe this old commandement (Thou shalt not kill) but that the same should bee the more perfectly obserued. Againe hee saith; You haue heard that it was said, thou shalt loue thy friend, and hate thine enemie. But I say vnto you, Loue your enemies, doe well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your father which is in heauen: Which maketh his sunne to arise vpon the good and the euill people, and raineth vpon the iust and vniust. For if you loue them which loue you, what reward shall you haue? Doe not the Publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren onely, what great thing doe ye? Doe not the heathen thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heauenly father is perfect.

Bound in one thing, the meaneth bound in all: Either bound to all, or to none.

* Here he expreslie his meaning plainely.

The doctrine of Christ and of the pope compared.

Againe Christ saith, You haue heard that it is said, an eie for an eie, a tooth for a tooth. But I say vnto you, see that you resist not euill. But if any man shall strike you vpon the right cheeke, giue him the other to. And to him that will striue with thee for thy coate in iudgement, let him haue thy cloke also. And whosoeuer shall constraine thee one mile, goe with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, giue him: and he that will borrow of thee, turne not thy selfe from him.

The one is disallowed, the other is not commanded.

Priests must religion to their owne profit.

By these things it may plainely appeare, how that Christ the king of peace, the Sauiour of mankind, who came to saue, and not to destroy, who gaue a law of charitie to bee obserued of his faithfull people; hath taught vs not to be angrie, not to hate our enemies, not to render euill for euill, nor to resist euill. For all these things doe softer and nourish peace and charitie, and doe procede and come forth of charitie, and when they bee not kept, charitie is losed, and peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome appiouth and alloweth warres, and slaughters of men in warre, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians for temporall goods. Now, these things are quite contrarie to Christs doctrine, and to charitie, and to peace.

Tithes not expreslie commanded anew by Christ in the Gospell. Matth.6.

The glosse of Gratianus vpo the cap. Paratus 23.q.1. dist. primo.

In the decrees 23. q. 1. cap. Paratus, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must alwaies be retained in purpose of the heart, so that patience with benecuolence must bee kept in the mind secret. But apparantly and manifestly, that thing should be done, which seemeth to doe good to those, whom wee ought to wish well vnto. Wherein they giue to vnderstand, that a christian may freely defend himselfe. And so confirmation of this saying, they do say: That Christ when he was stricken on the face of the high bishops seruant, did not fulfill (if we looke vpon the words of his owne commandement: because he began not to the smiter the other cheek, but rather did forbid him, that he should not doe it, to double his iniurie. For he said, If I haue spoken euill, beare witnes of the euill; but if well, why doest thou strike me? I doe maruell of this saying; for first if those commandements of patience must bee kept in secret in the mind: and seeing the body doth worke at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moued and ruled by the same: it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appeare also outwardly in the body.

Secondly, I maruell that it is said, that Christ did not fulfill his owne precept of patience. For it is manifest, that albeit he teaching alwaies as a good schoolemaster, those things which were fit for the saluation of soules, speaking the whole some word of instruction to the high bishops seruant smiting him vniustly; did neither by word forbid an other stroke to bee giuen on the other cheeke, neither did hee defend himselfe bodily from striking on the same cheeke: But speaking to him, it is likely that hee gaue him the other cheeke, hee meaneth, that he turned not the other cheeke away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, of whom hee inferreth, but layeth open before him all his face: Euen so do I beleeue that Christ did, that he might fulfill in very deed that, which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ by his word or by his deed, shew any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

Rom.12. Rules of Christian patience.

Thirdly, I maruell why wise men leauing the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, whereby hee teacheth patience, doe seeke corners of their owne imagining, to the intent they may appoue fightings and wars. Why marke they not after what maner Christ spake to Peter striking the high bishops seruant, saying: Put vp thy sword into the sheath, for euerie one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword: But in another case hee must make resistance: which case may bee righteous, as it is for a mans lord and maister being a most righteous man, and yet suffering iniurie of mischieuous persons.

The cause here assigned of Christ was patiuate, and his doctrine to be vnderstood in priuate cases. Warre in case allowed of the Iewes.

Fourthly, I maruell, seeing that we are bound of charitie and by the law of Christ to giue our liues for our brethren, how they can allow such maner of dissentions, and resisting. For when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou maiest be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charitie, into the snare of the diuell. If thou shalt keepe patience, hee shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayest bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the diuell, and call him backe againe to charitie. If thou resist, and perchance by resisting doest strike againe, his furie shall bee the more kindled, and hee being striued vp to greater wrath, peraduenture shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thy selfe, thou art vncertaine if thou goe about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charitie, and then shalt thou goe backward from the perfection of Christs commandement: Neither doest thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moued, as that by the heate and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldest dispose thy selfe to patience (as Christ teacheth) thou shouldest easilie auoide all these mischiefes, as well on the behalfe of thy brother, as also of thine owne part. Wherefore the obseruing of charitie, as the precept of patience, is to be obserued.

Hereunto be exhorted all priests and other, that they be not derogate to the doctrine of our Sauiour.

Pe meaneth such wars as Christian ye ought to allow.

The incommence of priuate resistance among Christian brethren.

Fifthly, I doe maruell why that for the allowing of this corporall resistance, he doth lap in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfill the precept of the patience of Christ, when as he being stricken in the place of iudgement by a commandement of the high priest, did say, God strike thee, O thou painted wall: Doest thou sit to iudge me according to the law, and doest thou command me to be stricken against the law? It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had ouerpassed the bounds of patience, through the griefe of the stroke, what of that? Christ the head of Paule impatiencie for this cause bee fulfilled, and the commandement of patience taught by Christ, bee left vndone for Pauls deed, and corporall resistance bee allowed of God for vs? For both Paul and Peter might erre. But in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no errour. Wherefore we must giue more credence and beleefe to Christs sayings, then to any liuing mans doings. Wherefore, although Paul had resisted, which I doe not perceiue in that Scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporall resistance must be appioued, which is of Christ expreslie forbidden. I much maruell that alwaies they seeke corners and shadowes to iustifie their deeds, Why doe they not marke what great things Paul reciteth himselfe to haue suffered for Christ? And where I pray you haue they found, that he after his conuersion, stroke any man that did hurt him? Or where doe they find that hee in expreslie wood doth teach such a kind of corporall resistance? But as touching patience, hee saith in plaine words to the Romans: Be not wise in your owne conceits: Render ill for ill to no bodie: prouiding good things not onely before God, but also before all men, if it be possible: Be at peace with all folkes as much as in you lieth: not reuenging your selues, my most dearely beloued, but giue you place vnto anger. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompence them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemie shall be an hungred, giue him meate; if he bee a thirst, giue him drinke. For thus doing, thou shalt heape coales of fire vpon his head. Bee not ouercome of euill, but ouercome thou euill with good.

The fact either of Paul or of any other, doth not derogate to the doctrine of our Sauiour.

To the Corinthians the 5. as touching iudgement and contention, which are matters of lesse weight then are fightings, thus he writeth: Now verily there is great fault in you, that you beat law amongst your selues. Why rather take yee not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not deceit? And generally in all his epistles hee teacheth, that patience should bee kept, and not corporall resistance by fighting, because charitie is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I maruell how they iustifie and make good the warres by Christians sauing onely the warres against the diuell and sinne. For seeing that it is plaine, that those things which were in the old Te-

1.Cor.5.

Pe meaneth such warres of Christian ye ought to allow.

Ceremonial works ordeined in the Leuiticall lawe, to be figures of the thinges to come in the new Testament, against sinne, and the diuell.

E. Exod. 6.

What be the warres and people to Christians.

All vices to reteine and driue away the temptations of the diuell: as of pride, enuie, to shut one vp in priuate cell for his priuate sinnes, or errours from priuate goodes.

* More this word, without charitie.

Such kinde of warres, that is, such kinde as be for priuate errours or temporall goodes.

How Iohn Baptist allowed warre.

They that be teachers in the kingdome of heauen, greater then Iohn Baptist, be promised.

flament, were figures of things to bee done in the new Testament; Therefore we must needs say, that the corporall warres being then done, were figures of the christian warres against sinne and the diuell, for the heauenly countrey, which is our inheritance. It is plaine that it was written thus of Christ: The mightie Lord, and of great power in battell, hath girded himselfe in force and manlinesse to the warre: and hee came not to send peace into the earth, but warre. In this warre ought christian people to bee souldiers, according to that maner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians the last: Put vpon you the armour of God, that you may bee able to stand against the deceits of the diuell. For wee haue not to wrastle against flesh and blood, but against princes and potestates, against the rulers of the darknesse of the world, against spirituall wickednesse in heauenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take yee the armour of God, that yee may bee able to resist in the euill day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand ye therefore girded about in truth vpon your loynes, hauing put vpon you the brest-plate of righteousnesse, and your feet shod in a readinesse to the Gospell of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery dartes of that wicked one. And take vnto you the helmet of saluation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

By these things it is plaine, what are the warres of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this Testament is of greater perfection then the former, wee must now fight more perfectly then at that time. For now spiritually, then corporally: now for an heauenly euerlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporall: now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousnes, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. He saith not, blessed are they that fight for righteousnesse. How can a man say, that they may lawfully make warre, and kill their brethren for the temporall goods, which peraduenture they vniustly occupie, or vniustly intend to occupie? For he that killeth an other to get these goods which an other body vniustly occupieth, doth loue more the very goods then his owne brother. And then hee falling from charitie, doth kill himselfe spiritually. If he goe forward without * charitie to make warre, then doth he euill, and to his owne damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor iustly in proceeding to the damnation of his owne selfe and his brother, whom, though hee see vniustlie to occupie his goods, yet hee doth intend to kill. And what if such kinde of warres were lawfull to the Iewes? this argueth not, that now they are lawfull to christians, because that their deedes were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of christians in the light of perfection. It was not said vnto them, All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if Iohn the Baptist disallowed corporall fightings, and corporall warfare, at such time as the souldiers asked him saying, And what shall we do? Who saith to them, See that you strike no man, neither picke ye quarrels against any, and bee ye contented with your wages. This saying of Iohn alloweth not corporall warre amongst christians. For Iohn was of the Priests of the old Testament, y vnder the law, neither to him it appertained to follow the law, but to warne the people to the perfect obseruation of the law: for hee beeing likewise demanded of the Publicans what they should do, said vnto them, Doe no other thing then is appointed vnto you. But Christ the author of the new testament and of greater perfection, then was the perfection of the old law, which gaue new things, as it plainely appeareth by the Gospell. So that christians ought to receiue information of Christ, not of Iohn. For of Iohn also both Christ speake: Verily I say vnto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of women, a greater then Iohn Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. In which saying, Christ sheweth, that they that be least in the kingdome of heauen in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection then was Iohn, which was one of them that were the elders, and he lined also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when as certaine of Iohns disciples said vnto him: Master, hee that was beyond Iordan, to whom thou gauest witnesse, behold he baptizeth, and all people come vnto him; Iohn answered and said: A man cannot take vpon him, vnlesse it shall bee giuen him from aboue. You your selues bee beare mee record, that I said I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. Hee that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegromes friend, who standeth and heareth him, he reioyceth with great ioy to heare the voice of the bridegroome. This therefore my ioy is fulfilled: he must increase, and I must bee diminished. Hee that commeth from an high is aboue all. Hee that is of the earth is earthy, and speaketh of the earth: Hee that commeth from heauen, is aboue all folkes; that which he hath seene and heard, the same doth hee witnesse, and yet his witnessing doth no body receiue. But he that receiueth his witnessing, hath put to his Seale, that God is true. For hee whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God.

By which things it plainely appeareth, that credence is to be giuen neither to Iohn, nor yet to Angell, if hee teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christs doctrine. For Christ is about the Angels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisedome. Now if Moses the seruant of God, a minister of the old Testament was so much to bee beleeued, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished, from the commandements that were giuen by him, (for so Moses had said, The thing that I command thee, that doe thou onely to the Lord, neither adde thou any thing, nor diminish;) how much more ought wee not to adde nor to take away from the commandements giuen by God himselfe, and also the sonne of God? In the primitiue church because the christians had feruent loue & charitie, they obserued these precepts as they were giuen: but their feruent charitie afterward waxing lukewarme, they inuented glosses by drawing the commandements of God backe to their owne deeds, which they purposed to iustifie and maintaine: that is to say, warres against the infidels. But that these by warres should be conuerted to the faith, is a fast faithlesse enough: because, that by violence or vnwillingly, no body can beleeue in Christ, nor bee made a christian, neither did hee come to destroy them by battell, that beleeued not in him: for he said to his disciples, You know not what spirit you are of. The sonne of man came not to destroy mens liues, but to saue them. Then to grant pardons and forgiuenes of sinnes to those that kill the infidels, is to much an infidels fact, seducing many people. For what greater seducing can there be, then to promise to a man forgiuenesse of sinnes, and afterward the top of heauen, for setting himselfe against Christs commandements in the killing of the infidels, that would not be conuerted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, Not euery one that saith to me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heauen; but he that doth the will of my father which is in heauen, this person shall enter into the kingdome of heauen. And the will of the father is, that we should beleeue in his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and that we should obey him by obseruing of those things which he himselfe hath commanded. Wherefore Christs precepts of patience must bee fulfilled. Warres, fightings, and contentions must be left, because they are contrarie to charitie.

But peraduenture some man will thus reason against Christ: The saints by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow warres against the faithfull people, as alls against the infidels. And the holy kings were warriers, for whose sakes miracles alo haue beene shewed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea in the very tim wherein they were warriers. Wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawfull. For otherwise, God would not haue done miracles for them.

To this against I say, that we for no miracles must do contrarie to the doctrine of Christ; for in it can there be no errour: but in miracles there oftentimes chanceth errour, as it is plaine as well by the old as by the new Testament. God forbid then, that a Christian should for perceiuable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus the 7. chapter it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the inchantments of Egypt, and certaine secret workings, threw their wands vpon the earth, which were turned into Dragons, euen as Aaron beforetime in the presence of Pharao threw his wand vpon the earth, which by the power of God was turned into a serpent. In the third of the Kings, the 22. chap. Micheas did see the Lord sitting vpon his throne, and all the host of heauen standing about him on the right hand, and on the left. And the Lord said, who shall deceiue Achab the king of Israel, that he may goe vp and bee slaine in Ramoth Gilead? And one said this way, and an other otherwise: now, there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord and said, I will deceiue him. To whom the Lord spake: by what meanes? And he said, I will goe forth, and bee a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, thou shalt deceiue him and preuaile, goe thy wayes forth, and doe euen so. Thus also is it written in Deuteronomium: If there shall arise a prophet amongst you, or one that shall say he hath seene a dreame, and shall tell it a signe and a wonder: and if that shall come to passe that he hath spoken, and hee shall say vnto thee, let vs goe and follow strange Gods (whom thou knowest not) and let vs serue them: thou shalt not hearken vnto the words of that prophet or dreamer, for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it knowne whether yee loue him or no, with all your heart and with all your soule.

In Jeremy the 23. chap. Are not my words euen like fire, saith the Lord? and like an hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets which haue reaued a lie (saith the Lord) which haue shewed those things, and haue seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, when as I sent them not, neither commanded them; which haue brought no profit vnto this people (saith the Lord.) In Sparke the 13. chapter, saith Christ: For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signes and wonders to deceiue if it were possible euen the very elect. Paul in his second epistle to the Corinthians the 11. chapter. Such false apostles are deceitfull workers, transforming themselues into the apostles of Christ. And no marell: For euen Satan transformeth himselfe into an

He meaneth of those wars against infidels stirred vp and procured by the pope vpon blind superstition, to fight for the holyland, and not taken by vprores to resist the necessary defence of themselues and other christians.

The seruants of Christ discerned by working not of miracles, but of vertues.

Men or women are not rashly to be iudged saints.

Obiection.

Answere. Legibus egendi, non exemplis.

True miracles here of holy writ be not disproued, but shewing vniuersall rule & stable doctrine and worke of God, in the time vnto for men to follow.

2. Reg. 22. Iehu is deceiued by false prophets.

This proposition of Walter Brute, concerning the warre of Christians not to be lawfull, is not to be taken vniuersally, but in particular cases as he meaneth, which is that that such warres alloweth the pope, nor for to be necessary defence of publike peace, liberte, and safegard of our countries, against publike enimies offred: but only to goe and kill the infidels, because God hath bestowed not dwelling nor other temporall things of the pope (as he falsely say.

Mark. 13. False prophets.

2. Cor. 11.



an angell of light, therefore it is no great thing, though his ministers transforme themselues, as though they were the ministers of righteousnesse, whose end shall bee according to their works.

Apoc. 13.

In the Apocalypse the 13. chapter, John saw a beast ascending vp out of the earth, and it had two hornes like a lamb, but he spake like the dragon, and hee did all that the first beast could doe before him: and he caused the earth, and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come downe from heauen on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceiued them that dwelt on the earth, by meanes of the signes which were permitted him to do in the sight of the beast.

Miracles are to be tried.

By these things it is most manifest and plaine, that in miracles this manifold errour oftentimes happeneth through the working of the diuell, to deceiue the people withall. Therefore, we ought not for the working of miracles, to depart from the commandements of God: I would to God that they which put confidence in miracles, would giue heede vnto the word of Christ, in the 7. chap. of Matth. thus speaking: Many shall say vnto me in that day, Lord, Lord, haue we not in thy name prophecied? and in thy name cast out diuels? and in thy name done many great workes? &c. I will professe vnto them, I neuer knew you, depart from me all yee which worke iniquitie.

Matth. 7.

By this saying it is most manifest, that the seruants of Christ are not discerned by the working of miracles but by the working of vertues, departing from iniquity, and obaying the commandements of God. Wherefore it is wonderfull, that any in this life dare presume to preuent the day of the iudgement of God, to iudge by meanes of miracles, that some are Saints whom men ought to worship, who peraduenture God will in the last iudgement condemne, saying: depart from me all ye which worke iniquitie. If any man could here on earth iudge sinners to be condemned, then if this iudgement were certaine, Christ should not iudge the second time, and whatsoeuer such iudges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in heauen. But if such a iudgement bee vncertaine, then it is perilleous and full of deceit, when as by it men on earth may in stead of saints worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the diuels, and in prayer require their aide, who euen like as the diuels their companions are more readie and more of might to euill then to good, more to hurt then to profit. I wonder they marke not that Christ said, when his sinfull woman came vnto him, desiring and requiring some thing of him, and saying: Command that these my two sonnes may sit, one vpon thy right hand and the other vpon thy left hand, in thy kingdome. But Iesus answering, said: Ye know not what yee aske, can ye drinke of the cup which I shall drinke of? they said vnto him, wee can. He said vnto them, Of my cup indeed yee shall drinke, but to sit at my right hand or at my left, it is not mine to giue, but vnto whom it is prepared for, of my father, Christ, being equall vnto the father according to his Godhead, exceeding all manner of men, according to his manhood, namely in goodnes and wisdome, said, to sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to giue, but vnto whom it is prepared of my father. If it were none of his to giue to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c. how then is it in the power of any sinfull man to giue vnto any man a seate either on the right hand, or on the left in the kingdome of God? which sinfull man knoweth not whether such haue any seat prepared for them of the father in his kingdome. They much erre if themselues which exercise this iudicial power in giuing iudgement; that there are some saints, which ought to be honoured of men, by reason of the euidencie of dreames, or of deceitfull miracles, of which men they are ignorant whether God in his iudgement will condemne them or not, together with the diuels for euer to be tormented. Let them beware, for the vnfalsible truth saith, that euery one that exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low.

By these things is gathered, that the warres of Christians are not lawfull, for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, by reason of the euidencie of the deceitfull miracles of those, which haue made warres amongst the Christians, as well against the Christians, as also against the infidels. Because Christ could not erre in his doctrine, for as much as he was God: And for as much as heauen and earth shall passe away, but thy words of Christ shall not passe away: Hee therefore which establisheth his lawes, allowing warres and the slaughter of men in the warre, as well of Christians, as of infidels, doth he not iustifie those things which are contrarie vnto the gospell and law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore Antichrist: seducing the people, making men beleeue that to be lawfull and meritorious vnto them, which is expresly prohibited by Christ.

Of this and thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and warre. wherein hee declareth Christ and the pope to bee contrarie, that is, the one to be gruen all to peace, the other all to warre, and so to proue in conclusion the pope to bee Antichrist. Where in the meane time thou must vnderstand gentle reader, his meaning rightly: not that he so thinketh, no kind of warres among the Christians in any case to be lawfull, for he himselfe before hath openly protested the contrary. But that his purpose is to procure the pope in al his doings and teachings, more to be addicted to warre then to peace, yea in such cases, where is no necessitie of warre. And therein plainely he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be Antichrist. Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercie.

In the which part he vseweth how Christ teacheth vs to bee mercifull, because mercie (as we saith) proceedeth from charitie, and nourisheth it. In which doctrine of mercie, he breaketh not the law of righteousnes, for hee himselfe by mercie hath cleansed vs from our sinnes, from which wee could not by the righteousnesse of the law, be cleansed. But whom he hath made cleane by mercie, vndoubtedly it behoueth vpon same to bee alls mercifull. For in the fifth chapter of Matthew, hee saith: Blessed are the mercifull, for they shall obtaine mercie. And againe in the sixth of Matthew: If yee forgiue vnto men their sinnes, your father will forgiue vnto you your sinnes. And again, in the seuenth chapter of Matthew: Iudge not, and yee shall not be iudged, condemne not, and ye shal not be condemned, and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured vnto you againe. In the 18. chap. of Math. Peter asked the Lord, saying: Lord, how often shall my brother sinne against me, and I shall forgiue him, seuen times? Iesus said vnto him: I say not vnto thee seuen times, but seuentie times seuen times. Therefore is the kingdome of heauen likened vnto a certaine King, which would take account of his seruants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought vnto him which ought him ten thousand talents: And because he had nothing wherewithall to pay, his maister commanded him to be sold, and his wife and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The seruant therefore fell downe, and besought him, saying, haue patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pitie on that seruant, and loosed him, and forgaue him the debt. But when that seruant was departed, he found one of his fellow seruants, which ought him an hundred pence, and hee laid hands on him, and tooke him by the throte, saying, pay me that thou owest: and his fellow fell downe, and besought him, saying: Haue patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till hee should pay the debt. And when his other fellowes saw the things that were done, they were very sorie, and came and declared vnto their master all that was done: Then his master called him, and said vnto him: O thou vngracious seruant, I forgaue thee all that debt when thou desiredst me: Oughtest thou not then also to haue had pitie on thy fellow, euen as I had pitie on thee? And his lord was wroth, and deliuered him vnto the iaylers, till hee should pay all that was due vnto him. So likewise shall my heauenly father do vnto you, except yee forgiue from your hearts each one to his brother their trespasses.

Matth. 18. Mercy and pitie commended among christians.

By this doctrine it is most plaine and manifest, that euery Christian ought to bee mercifull vnto his brother, how often soeuer hee offendeth against him. Because we so often as we offend, do aske mercie of God. Wherefore, for as much as our offence against God is farre more grieuous then any offence of our brother against vs: it is plaine, that it behoueth vs to be mercifull vnto our brethren, if we will haue mercy at Gods hand. But contrarie to this doctrine of mercie the Pope, bishop maketh and confirmeth many lawes, which punish offenders, euen vnto the death. As it is plaine by the processe of the decrees, Dist. 23. quest. 5. It is declared and determined, that to kill men ex officio, that is, hauing authority and power so to doe, is not sinne. And againe: The souldier which is obedient vnto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guiltie of murther. And againe, He is the minister of the Lord, which smiteth the euill in that they are euill and killeth them. And many other such like things are throughout the whole processe of that question determined: That for certaine kinds of sinnes men ought by the rigour of the law to bee punished euen vnto death. But the foundation of their sawing, they take out of the old law, in which for diuers transgressions were appointed diuers punishments. It is very much wonderfull vnto me, why that wise men being the authors and makers of lawes, do alwaies for the foundation of their sayings, leah vpon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the gospell of Iesus Christ, for they giue not heed vnto the figure of perfection, nor yet vnto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the third of Iohn, God sent not his son into the world to iudge the world, but to saue the world by him? In Iohn the 8. chap. The scribes and pharises bring in a woman taken in aduiterie, and set her in the midst, & said vnto Christ: Master, euen now this woman was taken in aduiterie. But in the law, Moses hath commanded vs to stone such, what saist thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Iesus stouped downe, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him: hee lift himselfe vp, and said vnto them, let him that is among you without sinne, cast the first stone at her. And againe hee stouped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Iesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Iesus had lift vp himselfe againe, he said vnto her: where be they which accused thee, hath no man condemned thee? She said, no man Lord. And Iesus said vnto her: Neither doe I condemne

Mercie and corruption of nature to all christians.

The pope contrarie to Christ, in shewing mercie. 23. q. 5.

The foundation of the false 5. quest. cauil. 23. in the popes Decrees, taken only out of the old Testament and nothing out of the new.

The makers of the popes lawe follow not the perfect rule. Iohn 3. Iohn 8.

the. God thy way and sinne now no more.

It is manifest by the scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be king of the Iewes, and vnto the kings pertained the iudgements of the law: but because he came not to iudge sinners according to the rigor of the law, but came according to grace, taking that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance: it is most plaine, that in the comming of the law of grace, he would haue the iudgement of the law of righteousnesse to cease: for otherwise he had dealt vnfaithfully with the foresaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adulterie, bare witnes against her. Wherefore seeing the same king Christ was a Iudge, if it had been his will that the righteousnesse of the law should bee obserued, he ought to haue adiudged the woman to death, according as the law commaunded: which thing foras much as he did not, it is most euident that the iudgements of the righteousnesse of the law are finished in the commings of the king, being king of the law of grace: euen as the sacrifices of the priesthood of Aaron, are finished in the comming of the priest, according to the order of Melchisedech, who hath offered himselfe vp for our sinnes: because, as it is before said, neither the righteousnes of the law, nor sacrifices for sinne, brought any man to perfection. Therefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection, should cease. And seeing among all the lawes of the world, the law of Moses was most iust, forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most iust iudge: and by that law always loke, what manner of iniurie one had done vnto another, contrarie to the commandement of the law, the like iniurie he should receiue for his transgression, according to the vpright iudgement of the law: As death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and most iust punishments were ordained according to the quantitie of the sinnes. But if this law of righteousnesse be cleane taken away in the comming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remaine among Christians, which was neuer iust? Is not this true, that in them, which are conuerted vnto the faith, there is no distinction betweene the Iew and the Gentile? For both are vnder sinne, and are iustified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called vnto faith and vnto the perfection of the Gospell.

Therefore the Gentiles conuerted, are not bound to play the Iewes, to follow the law of the Iewes: why should the Iewish conuerted, follow the lawes of the Gentiles which are not so good? Wherefore it is to bee wondred at, why theues are among Christians, for theft put to death, where after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to liue, Sodomites, and they which exercise father and mother, and many other vile sinners: And they which according to the most iust law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death: So we neither keepe the law of righteousnes giuen of God, nor the law of mercie taught by Christ.

Wherefore the law makers and Iudges, doe not giue heed vnto ye foresaid sentence of Christ vnto the Scribes and Phārisies, who said: He which amongst you is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. What is hee that dareth be so bold as to say hee is without sinne? Yea, and without a grieuous sinne, when as the transgression of the commandement of God is a grieuous sinne? And what man say that hee neuer transgressed this commandment of God, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe? Or the other commandement which is of greater force: Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy hearte &c. Wherefore tho vi what soeuer thou art that iudgest thy brother vnto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the iudgement of God, which peraduenture hast offended more grieuously then hath hee whom thou iudgest? How best thou amisse in thy brothers eie, and best not a beame in thine owne eie? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall bee measured to you againe? Doth not the scripture say: Vnto mee belongeth vengeance, and I will render it againe, saith the Lord? How can any man say that these men can with charitie keepe these iudgements of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God iust iudgement for his offence? Hee desireth not iudgement, but mercie. If hee desire mercie for himselfe, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loueth hee his brother as himselfe? Or how doeth thou shew mercy vnto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandement of Christ, which seeketh the greatest vengeance vpon him that hath committed iniurie vnto him? For death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grieuous punishment then death, can no man inferre. Therefore, they which will keepe charitie, ought to obserue the commandements of Christ touching mercie: and they which liue in the law of charitie ought to leaue the law of vengeance and iudgements. Ought we to beleeue, that Christ in his comming, by grace abrogated the most iust law which he himselfe gaue vnto the children of Israel by Moses his seruant, and established the lawes of the Gentiles being not so iust to bee obserued of his faithfull? Doth not Daniel expounding the dreame of Nabuchodonosor the king concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the brest and armes of siluer, the belie and thighes of brasse, the legges of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nabuchodonosor saw that a stone was cut out of a mountaine without hands, and brake the Image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to peeces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brasse, the siluer and gold broken altogether, and became like the chaffe of the sommer flower, which is caried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them: and the stone that smote the image, became a great mountaine, & filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore 4. kingdoms vnto the foure parts of the image, namely; the kingdome of the Babylonians vnto the head of the gold; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians vnto the brest and armes of siluer; the kingdome of the Grecians vnto the belly and thighes of brasse: But the fourth kingdome, which is of the Romans, hee applieth vnto the feet and legges of iron. And Daniel addeth: In the daies of these kingdomes, shall God raise vp a kingdome which shall neuer be destroyed: And his kingdome shall not be deliuered vnto another, but it shall breake and destroy those kingdomes: and it shall stand for euer, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountaine without hands, and brake in peeces the clay and iron, brasse, siluer and gold. Seeing therefore it is certaine, that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdome is for euer: it is also a thing most allowed, that he ought to raigne euery where, and to breake in peeces the other kingdomes of the world. Therefore if terrestriall kings and the terrestriall kingdome of the Iewes, and their lawes and iudgements haue ceased by Christ the king, calling the Iewes vnto the perfection of his Gospell, namely, vnto Faith and Charitie: it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdome of the Gentiles which is more imperfect and their lawes, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentilitie vnto the perfection of the Gospell of Iesus Christ. For there is no distinction betweene the Iewes and Gentiles being conuerted vnto the faith of Christ, but all of them abiding in that eternall kingdome, ought to bee vnder one law of charitie and of iustice. Therefore they ought to haue mercie, and to leaue the iudgements of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make lawes marke not the parable of Christ, saying: The kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man which sowed good seed in his field: but when men were on sleepe, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheate, and went his way. But when the herb was growne and brought forth fruite, then appeared the tares. And the seruants came vnto the good man of the house, and said vnto him, Lord, didst not thou sowe good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And hee said vnto them: The enemie hath done this. And the seruants said vnto him: Wilt thou that wee goe and gather them vp? And he said, no, lest peraduenture in gathering vp the tares ye plucke vp the wheate by the roote: Suffer them both to growe vntill the haruest, and in the time of the haruest, I will say vnto the haruest men, gather first the tares and bind them in bundels that they may bee burnt, but gather the wheate into my barne. Christ himselfe onely expoundeth this parable in the selfesame chapter, saying: He which soweth the good seed is the sonne of man, but the field is the world, and the good seed, those are the children of the kingdome. But the tares are the naughtie children. And the enemie which soweth them is the diuell. And the haruest is the end of the world, and the haruest men are the Angels. Euen as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it bee in the end of the world. The sonne of man shall send his Angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdome all offenders, and these which commit iniquitie, and shall put them into a furnace of fire, there shal be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

By which plaine doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will haue mercie shewed vnto sinners, euen vnto the end of the world, and will haue them to remaine mingled with the good: Least peraduenture when a man thinketh that hee doth right well, to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheate. For how great a sinner soeuer a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtaine mercy of God: Neither are we certaine of the time wherein God will by grace iudge him whom we abhorre as a sinner. And peraduenture such a one shall more profit after his conuersion in the Church, then he who we thinke to be iust, as it came to passe in Paul. And if God iustifieth a man by grace (although at his end) why dareth thou bee so bold to be his iudge, and to condemne him? For Peter, although a man seme to bee obstinate and hardned in his euill, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction (correct him before one alone) if he bee not receiue open correction being done before two or three witnesses, neither passeth vpon a manifest correction when his sinne is made knowne vnto the Church: Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather he saith, If he harken not vnto the church, let him bee vnto thee as an Ethnicke and Publican. And Paul following this doctrine in the 1. Corinth. 5. chapter, saith: There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentils, that one should haue his fathers wife. And yee are puffed vp, and haue not rather sorowed, that he which hath done this deed, might



be put from among you. For I verily as absent in bodie, but present in spirit, haue allreadie determined, as though I were present: that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that such one by the power of our Lord Iesus Christ, be deliuered vnto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may bee saued in the day of the Lord Iesus. Paul teacheth not to kill this man (as some gather by this text) but to separate him from the other faithfull, & so from Christ, which is the head of the church of the faithfull, and so is he deliuered vnto Satan, which is separated from Christ: that the flesh may be killed, that is, that that carnall concupiscence, wherby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may bee destroyed in him, by such a separation, that the spirit may be saued; and not that his bodie should be killed, as some say, as it is moll manifest in the selfesame chapter, where hee saith: I wrote vnto you an epistle, that ye should not keepe companie with fornicators, and I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the couetous, or extortioners or idolaters, for then must ye needs haue gone out of the world. But now I haue written vnto you, that ye keepe not companie together: if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or couetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner: with him that is such, see that ye eate not.

By which it is manifest, that Paul would haue the foresaid fornicatour separated from the fellowship of the faithfull: that his carnall concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the bodie should be killed. Wherefore, they doe ill vnderstand Paul, which by this saying doe confirme the killing of men. And forsomuch as heresie is one of the most grieuous sinnes (for an heretike leadeth men in errors, wherby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saued) it doth most great hurt in the church.

Further as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, As from the man that is an heretike after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subuerted and sinneth, forsomuch as hee is by his owne iudgement condemned. Behold Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithfull. But some say, that Peter in the primitiue church slew Ananias and Saphira for their sinnes, wherefore they say it is lawfull for them, to condemne wicked men to death. We will declare in shewing the whole processe how falslie they speake in alleaging of Peter, for to iustifie their errour.

In the fourth chapter of the Acts it is written, that as manie as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the apostles: and it was diuided vnto euery one as he had need thereof. But a certaine man called Ananias with Saphira his wife sold a peece of land, and kept backe a part of the price of the field, his wife being priuie vnto it, and bringing a certaine part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the Apostles. But Peter said vnto Ananias: Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart that thou shouldest lie vnto the holy Ghost, to keepe backe a part of the price of the land? Did it not whilest it remained, remaine vnto thee: and being sold, was it not in thine owne power? why hast thou conceiued this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied vnto men, but vnto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell downe and gaue vp the ghost, and great feare came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose vp and tooke him vp, and caried him out and buried him. And it came to passe about the space of three houres after, that his wife came in being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said vnto her, Tell me woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, yea for so much. But Peter said vnto her, why haue ye agreed together to tempt the spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the doore, and shall carrie thee out. And straightway she fell downe before his feet, and gaue vp the ghost, and the young men entring in, found her dead, and they caried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great feare came on all the church, and all those which heard these things. It is manifest that any man that is wise, will say that by this processe Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act but the act of God, who made a wedding to his son, and sent his seruants to call them, that were bidden vnto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then sent forth his seruants, to the outcomers of the high waies, together all that they could find, both good and euill: And so they did. And the marriage was full furnished with guests: The crime in all the king to view and see them sitting. Among whom he perceiued there one sitting hauing not a wedding garment, and saith vnto him, friend how camest thou hither? And he being dumbe had not a word to speake. Then said the king to the seruitors, take and bind him hand and fot, and cast him into the outward darknesse, there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen, &c.

It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charitie, without which, because Ananias entred into the marriage of Christ, he was giuen to death, that by one many might be enfourmed to learne and vnderstand: that they which haue faith and not charitie, although they appeare to men to haue, yet it cannot be ioyned to the spirit of God, that they do raine. Such there are no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the marriage of Christ, as was he this here corrupted in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter then haue iudged Ananias (albeit he had iudged him) worthie of death by the rigor of the old lawe? For why? by the lawe he had not been guiltie of death, for that part, which they fraudulently and diuelishlie did reserue to themselues. Yea, and if they had done as much from another man, which was greater: neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therefore by that law of iustice been found guiltie of death. Wherefore if he did not condemne him by the law of iustice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of grace and mercie, which he learned of Christ. And consequently it followeth much more apparant, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his owne will, and not by the authoritie of the olde lawe, nor by the new, it were derogatorie and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the bishop of Rome (which pretendeth) to be successor of Peter, excuse himselfe and his priests from the iudgement of death against heretiques and other offendors, although they themselues be consenting to such iudgements done by lay men? For that which was done of Peter (with out offence, may reasonablie excuse him and his fellow priests from the spot of crime: Acts 5. It is manifest that there was another which did more greeuously offend then Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharpe words: but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he beleeued and was baptized, he ioyned himselfe with Philip: And when he saw that the holy Spirit was giuen by the Apostles (laying their hands vpon men) hee offered them money, saying: Giue vnto me this power, that vpon whomsoeuer I shall lay mine hand, he shall receiue the holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered: Destroyed be thou and thy money together: And for that thou supposest the gift of God to bee bought with money, thou shalt haue neither part nor fellowship in this our rine. Thy heart is not pure before God: therefore repent thee of thy wickednesse, and pray vnto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiuen thee: for I perceiue thou art euen in the bitter gall of wickednesse and band of iniquitie. Behold here the grieuous offence of Simon, Peters bitter rebuking of him, and yet therevpon he was not put to death. Wherby it appeareth that the death of Ananias aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the iudgements of death are not grounded vpon the expresse and plaine Scriptures, but only vnder the shadow of the old law: that they are not to be obserued of Christians because they are contrarie to charitie. Ergo, the bishop of Rome appealing such iudgements allowed by those that are contrarie to the lawe and doctrine of Christ, as before is said of warres, where he appoueth and iustifieth the: it which is contrarie to charitie. The order of priesthood, albe it if both iustifie the iudgements to death of the laitie, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselues forbidden to put in execution the same iudgements. The priests of the old law being figured, when Pilate said vnto them concerning Christ (whom they had accused worthy death) take him vnto you, and according to your lawe iudge him, answered: that it was not lawfull for them to put to death any man.

Whereby it appeareth that our priests being much more perfect, may not lawfully giue iudgement of death against any offenders: yet notwithstanding, they claime vnto them the power iudicall vpon offenders: Because, say they, it belongeth vnto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to inioyne vpon the same being known, penances to inioyne diuers penances vnto the parties offending, according to the quantitie of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, vnto God for the offences which he neuer committed. And to confirme vnto them this iudicial power, they alleage the scriptures in many places, wresting it to serue their purpose.

First they say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chiefe priest and iudge among them) hath full power and authoritie to remit sinnes. Whereupon they say, that hee is able iustlie and iuslie to absolue a man a poena & culpa, so that if a man at the time of his death, as his remission, he should straightwaies be vnto heauen without any paine of Purgatorie. The other Bishops (as they say) haue not so great authoritie. The priests constituted vnder euery Bishop, haue power, say they, to absolue the sinnes of them that are confessed, but not all kinde of sinnes: because there are some grieuous sinnes reserued to the absolutions of the Bishops: and some againe to the absolution onely of the chiefe and high Bishop. They say also that it behoueth the offenders, for the necessitie of their soules health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifest the same with all the circumstances thereof, vnto the priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a Iudge: and afterward humbly to fulfill the

There is meant, a double death, the one, that whereby the soule is separated from the bodie, and this death is not to be feared, by reason of the immortalitie of the soule. The other death is, when the soule is separated from God by sinne, and this death is to be feared.

Here is declared, that the iudgements of the law of righteousnesse ceased in the commings of Christ, and that they which liue in the law of charitie, ought to leaue the law of vengeance.

Here is declared, that Christ abrogated the law of iustice.

Here is declared, that the iudgements of death ceased in the comming of Christ.

Here is declared, that the iudgements of the law of righteousnesse

the penance enioyned vnto him by the priest for his sinnes, except the said penance so enioyned, or any part thereof bee released by the superior power. All these things (say they) are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees, as decretals. And although these things haue not expressly their foundation in the plaine and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor any of the Apostles: yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, haue grounded the same vpon diuers places of the Scriptures, as in the processe of Christ in the Gospell of S. Mat. the 16. chapter. Whereupon they ground Matthew. the popes supreme power iudiciall, to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ said vnto his disciples: whom doe men say that I am? And they answered: some say that thou art Iohn Baptist, some Elias, and some Ieremie, or one of the Prophets. To whom he said: but you say you that I am? Simon Peter making answere, said: Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God. And Iesus answered and said vnto him: Blessed art thou Simon the sonne of Ionas, for flesh and blood hath not reuealed this vnto thee: but my father which is in heauen. And I say vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my church: and hell gates shall not preuaile against it. And I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen. And whatsoeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth, shall also be bound in heauen: and whatsoeuer thou shalt loose vpon earth, shall be loosed also in heauen.

Out of this text of Christ, diuers expositions haue bene made diuers errors. For when Christ said: And I say vnto thee, that thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church: Some thereupon affirme, that Christ meant he would build his church vpon Peter by authoritie of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees, Dist. 19. cap. Ita dominus noster. The exposition hereof is ascribed to pope Leo: the errour whereof is manifestly knowne. For the church of Christ is not builded vpon Peter, but vpon the rocke of Peters confession, for that he said: Thou art Christ the sonne of the liuing God: and for that Christ said singularlie vnto Peter: I will giue vnto thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde, &c. By this saying they affirme, that Christ gaue vnto Peter specially, as chiefe of the rest of the Apostles, a larger power to binde and to loose, then he did vnto the rest of the Apostles or disciples. And because Peter answered for himselfe and all the Apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly aboue the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the Apostles had euen as himselfe, by the reuelation of the heauenly father: it appeareth that as the faith of all the Apostles was declared by the answer of one: so by this that Christ said vnto Peter, whatsoeuer thou shalt binde, &c. is giuen vnto the rest of the Apostles the same power and equalitie to binde and to loose, as vnto Peter. Which Christ declareth in the gospell of S. Matthew, the 18. chapter, in these words: Verely I say vnto you, what things soeuer you shall binde vpon earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer you shall loose vpon earth, shall be also loosed in heauen. And further hee addeth: And againe, I say vnto you, That if two of you shall consent vpon earth, and request what soeuer it be: it shall bee granted vnto you of my father which is in heauen. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them. And in Iohn the twentith chapter, he saieth generally vnto them: Receiue ye my spirit. Whose sinnes yee shall remit, shall be remitted vnto them: and whose sinnes you shall retaine, shall be retained.

By this it appeareth, that the power to binde and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chiefe and head of the rest: and that by him the rest had their power to binde and to loose; for that the head of the body of the church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, are the good members of the bodie of Christ, receiuing power and vertue of Christ: whereby they doe confirme and glew together the other members (as well the strong and nable, as the weak and vnable) to a perfect compolition and semelinesse of the bodie of Christ: that all honour from all parts and members may bee giuen vnto Christ as head and chiefe, by whom as head, all the members are gouerned. And therefore Paul, 1. Corinthians chap. 2. Whē one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollo, are ye not carnall men? For what is Apollo? what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye haue beleeued, and hee as God giueth vnto euery man. I haue planted, Apollo hath watered, but God hath giuen the increase. Therefore neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giueth the increase. And Paul to the Gal. 2. God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great, and doe much, auailed or profited me nothing at all: But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospell of the vncircumcision was committed vnto me, as the circumcisiō vnto Peter (for he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentils) & when they knew the grace which was giuen me, Peter, Iames and Iohn straightwaies ioyned themselues with me and Barnabas: we among the Gentils, and they in circumcision only might be mindfull of the poore, the which to doe, I was very carefull. Hereby it appeareth, that Paul had not his authoritie of Peter to conuert the Gentils, to baptise them, and to remit their sinnes, but of him which said vnto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricke. Here is Paul of the head of the Church, and not of Peter: By which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made liuely.

Dist. 9. cap. Ita dominus noster.

Christ gaue the keies to Peter for him, but vnder expositiō.

Matth. 18.

Iohn 20.

Christ only the head of the Church.

1 Cor. 3.

Galath. 2.

The third error (which the authors of the canons conceine in the said text of Christ) which was said to Peter: Vnto thee will I giue the keies, &c. is this: They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter of the authoritie to bind and lose, was meant: that as Christ gaue vnto Peter aboue all the rest of the Apostles a speciall, and as it were an excellent power aboue all the Apostles: euen so say they, hee gaue vnto the bishops of Rome (whom they call Peters chiefe successors) the same speciall power and authoritie, exceeding the power of all other bishops of the world.

Thyrd error.

The first part of this similitude and comparison, doth appeare manifestly by the premisses to be erroneous: wherein is plainely shewed, that the other Apostles, had equall power with Peter to bind and lose. Wherefore consequently it followeth, the 2. part of the similitude, grounded vpon the same text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an errour, wherein is said, that the bishops of Rome are Peters chiefest successors. For although there be but one Catholicke Christian Church, of all the faithfull first conuerted: yet the first part thereof, and first conuerted was of the Iewes, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latines. Whereof, the first part was most perfectly conuerted vnto the faith, for that they faithfully obserued the perfection of charitie, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles by the multitude of the beleeuers. They were of one heart, and one soule, neither called they any thing that they possessed their owne, but all was common amongst them.

Other Apostles had like power to bind and to loose as Peter had.

Acts 2.

Rom. 2.

Hereupon Paul to the Romans: Salutation to euery beleeuer, first to the Iew, and to the Greekes after the Iewes. The Greekes were the second, and after the Iewes, next conuerted, and after them the Romans, taking their information of the Greekes, as appeareth by the Chronicles, although indeed some Romans were conuerted vnto the faith, by Peter and Paul. And as Christ said thrice vnto Peter, feed my sheepe, so Peter ruled these three Churches, as witnesseth the Chronicles. But first he reformed the church of the Iewes in Ierusalem and Iudea, as appeareth by the testimonie of the Acts of the Apostles: For Acts 1. it is manifest how Peter standing by amongst his brethren, spake vnto them concerning the election of an Apostle in the place of Iudas the traitor, alleaging places out of the Scripture, that another should be vpon him his Apostleship. And so by lot was Matthias constituted in the 12. place of Iudas, Acts 2. After that the holy Ghost was come vpon the Apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonied at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying: these men are full of new wine: But Peter stood vp and spake vnto them, saying: that it was fulfilled in them that was prophecied by Ioel the Prophet, and hee preached Christ vnto the people, whom they of ignorance had put to death. To whom was a saiour promised by the testimonie of the Prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying vnto him and the rest of the Apostles: What shall wee then doe? And Peter said vnto them, repent: and let euery one of you be baptised in the name of Iesus Christ for the remission of your sinnes, and ye shall receiue the holy Ghost. And there were ioyned vnto them the same day about three M. soules. And Acts 3. 4. 5. it appeareth, that Peter aboue the rest did those things which belonged to the ministerie of the Apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some Chronicles say, that Peter gouerned the church of the Iewes at Ierusalem 4. yeres, before he gouerned Antioche. And by the testimonie of Paul to the Gal. as before is said: The Gospell of the vncircumcision is committed to Paul, euen as the circumcision to Peter. And he that wrought with Peter in the Apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles. Thereby it appeareth that the Church of the Iewes was committed to the gouernement of Peter. And in the processe of the Acts of the Apostles, it appeareth, that Peter beleeued that the faith of Christ was not to be preached vnto those Gentiles, which alwaies liued in vncleannesse of Idolatrie. But when Peter was at Ioppe, Cornelius a Gentile sent vnto him, that hee would come and shew him the way of life. But Peter (a little before the comming of the messengers of Cornelius) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fel in a trance, and saw heauen open, and a certaine vessell descending euen as a great sheete, letten downe by foure corners from heauen to earth. In the which, were all manner of foure footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and foules of the aire. And a voice spake vnto him, saying: Arise Peter, kill and eate, and Peter said: Not so Lord, because I haue neuer eaten any common or vncleane thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision did signifie) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

Peter ruled three Churches.

Acts 1.

Acts 2.

Peter gouerned the Church at Ierusalem 4. yeeres before he gouerned Antioch. Galath. 2.

As concerning the authoritie iudiciall of the clergie, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees, greatlie



to be maruelled at, and farre from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say: That Christ gaue vnto the priests, power iudiciall ouer sinners that confessed their sinnes vnto them. And this they ground vpon the text of Christ: I will giue vnto thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou loosest, &c. And these keies of the kingdome of heauen, they call the knowledge to discerne, and the power to iudge, which they say onely belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessitie; then they say a lay man may absolue a man from sinne. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinners part: first, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to bewaile their offending of God though sinnes: the second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to shew vnto the priest his sinnes, and the circumstances of them: the third is satisfaction, though penance inioined vnto him by the priest for his sinnes committed. And of his part that giueth absolution, there are two things (say they) to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discerne one sinne from another, whereby hee ought to make a difference of sinnes, and appoint a conuenient penance, according to the quantitie of the sinnes. The second is, authority to iudge, whereby he ought to minister penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed, ought with all humilitie to submit himselfe to this authoritie, and wholly and voluntarily to doe those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance bee released by a superior power: for all priests (as they say) haue not equall authoritie to absolue sinnes. The chiefe priest, whom they call Peters successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolue. But the inferior priests haue power, some more, some lesse. The more as they are nere him in dignitie, the lesse as they are farther from the degree of his dignitie. All this is declared by the decrees in the decrees, but not by the expresse doctrine of Christ, or any of his Apostles. For although Christ absolued men from their sinnes, I doe not finde that hee did it after the manner of a iudge, but of a Sauiour. For Christ saith: God sent not his Sonne into the world to iudge sinners, but that the world should be saued by him: Iohn chap. 3. Whereupon he spake vnto him whom he healed of the palsie: Behold thou art made whole, goe thy waies and sinne no more. And to the woman taken in adultery Christ said: Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee? who said, No man Lord. To whom then Iesus thus said: No more will I condemne thee, goe, and now sinne no more.

The keies of Christs kingdome.

Absolution. Three things required on part of him that giueth absolution: Contrition. Confession. Satisfaction.

Two things required on his part that receiued popish absolution.

Decret. de Penitentia.

John 3.

John 5.

Matth. 25.

The saints that iudge with Christ.

1. Cor. 5.

John 20.

The ministeriall power to bind, loose, binde & loose, the priest as an instrument to another.

The keies of the kingdome of heauen.

Faith and hope be the keies of heauen.

1. Cor. 15.

John 12.

Auricular confession.

Children departing before baptisme not condemned.

By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture, it appeareth he was not as a iudge at his first comming, to punish sinners according to the quantitie of their offences: but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall iudge all men according to their works, as in Matth. 25. where he saith: When the Sonne of man shall come in his maiestie, and all his Angels with him: then shall hee sit vpon the seat of his maiestie, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepheard separateth the sheep from the goats, &c. Neither shal he iudge alone, but his saints also with him. For he saith: You that haue followed me in this generation, when the sonne of man shal sit in the seat of his maiesty, shall sit also vpon twelue seats, and iudge the twelue tribes of Israel. If then sith Christ came not as a iudge, why doe the priests say that they supply the roome of Christ on earth, to iudge sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not onely this, but it is more to be maruelled at, how the bishop of Rome dareth to take vpon him to be a iudge before the day of iudgement, and to preuent the time, iudging some to be saints in heauen, and to be honored of men, and some againe to be tormented in hell eternally with diuels. Would God these men would waigh the saying of S. Paul, 1. Cozinth. 4. Iudge ye not before the time, vntill the comming of the Lord, who shall make light the darke and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts, and then euery one shall haue his praise. Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel he spoken by him: Because thy heart is eleuate, & thou saidst vnto thy God, I am God, I haue sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the sea, when thou art but man and not God. It is manifest, that the remission of sinnes principally belongeth to God, who though grace inwheth alway our sinnes. For it is said: The lambe of God taketh away the sinnes of the world. And vnto christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in the 20. of Iohn Christ said: Receiue vnto you the holy Ghost: whose sinnes you shall remit, they are remitted vnto them; and whose sinnes you shall retaine, they are retained. Seeing therefore that all christians that are baptised in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, receiue the holy Ghost: it appeareth that they haue power giuen to them of Christ, to remit sinnes ministerially. Hath not euery christian authoritie to baptise? and in the baptisme all the sinnes of the baptised are remitted. Ergo, they that doe baptise, doe remit sinnes. And thus ministerially all such haue power to remit sinnes. Therefore, to say that one in vnhath more authoritie to remit sinnes then all other christians haue, is to much to exalt him, and to place him euen in Gods seat. I pray you how are the sinnes remitted him that is baptised of the priest (yea although he were of the pope himselfe baptised) more then if he were baptised of another christian? Surely I thinke no more. For seeing that before baptisme he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdome of the diuell by sinne, after baptisme he entreth into the kingdome of heauen; it appeareth that he that doth baptise, openeth the gate of the kingdome of heauen to him that is baptised: the which he cannot doe, without the keies of the kingdome of heauen. Therefore euery one that doth baptise, hath the keies of the kingdome of heauen, as well the inferior priest as the pope. But these keies are not the knowledge to discerne, and power to iudge, because these doe nothing auaile in baptisme: Ergo, there are other keies of the kingdome of heauen then these. Wherefore it seemeth, that the authors of the canons erred in misstaking the keies, whereupon they ground the authority iudiciall of the clergy.

Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconuenience in the end. Wherefore in my iudgement it seemeth, that the keies of the kingdome of heauen are faith and hope. For by faith in Iesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sinnes, we enter the kingdome of heauen. This faith is a spirituall water, springing from Iesus Christ the fountaine of wisdome, wherein the soule of the sinner is washed from sinne. With this water were the faithfull Patriarks baptised before the law, and the faithfull people of the Hebrewes, and the faithfull christians after the law. Wherefore I greatly maruell of that saying in the Decrees, which is ascribed vnto Augustine: that little children that are not baptised, shall bee tormented with eternall fire, although they were borne of faithfull parents that wished them with all their hearts to haue bene baptised: as though the sacrament of baptisme in water, were simply necessary to saluation, when nuertheless many christians are saued without this kinde of baptisme, as Martyrs. If that kind of Sacrament bee not necessarie, to one of elder yeres, how then is it necessary to an infant borne of the faithfull? Are not all baptised with the holy Ghost and with fire? But yet not with material fire: no more is the lotion of water corporally necessarie to wash away sinnes, but onely spirituall water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quicke baptised for them that are dead, as witnesseth Paul 1. Cozinth. 15. If the dead arise not at all, why are they liuing then baptised for them? If the liuing be baptised for the dead, why then is not the infant saued by the baptisme of his parents; seeing the infant at selfe is impotent at the time of birth, and not able to require baptisme? Christ saith; He that beleeueth and is baptised, shall be saued. He saith not, he that is not baptised: but he that beleeueth not shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12. chap. of S. Iohn, Christ saith; I am the resurrection and life; he that beleeueth in me, yea although he were dead, shall liue. The faith therefore is necessary which the infant hath in his faithfull parents, although he be not washed with corporall water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternall fire? Were not they that were before the comming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand yeres, saued also by his death and passion? All that beleeued in him, were baptised in his bloud, and so were saued and redemed from sinne and the bondage of the diuell, and made partakers of the kingdome of heauen. How then in the time of grace shall the infant be damned that is borne of faithfull parents, that doe not despise, but rather desire to haue their children baptised? I dare not consent to so hard a sentence of the decrees; but rather beleeue, that hee is saued by vertue of the passion of Christ in faith of his faithfull parents, and the hope which they haue in Christ. Which faith and hope, are the keies of the heauenly kingdome. God were not iust and mercifull, if hee would condemne a man that beleeueth not in him, except he be shewed vnto him the faith which he ought to beleeue. And therefore Christ saith: If I had not come and spoken vnto them, sinne could not haue bene laid vnto their charge; but now they haue no excuse of sinne. Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest vnto the infant departing before baptisme, neither hath he denied it; how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as he speaketh vnto Angels; who then knoweth (saue God alone) whether the infant receiueth or not receiueth the faith of Christ?

What is he therefore that so rashly dare take vpon him to iudge the infants begotten of faithfull parents, dying without baptisme, to be tormented with eternall fire? Now let vs consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirme to be requisite for the remission of the sinnes of those that sinne after baptisme: that is to say, contrition of heart, auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed though penance enioined by the priest for the sinnes committed. I cannot finde in any place in the Gospell, where Christ commanded that this kinde of confession should be done vnto the priest: nor I cannot finde that Christ assigned any penance vnto sinners for their sinnes, but that he willed them to sinne no more. If a sinner confesse that hee hath offended God through sinne, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, minding no more hereafter to sinne; then is he truly repentant for his sinne, and then is he conuerted vnto the Lord. If hee shall then humbly

and

and with god hope craue mercy at God and remission of his sinnes: what is he that can let God to absolue that sinner from his sinne? And as God absoluech a sinner from his sinne, so hath Christ absolued many, although they confessed not their sinnes vnto the priests, and although they receiued not due penance for their sinnes. And if Christ could after that manner ease absolue sinners; how is hee become now not able to absolue? except some man will say that he is aboue Christ, and that his power is minished by the ordinances of his owne lawes. How were sinners absolued of God in the time of the Apostles, and alwaies heretofore, vnto the time that these Canons were made? I spake not these things as though confession to priests were wicked; but that it is not of necessitie requisite vnto saluation. I beleeue verily that the confession of sinnes vnto good priests, and likewise to other faithfull christians, is good, as witnesseth Saint Iames the Apostle: Confesse ye your selues one to another, and pray yee one for another, that ye may be saued: for the continuall praier of the iust auaileth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like vnto vou and he praied that it should not raine vpon the earth, and it rained not in three yeeres and six months. And againe he praied, and it rained from heauen, and the earth yeelded forth her fruit. This kind of confession is good, profitable and expedient: for if God peraduenture heareth not a mans owne praier, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet neuertheleste the praiers of the priests seeme to much to bee ertolled in the decrees, where it treateth of penitence, and that saying is ascribed vnto pope Leo, Cap. multiplex misericordia Dei, &c. And it followeth: So is it obtained by the prouidence of Gods diuine tuill, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the praier of the priests, &c. The praier of a good priest doth much auaile a sinner, confessing his faults vnto him. The counsell of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to giue the sinner counsell to beware hereafter to sinne, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such like acts of repentance, that hereafter hee may be better preserued from sinne.

After this manner I esteeme confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confesse sinnes vnto the priest, as vnto a iudge, and to receiue of him corporall penance for a satisfaction vnto God for his sinnes committed; I see not how this can be founded vpon the truth of the scripture. For before the comming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction vnto God for his sinnes, although he suffered neuer so much penance for his sinnes. And therefore it was needfull that he that was without sinne, should be punished for sinnes, as witnesseth Esay, chap. 53. where he saith: He take our griefes vpon him, and our sorrowes he bare. And againe: He was wounded for our iniquities, and beeed for our wickednesse. And againe: The Lord put vpon him our iniquitie. And againe: For the wickednes of my people haue I stricken him. Therefore Christ though his passion, hath made satisfaction for our sinnes, whereas we our selues were vnable to doe it; then though him haue we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now, that we are sufficient to make satisfaction vnto God by any penance inioined vnto vs by mans authority, seeing that our sins are more greeuous after baptisme, then they were before the comming of Christ? Therefore, as in baptisme the paine of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins: euen so after baptisme, if we confesse that we haue offended, and be heartily sory for our sins, and mind not to sinne againe afterwards.

Hereupon Iohn writeth in his first epistle, chap. 1. If we say we haue no sinne, wee deceiue our selues, and the truth is not in vs. If we confesse our sinnes, God is faithfull and iust, hee will remit them, and cleanse vs from all our iniquities. If we say we haue not sinned, wee make him a lier, and his word is not in vs. My welbeloued children, this I write vnto you that ye sinne not: but if any man sinne, wee haue an aduocat with the Father Iesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely, but for the sinnes of the whole world. Therefore we ought to confesse our selues chiefly vnto God euen from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sinnes, without whose absolution little auaileth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say, that although auricular confession made vnto the priest, bee not expressly taught by Christ, yet (say they) it is taught in that saying which Christ said vnto the diseased of the leprosie, whom hee commanded: Go your waies, and shew your selues vnto the priestes, because as they say, the law of cleansing leapers, which was giuen by Moyses, signified the confession of sinnes vnto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to shew themselues vnto the priests, they say that Christ meant, that those that were vncleane with the leprie of sinne, should shew their sinnes vnto the priests by auricular confession. I marueil much at the authors of the canons: for euen from the beginning of their decrees vnto the end, they ground their sayings vpon the old law, which was the law of sinne and death, and not (as witnesseth Paul) vpon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith: The words which I speake vnto you, are the spirit and life. They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ. For euery euill doer hateth the light, and commeth not into it, that his deeds be not reproued: but he that doth the truth, commeth into the light, that his workes may be openly seene, because they are done in God.

Now let vs passe to the words that Christ spake to the leper: Lord if thou wilt, thou canst make me cleane. And Iesus stretching forth his hand, touched him, saying: I will, be thou cleane: and straightwaies hee was cleansed of his leprosy. And Iesus said vnto him: See thou tell no man, but goe and shew thy selfe to the priests, and offer the gift that Moyses commanded for a witnesse of these things. This Gospell witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the lepers were cleansed onely by Christ, and not by the priests; neither did Christ command the leper to shew himselfe vnto the priests, for any helpe of cleansing that hee should receiue of the priests: but to fulfill the law of Moyses, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimonie vnto the priests, who alwaies of enuie accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ after hee had cleansed the leper, had licensed him to communicat with others that were cleane, before he had shewed himselfe cleansed vnto the priests, then might the priests haue accused Christ as a transgressor of the law: because it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was cleansed, should shew himselfe vnto the priests. And they had signes in the books of the law, whereby they might iudge whether he were truly cleansed or no. And if hee were cleansed, then would the priests offer a gift for his cleansing: and if hee were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were cleane. Seeing euery figure ought to be assimuled vnto the thing that is figured; I pray you then what agreement is there betweene the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sinnes? By that law the priest knew better whether hee were leprous then hee himselfe that had the leppy. In confession, the priest knew not the sinnes of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now therefore ought the priests to cleanse sinners from their sinne, and that without them they cannot bee cleansed? In this law the priest had certaine figures, by the which hee could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his leppy or not. In confession, the priest is not certaine of the cleansing of sinnes, because he is ignorant of his contrition. Hee knoweth not also whether he will not sinne any more; without the which contrition and granting to sinne no more, God hath not absolued any sinner. And if God hath not absolued a man, without doubt then is he not made cleane. And how then is confession figured vnder that law? Doubtlesse so it seemeth to me (vnder the correction of them that can iudge better in the matter) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinat in his sinne, and is reconciled againe. For so it appeareth by the processe of the Gospell, that whereas the sinner doth not amend for the priuat correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the publike correction of the whole church; then is he to be counted as an Ethnicke and a publican, and as a certaine leper to be auoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacie.

But he which pretendeth himselfe to be the chiefe vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith; that hee hath power to absolue A poena & culpa. Which I doe not finde how it is founded in the Scripture, but that of his owne authority hee inioineth to sinners penance for their sinnes. And grant that from their sinnes hee may well absolue them; yet from the paine (which they call a poena) he doth not simply absolue, as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if hee were in charitie, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sinne, forsomuch as that paine doth farre exceed all other paine which here wee suffer. What man is there being in charitie, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will helpe him and deliuer him? Much more ought the pope then, to deliuer out of paines of purgatory, indifferently as well rich as poore. And if he fell to the rich his indulgences, double wise, yea triple wise he seeketh them. First, in promising them to deliuer them out of the paine from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliuer them: and so maketh them fally to beleeue that which they ought not to beleeue. Secondly, he deceiueth them of their money, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, hee seduceth them in this, that hee promising to deliuer them from paine, doth induce them into greeuous punishment indeed, for the heresie of simonie, which both of them doe commit, and therefore are worthy both of great paine to fall vpon them: for so we reade, that Iesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his Temple. Also Peter said vnto Simon, the first author of this heresie: Thy money, said hee, with thee bee destroied, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to bee possessed for money. Moreouer, whereas Christ saith, Freely you haue receiued, freely giue: and whereas contrary the pope doth sell that thing, which he hath taken: what doubt is there, but that he doth greeuously destroy to be punished, both he that selleth and he that buyeth for the crime of simony which they commit. Duet and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the scripture it may be proued, that he doth not absolue a man, contrite for his sinne, although he doe absolue him from the guilt.

But this marueilleth me, that he in his indulgences promiseth to absolue men from all manner of deadly sinnes, and yet cannot absolue a man from debt: for although as the debt which we owe to God, is of much more greater importance then is the debt of our brother. Therefore if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seeme that he is able to forgiue the debt of our brother.

Another thing there is that I marueil at: for that the pope sheweth himselfe more strait in absoluing a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his mattens, then for transgressing the commandement of God; considering that the transgression of the commandement of God, is much more greeuous then the breach of mans commandement.

For these and many other errors concurring, and in this matter of the popes absolutions, blessed be God, and honour be vnto him for the remission of our sinnes. And let vs firmely beleeue and know, that he doth and will absolue vs from our sinnes, if we be sorie from the bottome of our hearts that wee haue offended him, hauing a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let vs bee bold to resort vnto god and discreet priests, who with wholsome discretion and sound counsell can instruct vs, how to auoid the corruption of sinne hereafter. And which, because they are better then wee, may pray to God for vs; whereby wee may both obtaine more sooner the remission of our sinnes past, and also may learne better how to auoid the danger of sinne to come. Ex Registro Latino Epist. Hereford.

And thus much concerning the iudgement and doctrine of this Walter for Christian patience, charitie and mercy: which as they be true and infallible notes and markes of true Christianity; so the said Walter Brute making comparison herein betweene Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest, whereby all men may see, what contrariety there is betweene the rule of Christs teaching, and the proceedings of the Pope; betweene the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether giuen to peace: so is the other on the contrary side as much disposed to wars, murther, and bloudshed, as is easie to be seen; whoso looketh not vpon the outward shews and pretenced words of these Romish popes, but aduising & considering the inward practises and secret works of them, shall easilie espie vnder the vizour of peace, what discord and debate they worke. Who bearing outwardly the meeke homes of the Lambe mentioned in the Apocalypse, within doe beare the bowels of a wolfe, full of cruelty, murther, and bloudshed. Which if any do thinke to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could proue as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speake it sincerely, without affection of blind partialitie, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus vnder *in Dei nomine, Amen*, how vnmercifully doth the pope condemne his brother! And while he pretendeth not to be law full for him to kill any man, what thousands hath he killed of men? And likewise in this sentence, pretending *in nefariibus Iesu Christi*, as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party: yet indeed will he be sure to excommunicat the magistrat, if the execute not the sentence giuen. Who be true heretikes, the Lord when hee commeth shall iudge. But giue them to be heretikes, whom he condemneth for heretikes: yet what bowels of mercy is here, where is nothing but burning, faggoting, drowning, prisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatning, reuiling, cursing, and oppressing, and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their wars appeare, if we consider how pope Vrban 5. beside the racking and murdering of seuen or eight cardinals, set vp Henry Spencer bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope. Innocentius 4. was in war himselfe against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander 4. his successour, stirred vp the sonne of king Henry 3. to fight against the sonne of Frederike 2. emperour, for Apulia. Boniface 8. moued Albertus (which stood to be emperour) to driue Philip the French king out of his realme. Gregorius 9. excited Ludouicke the French king three sundry times, to mortall warre against the earle Raimundus and citie of Tholouse, and Auinion, where Lewes the said French king died. Honorius 3. by strength of warre many waies resisted Fredericke 2. and sent out 25. gallies against the coasts of the emperors dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferrariato passe ouer the warre at Tichiume with many other bateels and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and diuers other nations. Innocentius 3. set vp Philip the French king to warre against king John. What stirre pope Gregory the 7. otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the emperor Henricus 4. it is not vnknowne. And who is able to recite all the warres, battels, and fields fought by the stirring vp of the pope? These with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this matter so as he did, making yet thereof no vniuersall proposition: but that Christian magistrates in case of necessitie might make resistance, in defence of publike right. Now hee proceedeth further to other matter of the Sacrament.

Touching the matter (saith hee) of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, diuers men haue diuers opinions, as the learned doe know. As concerning my iudgement vpon the same, I firmely beleeue whatsoeuer the Lord Iesus taught implicitely or expresly to his Disciples and faithfull people to be beleeued. For he is (as I beleeue and know) the true bread of God which descended from heauen, and giueth life to the world. Of which bread whosoeuer eateth, shall liue for euer: as it is in the 6th of Iohn declared. Before the comming of Christ in the flesh, although men did liue in body, yet in spirit they did not liue; because all men were then vnder sinne, whose soules thereby were dead: from the which death, no man by the law, nor with the law was iustified: For by the works of the law shal no flesh be iustified: Galat. 2. And againe in the same epistle, cap. 3. That by the law no man is iustified before God it is manifest: for the iust man shall liue by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoeuer hath the works thereof, shall liue in them. And againe in the same chapter: If the law had beene giuen, which might haue iustified, then our righteousnesse had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all vnder sinne, that the promise might bee sure by the faith of Iesu Christ to all beleeuers. Moreouer, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all vnder the law, vntill the comming of that faith which was to bee reuealed. For the law was our schoolemaister in Christ Iesu, that we should bee iustified by faith. Also the said Paul, Rom. 5. saith: That the law entred in the meane time, Rom. 5. wherehy that sinne might more abound. Where then sinne hath more abounded, there hath also grace superabounded; that like as sinne hath raigned vnto death, so that grace might raigne also by righteousnesse vnto eternall life, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we haue in Christ, beleeuing him to be the true Sonne of God, which came downe from heauen to redeeme vs from sinne: we are iustified from sinne, and so doe liue by him, which is the true bread and meat of the soule. And the bread which Christ gaue, is his flesh giuen for the life of the world: Iohn 6. For hee be- Iohn 6. ing God, came downe from heauen; and being truly carnall man, did suffer in the flesh for our sinnes, which in his diuinitie he could not suffer. Wherefore like as wee beleeue by our faith that hee is true God: so must wee also beleeue, that he is a true man. And then doe wee eat the bread of heauen, and the flesh of Christ. And if we beleeue that he did voluntarily shed his bloud for our redemption, then doe we drinke his bloud.

And this except we eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and shall drinke his bloud, wee haue not eternall life in vs; because the flesh of Christ verily is meate, and his bloud is drinke indeed: and whosoeuer eateth the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his bloud, abideth in Christ and Christ in him: Iohn chap. 6. And as in this world the soules of the faithfull liue, and are refreshed spiritually with this heauenly bread, and with the flesh and bloud of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall liue eternally in heauen, refreshed with the deitie of Iesus Christ, as touching the most principall part thereof, that is to wit, intellectum: for as much as this bread of heauen, in that it is God, hath in it selfe all delectable pleasantnesse. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same (as well exteriour as interiour) they are refreshed with the flesh (that is to say) with the humanitie of Iesus Christ; which is as a Queene standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of diuers colours: for this queene of heauen alone by the word of God, is exalted aboue the companie of all the angels; that by her, all our corporall power intellectiue may fully be refreshed, as is our spirituall intelligence, with the beholding of the deitie of Iesus Christ. And euen as the Angels shall wee bee fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world and in the world to come, hath Christ giuen vnto vs (for eternall blessednesse) the sacrament of his body and bloud, in the substance of bread and wine: as it appeareth in Matthew chapter 26. As the Matth. 26. Disciples sate at supper, Iesus tooke bread and blessed it, brake it, and gaue it vnto his disciples, and said: Take, eate, this is my body. And he tooke the cup, and thanked, and gaue it them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, this is my bloud of the new Testament, which shall bee shed for many for the remission of sinnes. And Luke in his Gospell, chapter 22. of this matter thus writeth: And after hee had taken the bread, hee gaue thanks, he brake it, and gaue it vnto them, saying: This is my body which shall be giuen for you: doe you this in my remembrance. In like manner he tooke the cup after supper, saying: This is the cup of the new Testament in my bloud, which shall bee shed for you. That Christ said, this my body, in shewing to them the bread, I firmely beleeue, and know that it is true: That Christ (forsomuch as he is God) is the very truth it selfe; and by consequence, all that hee saith is true. And I beleeue that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body: for in that he is almightie, he hath done whatsoeuer pleased him. And as in Cane of Galile, he

Deadly sinne and debt. The pope saith, he can remit the debt in to God: and yet cannot remit the debt vnto man.

The pope hath no power to pardon a priest leauing his matters vnsaid, that is a breaking of the commandement of God.

Absolution to be sought at the hands of God only.

Ex regist. Latino Epist. Hereford.

Notes.

Popes authors of wars. The story of VValter Brute. His iudgement and beliefe touching the Lords Supper. 455

The story of the leper re-pounded, to make nothing for auricular confession.

The cleansing of the leper, and the cleansing of the priest in auricular confession agree not.

Iohn 3.

Luke. 5

Gal 2.

Iustification by faith, and not by the law.

Rom. 5.

Iohn 6.

True eating of Christ is true beleeuing in him.

Eating of the flesh of Christ, what it is.

This is my bodie by expounded.

The popes power in absoluing from sinne, not bounded in scripture. The pope can absolue none from punishment.

Examples, declaring what wars haue been stirred vp by popes.

The pope in his pardons deceiueth men of their remembrance of waste.

The pope promising pardons for sinne, inducech men to sinne: in simony.

Luke 22.

Matth. 26.

Iames 5.

De penit. d. 5. c. 1. cap. Mediocriter, vers. et sacerdos dei.

Esay 53.

1. Iohn 1.

Confession vnto God.

Auricular confession not truly grounded vpon the scripture. Luke 17.

The authors of the canon law reproued.

Note well gentle Reader.

he changed the water into wine, really: so that after the transubstantiation, it was wine and not water. So when he said; This is my body: if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before; I know that it must needs have been so. But I finde not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such reall transubstantiation or mutation.

And as the Lord God omnipotent in his perfection essentially being the Sonne of God, both creator the most pure creature, and yet when it pleased him, hee tooke upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really mademan; so that after this assumpting of our substance, he was really very God and very man: even so, if he would when he said; This is my body: hee could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For lesse is the difference of the essence, between bread and the body of a man, then betweene the deitie and humanitie, because that of the bread, is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood: of the blood, naturall seed; and of naturall seed, the naturall substance of man is ingendred. But in that that God became man; this is an action supernaturall. Wherefore hee that could make one man to be very God and very man; could, if hee would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I doe not finde it expressly in the Scripture, that he would any such Identitie or connuntion to be made. And as Christ said, I am very bread; not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before, e really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech: so if he would, it might be, that when he said, This is my body; that this should really haue beene the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me, most nerely to agree to the meaning of Christ, following as he said, Doe this in remembrance of me. Then forasmuch as in the Supper it is manifest, that Christ gaue unto his disciples the bread of his body which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouthes: in which bread, he gaue himselfe also unto them, as one in whom they should beleeue (as to be the food of the soule) by that faith they should beleeue him to be their Saviour which take his body, wherein also he would it to be manifest, that he should redeeme them from death: so was the bread eaten with the disciples mouthes, that hee being the true bread of the soule, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith, which beleeued in him.

Bread by similitude.

Bread substantially, and the body sacramentally.

The bread which in the disciples mouthes was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomacke. For as Christ saith; Whatsoeuer commeth to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the privie: Matth. cap. 15. But that true and very bread of the soule, was eaten of the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entred their mindes, and abode in their intraites though loue. And so the bread broken, seemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but sacramentally to bee the body of Christ, as Paul, 1. Corinth. 10. The bread which we breake, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So the bread which wee breake, is the participation of the Lords body. And it is manifest, that the heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subiect to such breaking. Therefore Paul calleth the materiall bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithfull are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not to his essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally. Euen as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratively the vine: so the temple of Jerusalem was really the materiall temple; and figuratively it was the body of Christ: because he said; Destroy you this temple, and in three daies I will repaire the same againe. And this spake he of the temple of his body: whereas others understood it to bee the materiall temple, as appeared by their answere. For said they, 47. peeres hath this temple beene in building, and wilt thou build it by in three daies?

The bread which the Lord gaue entred not into the bodies, but the body which he gaue entred into the minds of the disciples. Paul called it materiall bread.

Note Reader.

Euen so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet figuratively the body of Christ. And therefore Christ would this bread to be onely sacramentally his body, and would not haue the same bread really to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his priests to make this sacrament as a memorial of his passion: then do the priests grieuously offend, which beseech Christ in their holy masse, that the bread which lieth upon the altar, may be made really the body of Christ, if he would not haue the same to be but a sacrament of his body. And then both he they greatly deceiued themselues, and also doe greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ or is only the body of Christ sacramentally; no doubt but that the people are marueilously deceiued. For the people beleeue that they see the body of Christ, may rather Christ himselfe betweene the hands of the priests (for so is the common oth they sweare,) by him before I saw this day betweene the priests hands. And the people beleeue that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie upon their death bed, and receiue with their bodily mouth the sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the sacrament, indiuisibiliter, that is, not able to be diuided; and so immensurabiliter, that is, not able to be measured: Ergo, inuisibiliter, that is, not able to be seene. To beleeue therefore that he may be seene corporally in the sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ is the soules food, and not the food of the body in this world, for that wholsoeuer beleeueth, doth eat spiritually and really, at at any time when he so beleeueth: it is manifest, that they bee greatly erre which beleeue that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

The priests seek their owne honor in their transubstantiation.

And although it should be to the great honor of priests that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by the vertue of the sacramentall words pronounced: yet if Christ would not haue it to be so, then they desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people that is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ: are in great perill, most dangerously seducing both themselues and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a little worldly and transitory honor for a short time; it is to be feared, lest perpetuall shame finally shall follow and ensue upon the same. For Christ saith; Every one that exalteth himselfe shall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, lest they extolling themselues for this Sacrament, above the company of Angels which never sinned, for the error which they bein, for euermore be placed with the sinfull angels under the earth.

Marke here yet good policie.

Let every man therefore thinke lowly of himselfe in what state or degree soeuer he be; neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to doe: neither desire to haue that thing done which God would not haue done.

The makers of the canon law, contrary to themselues.

I greatly marueil at those which were the makers of the canons, how variably and contrary one to another they write of this Sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees there is this matter to touched, not only in the text, but also in the processe of the matter, diuers doe diuerstly write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth, Prima inquit heresis, it is thus written: You shall not eat this body which you see, nor shall drinke this blood which they shall shed which shall crucifie me: I will commend unto you a certaine Sacrament spiritually understood that quickneth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the same chapter it is thus written: Till the world shall haue an end, the Lords place is in heauen: yet notwithstanding the vertue of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the body where with he rose, ought to be in one place, but his verity is in every place diffused and spread abroad. And in the chapter following, which thus beginneth; Omnia quæcunq; voluit, &c. it is written: Although the figure of the bread and wine seeme to be nothing; yet notwithstanding they must after the words of consecration be beleeued, to be none other thing then the very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the deritie himselfe said unto his disciples: This is (saith he) my flesh, which is given for the life of the world: and to speake yet more marueilously, this is none other flesh, then that which was borne of the virgin Mary, and suffered upon the crosse, and rose out of the sepulchre.

De consec. 2. cap. Prima quidem inquit.

De consec. dist. 1. cap. Omnia quæcunque voluit. Contrariety in the popes decrees.

See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth, Ego Berengarius, &c. this is the confession which Berengarius himselfe confessed touching this Sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed: I confesse (saith Berengarius) that the bread and wine which is laid upon the altar after the consecration, is not only a sacrament, but also that it is the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the priests hands and to be broken, and to be taken with the teeth of faithfull men. Which confession is heretical: for why? if the body of Christ be in the sacrament, as of the church it is so determined; it is there then Multipliciatiuè, and so indiuisibiliter, where fore not sensualiter. And if it be there indiuisibiliter, that is, in such sort as it cannot be diuided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the teeth of men chewed.

De consecrat. dist. 2. cap. Ego Berengarius.

The recantation of Berengarius is pertinent.

The writers of this time and age doe affirme, that if by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin eat the same; then they say, that the sacrament returneth againe into the nature and substance of bread. Whereby they must needs confesse, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For either by the eating of the mouse, the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a transubstantiation supernaturall; or else of nothing by creation is this bread produced: and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marueiled at.

The sacrament left by the priests negligence to be eaten of a mouse, returneth again from bodie to bread.

The law being ceremoniall to perfection.

Now considering the disagreeing opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I beleeue with Paul, that the bread which we breake, is the participation of the body of Christ: and as Christ saith; that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memoriall and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same manner and sort do I beleeue it to be his body.

But whether we men may make the body of Christ, and minister



minister unto the people: or whether that priests bee diuided from the lay people, for their knowledge, preeminence, and sanctitie of life, or else by external signes onely: Also whether the signe of tonsure and other external signes of holinesse in priests, be signes of Antichrist and his characters, or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ: consequently it remaineth next to speake of unto the faithfull sort (according to the processe of the holy Scripture) first of the three kinds of the priests. I remember that I haue read, the first of them to be Aaronicall, legall, and temporall: The second to bee eternall and regall according to the order of Melchisedech: The third to be christian. The first of these ceased at the comming of Christ: for that, as saint Paul to the Hebrues saith, The priesthood of Aaron was translated to the priesthood of the order of Melchisedech. The legall sort of priests of Aaron, were separate from the rest of the people, by kindred, office, and inheritance. By kindred, for that the children of Aaron onely were priests. By office, for that it onely pertained to them to offer sacrifice for the sinnes of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their brethren, but those things which were offred unto the Lord, as the first fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and bowes, except places for their mansion houles for them and theirs, as appeareth by the processe of Moses law. The priesthood of Christ did much differ from this priesthood, as Paul doth witnesse to the Hebrues, chapter. 1. 8. 9. 10.

Three orders of priests: 1. Aaronicall. 2. Eternall. 3. Christian.

Legitimall priests diuided from the people by kindred, office, and inheritance.

The priesthood of Christ differeth from the Leuitical priesthood, how and wherein. 1. In kindred. 2. In oth taking. 3 In durabilitie.

The priesthood of Christ differeth from the legall priesthood, and how it doth differ from the Romish priesthood.

First, in kindred, because that our Lord and Sauiour Jesus Christ, came of the stock and tribe of Juda: of which tribe none had to doe with the altar, and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses.

The second, for that other were made priests without their oth taken: but hee by an oth, by him which said: The Lord swore, and it shall not repent him: Thou art a priest for euer according to the order of Melchisedech.

Thirdly, by durabilitie, for that many of them were made priests but during the terme of their liues: but he for that hee remaineth for euer, hath an eternall priesthood. Wherefore he is able to saue us for euer, hauing by himselfe accesse unto God, which euer liueth to make intercession for us.

The 4. priesthood which is the Romish priesthood.

The office of priests to offer the popes order.

The law made also such men priests as had infirmities; but Sermo (that is, the word, which according to the law is the eternall sonne and perfect) by an oth.

4. In matter of sacrifice.

The priesthood of Christ also did differ from the priesthood of Aaron and the law, in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of the sacrifice, because they did die in their sacrifices strange bodies of the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation of sinnes: But the offering himselfe unto God his father for us, shed his owne blood for the remission of our sinnes. In the place of sacrificing, because that they did offer their sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple: but Christ suffering death without the gates of the city, offered himselfe upon the altar of the crosse to God his father, and there shed his precious blood.

5. In place of sacrificing.

The body of Christ not left to be a sacrifice for sin, but ones in for a sacrament.

In his supping chamber also hee blessed the bread and consecrated the same for his body, and the wine which was in the cup, he also consecrated for his blood; delivering the same to his apostles to bee done, for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into the sanctuarie made with mans hands, which bee examples and figures of true things; but entred into heauen it selfe, that he might appeare before the maiestie of God for vs. Neither doth he offer himselfe oftentimes, as the chiefe priest in the sanctuarie did euery yeare with straunge blood (for then should he oftentimes haue suffered from the beginning) but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to destroy sinne by his peace offering, hath he entred. And euen as it is decreed, that man once shall die and then commeth the iudgement: so Christ hath beene once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appeare without sinne to them that looke for him, to their saluation. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, can neuer by the image it selfe of things (which euery yeare without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices) make those perfect that come thereunto, for otherwise that offering should haue ceased: Because that the worshippers being once cleansed from their sinnes, should haue no more conscience of sinne. But in these, commemoration is made euery yeare of sinne; for it is impossible that by the blood of goates and calues, sinnes should bee purged and taken away. Therefore comming into the world he said: Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldest not haue, but a body hast thou given me, peace offerings for sinnes haue not pleased thee: Then said I, behold I come. In the volume of the booke it is written of mee, that I should doe thy will O God: Saying, as above; because thou wouldest haue no sacrifices nor burnt offerings for sinne, neither doest thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law: Then said I; Behold I come, that I may do thy will O God. He taketh away the first to stablish that which followeth. In which will we are sanctified by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all. And euery priest is ready daily ministring, and

oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can neuer take away sins. But this Jesus offering one sacrifice for sinne sitteth for euermore on the right hand of God, expecting the time till his enemies be made his foot stoole. For by his one onely oblation, hath he consummated for euermore those that are sanctified. All these places haue I recited which Paul writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things I intende to speake. By all which it appeareth manifestly, how the priesthood of Christ differeth from the legall priesthood of Aaron: and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood christian, that ministreth Christ. For the properties of the priesthood of Christ, as hath recited, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone. Of the third priesthood, that is, the christian priesthood; Christ by expresse words speaketh but little, to make any difference betweene the priests and the rest of the people, neither yet doth he this name of Sacerdos or priest, but in the Gospell. But some he calleth disciples, some apostles, whom hee sent to baptise and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. Hee calleth them the salt of the earth, in which the name of wisedome is meant: and he calleth them the light of the world, by which, good liuing is signified. For hee saith, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father which is in heauen. And Paul speaking of the priests to Timothie, and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any discerning betwixt the priests and the other people, but in that he would haue them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life. But the fourth priesthood, is the Romane priesthood, brought in by the church of Rome: which church maketh a distinction betweene the clergie and the lay people: and after that the clergie is diuided into sundrie degrees, as appeareth in the decretals.

The third priesthood. The name of Sacerdos or priest not vsed but in the new Testament of Christ.

This distinction of the clergie from the laity, with the tonsure of clerkes, began in the time of Anacletus, as it doth appeare in the chronicles. The degrees of the clergie were afterward inuented and distinted by their offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitive church it was not so: for immediatly after the conuersion of some of them to the faith and baptisme receiued; they were priests and bishops made, as appeareth by Ananias, whom Marcus made of a taylor, a bishop, and of many other it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to blesse and sanctifie. The oblation of the priesthood, onely to priests (as they say) is congruent: whose duties are, upon the altar to offer for the sinnes of the people the Lords body, which is consecrated of bread. Of which saying I haue great marueil, considering saint Paul his words to the Hebrues before recited. If Christ offering for our sinnes one oblation for euermore, sitteth on the right hand of God, and with that one oblation hath consummated for euermore those that are sanctified: If Christ euermore sitteth on the right hand of God, to make intercession for vs; that needs he to leaue here any sacrifice for our sinnes, of the priests to be daily offered? I doe not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sinne: but onely as a sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice paſſed which Christ offered upon the altar of the crosse for our sinnes. For it is an absurditie to say that Christ is now euery day really offered as a sacrifice upon the altar by the priests: for then the priests should really crucifie him upon the altar, which is a thing of no christian to be beleeued. But euen as in his supper, his body and his blood he deliuered to his disciples, in memoriall of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sinnes: So after his ascension, did his apostles vse the same (when they broke bread in euery house) for a Sacrament, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this meanes were they put in remembrance of the great loue of Christ, who so entirely loued vs, that willingly he suffered the death for vs, and for the remission of our sinnes. And thus did they offer themselues to God by loue, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saluing health of their brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Christ, which said unto them: A new commandment doe I giue unto you, that you loue one another, as I haue loued you. But when loue began to wax cold, or rather to bee frosen for cold, through the anguish and anxietie of persecution for the name of Christ; then priests did vse the flesh and blood of Christ, in stead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to giue themselues a sacrifice by death unto God through the confession of his name, and saluing health of their brethren: some other worshipped Idols fearing death, as did alld the chiefe bishop of Rome, and many other moe in diuers places of the world. And thus it came to passe, as that which was ordained and instituted for a memoriall of the one and onely sacrifice, was altered (for want of loue) into the realitie of the sacrifice it selfe.

How the memoriall of the Sacrament came to the reality of the Sacrifice it selfe.

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequentlie upon the same, an other briefe tractation of women and lay men, whether in defect of the other, they may exercise the

Etc. action

The order and office of praier. The Lords praier.

Matth. 6.

The arts of Necromancie, as soothsaying & witchcrafts, how and from whom they came.

Against praier-selling of priests.

Coniuring or hallowing in the popish church.

Holy water coniured.

Exorcis. 5a.

The abhorrence and abomination of the popish exorcismes discred.

Why exorcismes are vsed in the church of Rome.

section of praier, and administration of Sacraments belonging to priests: wherein he declareth the vse receiued in the popes church for women to baptize, which faith he, cannot be without remission of sinnes; wherefore seeing that women haue power by the pope to remit sinne, and to baptise, why may they not as well be admitted to minister the Lords supper, in like case of necessitie? Wherin also he maketh relation of pope Ioane the 8. a woman pope, mouing certaine questions of her. All which for breuitie I pretermit, proceeding to the ministration of praier, and blessing of sanctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as followeth.

Further more, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto priests seeme to be ordained (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lacke of other meet persons) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gaue them the common praier both to men and women, to the which praier in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due vnto the deitie is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoeuer is necessarie for vs, both for the time present, & past, & for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. Vnfrequently vs besides to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecie be willed vnto to pray vnto his father. And saith moreouer, When ye pray, vse not much babling, or many words as doe the heathen. For they thinke in their long and prolixe praying to be heard. Therefore be you not like to them. By the which doctrine he calleth vs away from the errours of the heathen Gentiles: from whom proceed these superstitious maner of arts (erather of ignorances) as Necromancie, the art of diuination, and other spices of coniuration: not vnknowne to them that be learned: for these necromancers beleeue, one prieste to be of greater vertue then another, there to be heard sooner, then in another. Like as Balaam being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying, or charming, when hee could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he remoued to another: but he in the end was deceiued of his desire. For he intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed. So y his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort the necromancers turne their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers beleeue, that the vertue of the words of the praier, and the curiositie thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seeke after; which is also another point of infidelitie, vsed much of charmers, sorcerers, inchanters, soothsayers, and such like. Out of the same art (I feare) proceedeth the practise of exorcising, whereby diuels and spirits be coniured to doe that, whereunto they are inforced by the exorcist. Also whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or coniured, to that by the vertue of their exorcisme, they may haue their power and strength exceeding all naturall operation.

In the church of Rome, many such exorcismes and coniurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I aske of these exorcisers, whether they beleeue the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, haue that operation and efficacie giuen them, which they pretend? If they so beleeue, euery child may see that they are farre beguiled. For holy water being of them exorcised or coniured; hath no such power in it, neither can haue, which they in their exorcisme doe command. For there they enioyne and command, that wheresoeuer that water is sprinkled, all beration or infestation of the vncleane spirit should auoide, and that no pestilent spirit there should abide, &c. But most plaine it is, that no water, be it neuer so holy, can haue any such power to doe, as it is commanded, to wit, to be an vniuersall remedy to expell all diseases.

This I would aske of these exorcists; whether in their commanding, they doe coniure or adiure the things coniured, to be of an higher vertue and operation, then their owne nature doth giue: Or else whether they in their prayers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that vertue, which they require? If they in their commanding doe so beleeue, then do they beleeue that they haue that power in them to the which the inferiour power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiuing that which is commanded. And so doing, are much more deceiued, forasmuch as they see themselues, that they which are so authorised to the effect of exorcising, say to the diuell being coniured: Go, and he goeth not, and to another, come, and he commeth not, and many things else they command the inferiour spirit their subiect to doe, and he doth not. So in like case, when they pray to God to make the water to be of such vertue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse euery vncleane spirit, and to chase away all maner of diffemperature and pestilence of the aire (being an vnreasonable petition after my fore alleadged) it is to bee feared left their benediction, their hallowing and blessing is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now O you priests, I haue a message to say vnto you: If you will not heare and beare well away in your minds, to giue the glorie vnto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarsitie amongst you, and I will curse your blessings. What things and how many are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore according to the saying of S. Iames, they aske and are not heard, because they aske not as they should, that they in their owne desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, ware, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palmes, oile, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staffe, and of many such like things: and I beleeue that a man shall find out many errours of the heathen Magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient & old Magicians in their bookes, command those that bee coniurers, that they in any wise liue deuoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandements, and coniurations) yet the Romish coniurers do impute it to the vertue of the holy words, because they be they which worke, and not the holinesse of the coniurers. How commeth it to passe that they say, the things consecrated of a cursed and vitious Priest, should haue so great vertue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mysticall words, as if they were pronounced of a priest neuer so holy? But I maruell that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the apostles: because the charmers pronouncing the name of Iesus (that is aboue all names) would haue healed those that were possessed with diuels, and said: In the name of Iesus whom Paul preacheth, goe ye out of the men. And the possessed with diuels answered, Iesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye? and they all to be beate the coniurers.

And now considering this and many such like things, I maruell wherefore the vicious priests, doe sell their praiers and blessings & curses (as also their masses and trentals of masses) then those that bee deuout lay men, and holy women: which with all their heart desire to flee from vices, and take hold of vertue. Forasmuch as God in diuers places of the Scripture doth promise that hee will not heare sinners and wicked persons: Neither should hee seeme to bee iust, if he should sooner heare the praiers of his enemies, then of his faithfull friend. How I pray you shall a sinnefull priest deliuer another man from sinne by his praiers, or else from the punishment of sinne, when he is not able to deliuer himselfe by his praier from sin? That then doth God so much accept in the masse of a vitious priest, that for his masse, his praier & oblation, he might deliuer any man either from sin, or from the paine due for sinne? No, but for that that Christ once offred himselfe for our sinnes, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the father, alwaies shewing vnto him what and how great things hee hath suffered for vs. And euery priest alwaies maketh mention in his masse of this oblation. Neither doe we this, that wee might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he alwaies in his presence saith the same: but that wee should haue in remembrance this so great loue of God, that he would giue his owne son to death for our sinnes, that he might cleanse and purifie vs from all our sinnes. What, doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great loue is made by a priest, which more loueth sinne then God? Or how can any praier of such a priest please God, in what holy place soeuer he be, or what holy vestiments soeuer he put on, or what holy praiers soeuer he maketh? And wheras Christ and his apostles doe command the preaching of the word of God; the priests be now more bound to celebrate the masse, and more straitly bound to say the canonicall houres: whereat I cannot but greatly maruell. For why? to obey the precepts of men more then the commandements of God, is in effect to honor man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice of men, which is due vnto God, and this is also spirituall fornication. How therefore are priests bound at the commandement of man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandement they are not bound to leaue the celebration of the masse, or singing of Psalmes? Therefore as it seemeth, priests ought not at the commandement of any man to leaue the preaching of the word of God, vnto the which they are bound both by diuine and apostolicall precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of Hierome vpon the Decretals, saying in this wise: Let none of the bishops swell with the enuie of diuelish tentation: let none be angrie, if the priest doe sometime exhort the people, if they preach in their church, &c. for to him that forbiddeth mee these things, I will say, that he is priuiledging that priests should do those things which be commanded of God. What thing is there aboue Christ? or what may be preferred before his body and his blood, &c.

Doe priests therefore sin or not, which bargaine for money to pray for the soule of any dead man? It is well knowne that Iesus did whippe those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying: My house shall bee called the house of praier, but you haue made the same a den of theeues: Truely hee cal not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Hierome vpon the text set saith: Let the priest be diligent and take good heede in this church, that they turne not the house of God into a den of theeues. Yee doubtlesse is a theefe which seeketh gaine by religion, and by a shew of holinesse endeth to find occasion of merchandise. Here vpon, the holy canons do make accursed, Simoniacall heretic, and

Romish coniurers.

Th: good life of a priest, a great matter, to make in Gods matters.

Religious men and women, deuourers of widowes houses: Praying for soules in purgatorie. Euill gotten lands, an euill bestowed, for praying for soul. e in purgatorie.

The praier of a vitious priest, litle auailed before God.

Remembrance of Christs passion, neede not to God, but to man.

Priests more bound to say Masse commanded by man, then to preaching commanded of God. Spirituall fornication.

Hieronymus.

Whether priests may bargaine to sing for soules departed.

Hieronymus.

Priest that hath more for money then for charitie, but sinneth.

and do command that those should be deprined of the priesthood, which for the selling or marueilous spirituall grace, do seeke gaine or money. Peter the apostle said to Simon Magus, Let thy money and thou goe both to the diuell, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for money. Therefore the spirituall gifts of God ought not to be sold.

Selling of praier abominable.

Deritle praier is the spirituall gift of God, as is also the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other sacraments. Christ sending forth his disciples to preach, said vnto them: Heale ye the sicke, cast out diuels, raise the dead, freely haue ye receiued, freely giue ye again. If the priests haue power by their praiers to deliuer soules being in purgatorie, from grieuous paines: without doubt, he hath receiued that power freely from God. How therefore can hee sell his act, vnlesse hee resist the commandements of God, of whom he hath receiued that authority? This truely cannot bee done without sin, which is against the commandement of God. How plainely spake Christ to the Pharisies and priests saying; Woe be vnto you Scribes and Phariſies hypocrites, because yee haue eaten the whole houses of such as be widowes, by making long praiers, and therfore haue you receiued greater damnation? Wherein I pray you doe our Pharisies and priests differ from them? Doe not our priests deuoure widowes houses and possessions, that by their long praiers they might deliuer the soules of their husbands from the grieuous paines of purgatorie? How many Lordships I pray you haue beene bestowed vpon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they by their praier might deliuer those dead men from the paine (as they said) that they suffer in purgatorie, grieuously tormented and vexed? If their praiers and speaking of holy words, shall not be able to deliuer themselues from paine, vnlesse they haue good workes; how shall other men be deliuered from paine, by their praiers, which whilest they liued here, they gaue ouer themselues to sin? For preuarication of those lordships or lands which they gaue vnto the priests to pray for them, they themselues haue gotten by might from other faithfull men, vniustly, and violently. And the canons doe say, that sinne is not forgiuen, till the thing taken away wrongfully, be restored: How then shall they bee able (which doe vniustly possesse such lordships or lands) to deliuer them by their praiers from paine, which haue giuen to them these lordships or lands, seeing God from the beginning hath hated all extortion in his burnt sacrifices? For euery one that saith vnto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heauen: but he which doth the will of my father which is in heauen. And againe, For the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be iustified.

Buying and selling of praiers in the popes church. Buying and selling of pardons, Person, place, apparell, curiositie or elaborate sentence of praier not regarded of God.

If therefore the words of him that praieth, doe not deliuer himselfe from sinne, nor from the paine of sinne: how doe they deliuer other men from sinne or from the paine of sinne, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man then for himselfe? Therefore many are deceiued in buying or selling of praiers, as in the buying of pardons that they might bee deliuered from paine; when as commonly they bee dearer for the praiers of the proud and vitious prelats, then for the praiers of deuout women and deuout men of the lay people. But out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparell, nor the curiousines of his praier, but the humilitie and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisie and the Publican go vp into the Temple to pray? The Publicans praier for his humilitie and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisies praier for his pride and arrogancie is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the apparell, nor the curiousines of his praier doth helpe the Pharisie: Because the Publican not thinking himselfe woorthie to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, for the multitude of his sinnes, saying (O God be mercifull vnto me a sinner) is iustified by his humilitie, and his praier is heard. But the Pharisie boasting in his righteousnes is despised, because God thrusteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meeke. The rich glutton also that was clothed with purple and silke, and fared euery day daintilie, prayed vnto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in paines and toiments of hell fire. But Lazarus which lay begging at his gate (being full of sores) is placed in the bosome of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparell, nor the deliciousnesse of his bankets, nor the goodlinesse of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth helpe any thing to preser the praiers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mightie men in their mightinesse shall suffer torments mightilie. How dare any man by composition demand or receiue any thing of another man for his praiers? If he beleeue that he can by his praier deliuer his brother from grieuous paine, he is bound by charitie to releeue his brother with his praiers although hee be not hired thereto. But and if he will not pray vnlesse he be hired, then hath he no loue at all. What therefore helpeth his praier, which abideth not in charitie? Therefore let him first take compassion of himselfe by praier, that he may come into charitie, and then he shall be the better able to helpe others. If he beleeue not, or that hee standeth in doubt to be able to deliuer his brother by his praier: wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargaine, and taketh his money, and yet knoweth not whether he shall releeue him euer awhit the more or not, from his paine? I feare left the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying: From the least to the most all men applie themselues to couetousnesse, and from the prophet to the priest all worke deceitfully. For the poore priests receiue themselues of such bargaining and selling of their praiers, sayings: The pope tooke learneth to crow of the old cocke. For, saith he, thou maist see that the pope himselfe in stalling of bishops and abbats, taketh the first fruits: In the placing or bestowing of benefices, he alwaies taketh somewhat, and specially if the benefices be great. And he selleth pardons or bulls, and to speake more plaine, he taketh money for them. Bishops in giuing orders, in hallowing churches and churchyards, doe take money: In ecclesiasticall correction they take money for the mitigation of penance: In the grieuous offences of couate persons, money is required, and caused to be payed. Abbats, monks, and other religious men that haue possession, will receiue no man into their fraternitie, or make them partakers of their spirituall suffrages, vnlesse he bestow somewhat vpon them, or promise them somewhat. Curats and vicars hauing sufficient liuings, by the tithes of their parishioners, yet in dirges & prayers minds, in hearing confessions, in weddings and burpings, doe require and haue money. The friers also of the foure orders of beggers, which thinke themselues to bee the most perfect men of the church, do take money for their praiers, confessions, and burpings of the dead: and when they preach, they beleeue that they shall haue either money or some other thing worthie money. Wherefore then be the poore priests blamed? ought not they to bee held excused, although they take money for their praiers by composition? Truely (me thinketh) that this excuse by other mens sinnes, doth not excuse them: forasmuch, as to heape one mischiefe vpon anothers head, is no sufficient discharge: I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spirituall suffrages, would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruine of the great citie, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the prophet say: And the merchants of the earth shall weepe and mourne for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise, that is, their merchandise of gold and siluer, and of pretious stone, and of pearle, and of silke and purple? And againe he saith: And the merchants which were made rich by her, shall stand aloofe, for feare of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas, alas, that citie Babylon, that great citie, which was vonne to weare purple, white silke, crimsin, gold, pearle, and pretious stone, because that in one houre all those riches are come to nought. And againe: And they cast dust vpon their heads, and cried out weeping and mourning, and saying: Alas, alas, that great and mightie citie Babylon, by whom all such as had ships vpon the sea were made rich by her rewards: Because that in one houre she is become desolate.

Selling of parsons. Selling of church hallowings. Selling of diuine seruice. Selling of fraternitie. Selling of Dirges, trentalles, confessions, and burnings. Selling of seruices.

Exemple to be taken by the fall of Babylon.

The citie of Rome, Babylon. Apoc. 18.

This Babylon, this great citie, is the citie of Rome, as it apeareth by the processe of the apostle. Because the angell which shewed vnto saint Iohn the destruction of the mightie harlot sitting vpon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth haue committed fornication, and all they which dwell vpon the earth are made drunke with the wine of her whoredome, said vnto him: And the woman which thou sawest, is the great citie which hath dominion aboue kings, &c. And indeed in the dates of saint Iohn, the whole world was subiect to the temporall empire of the citie of Rome, and afterwards it was subiect to the spirituall empire or dominion of the same. But touching the temporall gouernment of the citie of Rome, it is fallen alreadie: and to that the other also, for the multitude of her spirituall fornication shall fall. The emperours of this citie gaue themselues to idolatrie, and would haue that men should honour them as Gods, and put all those to death that refused such idolatrie, and by the crueltie of their tormentes all infidels gat the vpper hand.

The temporall dominion of the citie of Rome. The spirituall dominion of the citie of Rome.

Hereupon, by the image of Nabuchodonozor, the empire of the Romans is likened to iron, which beateth together, and hath the mastrie of all mettals. And in the vision of Daniel, wherein he saw the foure windes of heauen to fight in the maine sea, and foure great beasts comming out of the sea: the kingdome of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marueilous beast, the which had great iron teeth; eating and deuouring, and treading the rest vnder his feete: and this beast had ten homes, and as Daniel saith, hee shall speake words against the most highest, and shall teare with his teeth the saints of the most highest: and he shall thinke, that he may be able to change times and lawes, and they shall be deliuered into his power, vntill a time, times, and a halfe time. In the Apocalyps, saint Iohn saw a beast comming out of the sea, hauing ten heads and ten homes, and power was giuen to him to make moneths 42. So long time endured the empire of the Romans, that is to say, from the beginning of Iulius Cesar, which was the first emperor of the Romans, vnto the end of Fridericus, which was the last emperour of the Romans. Vnder this empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suffered for his names sake. And here is fallen Rome as Babylon (which is all one) according to the maner of speaking in the Apocalyps, as touching the temporall

The fourth beast in the vision of Daniel meaneth Rome.

The beast with 7 heads in the Apoc. figurifieth Rome.

and corporall power of governing. And thus shall the fall also touching the spirituall power of governing, for the multitude of the iniquities and spirituall fornication and merchandise that are committed by her in the church.

The first of the image which Nabuchodonozor saw, did betoken the empire of Rome, and part of them were of iron, and part of clay and earth. The part that was of iron fell, and the power thereof vanished away, because the power thereof was at an end after certaine monethes. That part of clay and earth yet endureth, but it shall vanish away by the testimonie of the prophets: wherevpon saint John in the Apocalyps: After that, he saw the part made of iron rising out of the sea, to which each people, tribe, and tongue submitted themselues. And he saw another beast comming out of the earth, which had two hornes, like to the hornes of a Lambe, and he spake like a Dragon, and he tarryeth by the first beast in his sight.

This beast as formeth me, doth betoken the clay and earthen part of the feet of the image, because he cannot out of the earth. For that by certeine helpe he is made the high and chiefe priest of the Romanis, in the church of Christ, and so from aboue he ascended on high. But Christ from heauen descended, because that he which was God and author of euery creature became man: and he that was Lord of lordes, was made in the shape of a seruant. And although that in the heauens the compasse of angels minister vnto him, he himselfe ministred or serued in earth, that he might teach vs humilitie, by which a man ascendeth into heauen, euen as by pride a man goeth downe into the bottomelesse pit. This beast hath two hornes most like a lambe, because that he challengeth to himselfe both the priestly and kingly power, aboue all other here in earth. The lambe, that is, Christ, which is a king for euer vpon the kingdome of Dauid, and he is priest for euer after the order of Melchisedech, but his kingdome is not of this world: but the kingdome of this beast is of this world, because those that be vnder him, fight for him. And as Iesus is Christ two maner of waies, because that Christus is as much to say as Vnctus: he verily was anointed king and anointed priest. So this beast saith, that he is the seruant and priest. Wherefore both he call himselfe Christ: because that Christ knowing that afore, said: Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. And this because that he is both king and priest, he challengeth to himselfe the double sword, that is, the corporall sword and the spirituall sword. The corporall sword is in his right hand, and his spirituall sword is in his right eie, by the testimonie of Zacharie. And by speaketh subtillie like a Dragon, because that by the testimony of Christ he shall deceive many, as the Apec. witnesseth. He did great wonders, that also he might make men fire to come from heauen into the earth in the sight of men. And he might deceive them that dwell vpon the earth, because of the wonders that are permitted him to do in the sight of the beast, and he ouercame the first beast which ascended out of the sea. For that beast challenged vnto himselfe authority of gouernment of the whole world: He hath put to death and tormented those that resist his commandements, he would be honored as a God vpon the earth. The bishop of Rome saith, that the whole world ought to be in subiection vnto him; those that bee disobedient vnto his commandements, he putteth in prison, and to death if he can: If he cannot, he excommunicateth them, and commandeth them to be cast into the diuels dungeon. But he that hath no power ouer the body, much lesse hath he power ouer the soule. And truely his excommunication, nor the excommunication of any priest vnder him, shall at that time little hurt him that is excommunicate, so that the person of him that is excommunicate, be not first excommunicate of God through sin.

And thus it seemeth straeth vnto me, that God the ferneth their blessings into curses, because they gaue not due glorie vnto his name. So when that they vniustly excommunicate and curse, he turneth their curssings into blessings. Also the bishop of Rome doth make men to worship him as God, because that the speciall sacrifice that God doth require of vs, is to be obedient vnto him in keeping of his commandements. But now the popes commandements be communed to be kept, and be kept in very deede, but the commandements of Christ are contemned and reiected. Thus sitteth the bishop of Rome in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as God, and erecteth himselfe aboue all that which is called God, or worshipped as God. But in this sail he shall be deceiued, because that euery kingdome diuided in it selfe, shall be made desolate. He teaching a truth, is the head of the church, but the pope teaching a lie, is the taile of the Dragon. He seducing the world, shall be acknowledged to be the seruise of the darcine of Christ, but of he is knowne, he shall be reiected and naught esteemed. He giueth to Emallans great rich and poore, free and bond markes in their right hands, and in their foreheads: that no man should buy or sell, but those that shall haue the markes of the name of the beast, or that looketh to haue of him some recompence, small, meane, or great, or else the number of his name, which number is 666. The pope saith, that in the administration of euery sacrament, he doth imprint a certaine character or marke into the soule of him that receiueth. In baptisme he saith that he doth imprint into the soule of him that is baptised, a marke that cannot be wiped out, and is likewise in other sacraments. And I know that in a sacrament are two things, that is, the sacramentall signe, and spirituall grace represented by the same signe: the sacramentall signe is giuen to man of man, but the spirituall grace is giuen of Christ.

Wherefore, although a vitious or naughtie priest doth baptize any man, if bee that is baptised or his parents (if bee bee a child) do aske with a faithfull meaning baptisme, and doe meane faithfully hereafter to obserue the words of baptisme: is as well baptised, as if he were baptised of more vertuous a priest. So also the sinner which with all his heart is sorie for his sinnes, and doth aske faithfully mercie of God, is as well absolued of a vitious priest, as of a vertuous. Because the humble of God which taketh away the sinnes of the world, which away inwardly our sinnes by his grace, because that he is the bishop and pastour of our soules. All other priests do outwardly make absolution, which know not for a certainetie whether they haue absolued or not. So also is it in the other, because that the grace of the sacrament is giuen of God, and the sacramentall signe of man. In giuing of orders, the chiefe bishop doth imprint the corporall markes, but of the spirituall marks, I know none: vnlesse a man will say, that by receiuing the order he hath some beliefe that he may worke some things pertaining to that order, the which before the receiuing of the order he could not. What sin one thing is, that none in the church ought to sell spirituall merchandise (of which things wee haue spoken before) vnlesse he haue the marke of the beast. By counsell is, let the buyer beware of those markes: because that after the fall of Babylon, if any man hath worshipped the beast and her image, and hath receiued the marke in his forehead, and vpon his hand, he shall drinke of the wine of Gods wrath, which is mixed with the wine in the cup of his anger, and hee shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the lambe: and the smoake of their torments shall ascende ascent, although bee looke for a recompence small, meane, or great, of the beast, or of the number of his name. The beast doubtlesse doth recompense his friends, with his small reward, that is, with great gifts and benefices corporall: with a meane reward, that is, with great spirituall gifts, in authoritie of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spirituall workes: and with his greatest reward, which after that they be dead, maketh them to be honored in earth among the saints. The number of his name according to the opinion of some men, is Dux Cleri, the captaine of the clergie, because by that name he is named, and maketh his name to owne, and that name is 666.

This is my opinion of the beast ascending out of the earth, and that he shall such time, as I shall be of the saints beast better instructed. But Martine the popes confessor which maketh the chronicle of the emperours and popes, reciteth many errours of the popes, more horrible and abominable then of the emperours. For he speaketh of the idolatrous popes, heretikall, and popes that were murtherers, adulterers, and vsed necromancie, and witchcraft, that were fornicators, and dessled with all kind of vice. But I haue partly declared how that the popes law is contrarie to Christs law, and how that hee saith, that he is the chiefe vicar of Christ in earth; and in his deeds is contrarie to Christ, and doth forbid both his doctrine and life. I cannot se who else may bee so well Antichrist, and a seducer of the people. For there is not a greater pestilence then a familiar enemie.

As concerning idols and the worshipping of them, I thinke of them as Moses, Salomon, Isayas, Jeremie, and the rest of the prophets, which all spake against the making of images, as also the worshipping of images. And faithfull Dauid full of the spirit of God, saith: Let all those be confounded that worship images, and that reioyce in idols: And againe hee saith: Let them be made like vnto them that make them, and all such as put their trust in them. Wherefore I pray God that this cull come not vpon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by Dauid the prophet. For will I bee by Gods grace, neither a maker, nor else a worshipper of images.

As concerning others, I beleeue and obey the doctrine of the Almightie God, and my master Jesus Christ, which teacheth: that a christian man in affirmation of a truth, should passe the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharises of the old Testament, or else he cannot by them from the kingdome of heauen. For he saith: Vnlesse your righteousnesse exceede the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharises, yee cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. And as concerning others he saith: It hath been said to them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thy selfe, but thalt perfourne vnto the Lord thy sie things which thou hatchest. But I say vnto you, that thalt not sweare at all, neither by the heauen, nor yet by the earth, &c. But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay, for what soeuer thall be more then this, proceedeth of euill. Therefore, as the perfection of the ancient men of the old Testament was, not to forsweare themselues: so the perfection of christian men, is, not to sweare at all, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandement must in no wise be broken, although that the citie of Rome be contrarie to this doctrine of Christ, euen as in many things he is found contrarie to her selfe.

As touching the taking away of temporall goods from those that are ecclesiasticall persons offending habituler: by such as are temporall lords, I will not affirme any thing to be lawfull in this matter (as in other matters before) that is not agreeable to charitie: And that for because it is a hard matter for a man to take another mans goods from him without beaking of charitie, because peraduenture he that taketh away, is the more moued to such maner of taking away by reason of the desire he hath to those goods, which he endeauoureth to take away: or else, because of some displeasure or hatred to the person, from whom hee goeth about to take away those goods, then that hee from whom those goods bee taken, should be amended. Therfore, vnlesse he that taketh away, bee only moued of charity to the taking away of such goods, I dare not affirme that such taking is lawfull. And if such taking away proceed of charitie, I dare not iudge it vnlawfull: because that the bishop of Rome, which receiued his temporall dominion of the emperor, when the emperor rebelled and was not obedient vnto him, he deprined him from his temporall iurisdictions: How much more then may temporall lords do the same, which haue bestowed vpon them many temporall dominions and lordships, only to the intent that they might the better intend to serue God and keepe his commandements? And if they perceiue that they be against the lawes of God, and that they be ouer busilie occupied about worldly matters: I cannot se but that they may well enough take from them those temporall goods, which to a good purpose they gaue them. But if in time to come after this, those that be temporall lords shall take from ecclesiastical persons such temporalities of which they haue left to vnderstand this, reade the prophet Ezechiel, in the chapter of the shepheards of Israel, which fed themselues in stead of their flocke: and also let him reade the Apocalyps of the fall of Babylon. Let him also reade the popes decretals against heretickes: and in those hee shall find, that the taking away of the temporalties from the clergie, shall come to passe for the multitude of their sinnes.

Thus reuerend father haue I made mine answere to the matter whereof I am accused: beseeching you, that as I haue beene obedient to your desire, and that euen as a sonne, declaring vnto you the secrets of my heart in plaine words (although rude), so I bestire to know your opinion, and crauue your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning I haue promised you, if any man of what state, sect, or condition soeuer hee be, can theis me any errour in any of my writings by the authorite of holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded in the Scriptures; I will receiue his information willingly and humblie.

After that all the foresaid things were exhibited and giuen by the foresaid Walter Brute, vnto the foresaid bishop of Hereford: he further appointed to the same Walter, the third day of the moneth of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the daies following to heare his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being Friday in the yeare of our Lord God 1393. the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedrall church of Hereford, at six a clocke or thereabout; hauing for his assistants in the same place, diuers prelats, abbats, and learned men in the lawes of Diuinitie, whereof twelue were monks, two doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicolas Hereford accompanied with many other prelats and worshipfull men and wise graduates in sundrie faculties. How was the foresaid Walter appoled of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in crying out of those writings, his heresies, and in thetuing his schismes, sundrie errours, and diuers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day and the two daies following (that is, friday, saturday and sunday) in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute; the same Walter Brute submitted himselfe to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John Bishop, as it appeareth vpon his owne hand in a scroll written in the English tongue: The tenour of which scroll, is as followeth.

I Walter Brute submit my self principally to the Euangelie of Iesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirke, and to the generall councels of holy kirke. And to the sentence and determination of the foure Doctors of holy writ, that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Ierome, and Gregorie. And I meekely submit me to your correction, as a subiect ought to his bishop.

Which scroll, as afore is recited, in the English tongue, the foresaid Walter Brute, read with a loud and intelligible voice,



at the Crosse in the churchyard on Sonday, that is to say, the sixth of the said moneth of October, before the sermon made vnto the people in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and other aboue writen, as also other barons, knights and noble men, and clergie, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the foresaid Thomas Crawley, bachelor of Diuinitie, made the sermon vnto the people, and tooke for his theame the words of the apostle to the Romans, the eleuenth chapter, that is as followeth: Be not ouer wise in your owne conceits, but stand in feare, &c.

¶ Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishop with the Doctos and Doctors aboue rehearsed, did gather and draw out certaine articles, to the number of 37. which they sent to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge to be confuted, vnto two learned men, master Colwill, and master Newton, bachelers of Diuinitie. Which master Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the vttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said 37. articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford a frier (who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliffe) labouring in the same cause, made a solemne and a long tractation, compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the number of 29. All which treatifes, as I wish to come to the readers hand, that the slenderness of them might be knowne: so it may happen perceiue, that the same being in my hands may hereafter bee further published, with other like tractations mine, as conuenient time for the polirtie thereof may hereafter better serue then now.

What after this became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registred: but like it is, that bee for this time escaped. Certaine other writings I find moreover, which albeit they beare no name of this Walter nor of any certaine author: yet because they are in the same register adioyned to the history of him, I thought therfore most fit here to be inserted. Of the which, one was a letter sent to Nicolas Hereford a little aboue specified: who being at the first a great follower of John Wickliffe, as appeareth before, pag. 403. was now in the number of them which sate vpon this Walter, as is in the columne aboue recoded. The copie of this letter, bearing no name of any speciall author, but onely as sent by a certaine Lollard (as the register doth terme him) is written in maner and forme as followeth.

## Here followeth the copie of a letter sent to master *Nicolas Hereford, by a Lollard, as in the* register it is said.

A letter sent to Nicol. Hereford.

FOrasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh backe, is meet for the kingdome of God, as our Sauiour Christ saith: what manuel is it, although master Nicolas Hereford, which at the first (by the visitation of the spirit of God peraduenture) put his hand, that is, gaue his diligence vnto the plough, that is, to the sowing of the word of God and holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good workes; is now so blind and vnskilfull to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is vnderstood by the kingdom of heauen? Truely it is no maruell, O thou that art master of the Nicolaitans, which like Nicolas the most false Deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the holy scripture. For the true knowledge of the Theologicall veritie is shut vp as well from thee as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions, forasmuch as thou goest not in by the doore of the sheepfold found the same Euangelicall veritie. Therefore when thou diddest recite this other day, first, the pharisaicall & hypocriticall woe (nothing at all to any purpose) thou shouldst haue said iustly in this sort, both of thy selfe, and other thy followers and religious Antichrists: Woe be vnto vs Scribes and Pharises, for we shut vp the kingdom of heauen, that is to say, the true knowledge of the holy Scripture, before men by our false glosses and crooked similitudes: and neither we our selues enter into the same kingdome or knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth vnto the faithfull sort, that wrongfully, falslie, and without any reuerence, ye haue expounded that storie of Gregorie, 1. q. 1. that is to say, *Quicunque studet, &c.* For this is the true vnderstanding of the same: Knowing first that there bee some priests after the thing, and name onely, and doth shew that this is true: that whosoeuer studeth to receiue the holy order by giuing of money; he is not a priest, *Secundum rem, & nomen*. But to say the truth, bee desireth to be called a priest, that is, to be a priest *Secundum nomen tantum*. And such a priest, which is a priest in name only, is no priest. No more then S. Mary painted is S. Mary: Nor a false doctor a doctor, but no doctor: And a mā painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a priest in name only, is not a priest: Because that all faithfull men doe firmely beleeue with saint Gregory, that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest as he saith, 1. q. 1. They that buy or sel holy orders can be no priests. Whereupon is written, *Anathema dandi & Anathema accipiendi*: that is, Simoniacall heresie. And it followeth, How therefore if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when that they bee not in the body of Christ, how can they either receiue or deliuer the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he blesse? as though

¶ thy he



he would say: It is vnpossible. As pope Vrbanus saith, 1. q. 1. Si quis Simoniacis, &c. Where he saith thus: They that willingly know and suffer themselues to be consecrated, nay rather execrated, of those that are infected with simonie; we iudge that



a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first loue and hast cleaued vnto vs, O our beloued Babylon, O our citizens, which from the translingiration of Jerusalem, come hither: wee loue you for your deserts, we reioyce ouer you, which contemne the lawes

temple, left peraduenture the ingraffed word may saue your soules, which word I abhor as I do the soules of other faithfull men. And doe your indeuor, that ye may deserue to haue the place which we haue prepared for you, vnder the most wicked

## The tenor of the bull, to the renowmed prince, Richard by the grace of God king of England and of France: whereof mention is made above, as followeth, and is thus much in effect.

The popes wily subtile fetches to set vp the kingdom of Christ.

TO our welbeloued sonne in Christ, Richard the noble king of England, we send greeting, &c. Ingreeueth vs from the bottome of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places through Christendome lamenteth. We vnderstand that there be certaine heresies sprung, and do without any condigne restraint range at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithfull people, and doe euery day with ouermuch liberty enlarge their vndiscreet bounds. But how much the more carefully we labour for the preseruation both of you and your famous kingdome, and also the sincerity of the faith, and doe with much more ardent desire couet, that the prosperous state of the same should be preserued and inlarged; the sting of greater sorrow doth so much the more penetrate and molest vs, forasmuch as we see (alas the while) in our time, and vnder the regall presidence of your most Christian gouernment, a certaine craftie, and hairebrainie sect of false Christians, in the same your kingdome, to grow and increase; which call themselues, The poore men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples, and whom the common people by a more sounder name, call, Lollards, (as a man would say, withered darnell) according as their sinnes require and perceiue that they wax strong, and as it were preuaile against the diocesans of some places, and other gouernours as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselues against them as they ought to doe (whereof chiefly and not vndeseruedly I giue them admonition) for that they take thereby the more bolder presumption and stomacke among the vnlearned people. And forasmuch as those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadowes or ghosts of men, do rise vp against the sound faith, and holy vniuersall church of Rome: and that very many of them being indifferently learned, which (to the confusion and eternall damnation of some of them) they got sitting vpon their mothers lap the said church of Rome, do rise vp or inueigh against the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldnesse, to the subuersion of the whole ecclesiasticall order and estate; haue not bin afraid, nor are not yet afraid, publikely to preach very many erroneous, detestable, & hereticall articles, for that they are not put to silence, reproued, driuen out, rooted out or otherwise punished, by any that hath authority and the feare and loue of God. And also they are not afraid openly to write the same articles, and so being written to deliuer them to your kingly parliament, and obstinately to affirme the same. The venemous and disdainfull recitall of which articles, vpon good aduisement at this present we passe ouer, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might fortune to renew the wound that reason may heale. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an euill should escape vnpunished, and that without deserued vexation, and also that it might not get more heart, and wax more stronger: We therefore (according to that our office and duty is, where such negligence and sluggishnes of our prelats being present, where this thing is) doe commit and giue in commandement to our reuerend brethren, Canturbury and Yorke, archbishops, by other our letters; that they stand vp in the power of God against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they lisely persecute the same in forme of law roote out and destroy those, that aduisedly and obstinatly refuse to withdraw their foot from the same stumbling blocke, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. But because the assistance, counsell, fauor, and aid of your kingly estate and highnesse are requisit to the execution of the premisses: we require, exhort, and beseech the same your princely highnesse, by the bowels of the mercy of Iesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your owne saluation, by the benefit that to all men is common, and by the prosperity assured to euery man and woman, that not onely your kingly feuerity may readily shew, and cause to be shewed vnto our archbishops and their commissaries (in this behalfe requiring the foresaid due execution) conuenient aid and fauor, as otherwise also to cause them to be assisted: but that also you will inioine your magistrates and Iustices of Assise, and peace, more straytly, that of their own good wils, they execute the authority committed vnto them, with all feuerity against such damned men, according as they are bound by the office, which they are put in trust with against those I meane, which haue determined obstinately to defile themselues in their malice and sinnes, those to expell, banish, and imprison, and there so long to keep them, till condigne sentence shall pronounce them worthy to suffer punishment. For your kingly wisdome seeth, that such as they bee, doe not only deceiue poore simple soules (or at the least doe what they can to deceiue them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall vnto their temporall lords. Go to therefore my sweete sonne, and indeuour your selfe to worke so in this matter, as vndoubtedly we trust you will: that as this firebrand (burning and flaming ouer sore) beganne vnder your prefidence or gouernment; so vnder your seuere iudgement and vertuous diligence, might, fauour, and aid; not one sparke remaine hidde vnder the ashes, but that it bee vtterlie extinguished, and speedily put out.

Giuen at our palace of S. Peter at Rome, the xv. Calends of October, in the fifth yeere of our pontificality.

## ¶ The kings Commission.

RIchard by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland. To all those vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that whereas lately at the instance of the reuerend father, William archbishop of Canturbury, Metropolitane of all England, and Legat of the apostolicall seate: We for the redresse and amendment of all those which would obstinately preach or maintaine, publikely or priuily, any conclusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the catholike faith, or containing any heresie or errour, within the prouince or bishopricke of Canturbury; haue by our speciall letters patents, in the zeale of the faith, giuen authority and licence vnto the foresaid archbishop, and to all and singuler his suffragans, to arrest all and euery of them that will preach or maintaine any such conclusions, whersoeuer they may be found, and to commit them either to their owne prisons, or any others at their owne pleasure, and to keep them in the same, vntill they repent them of their errours and prauities of those heresies; or till that, of such manner of arrests, by vs or by our counsell it should be otherwise determined: that is to say, to euery one of them and their ministers throghout their cities & diocesse. And now the reuerend father in God, Iohn bishop of Hereford, hath for a certaintie informed vs; that although the same bishop hath according to iustice conuinced a certaine fellow named Wat Swinderby, pretending himselfe to be a chaplen, and one Stephan Bell a learned man, and hath pronounced them heretikes & excommunicat, and false informers among the common people, and hath declared the same by the definitiue sentence of the aforesaid bishop, for that they haue presumed to affirme and preach openly in diuers places within the diocesse of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subuersion of the catholike found faith, and tranquillity of our kingdome: The same bishop notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiasticall censures, neither yet by the force and strength of our commission was able to reuoke the foresaid William and Stephan, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurat contumacie of them: for that they, after that they were vpon such heretical prauity conuict by the same bishop, (to the intent they might delude his iudgement and iustice) conueied themselues by and by vnto the borders of Wales, with such as were their fautors and accomplices, in keeping themselues close, vnto whom the force of our said letters doth in no wise extend. Whereupon the said bishop hath made supplication vnto vs, that we will vouchsafe to prouide a sufficient remedy in that behalfe. Wee therefore, which alwaies (by the helpe of almighty God) are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and peruerse enterprises by the most safe way and meanes we may, giue and commit full power and authority to the foresaid bishop & to his ministers, by the tenor of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken, the foresaid William and Stephan, in any place within the citie and diocesse of Hereford and our dominion of Wales, with all the speed that may be; and to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, vnlesse they wil obey the commandements of the church, with diligence to bring them before vs and our counsell, or els cause them to be brought: that we may determin for their further punishment, as we shall thinke it requisite and conuenient to be done by the aduice of our counsell, for the defence and preseruation of the catholike faith. And that the foresaid William and Stephan, being succored by the aid of their fautors or fauorers, should not be able to flie or escape to their accustomed starting holes; and that the sharpnes of their paines so aggrauated, may giue them sufficient cause to returne to the lap againe of their holy mother the church: we straitly charge and command all and singuler our sheriffes, bailiffes, barons, and all other our officers in the citie and diocesse of Hereford, and in any other places being within our dominion of Wales, by the tenour of these presents: that from time to time (where they thinke it most meet) they cause it openly to bee proclaimed in our name, that none, of what state, degree, preheminence, kind, or other condition he shall be of, doe cherish openly or secretly the foresaid William and Stephan, vntill the time that they repent them of their heresies and errors, and shall be reconciled vnto the holy church of God: Neither that any person or persons, be beleeuers, fauourers, or receiuers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructers of the said William or Stephan, or any other of the residue of the heretikes that are to be conuinced, vpon the forfeiture of all that euer they haue. And that also they giuing their attendance, bee obedient and answerable to the foresaid bishoppe and his deputies in this behalfe, for the execution



execution of the premisses: and that they certifie vs and our counsell distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singuler persons, which shall fortune to be found culpable in this behalfe, vnder their seales. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the 9. day of March, in the 15. yeere of our raigne.

Farrington.

## Another letter of the said king against Walter Brute.

Another letter of king Richard against Walter Brute.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland. To his beloued and faithfull Iohn Chaundos knight, Iohn Eynsore knight, Renold de la Bere knight, Walter Deueros knight, Thomas de la Bare knight, William Lucie knight, Leonard Hakelute knight, and to the maior of the citie of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygmore, Thomas Waylwayne, Iohn Skydmore, Iohn Vp-Harry, Henry Motton, and to the sheriffe of Hereford, sendeth salutations.

Walter Brute.

Forasmuch as it is aduertised vs, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquitie, haue damnably holden, affirmed, and preached, certaine articles and conclusions being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture (of the which, some of them as heresies, and the rest as errors, are finally by the church condemned) and that in diuers places of dioceses within the diocesse of Hereford, and parts neere adioining, both priuily, openly, and obstinatly: which thing wee perceiue not onely to redound to the subuersion (in a manner) of the catholike faith, which as well we as other catholike princes ought of duty to maintaine, but also to forewarne vs of the subuersion of our faithful Diocesans. And that the said bishop, vpon the good deliberation and aduisement of a great number of doctors in Diuinity, and other learned and skilfull men in the Scriptures, of speciall deuotion, according to his bounden duty, purposed to begin and make diuers and sundry processes by law to bee sent vnto the foresaid Walter and his accomplices, to appeare personally before him and other the doctors aforesaid, in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of S. Thomas of Hereford next ensuing, and to proceed in the same place against the same Walter, in the foresaid articles and conclusions, for the amendment of his foule. Now afresh (because that the said Walter and others of their retinew, cleauing and confederating with him, might not suffer condigne paines according to their demerits) indeuor themselues to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same bishop, in such sort correction and execution as should haue been done, and with force doe resist and let the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of vs and of our crowne, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others: Do appoint you, and euery of you, immediatly as soone as this our commission shall be deliuered vnto you, in our behalfe and name, to make open proclamation in the diocesse and parts aforesaid, where ye shall thinke it most meet and conuenient: That no man be it hereafter, of what state or condition so euer he shall be, within the diocesse and parts aforesaid, vpon paine of forfaiture of all that euer hee hath, to make or leuie any conuenticles, assemblies, or confederacies; by any colour: or that they presume to attempt or procure any other thing, whereby our peace may be hurt or broken, or that the same bishops and doctors aforesaid, may be by any means molested or let in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the canonicall sanctions; and to arrest all those which ye shall finde, or take offending in this behalfe, or that keep themselues in any such conuenticles. And that they being committed to prison, be there kept, till you shall haue other commandement from vs and our counsell for their deliuerance: and that ye distinctly and plainly certifie vs and our said counsell, of all your doing in this behalfe vnder your seales, or else the seales of some of you. And therefore we straitly charge and command you, and euery of you, that ye diligently attend vpon the premisses, and that in your deeds ye execute the same with all diligence and carefull indeuour, in the forme and manner aforesaid. And further, we giue straite charge and commandement to all and singuler sheriffes, maiors, bailiffes, constables, and other our faithfull subiects, by the tenour of these presents: that they be attending vpon you, counselling and aiding you, and euery of you, as is meet and conuenient in the doing and execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 22. day of September, in the 17. yeere of our raigne.

By the same king and counsell.

King Richard against the gouernors of the archbishop and the prelats.

Thus king Richard by the setting on of W. Courtney, archbishop of Canturbury and his fellowes, taking part with the pope and Romish prelats, warred something strait & hard to the pore christians of the contrary side, of Wicklife, as by these letters aboue prefixed may appeare. Albeit, during all the life of the said king, I finde of none expressly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding, some there were which by the foresaid archbishop William Courtney, and other bishops had been condemned, and diuers also abiured, and did penance as well in other places, as chiefly about the towne of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbishops register and records.

K. Regist. W. Courtney, fol. Cant.

At what time the said archbishop William Courtney was in his visitation at the towne of Leicester, certaine there were accused and detected to him, by the maniis and other priests in the said towne. The names of which persons there detected, were, one Roger Derre, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parch menar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the same towne of Leicester. These with other mo, were denounced to the archbishop for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to that which the church of Rome doth preach and obserue. All which parties aboue named, and many other mo, whose names are not knowne, did hold these heresies and erroes here vnder written, and are of the Romish church condemned.

Roger Derre, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, William Parch menar, and Roger Goldsmith inhabitants of Leicester.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ with the materiall bread.
2. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, nor that no man ought to set any candles before them.
3. That no crosse ought to be worshipped.
4. The masses and mattens ought not with an high and loud voice to be said in the church.
5. Item, that no curat or priest taken in any crime, can confesse at, heare confessions, nor minister any of the sacraments of the church.
6. That the pope & all prelats of the church cannot binde any man with the sentence of excommunication, vnlesse they know him to be first excommunicated of God.
7. That no prelat of the church can grant any pardons.
8. That euery lay man may in euery place preach and teach the Gospell.
9. That it is sinne to giue any almes or charity to the friers preachers, Minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.
10. That no oblation ought to be vsed at the funerals of the dead.
11. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sinnes to the priest.
12. That euery good man, although hee be vnlearned, is a priest.

These Articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly in the towne of Leicester, and other places adioining. Whereupon the said archbishop monished the said Roger, and Nicolas, with the rest, on the next day to make answere vnto him in the said monastery to the foresaid articles. But the foresaid Roger and Nicolas, with the rest, did themselues out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbishop vpon All hallow day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high masse at the high altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the said parties with all their adherents, fautors, fauorers, and counsellers, excommunicat and accursed, which either held, taught, or maintained the foresaid conclusions heretical and erroneous, and that in forme lawe, by ringing the bels, lighting the candles, and putting out the same againe, and throwing them downe to the ground, to other circumstances thereunto belonging. Also on the morow after (being All Soules day) he sent for all the curats and other lay men of the towne of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knewe, and were able to say against any persons whatsoeuer, concerning the foresaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified vpon their othes, denouncing euery one of them severally by their names to be excommunicat and accursed; and caused them also in diuers parish churches in Leicester also to be excommunicat. And further the said archbishop interdicted the whole towne of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the foresaid excommunicat persons should remaine or be within the same, and till that all the Lollards of the towne should returne and amend from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop his handes the benefit of absolution.

Roger Derre, Nicolas Taylor, Richard Wagstaffe, Michael Scriuener, William Smith, Iohn Henry, William Parch menar, Roger Goldsmith accursed.

The whole towne of Leicester interdicted.

At length it was declared and shewed to the said archbishop, that there was a certaine anchoresse whose name was Matilde, inclosed within the churchyard of S. Peters church of the said towne of Leicester, to be infected (as they said) with the pestiferous contagion of the foresaid heretikes & Lollards: Whereupon, after that the said archbishop had examined the foresaid Matilde, touching the foresaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilly; gaue and assigned vnto her a day peremptory, personally to appeare before him in the monastery of Saint Iames at Northhampton, more fully to answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors, which was the first day of the said moneth of November; commanding the abbat of the monastery of Pratis aforesaid, that the daze of the recluse in which the said Matild was, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody.

Matilde an anchoresse cited to appeare.

That

That done, he sent forth his mandat against ti, Lollards, vnder this forme:

The kings precedent by the bishop to arrest the L. Mountmer.

William by the permission of God, &c. To his welbeloued sonnes, the Maior and Bailifes of the towne of Leicester diocesse, greeting. We haue lately receiued the kings letters, gratiously granted vs for the defence of the catholike faith, in these words following. Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c. We on the behalfe of our holy mother the church, by the kings authority aforesaid, doe require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent vnto vs; that they with their pernicious doctrine doe not infect the people of God, &c. Giuen vnder our seale, &c.

By another instrument also in the same Register, is mention made of one Margaret Tally Nun, which forsaking her order, was by the said archbishop constrained against her will, against to enter the same, as by this instrument here vnder ensuing may appeare.

Margaret Tally a nun, constrained against her will to take againe her habit.

William by the grace of God, &c. To our reuerend brother in God, Iohn, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocesse of Lincolne according to our office, amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one theepe out of our fold strayed, and amongst the briers tangled; to wit, Margaret Tally, Nun professed, of the monastery of S. Radegond within your diocesse: the calling off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many yeres being an apostata, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her bloud should be required at our hands, wee haue caused her to be taken, and brought vnto you, being her pastor; and straitly inioyning you, by these presents doe command, that you admit the same Margaret againe into her forsaid monastery (although returned against her will) or else into some other place, there for her soules health you shall thinke most conuenient: and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yeelde an account. Giuen vnder our seale, &c.

Matilde recanteth.

By sundry other instruments also in the same Register recorded, I finde, that the foresaid Matilde the anchoresse, vpon the strait examination and handling of the foresaid archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was enioyned to appeare, and til that day of appearance taken out of the recluse and committed to safe custody, as you heard; retracted and recanted her foresaid articles and opinions. For the which she being enioyned forty daies penance, was again admitted into her foresaid recluse in Leicester. The bishops letter to the magistrates of the towne thus beginneth: Willielmus permissione diuina, &c. dilectis filijs, &c.

Smith, Roger Derter, and Alice reuocate abiured.

Also by another letter of the foresaid archbishop to the deane of the cathedrall church of our lady of Leicester being registred, I finde, that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the archbishop himselfe at high masse, did in his pontificalibus solemnly curse with booke, bell, and candle: after certaine processe being sent out against them, or else in the meane time being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions, to wit, William Smith, and Roger Derter. But in the meane time Alice, the wife of the said Roger Derter, taking hold of the foresaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith, abiured the same. For these be the words of the instrument: Subsequenter verò, præfati Willielmus, Rogerus, & Alicia reatus suos respicientes, se nostro conspectui præsentarunt, &c. Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselues willingly, or else were brought against their wils (as most like it was) hard penance was enioyned them before they were absolued. These be the words of the instrument.

Sancta mater ecclesia, &c. i. Seeing our holy mother the church deriech not her lap to any penitent child returning to the vnity of her, but rather prefereth to them the same: We therefore do receiue againe the said William, Roger, and Alice to grace. And further haue caused them to abiure all and singuler the foresaid articles and opinions, before they receiued of vs the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication, wherein they were snarled, inioyning vnto them penance, according to the quantitie of the crime, in forme as followeth that is to say: that euery one of them the sunday next after their returning to their proper gods: they the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding euery one an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands euery one of them a taper of wax, weighing halfe a pound waight, in their shirts (hauing none other apparell vpon them) doe goe before the crosse three times, during the procession of the cathedrall church of our lady of Leicester: that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession; to the honour of him that was crucified, in the memorial of his passion, and to the honor of the virgin his mother: who also deuoutly bowing their knees and kissing, shall kisse the same crucifix so held in their hands. And so with the same procession, they entring again into the church, shall stand during all the time of the holy masse, before the image of the crosse with their tapers and crosses in their hands. And when the masse is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall offer to him that celebrated that day the masse. Then vpon the saturday next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall in the full and publike market, within the towne of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes vpon their bodies, holding the foresaid crosses in their right hands; which crosses, three times they shall (during the market) deuoutly kisse reuerently kneeling vpon their knees: that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William (in that he vnderstood vnderstandeth the Latine tongue) shall say this Antheame with the collect, Sancta Katharina: and the foresaid Roger and Alice, being vnlearned, shall say deuoutly a Pater Noster, and an Aue Maria. And thirdly, the sunday next immediatly after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said towne of Leicester, shall stand and doe as vpon the sunday before they stood and did in the cathedrall church of our lady aforesaid in all things. Which done, the foresaid William, Roger, and Alice, after masse, shall offer to the priest or chaplen that celebrated the same, with all humilitie and reuerence the wax tapers which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the foresaid penitents might peraduenture take some bodily hurt standing so long naked (being mindfull to moderate partly the said our rigour) we giue leaue, that after their entrance into the churches aboue said, whilest they shall bee in hearing the foresaid masses, that they may put on necessary garments to keepe them from cold, so that their heads and face notwithstanding be bare and vncouered. We therefore will and command you, together and apart, that you denounce the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolued and restored again to the vnity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to doe their penance in manner and forme aforesaid. Giuen at Dorchester the seuenteenth day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord God 1389. and the ninth yeere of our translation.

Three kills of the cradle.

The collect of Katharine. The Pater noster, and Aue Maria.

Cold weather graciously considered.

Vnto the narration of these aboue said, we will adioine the story of one Peter Patchul, an Anfen frier, who obtaining by the popes priuiledge (though the meanes of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster) liberty to change his coat and religion: and hearing the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe and other of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to heare the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the eares of his order, they to the number of twelue (coming out of their houle to the place where he was preaching) thought to haue withstood him perforce. Among the which one especially for the zeale of his religion, stood by openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he said, who then was preaching in the church of S. Christopher in London. This when the faithfull Londoners did see, taking griefe hereat, they moued with great ire against the said frier, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they not onely had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to haue destroied their mansion with fire also, and so would haue done, had not one of the cheriffes of London, with two of the friers of the said houle, well knowne and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Patchul (forsomuch as he could not well preach amongst them) to put in writting that which hee had said before, and other things more that he knew by the Friers: this then at their request writting the same, accused the friers of murther, committed against diuers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparant and credible, hee declared the names of them that were murthered, with the names also of their tormentors: and named moreouer time and place, where & when they were murthered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were Sodomites and traitors both to the king and the realme: with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousnesse leaueth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friers, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set vp at S. Pauls church dore in London, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the yeere of our Lord 1387. and in the 10. yeere of king Richard the second. Ex Chron. Monachi Albanensis. Cuius est exordium, Anno gratiæ millesimo, &c.

Peter Patchul against the friers.

Londoners against the friers.

The friers accused with horrible crimes.

Ex Chron. D. Albani.

Thus it may appeare by this and other aboue recited, how the Gospel of Christ preached by Iohn Wickliffe and others, began to be spread and scattered abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would haue done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop and other prelats with the king, set them so forcibly with might and maine, to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, as is said before, I finde none which yet were put to death therefore, during the raigne of this king Richard the second. Whereby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cannot be vtterly excused for molesting the godly & innocent preachers of that time, (as by his letters and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he so cruell against them, as other that came after him: and that which hee did, seemed to proceed by the instigation

Few or none burned in king Richards time.



instigation of the pope and other bishoppes, rather then either by the consent of his parliament, or aduice of his councell abaut him, setlie by his owne nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time, were constant in stopping out the popes prouisions, and in bridling his authority, as we shall see (Chuse willing) anon: so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he hadnot by the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in feare of the bishoppe of Rome and his prelats, by whose impostune letters and calling on, he was continually vged to doe contrary to that, which both right required, and will perhaps in him desired. But howsoeuer the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, vndoubted it is, that Queene Anne his wife, most rightly deserueth singular commendation: who at the same time liuing with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with foure bookes vpon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wincelaus, king of Boheme before: who was married to king Richard about the fifth (some say the sixth) yeere of his raigne, and continued with him the space of eleuen yeeres. By the occasion whereof it may seeme not vnprobable, that the Bohemians comming in with her, or resorting into this realme after her, perused and receiued here the bookes of Iohn Wickliffe, which afterward they conueied into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before: pag. 428.

Commendation of Queene Anne wife to king Richard.

Anno 1394

The marriage of Queene Anne to king Richard.

The occasion how the doctrine of Wickliffe came to Boheme.

The death of Queene Anne. Ex fragmento historiæ cuiusdam Wigorniensis bibliothecæ. Ex accommodato D. Mat. Archib. Cant.

Queen Anne hath the foure gospels, with the doctrine in English.

The death of Queene Anne, wife to king Richard about eleuen yeeres, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose funerall Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of Yorke and lord chancellor, made the sermon. In which sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words: That it is no more ioy of her, then of any woman that euer he knew. For not withstanding that she was an alien borne, she had in English all the foure gospels, with the doctors vpon them: affirming moreouer and testifying, that she had sent the same home to him to examin. As he said they were good and true. And further with many words of praise, did greatly commend her, in that the being so great a lady, and also an alien, would stoup so lowly to vertuous bookes. And hee blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelats and other men. Inso much that some said, he would on the morow leaue vp the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and giue him to fulfill his pastorall office, for that hee had seene and read in those bookes. And then it had beene the best sermon that euer they heard. Hæc ex libro Wigo. In the which sermon of Thomas Arundel, these points are to be considered. First, the laudable vse of those old times receiued to haue the Scripture and doctours in our tongue English tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise & alo example of this godly lady, who had those bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle; but alls seemeth by this sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted, is, what fruit the said Thomas archbishop declared also himselfe to receiue at the hearing and reading of the same bookes of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English bookes, and the authors thereof, as followeth after in his story to be seene.

Thomas Arundel, archbishop heretofore his owne pontifex.

Thomas Arundel and the bishop of London go to Ireland to the king to complaine of the fauorers of Gods word.

For shortly after the death of Queene Anne, the same peere (the king being then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundel archbishoppe of Yorke, and bishoppe of London, Robert Braybrooke (whether sent by the archbishop of Canturbury and the clergy, or whether going of their owne accord) crossed the seas to Ireland, to the intent the king in all speedy wise to returne and helpe the faith and church of Christ, against such as holding of Wickliffes teaching, went about (as they said) to subuert all their procedings, and to destroy the canonicall sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint, the king hearing the one part speake, and not admiting the other, was in such sort incensed, that incontinent leauing all his affaires vncompleate, hee sped his returne toward England. Where he kept his Christmas at Dublin; in the which meane time, in the beginning of the next peere following, which was anno 1395. a Parliament was called at Westminster, by the commandement of the king. In which parliament, certaine Articles or conclusions were put vp by them of the gospels side, to the number of twelue. Which conclusions moreouer were fastened vp vpon the church dore of Saint Paul in London, and also at Westminster: the copie of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof here vnder ensue.

Ex Hist. D. Albani.

Anno 1395

Conclusions exhibited by in the parliament house.

## The booke of Conclusions or Reformations, exhibited to the parliament holden at London, and set vp at Pauls doore and other places, in the 18. yeere of the raigne of king Richard the 2. and in the yeere of our Lord 1395.

Conclusions exhibited in the parliament.

THe first conclusion: when as the church of England began first to dote in temporalities after her stepmother the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorised by appropria-

tions: faith, hope, and charity began in diuers places to vanish and flie away from our church, forsomuch as pride with her most lamentable and boteous genealogy of mortall and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is generall, and approued by experience, customs, and manner, as ye shall after heare.

Papistical priesthood.

The second conclusion: that our vnholy priesthood, which tooke his originall at Rome, and fained to be a power higher then Angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained vnto his disciples. This conclusion is thus proued; forsomuch as the Romish priesthood is done with signes and pontificall rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither hauing any ground in Scripture, forsomuch as the bishops ordinall and the new Testament doe nothing at all agree; neither doe we see that they holy Ghost doth giue any good gift (though any such signes or ceremonies: because that hee together with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sinne. The corolary or effect of this conclusion is, that it is a lamentable and boteous mockery vnto wise men, to see the bishoppes mocke and play with the holy Ghost in the giuing of their orders: because they giue crownes for their characters and markes, in stead of white hearts: and this character is the marke of antichrist, brought into the holy church to close and colour their idlenesse.

The single life of priests.

The third conclusion: that the law of chastity enioined vnto priesthood, the which was first ordained to the preiudice of women, inducech Sodomy into the church: but we doe excuse vs by the bible, because the fisher decree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and experience proueth this conclusion. Reason thus; Forsomuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergy, will haue either a naturall purgation, or some worse. Experience thus; forsomuch as the secret triall and proofe of such men is, that they doe delight in women. And whensoeuer thou dost proue or see such a man, marke him well, for he is one of that number. The corolary of this conclusion is, that those priuat religions with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be distaulish as the originall of that sinne and offence. But God of his might doth of priuie sinnes send open vengeance.

Dedoth here excellently paint out the leeches of clergy.

The fained miracle of transubstantiation.

The fourth conclusion, that most harmeth the innocent people, is this: that the fained miracle of the sacrament of breadhead, inducech all men, except it be a very few, vnto idolatry: forsomuch as they thinke that the body, which shall neuer be out of heauen, is by the vertue of the priests words, essentially included in the little bread, the which they do shew vnto the people. But would to God they would beleeue that which the Euangelicall bookes teacheth vs in his Tetalogue, Quod panis altaris est accidenter Corpus Christi. i. that the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally: forsomuch as we suppose that by that meanes, euery faithfull man and woman in the law of God, may make the sacrament of that bread, without any such miracle. The corolary of this conclusion is, that albeit the body of Christ be endowed with the eternall ioy, the seruice of Corpus Christi, made by frier Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles: neither is it any maruell, forsomuch as frier Thomas at that time taking part with the pope, would haue made a miracle of a hens egge: and wee know it very well, that euery lle openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and oppobry of him, which is alwaies true without any lacke.

He meaneth here Wickliffe.

The least of Corpus Christi inuented by Thomas Aquinas.

The fifth conclusion is this: that the exorcismes and hallowings, confections, and blessings ouer the wine, bread, wax, water, oile, salt, incense, the altar stone, and about the church walles, ouer the vestiment, chalice, miter, crosse, and pilgrim-staues, are the very practises of Necromancie, rather then of sacred Diuinitie. This conclusion is thus prooued; because that by such exorcismes, the creatures are bound to doe more force and power then by their owne proper nature, for we doe not see any alteration or change in any creature by exorcism, except it be by false faith, which is the principall point of diuelish art. The corolary of this is, that if the booke of exorcisation or coniuring of holy water which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithfull and true; wee thinke certainly that holy water vsed in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sicknesse and force; Cuius contrarium experimur. i. the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach vs.

The exorcismes and blessings of priests.

The sixth conclusion which maintaineth much pride is: that a king and bishop both in one person, a prelat and iustice in temporall causes, a curat and officer in worldly office, doth make euery kingdome out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporality and the spirituality, are two parts of the holy vniuersall church, and therefore see which addicteth himselfe to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other. Quia nemo potest duobus Dominis seruire: wherefore to bee called Amphroditæ, which are men of both kindes, or Ambidextri, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double effates. The corolary of this conclusion is, that thereupon we the procurators of God in this case, doe sue vnto the Parliament: that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergy (as well of the highest

The difference betweene the ecclesiasticall and politike estate.

highest degree as of the lowest, should be fully ordered, and occupie themselues with their owne cure and charge, and not with others.

The seuenth conclusion that we mightily affirme is, that spirituall praiers made in the church for the soules of the dead, (preferring any one by name more then another) is a false foundation of almes, whereupon all the soules of almes in England are fallie founded. This conclusion is proued by two reasons. The one is, that a meritorious praier (of any force or effect) ought to be a worke proceeding from meere charitie: and perfect charitie accepteth no person, because thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Whereby it appeareth, that the benefit of any temporall gift bestowed and giuen vnto priests and soules of almes, is the principall cause of any speciall praiers, the which is not farre different from simonie. The other reason is, that euery speciall praier made for men condemned to eternall punishment, is very displeasant before God. And albeit it be doubtfull, yet is it very likely vnto the faithfull Christian people, that the founders of euery such soule of almes for their wicked endowing of the same, are for the most part passed by the broad way. The corolary is, that euery praier of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charitie, would comprehend generally all such whom God would haue saued, and to line. The merchandise of speciall praiers now vsed for the dead, maketh mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests, which otherwise were strong enough to worke and to serue the whole realme: and maintaineth the same in idlenesse, to the great charge of the realme, because it was proued in a certaine booke which the king hath, that a hundred houses of almes, are sufficient for the whole realme. And therebey might peraduenture greater increase and profit come vnto the temporaltie.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

The eighth conclusion needfull to tell to the people beguiled is, that pilgrimages, praiers, & oblations made vnto blind crosses or rodes, or to dease images made either of wood or stone, are very neere of kin vnto idolatry, and farre different from almes. And albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined, are the booke of erro vnto the common people: notwithstanding the vsuall and common image of the Trinitie is most especially abominable. This conclusion God himselfe doth openly manifest, commanding almes to be giuen to the poore and needy man, for hee is the image of God in more perfit similitude and likenesse then any blocke or stone. For God did not say, let vs make a blocke or stone vnto our likenesse and images: but let vs make man, vnto whom as the supreme and highest honour which the clergy calleth Latria, pertaineth onely to the Godhead, and the inferior honor, which the clergy call Dolia, pertaineth vnto men and Angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corolarie is, that the seruice of the crosse celebrat twice euery yeere in our church, is full of idolatry: for if rode, tree, nailes, and speare ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped, then were Iudases lippes (if any man could get them) a marueilous good relike. But thou pilgrime, wee pray thee tell vs when thou doest offer to the bones of the Saints and holy men which are laid vp in any place; whether dost thou relieue thereby the holy man which is already in ioy, or that almes house that is so well endowed, where as they are canonised: the Lord knoweth how) and to speake more plaine, euery faithfull christian may well iudge and suppose, that the strokes of that same man, whom they call S. Thomas, were no cause of martyrdome, nor yet he.

The image of the Trinity an abominable thing.

A golden man the perfect image of God.

Latria, Dulia.

Iudases lipps.

The ninth conclusion that keepeth the people low, is, that auricular confession which is said to be so necessary for saluation, and the fained power of absolution; craftely and subtelly set vp the pride of priests, and giueth them opportunitie of other secret thinges, which wee will not at this time talke of, for so much as both lords and ladies doe witnesse, that for feare of their confessors, they dare not speake the truth: and in time of confession, is good opportunitie minished of vowing, or to play the bawdes, or to make other secret conuentions to deadly sinne. They affirme and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to iudge and discerne of all manner of sinne, to pardon and cleanse whatsoeuer please them. They say also, that they haue the keies of heauen and hell, and that they can excommunicat, curse and bleese, binde and lese at their owne will and pleasure: insomuch, that for a small reward, or for tuelue pence, they will sell the blessing of heauen by charter and clause of warrantise, sealed by their common seale. This conclusion is so common in vse, that it needeth not any probation. The corolary hereof is, that the pope of Rome, which fained himselfe to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, hauing that same worthy iewell which is the treasure of the passion of Christ in his owne keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the Saints in heauen, whereby he giueth fained indulgences and pardons, a poena & culpa: hee is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliuer all captiues being in purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here euery faithfull Christian may easily perceiue that there is much falshood hid in our Church.

The death of Sir Richard Stirrey, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, Iohn Mountacute, Esquires, Iohn Salisbury, and diuers other worthy knights and esquires.

Auricular confession.

The vnprudent policie of priests.

The pope treasurer of the church, without warrant of scripture.

The tenth, that manslaughter (either by war or by any pre-

How wrets lawfull, and proofe by scripture.

tensed law of iustice for any temporall cause, or spirituall reuelation) is expresly contrary vnto the new Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is euidently proued by the examples of the preaching of Christ here in earth, who chiefly teacheth euery man to loue his enemies, and haue compassion vpon them, and not to kill and murther them. The reason is this, that for the most part when as men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken: and the sooner dieth without charity, goeth the right way to hell. And beside that, wee doe well vnderstand and know, that none of the clergy, neither by any other lawfull reason, can deliuer any from the punishment of death for one deadly sinne, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the new Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murther. For in the Gospell it is spoken vnto our forefathers, Thou shalt not kill. The corolary is; It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences and pardons, a poena & culpa, vnto such as doe helpe their armies to kill and murther the christian people in forren countries for temporall gaine, as we doe see certaine soulders which doe run amongst the heathen people to get themselues fame and renowme, by the murther and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserue euill thanks at the handes of the king of peace, forsomuch as by humility and peace, our faith is multiplied and increased: for murtherers and manquellers, Christ doth hate and menaceth: yee that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword.

Kinds and widowes which bow single life.

The eleuenth conclusion is, which is shame to tell: that the vow of chastity made in our church by women which are fraile and vnperfit in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident vnto the nature of man. For albeit the murther of their children beene before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foule sinnes: yet they accompanying amongst themselues, or with vnreasonable beasts, or with any creature not hauing life, doe palle to such an vnseemlinesse, that they are punished by infernall torments. The corolary is, that widowes and such as take the mantell and the ring deliciously fed, yee would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from great offence of sinne.

The twelfth, that the multitude of arts not necessary vsed in this our church, causeth much sinand offence in waste, curiosity, and beguiling in curious apparell: experience and reason partly doth shew the same, forsomuch as nature with a few arts, is sufficient for mans vse and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassage, which Christ hath commanded vs to prosecute at this time, most fit and conuenient for many causes. And albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched; yet notwithstanding they are more at large declared in another booke with many other more in our owne proper tongue, which we would should be common to all christian people. Wherefore we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great godnesse sake, that hee will shortly reforme our church (now altogether out of frame) vnto the perfection of her first beginning and originall. Ex Archiuis Regijs.

## The verses following were annexed vnto the conclusions.

*Plangunt Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,*
*Paulus fert, horum sunt idola causa malorum:*
*Surgunt ingrati Gierzite Simone nati,*
*Nomine prælati hoc defensare parati.*
*Qui Reges estis, populis quicunque præestis,*
*Qualiter his gestis gladios prohibere potestis?*

## The which verses are thus Englished:

The English nation doth lament of Sodomites their sin,
Which Paul doth plainly signifie by Idols to begin.
But Gierzites full ingrate, from sinfull Simon Sprong,
This to defend, though Priests in name, make bulwarks great and strong.
Ye princes therefore which to rule the people God hath placed,
With iustice sword, why see ye not this euill great defaced?

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dubline into England, toward the latter end of the parliament. Who at his return, called certain of his nobles vnto him, Richard Stirrie, Lewes Clifford, Thomas Latimer, Iohn Mountacute, &c. whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten for that hee heard them to bee fauourers of that sect; charging them straitly, neuer to hold, maintaine, nor fauor any more those opinions and conclusions. And namely of Richard Sturry, he took an oth, that he should neuer from that day, fauor or defend any such opinions: which oth being taken, the king then answered: And I sweare (saith he) against to thee, that if thou doest euer breake thine oth, thou shalt die for it a shamefull death, &c. Ex Chron. D. Albani.

All this while W. Courtney archbishop of Canturbury was yet aliue, who was a great barrer in these matters. But pope



Pope Vrbane the ninth dead. Anno 1389. Pope Boniface the ninth.

yet pope Vrbane the great master of the Catholites sect was dead and buried six yeere before. After whom succeeded in the shismaticall see of Rome pope Boniface the ninth; who nothing inferiour to his predecessour in all kind of cruelties, took no diligence vnattempted to set forward that which Vrbane had begun, in suppressing them that were the setters forth of the light of the Gospell: and had written sundrie times to king Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament against his prouisions, Quare impedit, and præmunire facies: as also that he should assist the prelats of England in the cause of God (as he pretended) against such, whom he falsly suggested to be Lollards and traytours to the church, to the king, and the realme, &c. Thus the courteous pope, whom he could not reach with his sword, at least with cruell slander of his malitious tongue, would worke his poison against them; which letter he wrote to the king in the yere of our Lord 1396. which was the yere before the death of William Courtney archbishop of Canturburie. After whom succeeded in that see Thomas Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell, being first bishop of Elie, afterward archbishop of Yorke, and lord Chancellour of England, and at last made archbishop of Canturburie

The letters of pope Boniface the ninth to king Richard. Anno 1396. The death of Wil. Courtney archbishop of Canturburie. Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie. Anno 1398.

and the yere of our Lord 1397. The next yere following, which was the yere of our Lord 1398. and the ninth yere of the pope. I find in certaine records of the bishop of Sureine, a certaine letter of king Richard the second, written to the said pope Boniface, which because I iudged not vnworthie to be seene, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in forme as followeth.

A letter of king Richard the second vnto pope Boniface the ninth.

To the most holy father in Christ and lord, lord Boniface the ninth, by the grace of God high pope of the most holy Romish and vniuersall church, his humble and deuout *sonne Richard by the grace of God king of England, and France, lord of Ireland, greeting, and desiring to helpe the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing of that his blessed feet.*

WHo will giue my head water, and mine eyes streaming teares, that I may bewaile the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which haue chanced to her by her owne children in the distresse of this present schisme and diuision. For the sheep haue forgotten the proper voice of their shepheards, and hirelings haue thrust in themselues to feed the Lords flock, who are clothed with the apparell of the true shepheard, challenging the name of honor and dignitie, resembling so the true shepheard, that the poore sheepe can scarce know whom they ought to follow, or what pastour as a stranger they ought to flee, and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore we are afraid, lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that citie being full of riches, become solitarie and desolate, and the land or people which was wont to say (flourishing in her properities) I sate as a Queen, and am not a widow, left it be destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched, that she shal not be able to discerne his face, & so wrapped in mazes, that she shal not know where to turne her, that she might more easily find him, and that she shal with weeping speake that saying of the spouse: I sought him whom my soule loueth, I sought him and found him not: For now wee are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, behold heere is Christ, or there, we may not beleeue him so saying; and so many shepheards haue destroyed the Lords vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wildernesse.

Bishops taught by Christ not to play the lords.

This multitude of shepheards is become very burdenous to the Lords flocke. For when two striue to be chiefe, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and in so doing they giue occasion to all the faithfull of Christ, of a schisme and diuision of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue vnto their power the whole church militant, yet contrarie to both their purpose, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a diuision in the bodie of the church: Like as when two harlots did striue afore Salomon: like as the ten tribes of Israel followed Ieroboam the intruder, and were withdrawne from the kingdome for Salomons sinne: euen so of old time the desire of ruling hath drawne the great power of the world from the vnitie of the church. Let your selues remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish church in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople, and how Mahomet with his followes by occasion of the supremacie in Ecclesiasticall dignitie, deceiued a great part of christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ. And now in these daies, whereas the same supremacie hath withdrawne it selfe from the obedience of it, in so much that now in verie few realmes the candle that burnes afore the Lord remaineth, and that for Dauids sake his seruant: And although now remaine few countries professing the obedience of Christs true vicar, yet peraduenture if euery man were left to his owne libertie, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignitie, or that is worse, would vtterly refuse it by such doubtfull euidence alleaged on both sides: and this is the subtill craft of the crooked Serpent, that is to say, vnder the pretence of vnitie, to procure schismes, as the spider of a whole-

The right ornament of a true bishop.

some flower gathers poyson, and Iudas learned of peace to make warre. Wherefore, it is liuely beleeued of wisemen, that except this pestilent schisme be withstood by and by, the keyes of the church will be despised, and they shall bind the consciences but of a few: and when either none dare be held to correct this fault, or to reforme things contrarie to Gods law, so by this meanes at length temporall lords will take away the liberties of the church, and peraduenture the Romanes will come and take away their place, people and lands: they will spoile their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reuiled and despited, because the obedience of the people and deuotions towards them will almost be taken away, when the greater part of the church left to their owne libertie, shall waxe prouder then they bee wont, leauing a wicked example to them that doe see it. For when they see the prelats studie more for couetousnesse then they were wont, to purse vp money, to oppresse the subiects, in their punishings to seeke for gaine, to confound lawes, to stirre vp strife, to suppresse truth, to vexe poore subiects with wrong corrections, in meate and drinke intemperate, infeastings past shame: what maruell is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of Gods law? but all these things doe follow if the church should be left long in this doubtfulnesse of a schisme, and then should that old saying be verified; in these daies there was no king in Israel, but euery one did that that seemed right and straight to himselfe. Michias did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountaines as they had been sheepe without a shepheard: for when the shepheard is smitten, the sheepe of the flocke shall be scattered, the great stroke of the shepheard is the minishing of his iurisdiction, by which the subiects are drawne from his obedience. When Iason had the office of the highest priest, hee changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customes of the heathen, the priests leauing the seruice of the holy altar, and applying themselues to wrastling and other exercises of the Grecians, and despised those things that belonged to the priests, did labour with all their might to learne such things of the Grecians, and by that meanes the lace, people, and holy ouning of priests, which in times past were had in great reuerence of kings, were trodden vnder foot of all men, and robbed by the kings power, and was prophaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore, let the highest vicar of Christ looke vnto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authoritie aboue others. If you marke well most holy father, you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, couueting the seat of honor: he taught them not to play the lords ouer the people, but the more grace they were presented with, to be so much more humble then other, and more lowly to serue their brethren. To him that asked his coate, to giue the cloake: to him that smote him on the one cheeke, to turne the other to him. For the sheepe that are giuen to his keeping, he must forsake all earthly things, and to shead his owne blood, yea and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorne the highest Bishop if they be in him, not purple, not his white horse, nor his imperiall crowne, because he among all men is most bound to all the sheepe of Christ. For the feare of God therefore, and for the loue of the flocke which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer vs no longer to wauer betwixt two: although not for your owne cause, to whom peraduenture the fulnesse of your owne power is knowne: yet in pitying our weaknesse, if thou be he, tell vs openly, and shew thy selfe to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to vs a bloodie bishop, left by your occasion mans blood be shead, left hell swallow such a number of soules, and left the name of Christ be euill spoken of by infidels, through such a worthie personage. But peraduenture yee will say, for our righteousnesse it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other mens disputation. If this bald answere should be admitted, the schisme should continue still, seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other: and where the world is as it were equally diuided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to giue place to the other without much bloudshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection was well enough knowne to himselfe and his disciples, yet he asked of his Father to be made knowne to the world. He made also the Gospell to be written, and the doctrine of the Apostles, and sent his Apostles into all the world, to the office of preaching, that the same thing might be knowne to all men. The foresaid reason is the subtilie of Mahomet, the which knowing himselfe guiltie of his sect, vtterly forbad disputations. If ye haue so full trust of your righteousnesse, put it to the examinations of worthie persons in a generall councell, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or els commit it vnto able persons, and giue them full power to determine all things concerning that matter, or at the least lay forsaking the office on both parties, leaue the church of God free, speedilie to prouide for a new shepheard.

A bald answere.

Desire to rule in the church.

Greece renounced the Romish church.

Publike offences to be preferred before priuate.

We find, kinges haue forsaken their temporall kingdomes, vpon only respect of deuotion, and haue taken the apparell of meniles profession. Therefore let Christs Vicar (being a professour of most high holinesse) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honor, to the offence of all people, and the preiudice and

Answere to a popish obiection.

hurt of the Romish church, and the deuotion of it, and cutting away kingdomes from it. But if you say, it is not requisit that the cause of Gods church should bee called in controuersie, and therefore we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gain-sayeth it. To the which we answere, if it be the cause of God and the church, let the generall councel iudge of it: but if it be a pretensed cause (as almost all the world probably thinketh) if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather chuse a temporall death, the to suffer such a wauering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endlesse destruction of soules, to the offence of the whole world, and to an euerlasting shame of the apostolicall dignity. Did not Clement named or that I may more truly speake) ordained of S. Peter to the apostolike dignitie and to be bishop, resigne his right, that his deed might be taken of his successours for an example? Also pope Siricius gaue ouer his popedome to bee a comfort of the 11000. Virgins. Therefore much more ought you (if need require) giue ouer your popedome, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, euen to bloodshed: so is it sometimes necessarie for a man to winke at his owne cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that meanes better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a diuell, and Christs enemie of all men, that would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignitie and popedome, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, diuision of the church, the offence and losse of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known ne to all the world by Gods reuelation, to come to passe by such receiuing of the popedome and apostolicall dignitie: then by the like reason, why shall he not bee iudged of all men an apostata, and forsaker of his faith, which chuseth dignitie, or rather worldly honor, then the vnitie of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God which are scattered abroad: but such an enemie of God and the church wisheth his subiects bodilie to die in battell, and the more part of the world to perish in soule, rather then forsaking to be pope, to liue in a lower state, although it were honorable. If the feare of God, the desire of the heauenly kingdome, and the earnest loue of the vnitie of the church do moue your heart, shew in deed that your workes may beare record to the truth.

Pope resisted for his euill.

Vnitie of the church to be preferred before worldly dignitie.

The pope will not lose his dignitie, for any profit that can ensue.

Clement and Siricius most holy popes, for our sins are not reproued, but rather are reuerenced of all men, because they gaue ouer their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the church of holy men shew forth their praise. Likewise, your name should liue for euer and euer, if yee would do the like for a necessarie cause, that is to say, for the vnitie of Gods church. Giue no heed to the vnmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the right chusing of popes is lost, except ye defend your parts manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirrers vp of mischiefe looke for their owne commoditie or honor, that is to say, that vnder your wing they might bee promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Achitophel was led with Absolon in persecuting his owne father, and false vsurping of his kingdome.

Flatterers about the pope.

Furthermore, there should be no ieopardie to that election, because both parties sticke stiffie to the old fashion of election, and either of them couet the preeminence of the Romish church, counselling all christians to obey them. And although through their guiling ouer, the fashion of chusing the pope should bee changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather then to suffer anie longer this diuision in Gods church. For that fashion in chusing is not so necessarily required to the state of a pope, but the successour of the apostle as necessarie cause required, might come in at the doore by another fashion of chusing, and that canonicall enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers: for Peter the apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false vsurping of power, as we suppose. And it was thought, that that fashio of appointing popes, was lawfull vnto the time of pope Hilarie: Which decreed that no pope should appoint his successour.

Better that the order of the popes election should cease, then the church should suffer any diuision.

Bishops of Rome appointed their successors to their time of pope Hilarie.

Afterward, the election of the pope went by the clergie and people of Rome, and the emperours counsell agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the beleiued Gregorie. But Martinus pope with the consent of the holy Synode, granted Charle the power to chuse the pope. But of late Nicolas the second was the first whom Martine makes mention of in his councels, to be chosen by the cardinals. But all the bishops of Lumbardie (for the most part) withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying, that the pope ought not to be chosen, but of the precinct of Italie. Wherefore, we thinke it not a safe way so earnestly to sticke to the traditions of men, in the fashion of chusing the pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to breake Gods traditions concerning the vnitie of the church. Yea rather it were better yet to ordaine a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the same election might bee kept safe, if Gods honor were looked for afore your owne, and the peace of the church were vprightly sought: for such a dishonoring should bee the getting of a greater dignitie, and the willing deposing of your honor, should obtaine you the enuie of euerlasting honor, and should procure the loue of the whole world toward you, and you should deserue to be exalted continually, as Dauid was in humbling himselfe. O how monstrous a sight and how foule a monster is a mans bodie disfigured with two heads? So if it were possible, the spouse of Christ should be made so monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads: but that is not possible, shee is euer altogether faire, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster in of his second head: We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickednes in Gods house, that we should suffer Gods cote that wants a seame, by any meanes to be torne by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sunder. For if these two should bee suffred to raigne together, they would to betwixt them teare in pieces that little coate of the Lord, that scarse one piece would hang to another. They passe the wickednes of the souldiers that crucified Christ: for they willing to haue the coat remaine whole, said: Let vs not cut it, but let vs cast lots for it, whose it shall be. But these two popes suffring their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way (although not in words yet in deede) they pronounce this sentece: It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be diuided for they chose rather, as it appeareth, to be Lords (though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the vnitie of the church) then in leauing that lording, to seek for the peace of the church. We doe not affirme this, but we shew almost the whole iudgemēt of the world of the, being moued so to think by likely conIectures. We looked for amendment of this intollerable confusion, by the space that these two inuenters of this mischiefe liued. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble: for neither in their liues nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather dying as it were in a double betwixt two waies, left to their successors matters of contention continuall. But now for the space of seuen yeeres of their successors, that which we desired and looked for afore (that is, they should beare good grapes, and they bring forth wilde grapes) in this matter we fall into a deepe despaire. But in as much that we heare the comfort of the Lord, which promised that miserable he would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husband-men which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, hee hath promised faithfully that he will helpe his spouse in her need to the end of the world: and we leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope, contrarie to hope beleeuing, by Gods grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this miserie, when a conuenient time shall serue, as much as our kingly power is able, although our witte doth not perceiue how these things afore rehearsed may be amended: yet we being encouraged to this by the hope of Gods promise, will do our endeuour: like as Abraham beleeued, his son being slaine by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should encrease to the number of the stars, according to Gods promise. Now therefore the time drawes neere to make an end of this schisme, left a third election of a schismatick against the apostles successor make a custome of the doing, and so the pope of Auinion shal be double Romish pope, and he shall say with his partakers, as the Patriarch of Constantinople said vnto Christs vicar when he forsooke him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with vs. And is much to be feared of all christen men: For that Pharise begins now to be called the pope of Auinion among the people. But peraduenture it would be thought of some men, that it belōgeth not to secular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we answere, that naturally the members put themselues in ieopardie for to saue the head, and the parts labour to saue the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides should cleaue together, and should vphold themselues by course of time and occasion of things, they should correct one another and cleaue together tunablie. Did not Moses put downe Aaron, because he was vnfaithfull? Salomon put downe Abiathar, who came by lineall descent from Anatoth, and remoued his priesthood frō his kindred to the stock of Eliazar in the person of Sadocke which had his beginning frō Elie the priest? 3. Reg. 2. Otho emperour, deposed pope Iohn the 12. because he was lecherous. Henrie the emperour put downe Gratianus, because he vsed Simonie in buying and selling spirituall liuings. And Otho deposed pope Benner the first, because he thrust in himselfe. Therfore by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church: if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessitie of the church by this compel to helpe the church oppressed by tyrannie? In old time schismes which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes, as the schisme betwixt Symmachus & Laurece was ended in a councell before Theodoricus king of Italy. Henrie the emperour when two did striue to be pope, he deposed them both, and receiued the third being chosen at Rome to be pope, that is to say, Clement the second, which crowned him with the imperiall crowne. And the Romanes promised him that from thence forth they would promote none to bee pope without his consent. Alexander Iulie ouercame foure popes schismatickes, all which Fredericke the emperour corrected.

Should counsell bee had.

Christs seamelesse coat torne.

The popes compared to the souldiers that crucified Christ.

The king foreseeth here to prophecie of the desolation of the Romish pope.

The pope and Pharises, new crucifiers of Christ.

A godly purpose if it had been put in execution.

Secular princes are to bridle the outrages of the pope.

The popes vsurped iurisdiction neuer receiued in England, before a late yeares.

Ex lib. Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. Ex Mat. Paris, lib. de vita Hen.

Popes put downe by princes.

Thus looke on the register of popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schismes most commonly haue been decided by the powers of secular princes, the schismatickes cast out, and sometimes new popes made, & sometime the old ones cast out of



Lawfull that princes should withstand the tyrannie of the pope.

of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities againe. If it were not lawfull for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterward becomming a tyrant: in such a case he might oppresse ouermuch the Church, he might change christendome into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vaine, or else truely God should not haue prouided for his spouse in earth by all meanes as much as is possible by seruice of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsell you with such a louing affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest in working by this meanes ye prepare a way to antichrist, through your desire to beare rule, and so by this means as we feare the one of these two shall chance: either ye shall cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to haue the state of the Apostolicall dignitie; or, that is worse, the whole world despising the ruling of one shepheard, shall leaue the Romish church desolate. But God keepe this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the Church of God: for then that departing away which the Apostle prophecied, should come afore the comming of antichrist were at hand: which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receiue antichrist with honour. Consider therefore the state of your most excellent holinesse, how ye receiued the power from God to the building of the Church, and not to the destruction, that Christ hath giuen you wine and oyle to heale the wounded, and hath appointed you his vicar in these things as pertaine to gentlenesse, and hath giuen vs these things which serue to rigour. For we beare not the sword without a cause to the punishment of euill doers, the which power ordained of God we haue receiued, our selues being witnesse: beseeching you to receiue our counsell effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may returne to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweete with salt: left the axe swimme on the water and the wood sinke, and left the fruitfull Oliue degender into a wilde Oliue, and the leprosie of Naaman that Noble man, cleaue continually to the house of Giezy, and left the pope and the Pharises crucifie Christ againe. Christ the spouse of the Church, which was sent to bring the chiefe bishop into the holiest place, encrease your holines, or rather restore it being lost. Written, &c. *Ex Fragmento libri cuiusdam Dunelm.*

¶ This epistle of king Richard the 2. written to pope Boniface the 9. in the time of the schisme, about the yeere as appeareth 1397. as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsell to be followed, so how little he wrought with the pope, the sequell afterward declared. For the schisme notwithstanding continued long after, in which neither of the popes would giue ouer their holde, or yeeld any thing to good counsell giuen them, for any respect of publike wealth. Such a strobe beareth ambition in this apostolicall se, which we are wont so greatly to magnifie. But of this enough, which I leaue and referre to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not take vpon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of king Richards raigne, it remaineth, that as we did before in the time of king Edward the third, so here also we shew forth a summarie recapitulation of such parliaments all notes and proceedings, as then were practised by publike parliament in this kings time, against the iurisdiction of the bishop of Rome: to the intent, that such (if any such be) that thinke, or haue thought the receiuing of the popes double authozitie to be such an ancient thing within this realme, may diminish their opinion, as euidentlie map appeare by diuers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and inuesting of bishops by the king. As where king Oswin commanded Cedde to bee ordained archbishop of Yorke. Also where king Egfride caused Cuthbert to be brought to king Canute, and at his commandement was instituted bishop of the same se. Ex lib. Malmesb. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. And likewise Matth. Parisiensis testifieth, that king Henrie the third gaue the archbishopricke of Canturburie, to Rudulphus then bishop of London, and inuested him with staffe and ring. And the same king gaue the bishopricke of Winchester to William Giffard: and moreouer, following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endued him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishopricke (the contrarie statute of pope Vrbane, forbidding that clerks should receiue any Ecclesiasticall dignitie at the hand of princes, or of any lay person, to the contrarie notwithstanding, &c.) Innumerable examples of like sort are to be seene in ancient histories of this our realme. As also out of the parliament rolles in the time of king Edward the third, hath sufficiently been touched a little before. Wherunto also may be added the notes of such parliaments as haue been holden in the raigne of this present king Richard the second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

## ¶ Notes of certaine Parliaments holden in the raigne of King Richard the second, making against the Pope.

Ex Archiuis parliamentariis 9. An. I. Reg. Rich. 2. m. 65.

IN the first yeere of king Richard the second, in the parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the popes collectors bee willed no longer to gather the first fruits of benefices within this realme, being a verie noueltie, and that no person doe any longer pay them.

Item, that no man do procure any benefice by prouision from Rome, on paine to be out of the kings protection. Tit. 67.

Item, that no Englishman doe take to farme of any Alien, any ecclesiasticall benefice or prebend, on the like paine. In which bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had fire thousand pounds yeerely of such liuings in England. Tit. 68.

Item, that remedie might be had against the popes reseruations to dignities elective, the same being done against the treatie of the pope, taken with king Edward 3. Tit. 77.

In the second yeere of the said king Richard the second, it was by petition requested, that some order might bee taken touching Aliens, hauing the greatest part of the Church dignities in their hands. Wherunto the king answered, that by aduice of the lords, he would prouide therefore. Ex Anno 2. Tit. 72.

Item, it was enacted, that all the benefices of Cardinals and other rebels to pope Vrbane that now is, shall be seased into the kings hands. Tit. 73.

An Act that pope Vrbane was true and lawfull pope, and that the liuings of all Cardinals and other rebels to the said pope, should bee seased into the kings hands, and the king bee answered of the profits thereof: And that whosoeuer within this realme, shall procure or obtaine any prouision or other instrument from any other pope then the same Vrbane, shall be out of the kings protection. Tit. 78.

Moreouer, in the third yeere of king Richard the second, the prelats and clergie made their protestation in this Parliament peaceablie against a certaine note or grant, to wit, their exactions: That the same neuer should passe with their assent and good will, to the blemishing of the liberties of the Church, if by that word extortion, they meant any thing largelie to proceed against Ordinaries and others of the Church. But if they meant none otherwise to deale hereafter therein, then before that time had been done, then would they consent. Wherevnto it was replied for the king, that neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalfe, the king would stay to grant to his Iustices in that case, and all other cases, as was vsed to bee done in times past, and was bound to doe by vertue of his oth done at his coronation. Ex 1. Anno Reg. Rich. 2. Here note well a strange proceeding. But marke the strange euent.

Furthermore, in the fourth yeere of the said king Richard the second, it was requested, that prouision might be had against the popes collectors, for leuying of the first fruits of ecclesiasticall dignities within the realme. Tit. 44.

Item, that all priors Aliens might bee remoued out of their houses, and licensed to depart, and neuer to reuert. And that English men may be placed in their liuings, answering the king as they did. Tit. 46.

And in the 9. yeere of the foresaid king touching matter of the Staple: the speaker of the Parliament pronounced, that he thought best the same were planted within the realme, considering that Calis, Burges, and other townes beyond the seas, grew very rich thereby, and good townes here very much decayed, and so much for the conuaion profit. Touching the king, hee affirmed that the subsidie and custome of wooll yeelded more to the king when the staple was kept in England by one thousand markes yeerely, then it did now being holden beyond the seas. Ex 9. Anno eiusdem Regis. Tit. 4.

Item: that inquisition and redresse might bee had against such religious persons, as vnder the licence to purchase 10. li. yeerely, doe purchase 80. li. or 100. li. Tit. 36.

Item, that all clerks aduanced to any ecclesiasticall dignitie or liuing by the king, will grant to the king the first fruits of their liuings, none otherwise then they would haue done to the pope, being aduanced by him. Tit. 44.

In the 11. yeere of king Richard the second, it was put by by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the popes bulles of Volumus and imponimus of the translations of B.B. and such like, might bee imployed on the kings warres against the schismatickes of Scotland. And that such as bring into the realme the like bulles and nouelties, may be repuled for traitors. Tit. 26.

In the 12. yeere of his raigne, followed another Parliament, in which, although the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, for them and the whole clergie of their prouinces, made their solemne protestations in open Parliament, that they in no wise meant or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the popes authozitie, but vtterly withstood the same, willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled: yet the said protestation of theirs at that time tooke no great effect. An. 13. Regis Rich. 2. Tit. 24.

Item, in the same Parliament was put vp by publike petition, that the popes collectors should bee commanded to auoid the Realme within 40. daies, or elle to be taken as the kings enemie, and that euery such collector from henceforth, may be an Englishman, and sworne to execute the statutes made in this Parliament. Tit. 34.

Moreouer, in the said Parliament, the yeere abouesaid of the king, the 26. of Ianuarie, 9. Iohn Wyndour Clerke was charged openly in the Parliament, that he should not passe, ne send ouer to Rome, ne attempt or do any thing there touching

the Archdeaconrie of Durham in preiudice of the king, & of his lawes, & the party presented thereto by the king, on perill that might ensue.

Ex an 14. R. 2. Statut. secund. cap. 2. & 6. Item, the next yeere following, which was the 14. of this kings raigne, it was enacted first touching the staplers, that after the feast of the Epiphany next ensuing, that the staple should be remoued from Calice into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in 27. Edw. 3. the which statute should be fully executed: and further, that euery Alien that bringeth merchandize into the Realme, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away commodities of the Realme, to halfe the value of his said merchandize.

Tithes. Against vsurie. Item, in the same Parliament petition was made, that against the horrible vice of vsurie, then termed shifts, practised as well by the clergie as laitie, the order made by John Notte, late Maior of London, might be executed throughout the Realme.

Ex tit. 29. Moreouer, in the 15 yeere of the raigne of the foresaid king it was accorded, for that Sir William Brian knight had purchased from Rome a Bull directed from the Archbishops of Canturbury and Yorke, to excommunicate such as had broken vp his house, and had taken away diuers letters, priuileges, and charters: the same Bull being read in the Parliament house, was adiudged prudicial to the kings crowne, and in derogation of the lawes, for the which he was by the king and assent of the lords committed to the Tower, there to remaine at the kings will and pleasure.

Pride & insolencie. Title 29. In the said Parliament also, William Archbishop of Canturbury maketh his protestation in the open Parliament, saying, that the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to entermeddle, for, or touching any presentment to any ecclesiasticall dignitie recouered in any the kings courts. He further protested, that the Pope ought to make no translation to any Bishoprieke within the Realme against the kings will: for that the same was to the destruction of the Realme and crowne of England, which hath alway beene so free, as the same hath had none earthly soueraigne, but onely subiect to God in all things touching regalities, and to none other. The which protestation he prayed might be entred.

Ex An. 17. Reg. Richa. Title 33. In the 17. yeere of the raigne of the king aforesaid, it was desired that remedie might be had against such religious persons as caused their villaines or vnderlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious mens hands by collusion.

43. Item, that sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may dwell on the same, so as their flocke for want thereof doe not perish.

47. Item, that remedy might be had against the Abbats of Colchester and Abington, who in the townes of Colchester and Colnham claime to haue sanctuarie.

Ex an. 20. Reg. Richa. Title 1. To come to the Parliament holden in the 20. yeere of this kings raigne: we find moreouer in the said rolles, how that the Archbishops of Canturbury and Yorke, for themselues and the clergy of their prouinces, declared to the king in open Parliament, that for as much as they were bounde to the Pope and Sea of Rome, if any thing were in the Parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise attent thereto, but verily withstand the same; the which their protestation they require to be enrolled.

Vpon the petition of the begging Friers there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should passe ouer the seas, without licence of his Soueraigne, nor that he should take vpon him any order of S. of Diuinitie, vnlesse he were first approued in his Chapter prouinciall, on paine to be put out of the kings protection.

Title 31.

Item, that the kings officers for making arrests or attachments in Churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; where of remedy was required.

Title 36.

Ex an. 20. Reg. Richa. tit. 15. In the yeere of the same kings raigne 21. the Parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the commons in full Parliament, accused Thomas Arundell Archbishop of Canturbury, for that he as Chancellor procured, and as chiefe doer executed the same commission, made traiterously in the tenth yeere of the king. And also that he the said Archbishop procured the Duke of Glocester and the Earles of Arundell and Marwicke, to intend to themselues royall power, and to iudge to death Simon de Burley, and sir John Berners without the kings assent. Wherevnto the Commons required that the same Archbishop might rest vnder safe keeping: whereunto, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person, they would be aduised.

Ex tit. 16. Item, the 25. day of September, the Commons prayed the king to giue iudgement against the said Archbishop, according to his desires. The king answered, that priuately the said Archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistooke himselfe in the said Commission, and therefore submitted himselfe to the kings mercy: Wherefore the king, lords, and sir Thomas Percy, prayed for the clergie, abridged the fact of the said Archbishop to be treason, and himselfe a traitour, and therefore it was ordered, that the said Archbishop should be banished, his temporalties seased, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vse as in possession.

Sentence pronounced against Tho. Arundell Archbishop of Canturbury for his banishment.

The king further prescribed, that he said Archbishop should take his passing on Friday within fiue weekes of Pentichalmas, at Douer, towards the parts of France. Ex tit. 17.

Thus hauing briefly to sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as haue hapned in the raigne of this king, necessarie for the Church to know, by course of storie: we came now to the 22. yeere of king Richards raigne, which is the yeere of our Lord, 1399. In the which yeere hapned the strange and also lamentable deposing of this king Richard the second aforesaid, from his kingly scepter. Strange, for that the like example hath not often beene seene in estates roiall. Lamentable, for that it cannot be but grieuous to any good mans heart, to see him either so to deserue, if he were iustly deposed: or if he were vniustly deprived, to see the kingly title there not able to hold his right, where by force, it is compelled to giue place to might. Anno 1399. The deposing of king Richard the second. The diuers dealings and fame inable.

As concerning the order and processe of whose deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the kings records, in the Chronicle of S. Albans, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof: What were the conditions and properties of this king, partly before hath beene touched. In whom, as some good vertues may be noted, so also some vices may seeme to be mixed withall. But especially this, that he flattring out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them, which take part with the Gospell. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind wheele of fortune, but by the secret hand of him, which directeth all estates: that as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the Gospell of God, so the Lord beganne to forsake him. And where the protection of God begunneth to fade, there can lacke no causes to be charged withall, whom God once giueth ouer to mans punishment. So that to me, conferring the whole life and trade of this Prince, among all other causes alledged in stories against him, none seemeth so much to be weighed of vs, as most hurtfull to him, then this forsaking of the Lord and his word. Although to such as list more to be certified in other causes concurring withall, many and sundry defects in that king may appeare in stories to the number of 33. Articles alledged or forced rather against him. Cities and townes mis-vsed by king Richard. What it is to forsake the maintenance of the Gospell. Articles 33. laid against king Richard.

In which, as I cannot denie, but that he was worthy of much blame, so to be displaced therefore from his regall seat, and rightfull state of the crowne, it may be thought perhaps the causes not to be seuere, or so materiall in a Prince, which ere they could or else would haue serued: had not he giuen ouer before to serue the Lord and his word, chusing rather to serue the humour of the pope and bloudy prelates, then to further the Lords proceedings in preaching of his word. And then, as I said, how can enimies lacke where God standeth not to friend: or what cause can be so little which is not able inough to cast downe, where the Lords arme is hoisted to sustaine? Wherefore, it is a point of principall wisedome in a Prince, not to forget, that as he standeth aloofe in rede of God his helping hand, so all waies to haue the assistance and fauor of him before his eies, according to the counsell of the godly king Dauid, Psalme 2. Gods speciall fauour requisite for princes.

And thus much touching the time and race of this King Richard, with the tragicall storie of his deposing. The order and maner whereof purposely I pretermit, onely contented briefely to lay together a few speciall things done before his fall, such as may be sufficient in a briefe summe, both to satisfie the Reader inquisitiue of such stories, and also to forewarne other Princes to beware the like dangers. In such as write the life and acts of this Prince, thus I read of him reported: that he was much inclined to the fauouring and aduancing of certaine persons about him, and ruled all by their counsell, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the Realme: The names of whom were Robert Vere Earle of Oxford, whom the king had made Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill Archbishop of Yorke, Michael Delapole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Tresilian lord chiefe Iustice, Nicolas Brembre, with other. The king led with lewd counsell.

These men, being hated and disdained of diuers of the nobles, and of the commons, the king also by fauouring them, was lesse fauoured himselfe. In so much, that the Duke of Glocester, named Thomas Woodstocke the kings Vncle, with the Earle of Warwicke and Earle of Darby, stood vp in armes against those counsellers and abuters (as they named them) of the king. In so much that the king for feare was constrained against his minde to remoue out of his court Alexander Neuill Archbishop of Yorke, John Foxde Bishop of Duresme, Frier Thomas Rushoke Bishop of Chichester the kings confessor, with the lord Haringworth, lord Burnell, and Scroope, lord Tere, and diuers other. The Nobles vp in armes against certaine of the kings Counsellers.

And further more, in the Parliament the same yeere following, Robert Tresilian the Iustice was hanged & drawne. Also Nicolas Brembre knight, James Salisburie also, and James Barnes both knights, John Beuchamp the kings Steward, and John Blake Esquire in like maner. All these by the counsell of the lords being cast in the Parliament against the kings minde, did suffer, which was in the 11. of his raigne, Ex Chron. Albani. Ex Thom. Walsing. Ex Chron. Albani.



raigne, he being yet vnder gouernours: but consequently after the same, the king claiming his owne libertie, being come to the age of 20. began to take more vpon him. And this was one thing that stirred vp the kings stomacke against the Nobles. Ex Chron. Albani.

2. Another thing that stirred him vp as much against the Londoners was this, for that he would haue borrowed of them a thousand pound, and they denied him, to their double and triple disaduantage, as after ensued vpon it. Ibidem. Another occasion besides this, betweene the king and the Londoners hapned thus, by reason of one of the bishop of Salisburies seruants, named Roman, and a bakers man: who then carying a basket of hose bread in Fleetstreet, the foresaid Roman stole a hose loafe out of the basket. The baker asking why he did so, the thapsilesse yeoman turned backe againe and brake his head: whereupon the neighbors came out, and would haue arrested this Roman, but he escaped away vnto the bishops house. Then the Constable would haue had him out, but the bishops men shut fast the gates, that they should not approach. Thus, much people gathered together, threatning to burst open the gates and fire the house, vnlesse they had the foresaid partie to them brought out. Whereby much adoe there was, till at length the Maior and Sheriffes came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent euery man home to his house, charging them to keepe peace. Here as yet was no great harme done, but if the bishop for his part had been quiet, and had not stirred the coles of debate, which were well slaked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomacke of the bishop not yet digested (although his man had done the wrong) hauing no great cause so to do, whose name was John Waltam, being then Threasurer of England, went to Thomas Arundel, archbishop the same time of Yorke, and Lord Chancellor of England, to complaine of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather reuealed by the way a priuie mysterie, which although it lie hid in this storie touched of the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously knowen to be fauourers of Wickliffes side, as partly before this is to be seene, and in the storie of S. Albanes more plainely both appeare: Where the author of the said historie writing vpon the 15. yeere of king Richards raigne, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were Male creduli in deum & traditiones suitas, Lollardorum fautentatores, religiosorum detractores, facinorum detectores, & communis vulgi depaperatores, &c. that is, not right beleeuers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, fauourers of the Lollards, depauers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impouerishers of the common people, &c. John Waltam bishop of Salisburie maketh complaint to Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke. Londoners fauourers of Wickliffes doctrine. Ex hister. D. Albani, cuius fi. lebet initium, Augusto, &c.

Thus the Londoners being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more maliced (no doubt therefore) of the said bishops, which were the more ready to finde and take all occasions to worke against them, as by their doing herein may well appeare. For the bishop of Salisburie, and Archbishop of Yorke, hauing no greater matter against them, then was declared: with a grieuous complaint went to the king, complaining of the Maior and Sheriffes of London. What trespasse the Maior and Sheriffes had done, as pe haue heard before, to may you iudge. Now what followed after let vs heare. The king incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceiued displeasures against the Maior and Sheriffes, and against the whole Citie of London, a great stomacke: In so much that the Maior and both the Sheriffes were sent for, and removed from their office. Sir Edward Darlington then was made warden and gouernor of the citie, who also for his gentlenesse shewed to the citizens, was also deposed, and another named sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that rome. Moreouer, so much grew the kings displeasure against the citie, that he also removed from London the courts, and termes to be kept at Yorke, that is to say, the Chancerie, the Eschequer, the kings Bench, the Hamper, and the common Pleas: where the same continued from Midsummer till Chrislinas, to the great decay of the citie of London: which was an. 1393. Londoners complained of to the king, by the bishops. Beati pacifici. The king led with lewd counsell. The court removed from London to Yorke.

3. Another great cause which purchased the king much euill will amongst his subiects, was the secret murthering of his owne vncle named Thomas Woodstocke, duke of Glocester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwicke, and the earle of Darby, with other were vp in armes against certaine wicked counsellors about the king. Whereupon, the king watching afterward his time, came into Chelmesford, and so to the place where by, where the duke lay: where with his own hands he arrested the said duke his vncle, and sent him bolne by water immediatlie to Calice, and there through the kings commandement, by secret meanes was put to death, being strangled vnder a featherbed, the earle marshal being then the keeper of Calis, whereby great indignation rose in many mens hearts against the king. Ex tit. 17. Ex tit. 16. Ex tit. 17. Ex tit. 16. Ex tit. 17. Ex tit. 16

King Richard agreeth to resigne his crowne.

and seward of his houshold, willing him with other of his familie, to provide for themselues in time. Who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding euery man to shift for himselfe. Although Fabian and some other say, that he did this of his owne accord, contrarie to his allegeance. The king compassed on euery side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the duke still following him, till at length being at the castle of Conewey, the king deliuered to the lords Thomas Arundell archbishop, and the earle of Northumberland: to whom he declared, that he would resigne vp his crowne, in condition that an honorable liuing might be for him prouided, and like promised to eight persons, such as he would name. Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint, where (after talke had with the duke of Lancaster) he was brought the same night by the duke and his armie to Chester, and from thence was conueyed secretly into the tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way as he came were to London, diuers still disposed men of the citie being warned thereof, gathered themselues, thinking to haue slaine him, for the great crueltie he had vsed before toward the citie; but by the policies of the Maior and rulers of the citie, the madnesse of the people was staied. Not long after followed the duke, and alls began the parliament. In which parliament, the earle of Northumberland, with many other earles and lords were sent to the king in the tower, to take of him a full resignation according to his former promise, and so they did. This done, diuers accusations and articles were laid and engrossed against the said king, to the number of thirtie three, some say thirtie eight, which for the matter not greatly materiall in them contained, I ouerpasse. And the next yeare after was had to Pontfret castle, and there famished to death.

The king committed to the tower.

## ¶ King Henrie the fourth.

AFter thus king Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightfull crowne, the duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundell the archbish p, to the seate royall: who there stood, regarding, and crossing himselfe on the forehead and the brest, spake in words as followeth.

The words of Henrie duke, at his first entring the crowne.

¶ In the name of God, Amen. I Henrie of Lancaster, claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood coming from that good lord king Henrie the third. And through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me with the help of my kin, and of my friends to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernance, and due justice, &c.

Henrie Henrie the fourth inthroned and crowned. Anno 1400

¶ After which words, the Archbishop asking the assent of the people, being ioyfull of their new king, take the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly throne, which was an. 1399. and shortly after by the foresaid archbishop he was crowned also for king of England. Ex Chron. De Alban.

William Sautre marty.

The next yeare after, followed a parliament holden at Westminster: in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithfull priest, inflamed with zeale of true religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realme. But the matter being stirelt before by the bishops, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the conuocation: where the said William Sautre being brought before the Bishops and Notaries thereunto appointed, the conuocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

William Sautre brought before the Bishops in the conuocation.

Then Saturday was come, that is to say, the twelfth day of February, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of his councel prouincial being assembled in the said Chapter house, against one sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris chaplaine personally there and there appearing by the commandement of the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie, obicted; that the said Sir William before the bishop of Norwich, had once renounced and abiured diuers and sundrie conclusions hereticall and erroneous; and that after such abiuration made, he publikely and priuily held, taught and preached the same conclusions, or else such like, disagreeing to the Catholike faith and to the great perill and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such like conclusions holden and preached, as is said, by the said Sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read vnto the said archbishop, by master Robert Hall, chancellor vnto the said bishop, in a certaine scrole written, in tenor of words as followeth.

The articles of William Sautre.

Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, parish Priest of the church Saint Scithe the Virgine in London, publikelie and priuilie doth hold these conclusions vnder written.

¶ In primis, he saith that he will not worship the crosse on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered vpon the crosse.

2 Item, that he would sooner worship a temporall king, then the foresaid wodden crosse.

3 Item, that he would rather worship the bodies of the Saints, then the very crosse of Christ, on which he hung, if it were before him.

4 Item, that he would rather worship a man truely contrite, then the crosse of Christ.

5 Item, that he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, then an angell of God.

6 Item, that if any man would visite the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the Tombe of Saint Thomas, or else any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporall benefit: he is not bound to keepe his vow, but that he may distribute the expences of his vow vpon the almes of the poore.

7 Item, that euery Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonicall houres.

8 Item, that after the pronouncing of the Sacramentall words of the bodie of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

To which conclusions or articles being thus read, the Archbishop of Canturburie required the same Sir William to answere. And then the said William asked a copie of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answere vnto the same. Whereupon the said Archbishop commanded a copie of such articles or conclusions to be deliuered, then and there vnto the said Sir William, assigning the Thursday then next ensuing to him to deliberate and make answere in. When Thursday the said day of appearance was come, Master Nicolas Ashton, auditor of the causes and businesse belonging to the said Archbishop (then being in the Parliament house at Westminster otherwise let) continued the said conuocation with all matters rising, depending and appertinent thereunto, by commandement of the said bishop, vntill the next morrow at eight of the clocke. When the morrow came, being Friday, the foresaid sir William Sautre, in the chapter house before the said bishop and his councell prouincial then and there assembled, making his personall appearance, exhibited a certaine scrole containing the answere vnto certaine articles or conclusions given vnto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop: and said, that vnto the foresaid archbishop he deliuered the same as his answere in that behalfe, vnder the tenor of such words as ensue.

The conuocation continued. W. Sautre examined.

The answere of William Sautre giuen vp in writing.

I William Sautre priest vnworthie, say and answere, that I will not, nor intend not to worship the crosse whereon Christ was crucified, but onely Christ that suffered vpon the crosse: so vnderstanding me, that I will not worship the materiall crosse, for the grosse corporall matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship the same as a signe, token, and memorial of the passion of Christ. *Adoramus signum.* And that I will rather worship a temporall king, then the foresaid wodden crosse, as the materiall substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of Saints, then the very crosse of Christ whereon he hung: with this addition, that if the very same crosse were afore me, as touching the materiall substance. And also that I will rather worship a man truely confessed and penitent, then the crosse on which Christ hung, as touching the materiall substance.

The crosse materially not to be worshipped.

A man predestinate rather to be worshipped, then an Angell that is to say, neither can be worshipped without idolatrie.

And, that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truely confessed and contrite, then an angell of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature that is the humanitie of Christ, and so is not a blessed angell. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the Apostles Peter and Paul, or to goe on pilgrimage vnto S. Thomas tombe, or any whither else to obtaine any temporall benefit or commoditie; he is not bound simplie to keepe his vow, vpon the necessitie of saluation: but that he may giue the expences of his vow in almes amongst the poore, by the prudent counsell of his superiour, as I suppose.

And also I say, that euery Deacon and Priest is more bound to preach the word of God, then to say the canonicall houres according to the primitiue order of the church.

How bread remaineth in the Sacrament.

Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar; I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simplie, but remaineth bread, holy, true, & the bread of life: and I beleeue the said sacrament to be the very bodie of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words.

When all these answeres were throughlie by Maister Robert Hall, directlie and publiclie there read, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie inquired of the said Sir William, whether he had deliuered the foresaid heresies and errors obicted against him, as before is said, before the bishop of Norwich, or not; or else had reuoked and renounced the said or such like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed, that he had not. And then consequentlie (all other articles, conclusions and answeres aboue written, immediatlie omitted) the said archbishop examined the same sir William Sautre, especiallie vpon the sacrament of the altar.

First, whether in the sacrament of the altar after the pronouncing of the sacramentall words, remaineth very materiall bread or not. Vnto which interrogation, the same sir William somewhat waueringly said, and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he said, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came downe from heauen.

After that the said archbishop demanded of him, whether in the Sacrament after the sacramentall words, rightlie pronounced of the priest, the same bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not? And to this question the foresaid William answered in like manner as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

After that, the foresaid archbishop asked him, whether the same materiall bread before consecration, by the sacramentall words of the priest rightly pronounced, bee transubstantiated from the nature of bread, into the very bodie of Christ, or not? Whereunto sir William said, that he knew not what that matter meant.

And then the said archbishop assigned vnto the said sir William, time to deliberate, and more fullie to make his answere till the next day: and continued this conuocation then and there till the morrow. Which morrow, to wit, the 19. day of Februarie being come, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie, in the said chapter house of saint Paul in London, before his councell prouincial, then and there assembled, specialie asked and examined the same sir William Sautre there personally present, vpon the Sacrament of the altar, as before. And the same sir William againe in like manner as before, answered.

After this, amongst other things the said bishop demanded of the same William, if the same materiall bread being vpon the altar after the sacramentall words being of the priest rightlie pronounced, is transubstantiated into the verie bodie of Christ, or not? And the said sir William said hee vnderstood not what he meant.

Then the said archbishop demanded, whether that materiall bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the Sacrament of the bodie of Christ vpon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requisit thereunto, by the vertue of the sacramentall words being of the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very bodie of Christ, and receiueth any more to be materiall and very bread, or not? Then the said sir William deridingly answering, said hee could not tell.

Determination of the church to be followed as it is ioyned to the will of God.

Then consequently the said archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth: that in the Sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, being rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread which before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread. To this interrogation, the said sir William said: that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrarie to the will of God.

This done; he demanded of him againe, what his iudgement was concerning the Sacrament of the altar: Who said and affirmed, that after the words of consecration by the priest duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the same bread which was before the words spoken. And this examination about the Sacrament, lasted from eight of the clocke of the same day, vntill eleuen of the clocke, or thereabouts: insomuch, that during all this time, the foresaid William would no otherwise answere: neither yet touching the same Sacrament, reuerne catholike information, according to the institution of the popes church and his christian faith. Wherefore the said Canturburie, by the counsell and assent of his whole couent then and there present, did promulgate and giue sentence by the mouth of Robert Hall, against the same sir William Sautre (being personalie present, and refusing to reuoke his heresies, that is to say his true doctrine, but constantly defending the same) vnder the tenour of words as followeth.

The sentence against W. Sautre.

IN the name of God, Amen. Wee Thomas by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primat of England and Legate of the sea Apostolicall, by the authoritie of God almightie and blessed saint Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our owne authoritie sitting for tribunall or chiefe Iudge, hauing God alone before our eies; by the counsell and consent of the whole Clergie our fellow brethren, and suffragans assistants vnto vs in this present councell prouincial, by this our sentence definitiue, do pronounce, decree and declare by these presents, thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chawtrey, parish priest pretented, personallie appearing before vs, in & vpon the crime of heresie iudiciallie and lawfullie conuict as an heretike, and as an heretike to be punished.

Which sentence definitiue being thus read; the foresaid archbishop of Cant. continued in the same prouinciall councell till Wednesday next, and immediatly ensuing, to wit, the 24. day of the same moneth of Februarie: which being expired, the bishop of Norwich, according to the commandement of the said archbishop of Canturburie, presented vnto the foresaid William Sautre by a certaine friend of his, being present at the same councell, a certaine processe inclosed and sealed with his seale, giuing the names of credible witnesses sealed with their seales: The tenour whereof followeth in this wise.

Memorandum, that vpon the last day of April, in the yere



of our Lord, 1399. in the 7. indiction, and 10. yere of the pacie of pope Boniface the 2. in a certaine chamber within the manor house of the said bishop of Norwich, at South Heylingham (where the register of the said bishop is kept) before the houre of 9. in a certaine chapell within the said manour situate, and the first day of May, then next and immediatlie ensuing, in the foresaid chamber, sir William Chatteris, parish priest of the church of S. Margaret in the towne of Lunne, appeared before the bishop of Norwich, in the presence of John de Derlington, archdeacon of Norwich, doctor of the decrees, frier Walter Disse, and John Kiluinghall professors in diuinitie, William Carleton, doctor of both lawes, and William Friseby, with Hugh Wisham, publike Notaries: and there publikely affirmed and held, the conclusions, as before is specified.

A certaine processe against W. Sautre presented by the bishop of Norwich.

All and singuler the premises the foresaid William affirmed vpon mature deliberation. And afterwards, to wit, the 19. day of May in the yere, indiction, and papacie aforesaid, in the chapell within the manour house of the said Henrie bishop of Norwich, situate at South Heylingham; the foresaid sir William, reuoked and renounced all and singuler the foresaid his conclusions: abiuring and correcting all such heresies and errours, taking his oth vpon a booke before the foresaid Henrie the bishop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would neuer preach, affirme, nor hold openly nor apertly, the foresaid conclusions: And that he would pronounce according to the appointment of the said bishop, the foresaid conclusions to bee erroneous and heresies, in the parish churches of Lunne, and Tilney, and in other places at the assignement of the said bishop: and farther sware, that he would stand to the ordinance of the said bishop, touching the premisses, in the presence of the discreet and worshipfull men afore recited with diuers other moe.

As concerning the first conclusion, that hee said hee would not worship the crosse, &c. hee confessed himselfe to haue erred, and that the article was erroneous and submitted himselfe. And as touching the second article, that he said he would rather worship a king, &c. he confessed himselfe to haue erred, and the article to be erroneous, and submitted himselfe, and so forth of all the rest.

Then next after this, vpon the 25. day of May in the yere of our Lord aforesaid, in the Churchyard of the chapell of saint James within the towne of Lunne; the foresaid William, in presence of the foresaid bishop and clergie, and the people of the said towne of Lunne standing round about; publikely declared in the English tongue, the foresaid conclusions to bee erroneous and heresies, as was contained in a certaine scrole. And after this, the 26. day of May in the yere above said, in the church of the hospitall of S. Johns in the towne of Lunne; the said sir William, before the said bishop sitting as iudge, sware and toke his oth vpon the holy Euangelists, that hee would neuer after that time preach openly and publikely the foresaid conclusions, nor would beare the confessions of any of the subiects of his diocs of Norwich, without the speciall licence of the said bishop, &c. In the presence of frier John Somermen, M. John Kilninghale, doctor of diuinitie. W. Carlton doctor of both lawes, and Thomas Bulton officer of the liberty of Lunne aforesaid, with diuers others.

The tenour of the scrole and recantation.

IN primis, touching the first and second, where I said, that I would adore rather a temporall prince, and the linele bodies of the saints, then the woodden crosse, whereupon the Lord did hang, I doe reuoke and recant the same as being therein deceiued. 1 2

To this I say, that the article is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; the which I renounce and aske forgiuenesse thereof, and say, that it is a precious relique, and that I shall hold it while I liue, and that I sweare here. 3

I know well that I erred wrongfullie, by false information: for I wot well, that a deacon or a priest is more bound to say his Mattins and houres, then to preach; for thereto hee is bounden by right: wherefore I submit me, &c. 4

Touching that article, I know right well that I erred by false information. Wherefore I aske forgiuenesse. 5

As concerning vowes, I say, that opinion is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it: for a man is holden to hold his vow, &c. 6

To the 7. article I say, that I did it by authoritie of priesthood, wherethrough I knowledge well that I haue gilt and trespassed: wherefore I submit me to God and to holy Church, and to you father, sweating that I shall neuer hold it more. 7

The 8. I say, that I held it by false and wrong information. But now I know well that it is hereste, and that bread anon as the word of the sacrament is said, is no longer bread materiall, but that it is turned into very Christs bodie; and that I sweare here. 8

I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c. 9

I say as I said, &c. 10

This being done, the 22. of Februarie aforesaid in the yere of our Lord. 1400. in the chapter house of Saint Paul in London aforesaid; the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie, in

Processe against William Sautre.

in the consecration of his prelats and clergie and such like men there being present, caused the foresaid processe of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publikely to sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris. And afterward, he asked the said sir William, whether hee plainely understood and knew such processe and the contents within the same; and hee said, yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or object any thing against the processe; and hee said, no. And after that incontinent, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie demanded and obiected against the said sir William, as diuers others more did: That after hee had before the bishop of Norwich reuoked and abiured iudicially diuers errors and heresies, that among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed: That in the same Sacrament of the altar after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained materiall bread: which heresie amongst others as erroneus also he abiured before the foresaid bishop of Norwich. Hereunto the foresaid William answered smiling or in mocking wise, saying, and denying that he knew of the premisses. Notwithstanding he publikely affirmed, that he held and taught the foresaid things after the date of the said processe made by the said bishop of Norwich, and that in the same councell also he held the same. Then finallie, it was demanded of the said sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresie, and further to proceed both to his degradation, according to the canonicall sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he alleage any cause to the contrarie.

Ex Regist. Cantuar.

Whereupon the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury by the counsell and consent of the whole councell, and especially by the counsell and assent of thereuerend fathers and bishops as also priors, deanes, archdeacons, and other worshipfull doctours and clerks then and there present in the councell: fullie determined to proceed to the degradation, and actuall deposing of the said William Sautre, as reallen into heresie, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence definitive put in writing, the tenour whereof is in words as followeth.

Sentence of relaps.

In the name of God Amen: Wee Thomas by the grace of God archbishop of Canturbury, Legate of the see Apostolical, and Metropolitane of all England: doe finde and declare, that thou William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris priest, by vs with the counsell and assent of all and singuler our fellow brethren and whole clergie, by this our sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for heresie conuict and condemned, and art (being againe fallen into heresie) to be deposed and degraded, by these presents.

And from that day being Wednesday, there was in the said councell proiuntcall nothing further proiocuted, but was continued with all dependents, till the Friday nert insuing. Which Friday approching, maister Nicolas Ryshton, by the commandement of the said archbishop of Canturburie, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house; continued this councell and conuocation with all incidents, dependents, and accessions, growing and annexed hereunto, to the nert day, to wit, Saturday nert and immediatly after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26. of the said moneth of February, the foresaid archbishop of Canturburie sate in the bishops seate of the foresaid church of S. Paul in London, and solemnely apparelled in his pontificall attire, sitting with him as his assistants, these reuerend fathers and bishops, of Londō, Lincolne, Hereford, Exeter, Menenensis & Roffensis Episcopi, aboue mentioned; commanded and caused the said sir Wm. Sautry apparelled in priestly vestments, to bee brought and appeare before him. That done, he declared & expounded in English to al the clergy and people there in a great multitude assembled: that all processe was finished and ended against the said sir Wil. Sautry. Which thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of the Relapse against the said sir William, as is premised, hee often times and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said William in that behalfe, nothing abashed; hee proceeded to his degradation and actuall deposition in forme as followeth.

Sentence of degradation.

In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti: Wee Thomas by Gods permission archbishop of Canturbury, primate of all England, and Legate of the apostolike see; doe denounce thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chautris, chaplaine fained, in the habite and apparell of a priest, as an heretike, and one relallen into heresie by this our sentence definitive, by counsell, assent and authoritie, to be condemned: and by conclusion of al our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, prelats, councell prouincial, and of the whole clergie; doe degrade and deprive thee of thy priestly order. And in signe of degradation and actuall deposition from thy priestly dignitie, for thine incorrigible vice and want of amendment: We take from thee the patent and chalice; and doe deprive thee of all power and authoritie of celebrating the masse: and also we pull from thy backe the casule, and take from thee the vestiment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly hanor.

The patent and chalice taken from him.

Also, we Thomas the aforesaid archbishop by authoritie, counsell and assent, which vpon the foresaid William we haue, being deacon pretensed, in the habit and apparell of a deacon, having the new Testament in thy hands, being an heretike, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid; doe degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, wee take from thee the booke of the new Testament, and the stole, and doe deprive thee of all authoritie in reading of the Gospell, and of all and all manner of dignitie of a deacon.

The booke of the new Testament taken from him.

Item, we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsell, and assent, which ouer thee the foresaid William wee haue, being a subdeacon pretensed; in the habite and vestiment of a subdeacon, an heretike, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid; doe degrade and put thee from the order of a subdeacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and doe deprive thee of all, and all manner of subdiaconicall dignity.

The albe taken from him.

Also, we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by counsell, assent and authoritie which we haue ouer thee the foresaid William, an Acolyte pretensed, wearing the habite of an Acolyte, and heretike, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned; doe degrade and put from thee all order of an Acolyte. And in signe and token of this thy degradation, and actuall deposition, we take from thee the candlestiche and taper, and also Vrceolum, and doe deprive thee of all, and all manner dignitie of an Acolyte.

The candle sticke and taper taken from him.

Also we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell and authoritie, which vpon thee the foresaid William we haue, an Exorcist pretensed, in the habite of an Exorcist or holy water clerke, being an heretike, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned; wee doe degrade and depose thee from the order of an Exorcist. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thee the book of conjurations, and doe deprive thee of all and singuler dignitie of an Exorcist.

The holy water booke conjured from him.

Also, we Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsell, and authoritie, as is aboueſaid, doe degrade and depose thee the foresaid William, reader pretensed, clothed in the habite of a reader, an heretike, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned; from the order of a reader. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, we take from thee the booke of the diuine lections (that is, the booke of the Church legend) and doe deprive thee of all and singuler manner of dignitie of such a reader.

De mamerth the legend booke, as fairly the Register.

Item, we Thomas, archbishop of Canturburie aforesaid, by authoritie, counsell, and assent, the which we haue, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee the foresaid William Sawtre, ferton pretensed, in the habite of a ferton, and wearing a surplice, being an hereticke, twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid; from the order of a ferton. And in token of this thy degradation and actuall deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the keies of the Church doore, and thy surplice, and doe deprive thee of all and singuler manner of commodities of a doore keeper.

The surplice taken from him.

The church doore keies taken from him.

And also, by the authoritie of omnipotent God the father, the sonne and holy Ghost, and by our authoritie, counsell, and assent of our whole councell prouincial aboue written, we doe degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personallie present before vs, from orders, benefices, priuiledges and habite in the church; and for thy pertinacie incorrigible wee doe degrade thee, before the secular court of the high constable and marshall of England, being personallie present; and do depose thee from all and singuler clerkly honours and dignities whatsoeuer, by these writings. Also in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we haue caused the crowne and ecclesiasticall tonsure in our presence to bee razed away, and vtterlie to bee abolished, like vnto the forme of a secular lay man: and heere doe put vpon the head of thee the foresaid William, the cap of a lay secular person: beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will receiue fauourably the said William vnto them thus reconmitted.

Priuiledge of the clergie taken from him.

The priests cap taken from his head, maketh vp all in all.

Thus William Sawtre the seruant of Christ, being vtterlie thrust out of the popes kingdome, and metamorphosed from a clerke to a secular lay man, was committed (as yee haue heard) vnto the secular power. Which to done, the bishops yet not herewith contented, ceasse not to call vpon the king, to cause him to bee brought forth to spedie execution. Whereupon the king, readie inough and too much to gratifie the clergie, and to retaine their fauours, directly out a terrible decree against the said William Sawtre, and sent it to the maior and sheriffes of London to be put in execution; the tenour whereof here vnder ensueth.

The decree of the king against William Sawtre.

The cruell decree of the king against Sawtre.

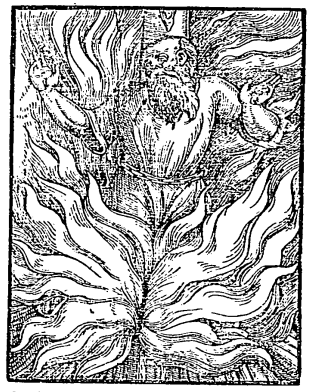
The decree of our Soueraigne Lord the king and his counsel in the parliament, against a certain new sprung vp heresie. To the maior and sheriffes of London, &c. Whereas the reuerend father Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, primat of all England, and Legate of the apostolicke see, by the assent, consent, and counsell of other bishops, and his brethren Suffraganes, and also of all the whole clergie within his prouince or dioces, gathered together in his prouincial councel, the due order of the law being obserued in al points in this behalfe; hath



Prelats seruing without knowledge.

hath pronounced and declared by his definitiue sentence, William Sautre sometime chaplaine, to bee fallen againe into his most damnable heresie, the which before time the said William had abiured, therupon to be a most manifest heretike, and therfore hath decreed, that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all preiogatiue and priuiledge of the clergie, decreeing to leaue him vnto the secular power: and hath really so left him, according to the lawes and canonicall sanctions set forth in this behalfe, and also that our holy mother the Church hath no further to do in the premisses. Wherefore being zealous in religion, and reuerent louers of the catholick faith, willing and minding to maintaine and defend the holy Church, and the lawes and liberties of the same, to roote all such errors and heresies out of our kingdome of England, and with condigne punishment to correct and punish all heretikes or such as be conuict: prouided alwaies, that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonicall institutions in this behalfe accustomed, that such heretickes conuict and condemned in forme aforesaid, ought to bee burned with fire: We command you as straitly as we may, or can, firmely enioyning you, that you doe cause the said William being in your custodie, in some publick or open place within the liberties of your citie aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published vnto the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other christians. Faile not in the execution hereof, vpon the perill that will fall thereupon: Teste rege, apud Westmonast. 26. Februar. an. regni sui.

## The burning of William Sautre.



Ammunition to princes.

Thus it may appeare how kings and princes haue been blinded and abused by the false prelats of the church, in so much, that they haue been their slaues and butchers, to slay Christs poore innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes, not to haue knowledge and vnderstanding themselues, but to be led by other mens eies, and specially e trusting to such guides, who though hypocrisie, both deceiue them, and through cruelnie deuoure the people.

King Henrie the fourth, the first of England kings that fauoured the christians with fire.

As king Henrie the fourth, who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the vnmerciful burning of Christs saints, for standing against the pope: so was this William Sautre the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wicklifes time, which I find to be burned in the raigne of the foresaid king, which was in the yere of our Lord, 1400.

After the martyrdome of this godly man, the rest of the same companie began to keepe themselues more closely, for feare of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the popes prelacy. Such was the raigne of this prince, that to the godly hee was euer terrible, in his actions unmeasurable, to few men heartily beloued, but princes neuer lacke flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his raigne very quiet, but full of trouble, of bloud and miserie. Such was their desire of king Richard againe in the raigne of this king, that many yeeres after, he was rumored to be aliue (of them which desired belike that to bee true which they knew to be false) for the which, diuers were executed. For the space of fiue or seuen yeeres together, almost no yere passed without some conspiracie against the king. Long it were here to recite the bloud of all such Nobles and other, which was spilt in the raigne of

Such murder and beheading in king Henries time the 4.

this king, as the earle of Kent, earle of Salisbury, earle of Huntington, named John Holland, &c. as writeth the storie of S. Albans. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of foure earles, of Surrey, of Gloucester, of Salisbury, and lord Spencer earle of Glocester. Ex lib. cui tit. Calendarium Brutt.

Ex Calendario Brut.

And the nert yere following, Sir John Clarendon knight, with two of his seruants, the prior of Laund, with eight friers, were hanged and quartered. And after these, Henrie Percie the younger, the earle of Worcester, named Thomas Percie his vncle, lord of Kinderton, and Lord Richard de Vernoua. The earle of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon, an. 1403. In the which yere, the prison in Conehill called the tunne, was turned into the conduit, there now standing.

To let passe other moe hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt knight, and Benet Lely knight, and Thomas Wintersell esquire: Also the same yere was taken and executed, sir Bernard Bolns knight, sir John Shilley knight, sir John Mandelin, and William Frierbie. After all these, lord Henry earle of Northumberland, and lord Bardolfe, conspiring the kings death, were taken in the North and beheaded, which was in the 8. yere of this king Henrie.

Archbishop of Yorke and lord Mowbray a gainst king Henry 4.

This ciuill rebellion of so many nobles, and other against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this king Henrie. Among whom I cannot pretermit here also the archbishop of Yorke named Richard Scrope, who with the lord Mowbrey, Marshall of England gathered a great companie in the North countrie, against the foresaid king, to whom also was adioyned the helpe of lord Bardolfe, & Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. Ex Chron. D. Albani. And to stirre vp the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certaine articles against the said king, to the number of 10. and fastned them vpon the doores of churches and monasteries, to be read of all men in English. Which articles, (fairly be dispised to vnderstand, for so much as the same also contains a great part of the doings betweene king Henrie and king Richard aforesaid, I thought for the better opening of the matter here under to insert the same, in such forme as I found them in the storie of Scalamundi expressed.

Lord Bardolfe, Henry Percie, earle of Northumberland against the king. Ex scribe. Scala Mundi.

Articles set vp on Church doores against king Henry 4.

Articles set vpon Church doores against *king Henry the fourth.*

{Anno 1401}

In the name of God Amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, iudge of the quicke and dead, &c. We A. B. C. D. &c. not long sithence became bound by oth vpon the sacred Euangelicall booke, vnto our Soueraigne lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelats, potentates and nobilitie of the realme: that we so long as we liued, should beare true allegeance and fidelitie toward him and his heires succeeding him in the kingdome by iust title, right and line, according to the statutes and custome of this Realme of England: By vertue whereof, we are bound to foresee that no vices or hainous offences arising in the common weale, do take effect to wilfull end, but that wee ought to giue our eares and our goods to withstand the same, without feare of the shoud of death whatsoeuer, vpon paine of periurie, which paine is euerlasting damnation. Wherefore we seeing and perceiuing diuers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceasing to bee committed, by the children of the diuell and satans soudiers against the supremacie of the Church of Rome, the liberties of the church of England, and the lawes of the realme, against the person of king Richard and his heires, against the prelats, noble men, religion and communaltie, and finally against the whole weale publike of the realme of England, to the great offence of the maiestie of almighty God and to the prouocation of his iust wrath and vengeance towards the realme and people of the same: And fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruine of our countrie to be at hand, hauing before our eies the iustice and the kingdome of God, calling alwaies on the name of Jesus, hauing an assured confidence in his clemencie, mercie and power: Haue here taken vnto vs certaine articles subscribed in forme following, to be proponed, tried and heard before the iust iudge Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the deliuerie of the church, the clergie and communaltie, and to the vtilitie and profit of the weale publicke. But if (which God forbid) we for loue, feare or violence of wicked persons we shall be cast in prison, or by violent death prouented, so as in this world we shall not be able to proue the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeale to the high celestiall Judge, that he may iudge and discerne the same, in the day of his supreme iudgement.

A bill of articles set vp against king Henry 4.

1. First, we depose, say, except, and entend to proue against the Lord Henrie Darbie, some of the lord John of Gaunt late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England, himselfe pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto) and against his adherents, fautours, and complices: that euer they haue been, are and will be, traitors, inuaders, and destroyers of Gods church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our Soueraigne lord Richard late

late king of England, his heires, his kingdome, and common wealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appeare.

2. Secondarily wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, for that he had conceiued, deuised, and conspired certaine haynous crimes and traiterous offences against his said Soueraigne lord Richard his state and dignitie, as manifestlie did appeare in the contention betweene the said lord Henrie, and the lord Thomas duke of Northfolke begun at Concentrie, but not finished thoughtlie. Afterwards hee was sent into exile, by sentence of the said king Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord Iohn, duke of Lancaster, by the voice of diuers of the lords temporall, and nobilitie of the realme, and also by his owne consent: there to remaine for a certaine time appointed vnto him by the said Lords, and withall he was bound by oth not to returne into England before hee had obtained fauour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that countrie appertaining to the crowne of England, but as then rebelling against the same: the said lord Henry in the meane time contrarie to his oth and fidelitie, and long before the time limited vnto him was expired: with all his fautors and vnaders. feerctly entred into the Realme, bearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his comming into the realme in the absence of the king, was for none other cause, but that he might in humble sort with the loue and fauour of the king, and all the Lords spirituall and temporall, haue and enioy his lawfull inheritance descending vnto him of right after the death of his father: which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they: Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord. But how this blessing afterward turned into cursing, shall appeare in that which followeth: and also ye shall vnderstand his horrible and wicked conspiracie against his Soueraigne Lord king Richard, and diuers other Lords as well spirituall as temporall, besides that his manifest periurie shall well bee knowne, and that he remaineth not only forsworne and periured, but also excommunicate, for that hee conspired against his Soueraigne lord our king. Wherefore we pronounce him by these presents, as well periured as excommunicate.

King Henrie periured.

3. Thirdly, we depose, &c. against the lord Henrie, that hee the said lord Henrie, immediatlie after his entrie into England, by craftie and subtile policie, caused to bee proclaimed openly throughout the Realme, that no tenths of the Clergie, fifteenes of the people, scaling vp of cloth, diminution of wooll, impost of kine, nor other extortions or exactions whatsoeuer, should hereafter be required or exacted: hoping by this meanes to purchase vnto him the loue and fauour of the prelates spirituall, the Lords temporall, the Merchants, and comminaltie of the whole Realme. After this, hee take by force the kings castles and fortresses, spoiled and deuoured his goods whereseuer he found it, crying hanocke, hanocke. The kings maiesties subiects as well spirituall as temporall he spoiled and robbed, some he take captiue and imprisoned them, and some he slew and put to miserable death, wherevpon many were bishops, prelates, priests and religious men. Whereby it is manifest, that the said lord Henrie is not only periured, in promising and swearing that there should bee hereafter no more exactions, paiments, or extortions within the Realme, but also excommunicate for the violence and iniurie done to prelats and priests. Wherefore by these presents we pronounce him, as afore, as well periured as excommunicate.

King Henrie charged with breach of oth.

4. Fourthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that he hearing of the kings returne from Ireland into Wales, rose vp against his Soueraigne Lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint in Wales, there he take the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captiue as a traitor vnto Lecester: from thence hee took his iourney towards London, misusing the king by the way both by and his, with many iniuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffes. And in the end committed him to the tower of London, and held a parliament, the king being absent and in prison; wherein for feare of death, hee compelled the king to yeeld and resigne vnto him all his right and title of the kingdome and crowne of England. After which resignation being made, the said Lord Henrie standing vp in the Parliament house, stoutly and proudlie before them all, said and affirmed: that the kingdome of England and crowne of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertaine vnto him at that present, as of verie right, and to none other: for that the said king Richard by his owne deed, was deprined for euer, of all the right, title and interest that euer he had, hath, or may haue in y same. And thus at length by right and wrong, hee exalted himselfe vnto the throne of the kingdome: since which time, our common weale neuer florished nor prospered, but altogether hath bin void of vertue, for that the spiritualtie was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practises haue not beene maintained, charitie is waxed cold, and couetousnesse and miserie hath taken place, and finallie mercie is taken away and vengeance supplieth the roome. Thereby it doth appeare (as before is said) that the said Lord Henrie is not onelie periured and false by vsurping the kingdome and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, imiuill imprisoning, and depriuing his Soueraigne Lord the king of his roiall crowne and dignitie. Wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said lord Henrie to be excommunicate.

5. Fiftly, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, that he the same lord Henry, with the rest of his fauourers and complices, heaping mischiefe vpon mischiefe, haue committed and brought to passe a most wicked and mischieuous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before. For after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open iniury against all humane nature, yet not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where vp. daies and nights they vexed him with continuall hunger, thirst, and cold, and finallie bereft him of life, with such a kind of death as neuer before that time was known in England, but by Gods prouidence it is come to light. Who euer heard of such a deede, or who euer saw the like of him? Wherefore O England arise, stand vp, auenge the cause, the death and iniurie of thy king and prince: which if thou doe not, take this for certaintie, that the righteous God will destroy the by strange inuasions and forraine power, and auenge himselfe on thee for this so horrible an act. Thereby doth appeare, not only his periury, but also his excommunication most execrable: so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henrie not onely periured, but also excommunicate.

King Henrie charged with murdering of his prince.

6. Sixtly, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henrie, that after hee had attained to the crowne and scepter of the kingdome, he caused forthwith to bee apprehended diuers lords spirituall, Bishops, Abbats, Priors and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular iudges to be examined: not sparing the bishops, whose dioces were annointed with sacred oile, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged and beheaded by the temporall law and iudgement, notwithstanding the priuiledge of the Church, and holy orders, which hee ought to haue reuerenced and worshipped if he had been a true and lawfull king: for the first and chiefest oth in the coronation of a lawfull king is, to defend and keepe inuiolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliuer any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresie onely, and that after his degradation according to the order of the Church. Contrarie vnto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this article as afore in the rest, that he is both periured and excommunicate.

K. Henrie charged with the oders of the Church.

Three causes declared.

7. Seuenthly, we depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, that not onely he caused to be put to death the lords spirituall and other religious men, but also diuers of the lords temporall and nobilitie of the Realme, and chiefly those that studied for the preseruation of the common weale, not ceasing as yet, to continue his mischieuous enterprise, if by Gods prouidence it bee not preuented, and that with speed: Amongst all other of the nobilitie, these first hee put to death: the earle of Salisburie, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Gloucester, the lord Roger Clarendon the kings brother, with diuers other knights and chuiers: and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percie earle of Worcester, and the lord Henrie Percie sonne and heire to the earle of Northumberland; the which lord Henrie hee not onely slew, but to the vttermost of his power againe and againe he caused him to be slaine. For after that he was once put to death, and deliuered to the lord of Furnuale to be buried (who committed his bodie to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might bee, commending his soule to almightie God, with the suffrages of the blessed masse and other prayers) the said lord Henrie most like a cruell beast still thirsting his bloud, caused his bodie to be exhumate and brought forth againe, and to be reposed betweene two millstones in the towne of Shrowsburie, there to be kept with armed men: And afterwards to bee beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried vnto diuers cities of the kingdome. Wherefore for so detestable a fact neuer heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

King Henrie charged with tyrannie.

Earle of Westmerland against the archbishop.

Falsehood in fellowship.

8. Eightlily, wee depose, &c. against the said lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crowne, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approued a most wicked statute set forth and renued in the parliament holden at Winchester. The which statute is directly against the Church of Rome, the power, and principalitie thereof giuen by our lord Iesus Christ and vnto blessed S. Peter and his successors bishops of Rome: vnto whom belongeth by full authoritie the free disposing of all spirituall promotions as well superiour as inferiour: which wicked statute, is the cause of many mischiefes, vid. of simony, periurie, adulterie, incest, murder, and disobedience, for that many bishops, abbats, priors and prelates (twee will not say by vertue, but rather by errour of this statute) haue bestowed the benefices vacant vpon young men, rude and vnworthie persons, which haue compacted with them for the same, so that scarce no one prelate is found that hath not couenanted with the partie promoted for the like pearcele, or at the least, the third part of the said benefice to bestowed. And by this meanes the said statute is the destruction of the right of S. Peter, the Church of Rome and England, the clergie and Vniuersities, the

The king charged with cruell gouernment.



the maintenance of wars, and the whole common wealth, &c.

9. Ninthly, we say and depose, &c. against the said Lord Henrie, that after he had vsurpingly taken vpon him the gouernment of the Realme: England neuer flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continuall exactions of monie and oppressions, yeerely of the clergie and comminaltie: neither is it knowne how this monie so extorted is bestowed, when as neither his souldiers, nor his Gentlemen are payed as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderfull toile and labor, neither yet the poore countrie people are satisfied for the victuall taken of them: And neuertheless, the miserable clergie, and more miserable communaltie, are forced still to pay, by menaces and sharpe threatnings. Notwithstanding he sware when hee first vsurped the crowne, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergie nor laitie. Wherefore, as afore, wee pronounce him periured, &c.

10. In the tenth and last article, wee depose, say, and openlie protest by these presents, for our selues, and all our assistants in the cause of the Church of Rome and England, and in the cause of king Richard his heires, the clergie, and comminaltie of the whole Realme: that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word nor deed to offend any state, either of the prelates spirituall, Lords temporall, nor commons of the realme: but rather for seeking the perdition and destruction of this realme to approch, wee haue here brought before you certaine articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered of the whole assemblie, as well of the lords spirituall as temporall, and the faithfull commons of England: beseeching you all in the bowels of Iesus Christ the righteous iudge, and for the merits of our blessed Ladie the mother of God, and of S. George our defender, vnder whose displayed banner we wish to liue and die, and vnder paine of damnation, that yee will be fauourable to vs, and to our causes which are there in number. Whereof the first is, that we exalt vnto the kingdome the true and lawfull heire, and him a crowne in kingly throne with the diademe of England. And secondlie, that we reuoke the Welchmen, the Irishmen, and all other our enemies vnto perpetuall peace and amitie. Thirdly and finally, that we deliuer and make free our native countrie from all exactions, extortions, and vniust paiments: Beseeching our Lord Iesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sinnes, and life euerlasting to all that assist vs to their power in this godly and meritorious worke: and vnto all those that are against vs, we threaten the curse of almightie God by the authoritie committed vnto vs by Christ and his holy Church, and by these presents wee pronounce them excommunicate.

These articles being seene and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earle of Westmerland being then not farre off, with Iohn the kings sonne (hearing of this) mustred his souldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the archbishop: but seeing his part too weake to encounter with him, vseth practise of policie, where strength would not serue. And first comming to him vnder colour of friendship disembled, laboureth to seeke out the causes of that great stir. To whom the archbishop againe answering, no hurt to bee entended thereby, but profit rather to the king and common wealth, and maintenance of publike peace: but forsomuch as he stood in great feare, and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to doe. And withall shewed vnto him the contents of the articles aforesaid, which when the earle had read, setting a faire face vpon it, seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop: promising moreouer, that he would helpe alls forward in that quarrell, to the vttermost of his power. And required vpon the same, a day to be set, when they with equall number of men, might mete together, in some place appointed to haue further talke of the matter. The archbishop easily perswaded, was content, although much against the counsell of the earle Marshall, and came. Where the articles being openlie published and read, the earle of Westmerland with his companie, pretended well to like vpon the same, and to ioyne their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the archbishop, that forsomuch as his garrison had been now long in armour, and from home, he would therefore discharge the needlesse multitude of his souldiers, and dismisse them home to their worke and businesse, and they would together drinke and ioyne hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his souldiers in peace, not knowing himselfe to bee circumuented, before he was immediatelie arrested by the hands of the aforesaid earle of Westmerland, and shortly after the king comming with his power to Pooke, was there beheaded by the Sunday in Whitson weeke, and with him also lode Thomas Mowbray Marshall, with diuers other moe, of the citie of Pooke, which had taken their parts. After whose slaughter, the king proceeded farther to persecute the earle of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Bardolph: Who then did flie to Warwicke. From thence remoued to Wales. At length within two yeres after, fighting against the kings part, were slaine in the field, an. 1408. In the which peere, diuers other alls in the North parts, for fauouring the

The archbishop of Yorke crafftilie circumuented.

The archbishop of Yorke, Lord Thomas Mowbray, with many Prelates more imprisoned.

The earle of Northumberland, and lord Thomas Bardolph slaine.

Anno 1408

Abbat of Vales hanged.

Anno 1409

John Badby Artificer.

IN the yere of our Lord 1409. on Sunday being the first day of March, in the afternoone: The examination following of one Iohn Badby Tailor, being a lay man, was made in a certaine house or hall within the precinct of the preaching friers in London, in an vtter cloister: vpon the crime of heresie and other articles, repugnant to the determination of the reuerend Church of Rome, before Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie and other his assistants, as the archbishop of Yorke, of London, of Winchester, of Dersord, of Norwich of Salisburie, of Bath, of Bangor, Et Menenensis Episcopi, and also Symond duke of Yorke, Thomas Welsoord, the Chancellour of England, lord de Ros, the clerke of the rolles, and a great number of other lords, both spirituall and temporall, being then at the selfe same time present: maister Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the foresaid maister Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such.

John Badby martyr. Ex Regist. Arundel.

The articles read.

In the name of God, Amen: We it manifest to all men by this present publike instrument, that in the yere of the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of England, otherwise in the yere 1409. in the second indiction, in the third yere of the popedome of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, lord Gregorie xi. by the diuine permission pope, the second day of Ianuarie, in the chapell Cantarie of Saint Thomas martyr, nigh vnto the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, being situate in the said dioces, in the presence of me the publike notarie, and of the witnesses vnderwritten: the foresaid Iohn Badby a layman, of the said dioces of Worcester, appearing personally, before the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said Chapell for diuers iudge, was detected of and vpon the crime of heresie, being heretically taught, and openly maintained by the foresaid Iohn Badby. That is, that the sacrament of the bodie of Christ, consecrated by the priest vpon the altar, is not the true bodie of Christ, by the vertue of the words of the Sacrament. But that after the sacramentall words spoken by the priest to make the bodie of Christ: the materiall bread doth remaine vpon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very bodie of Christ after the Sacramentall words spoken of the priest. Which Iohn Badby, being examined, and diligently demanded by the foresaid reuerend father concerning the premisses, in the end did answere: that it was impossible that any priest should make the bodie of Christ, and that he beleeued firmely that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said perpetuelly that hee would neuer while hee liued beleeue, that any priest could make the bodie of Christ sacramentally, vnlesse that first hee saw manifestlie the like bodie of Christ to bee handled in the hands of the priest vpon the altar, in his corporall forme. And furthermore he said that Iohn Baker of Bikkot had so much power and authoritie to make the like bodie of Christ, as any priest had. Moreouer he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples; hee had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples: and he said expreslie, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words teaching and fortifying the heresie in the same place, both grieuous, and also out of order, and horrible to the eares of the hearers, sounding against the Catholike faith.

The sacrament of Christs body.

Vpon which occasion, the same reuerend father admonished and requested the said Iohn Badby oftentimes, and verie instantly to charitie: forsomuch as he would willingly that he should haue forsaken such heresie and opinion, holden, taught and maintained by him, in such sort against the Sacrament, to renounce, and vtterlie abiure them, and to beleeue other things which the holy mother the Church doth beleeue. And he informed the said Iohn on that behalfe both gentlie, and also laudably. Yet the said Iohn Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reuerend father: said and answered expreslie, that he would neuer beleeue otherwise then before he had said, taught, and answered. Wherevpon, the foresaid reuerend father bishop of

Worcester

Worcester, stirring, vnderstanding, and perceiuing the foresaid John Badby to maintaine and fortifie the said heresie, being stubborne, and proceeding in the same stubbornesse: pronounced the said John to be before this time conuicted of such an heresie, and that he hath so, and is an heretecke, and in the end disclosed it in these words.

In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas bishop of Worcester, doe accuse thee John Badby, being a lay man of our diocese, of and vpon the crime of heresie before vs, sitting for chiefe iudge, being oftentimes confessed and conuicted of and vpon that, that thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirme, & defend that the sacrament of the bodie of Christ, consecrated vpon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ: But after the sacramentall words to make the body of Christ by vertue of the said sacramentall words pronounced, to haue bin in the crime of heresie and we doe pronounce thee, both to haue been, and to be an heretike, and doe declare it finally by these writings.

These things were done accordingly as is aboue written and are recited in the yere, indiction, pope, doone, moneth, day and place aforesaid, being present the same time, John Sapiand place aforesaid, being present the same time, John Sapiton, prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, John Dudle monke, and Hawle the surgion of the said Church, Thomas Penings of the order of the Carmelites, Thomas Fenchame of the order of the preaching Friers, William Pontefract of the order of the Hermites, being professors and masters in diuinitie, William Hailes, Quaker of London, John Shuppedely being publike Notaries, and William Wenhamme and Thomas Gerbis being knights, Richard Wich of Ledington, Thomas Wilby of Penbury, John Thrian of Pewer, being parsons of Churches, and Thomas Walsinges, the maister of Saint Thelston in Worcester, and also Henrie Baggeley, John Pennerell, Thomas Dregmorton and William Castledone esquires of the diocs of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipfull and honest men being witnesses and called specially to the things aforesaid.

And I John Gely Clerke, of the diocs of Bathe and Wells, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publique Notarie of the said bishop: haue in testimonie of the premisses, put my hand and seale to the examination, interrogation, inquisition, and answere of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacies: and also to the proceedings of all and singuler other doings as is aforesaid, which against him before the said bishop were handled and done, in the yere, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid, which with the forenamed witnesses was personally present: and the same euen as I heard them and saw them to be done (being occupied with other matters) caused them to bee written and published, and into this publike forme haue compiled the same. I the foresaid Notarie am also privie, vnto the words and examinations inserted betweene seuen or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument, which lines I also the foresaid notarie doe approue and make good.

And I Walter London Clerke, of the diocs of Worcester, and by the authoritie apostolicall, publik Notarie: to all and singuler the foresaid things as afore by the foresaid Notarie is recited, and in the yere, indiction, popedome, moneth, day, and place aforesaid were handled and done, being with other the fore recited witnesses personally present: and to all and euery of the same (as I saw and heard them to bee done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required:) In testimonie of the premisses, haue signed and subscribed according to the accustomed maniere. Hacc ex Reg. Cant.

And when the articles in the foresaid instrument contained, were by the archbishop of Canturbury publikely and vulgarly read and expounded: the publikely confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop to conuince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same articles againe to bee read, often inculcating him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the religion that he was of. And furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, that he would (if he would liue according to the doctrine of Christ) gage his seale for him at the vngoeuent day. And after that againe he caused the foresaid articles in the said instrument expressed to be read by the foresaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himselfe expounded the same in English as before: vnto which John Badby answered. As touching the first article concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, that after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth material bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding (said he) it is a signe or sacrament of the liuing God.

Also, when the second article was expounded vnto him, that it is impossible for any priest, &c. To this article hee answered and said, that it could not sinke into the mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, vnlesse hee should deny the incarnation of Christ.

Also being examined of the third article concerning Jacke Raker, he said that if Jacke Raker were a man of good liuing, and did loue and feare God, that hee hath as much power to do, as hath the priest: and said further, that he hath heard it spoken of some doctors of diuinitie, that if he should receiue a pix full consecrated bread, he were worthie to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

Furthermore he said that he would beleeue the omnipotent God in trinity: and said moreouer, that if euery host being consecrated at the altar were the Lords body, that then there be 20000. gods in England. But he beleeued, he said) in one God omnipotent, which thing the foresaid archb. of Cant. denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded: That Christ sitting with his Disciples at supper, &c. To this he answered and said, that he would greatly maruell that any man had a loafe of bread, and should break the same and giue to euery man a mouthfull, that the same loafe should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and that all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue: the foresaid archb. demanded of him, whether he would renounce & forsake his opinions and such like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and Catholike faith? He answered, that according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answere vnto. Then the archb. oftentimes required the said John in the bowels of Jesu Christ that hee would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that henceforth he would cleaue to the christian faith: which thing to doe in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

After all this, when the foresaid archbishop of Cant. and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby (vntill the Wednesday next) might be committed: it was concluded, that he should be put in a certaine chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers, and so he was: and then the archbishop of Canturburie said, that he himselfe would keepe the key thereof, in the meane time. And when the foresaid Wednesday was expired, being the 15. day of March, and that the foresaid archbishop of Canturbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans were assembled in the Church of Saint Paul in London: the archbishop of Canturbury taking the Episcopall seate, called vnto him the archbishop of Yorke, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the noble prince Edmund the duke of Yorke, Earle of Westmerland, Thomas Beaufort knight, Lord Chancellour of England, and the lord Beamond with other noble men as well spirituall as temporall, that stode and sate by, whom to name it would be long: Before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer vnto the Articles premised in the foresaid instrument. Who then hee came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canturburie, and by the archbishop (in the bulgar tongue) expounded, publikely and expressly: and the same articles, as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilest he liued, he would neuer retract the same. And furthermore, he said specially to be noted, that the lord duke of Yorke personallie there present, as is aforesaid, and euery man else for the time being; is of more estimation and reputation, then the Sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due forme consecrated. And whilest they were thus in his examination, the archb. considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing moreouer his countenance stout and heart confirmed, so that he began to perswade other as it appeared in the same: these things considered, the archpriest then see saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, neither by exhortations, reasons, nor arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his Catholike faith (executing and doing the office of his great master) proceeded to confirme and ratifie the former sentence giuen before by the bishop of Worcester against the said John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and publike heretike. And thus shaking their hands of him, they deliuered him to the secular power: and desired the said temporall lords, then and there present very instantlie, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that his offence, but deliuer him to bee punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords aboue recited.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoone: on the afternoone, the kings writ was not farre behind. By the force whereof, John Badby still persevering in his constancie vnto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put in an emptie barrell, was bound with iron chaines fastened to a stake, hauing dry wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tunne (for as yet Perilous Bull was not in vre among the bishops) it happened that the prince the kings eldest sonne, was there present. Who shewing some part of the god Samaritane, began to endeuour and assay how to saue the life of him, whom the hypocriticall Leuits and Pharisies sought to put to death. He admitted and counselled him, that hauing respect vnto himselfe, he should sodenly withdraw himselfe out of so dangerous Labyrinths of opinions, adding oftentimes these and the like wordes, the which might haue damned any mans soule: also



Also Courtney at that time Chancellor of Oxford, preached vnto him, and exhorted him of the faith of holy Church.

In this meane season, the Prior of S. Bartelmewes in Smithfield, brought with all solemnitie the Sacrament of Gods body, with twelue torches before, and so shewed the Sacrament to the poore man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he beleeued in it, hee answered: that hee knew well it was hallowed bread, and not Gods bodie. And then was the tunne put ouer him, and fire put vnto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, mercy (calling belike vpon the Lord) and so the Prince immediately commanded to take away the tunne, and quench the fire. The Prince, his commandement being done, asked him if hee would forsake heresie to take him to the faith of holy Church: which thing if hee would doe, he should haue goods enough, promising also vnto him a yeerely stipend out of the kings treasury, so much as should suffice his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the Princes faire words, as also contemning all mens deuices: refused the offer of worldy promises, no doubt, but being more vehemently inflamed with the spirit of God then with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued vnmoueable in his former minde, the prince commanded him straight to bee put againe into the pipe or tunne, and that hee should not afterward looke for any grace or saiuour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, euen so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ, hee persevered inuincible to the end. Not without a great and most cruell battaile, but with much more greater triumph of victorie: the spirit of Christ hauing alwaies the vpper hand in his members, maugre the furie, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, we haue here set forth the picture of his burning, in such maniere as it was done.

## ¶ The description of the horrible burning of Iohn Badby, and how he was vsed at his death.




This godly martyr John Badby hauing thus consummate his testimony and martyrdome in fire, the persecuting bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselues as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharpe enough against the pore innocent flocke of Christ: to make all things sure and substantiall on their side, in such sort, as this doctrine of the Gospell now springing, should be suppressed for euer: laid their conspiring heades together, and hauing now a king for their owne purpose, ready to serue their turne in all points (during the time of the same parliament aboue recited) yet continuing) the foresaid bishops and clergy of the realme, exhibited a bill vnto the kings maiestie: subtilly declaring, what quiet & stay hath been maintained within this realme by his most noble progenitors, who alwaies defended the ancient rites and customes of the church, & enriched the same with large gifts, to y honor of God and the realme: and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietnesse was now risen by diuers (as they termed them) wicked and peruerse men, teaching and preaching openly and priuily, a certaine new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholike faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king alwaies oppressed with blinde ignorance, by the crastie meanes and subtill pretences of the clergie, granted in the said parliament (by consent of the nobilitie assembled) a statute to be obserued called Ex officio, as followeth.

*The Statute Ex officio.*

That is to say, that no man within this realme, or other the kings maisties dominions, presume to take vpō him to preach priuily or apertly, without speciall licence first obtained of the ordinary of the same place (curats in their owne parish churches, and persons heretofore priuiledged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted.) Nor that any hereafter doe preach, maintaine, teach, informe openly or in secret, or make or write any booke contrary to the catholike faith, and determination of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter, make any conuenicles or assemblies, or keepe and exercise any maner of schooles touching this sect, wicked doctrine and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any meanes, fauor any such preacher, any such maker of vnlawfull assemblies, or any such booke maker or writer, and finally any such teacher, informer, or stirrer vp of the people. And that all and singuler persons hauing any the said bookes, writings, or schedules containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty daies after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliuer, or cause to be deliuered, all and singuler the said bookes and writings, vnto the Ordinarie of the same place. And if it shall happen any person or persons, of what kinde, state, or condition soeuer he or they be, to doe or attempt any maner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or not to deliuer the same bookes in forme aforesaid: That then the Ordinary of the same place in his own diocesse by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained vnder safe custody, the said person or persons in this case defamed and euidently suspected, or any of them, vntill he or they so offending haue by order of law purged him or themselues as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalfe: or vntillhe or they haue denied and recanted (according to the lawes ecclesiastical) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said Ordinarie by himselfe or his Commissaries proceed openly and iudicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining vnder safe custodie, and that hee end and determine the matter within three monethes after the said arrest, (all delayes and excuses set apart) according to the order and custome of the Canon law. And if any person, in any cause aboue mentioned, shall be lawfully conuicted before the Ordinarie of the

dieces or his commissaries: that then the said Ordinarie, may lawfully cause the said person to conuicted (according to the manner and qualitie of his fact) to be laid in any of his owne prisons, and there to be kept so long as to his discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further, the said Ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the Canon law, the partie offending ought to be deliuered to the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid vnto the kings maiestie, as he shall thinke competent for the manner and qualitie of his offence. And the said diocesan shall be bound to giue notice of the said fine, into the kings maiesties Exchequer, by his letters patent vnder his seale: to the intent that the said fine may be leuied to the kings maiesties vse of the goods of the person so conuict.

And further, if any person within this realme and other the kings maiesties dominion, shall be committed before the Ordinarie of the place, or his Commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schooles, and heretical and erroneous informations or any of them: and will refuse to abiure and recant the said wiked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schooles and informations: or if after his abiuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his Commissaries (for so by the Canon law he ought to be left to the secular power, vpon credit giuen to the Ordinarie or his Commissaries) that then the sheriffe of the same countie, the maior, sheriffes, or sheriffe, or the maior or bayliffes of the same citie, village, or borough of the same countie, and neerest inhabiting to the said Ordinary or his said Cõmissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required to confer with the said Ordinarie or his Commissaries in giuing sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them. And after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take vnto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people: to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror vnto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or the authors and fauourers therof be no more maintained within this realme and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of christian religion, and the seruice of God. In which all and singuler the premisses, concerning the statute aforesaid: let the sheriffes, maiors, and bayliffes of the said countries, cities, villages and boroughes, be attendant, aiding, and fauouring the said Ordinaries and their Commissaries.

At Bloedie Rauine.

By this bloodie statute so feuerely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here shall thou (gentle reader) arme to slay with thy selfe, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent euer from the beginning, by all might, counsell, and wiles possible, to striue against the wiles of God and to ouerthrow that which he will haue set vp. And although the world may see by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vaine to striue against him: yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignitie) that it will not cease still to be like it selfe.

The like law and statute in the time of Diocletian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth, pag. 70. and for more strength were written also in tables of brasse, to the intent that the name of Christ should vtterly be extincted for euer. And yet the name of Christ remaineth, where that brasen law remained not three yeres. The which law written then in brasse, although it differ in manner and forme from this our statute Ex officio, yet to the same end and cruelnesse, to spill the blood of Saints, there is no difference betweene the one and the other. Neither is there any diuersitie touching y first originall deer and worker of them both. For the same Satan, who then wrought his vttermost against Christ, before he was bound vp: the same also now after his losing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence as an open enemie, he did what he could: so now by a more couert way, vnder the title of the church he tempteth the church of Christ, vsing a more subtill way to beguile, vnder gay pretended titles: but no lesse pernicious in the end, whereto he thereth, as well appeareth by this bloodie statute Ex officio, the sequell whereof cost afterward many a christian mans life. As in processe of story remaineth more hereafter (Christ willing) to be declared.

The law of Maximinus and the Statute Ex officio compared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurreth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canturbury Thomas Arundell. So that no industrie nor policie of man here did lacke to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops parts, who left no meanes vnattempted, how to subuert the right waies of the Lord.

First, in most diligent and requisit execution of the kings statute set forth: the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marueil it is to consider, all other lawes of kings (commonly) (be they neuer so good) to be so dil'd'y kept, and this only among all the rest so nearely followed. But herein is to be seene the diligence of the Romish prelats, which neuer let any thing to fall, that maketh for y dignitie of their estate,

Secondly, besides their vigilant care, in seeing the kings statute to be executed: No lesse industrious also were they in adding thereunto mo constitutions of their owne, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by pope Martine, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundell the archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergie men, here commeth in more to be said and noted touching the foresaid statute Ex officio, to proue the same not only to be cruell and impious, but also to be of it selfe of no force and validitie for the burning of anie person for cause of religion: for the dispense of which statute we haue sufficient authoritie remaining as yet in the parliament rolles to be seene in her graities court of records: which here were to be debated at large, but that vpon speciall occasion we haue deferred the ample discourse thereof to the cruell persecution of the lord Cobham hereafter ensuing, as may appeare in the defence of the lord Cobham against Nicolas Harpesfield vnder the title and name of Alanus Copus. And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let vs now returne to Thomas Arundell, and his bloodie constitutions aboue mentioned. The stile and tenour wherof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appeare to all men, I thought here vnder to adioyne, in words as followeth.

## The constitution of Thomas Arundell against the followers of Gods truth.

A cruell constitution by the archbishop against the Gospellers, with thirteene articles.

THomas by the permission of God, archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolicke: To all and singuler our reuerend brethren fellow bishops, and our suffragans: And to Abbats, priors, deanes of cathedrall churches, archdeacons, prouosts and canons: also to all parsons, vicars, chaplaines, and clerkes in parish churches, and to all laymen, whom and wheresoeuer, dwelling within our prouince of Canturburie, greeting: and grace to stand stronglie in the doctrine of the holy mother church. It is a manifest and plaine case, that he doth wrong and iniurie to the most excellent counsell, who so reuolteth from the things, being in the said councell once discussed and decided. And whosoeuer dare presume to dispute of the supreme or principal iudgement here in earth, in so doing incurreth the paine of sacrilege, according to the authoritie of ciuill wisedome and manifest tradition of humane law. Much more then they who trusting to their owne wits, are so bold to violate and with contrarie doctrine to ouerthrow, and in word and deed to contemne the precepts of lawes and canons, rightly made and proceeding from the mouth of the Creator and power of eternall life and death: bearing the name and person, not of pure man, but of true God here in earth: which also haue been obserued hitherto, of the holy fathers our predecessors, vnto the glorious effusion of their blood, and by humane sprinkling out of their braines: are worthie of greater punishment, deseruing quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the bodie of the church militant. For such ought to consider, what is in the old Testament written: Moses and Aaron among his priests, that is, were chiefe heads amongst them. And in the new Testament among the apostles there was a certaine difference: And though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should beare preeminence aboue the other apostles: And all the apostles themselues would the same, that he should be the chiefetaine ouer all the rest. And being called Cephas, that is, head, should be as a prince ouer the apostles. Vnto whom it was said: Thou being once conuerted, confirme thy brethren: as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to erre and stray out of the way of faith, of iust liuing, or right conuersation; do thou confirme and reduce him in the right way againe. Which thing no doubt the Lord would neuer haue said vnto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient vnto him. And yet all this notwithstanding, we know and daily proue, that we are wont to speake, how the old Sophister, the enemie of mankind, (foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the Church determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers; should withstand his malices, if it might keepe the people of God in vnitie of faith vnder one head of the Church) doth therefore endeuour by all meanes possible, to entripe the said doctrine, fayning vices to be vertues. And so vnder false pretences of veritie distimulated, soweth discord in catholike people, to the intent that some going one way, some another; he in the meane time may gather to himselfe a Church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the vniuersall mother holy church. In the which Satan transforming himselfe into an Angell of light, bearing a liuing and deceitfull ballance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousnesse, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refuting the traditions of the same determined and appointed by holy fathers: perswading men (by fained forgeries) the same to be naught, and so inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more godnesse, as he by his lying perswasions pretendeth, although he in verie truth

Blasphemy, not of pure man, but of true God.

He meaneth Thomas Becket his predecessor, who had his braines beat out in the time of king Henrie the second.

Scripture cleerly applied. This geare hangeth together like Gimmaes lips.

Marke well the popes humilitie. An argument far fet that true doctrine consisteth in making one head of the Church.

Apoc. 6.

The figure of the blacke horse to the Apocalypse expounded.

Behold the true image of Cloisters vnder forged clothing.

Constit. 2.

What tyrannie is this to binde the preachers mouth what he shall say?

Constit. 3.

The first constitution.

Constit. 4.

A barre for the preachers.

Why priests to preach but by limitation of the prelates.

Doth apply it against the proceedings of his owne popish Church.

A sleeue meane to bring in the popish Masse.



truth neither willeth nor minideth any godnesse, but rather that he may sow schismes, whereby diuers opinions and contrary to themselues being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, & also the reuerend holy mysteries through the same contention of words may be prophaned with Pagans, Iewes, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in the Apoc. 6. is well verified, speaking of him that sate on the blacke horse, bearing a paire of ballance in his hand, by the which heretickes are vnderstood. Who at the first appearance like to weights of a ballance, make as though they would set forth right and iust things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the blacke horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they vnder a diuers shew and colour of a iust ballance, with the taste of a blacke horse sprinkling abroad heresies and errours, doe strike. And being poisoned themselues, vnder colour of good, raise vp infinite slanders, and by certaine persons fit to doe mischiefe, doe publish abroad as it were the sugred taste of honie mixt with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing through their sleight and subtilties, that errors should be taken for veritie, wickednesse for holinesse, and for the true will of Christ: Yea and moreouer the foresaid persons thus picked out, doe preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seede, before the seede discretly be separate from the chaffe. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, prouided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, doe preferre sacrifice Diabolicall (so to terme it) before obedience to be giuen to the holy church militant.

We therefore considering & waighing, that errors which is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed, and that hee openeth his bosome to wide, which resisteth not the viper thinking there to thrust her venome: And willing moreouer to shake off the dust from our feete, and to flee to the bosome of our holy mother church, whereby one vniforme holy doctrine may be sowen and planted in the church of God, (namely in this our prouince of Canturburie) so much as in vs doth lie, to the increase of faith & seruice of God, first rooting out the cuill weeds and offendicles which by the meanes of peruerse preaching, mad doctrine, haue sprung vp hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow: purposing by some conuenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to prouide for the perill of soules, which we see to rise vnder pretence of the premisses: also to remoue all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped, by the aduice and assent of all our Suffragans and other Prelates, being present in this our conuocation of the clergy, as also of the procuratours of them that be absent: and at the instant petition of the procurators of the whole clergie within this our prouince of Canturburie, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishment and penalties condigne as he here vnder written, we will and command, ordaine and decree:

That no maner of person secular or regular, being authorised to preach by the lawes now prescribed, or licensed by speciall priuiledge: shall take vpon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any meanes preach vnto the clergie or laitie, either within the church or without, in English, except he first present himselfe, and be examined of the Ordinarie of the place, where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in maners as knowledge, he shall be sent of by the said Ordinarie, to some one church or more as shall be thought expedient by the said Ordinary, according to the qualitie of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he giue faithfull signification in due forme of his sending and authority, that is: That he that is authorised, doe come in forme appointed him in that behalfe: & those that affirme they come by speciall priuiledge, doe shew their priuiledge vnto the Parson or Vicar of the place where they preach. And those that preteud themselues to be sent by the Ordinarie of the place, shall likewise shew the Ordinaries letters made vnto him for that purpose, vnder his great seale. Let vs alwaies vnderstand, the Curat (hauing the perpetuitie) to be sent of right vnto the people of his owne cure. But if any person aforesaid, shall be bidden by the Ordinarie of the place, or any other Superiour to preach, by reason of his ecclesiasticall interdict, and so shall remaine interdicted, vntill they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, haue reformed themselues, and obtained the place so interdicted, to be releeued in due forme of law, either from the Ordinarie of the place, or else his Superiour.

Moreouer, like as a good householder easeth wheat into the ground (well ordered for that purpose) thereby to get the more increase: euen so we will and command, that the preacher of Gods word, comming in forme aforesaid, preaching either vnto the clergy or laitie, according to his matter proponed; shalbe of good behauiour, sowing such seed as shall be conuenient for his auditorie. And chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly vsed amongst them, and to the laitie he shall declare the vices commonly vsed among them, and not otherwise: But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the Ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

Item, for as much as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole: we doe decree & ordaine, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoeuer, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimonie, confession of sinnes, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, then that already is discussed by the holy mother Church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the Church: nor shall to his knowledge priuily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or obserue any sect, or kind of heresie whatsoeuer, contrary to the wholesomie doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incurre the sentence of excommunication ipso facto: from the which (except in point of death) he shall not be absolued, vntill he hath reformed himselfe by abiuration of his heresie, at the discretion of the Ordinary, in whose territorie he so offended, and hath receiued wholesome penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully conuicted, he shall be pronounced an heretike, and his goods confiscate, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertaine. The penance before mentioned, shall be after this manner: If any man contrary to the determination of the Church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions prouinciall, doe openly or priuily teach or preach any kind of heresie or sect, he shall in the parish Church of the same place, where he so preached, vpon one Sunday, or other solemne day, or more, at the discretion of the Ordinarie, and as his offence is more or lesse, expressly reuoke that he so preached, taught or affirmed, euen at the time of the solemnity of the masse, when the people are most assembled, and there shall effectually and without fraud preach, and teach the verie truth determined by the Church: and further shall be punished after the qualitie of his offence, as shall be thought expedient to the discretion of the Ordinarie.

Item, forasmuch as a new vessell being long used, fauoreth after the head, we decree and ordaine, that no schoolemasters Constit. 5.
after the dead, we decree and ordaine, that no schoolemasters
Schoolemasters.
after the dead, we decree and ordaine, that no schoolemasters
shall take vpon them to reade, or shall instruct children in grammar, or
and teachers whatsoeuer, that instruct children in grammar, or
others whatsoeuer, in primitiue sciences, shall in teaching
others whatsoeuer, in primitiue sciences, shall in teaching
them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholicke faith,
them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholicke faith,
the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church,
the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church,
contrary to the determination of the church. Nor shall suffer
contrary to the determination of the church. Nor shall suffer
their scholars to expound the holy Scriptures, except the text
their scholars to expound the holy Scriptures, except the text
as hath been vsed of ancient time; nor shall permit them to dis-
as hath been vsed of ancient time; nor shall permit them to dis-
pute openly or priuily concerning the catholicke faith, or sacra-
pute openly or priuily concerning the catholicke faith, or sacra-
ments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be
ments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be
grieuously punished by the Ordinarie of the place, as a fauour-
grieuously punished by the Ordinarie of the place, as a fauour-
er of errors and schisms.

Constit. 6. Item, for that a new way doth more frequently leade a-
Constit. 6.
Item, for that a new way doth more frequently leade a-
stray, then an old way: we will and command, that no booke or
stray, then an old way: we will and command that no booke or
treatise made by John Wickliffe, or other whatsoeuer, about
treatise made by John Wickliffe, or other whatsoeuer, about
that time or hitherto, or hereafter to be made: be from hence-
that time or hitherto, or hereafter to be made: be from hence-
forth read in schooles, halles, hospitalles, or other places whatso-
forth read in schooles, halles, hospitalles, or other places whatso-
euer, within our Prouince of Canturburie, aforesaid, except
euer, within our Prouince of Canturburie, aforesaid, except
Bookes of Iohn Wickliffe forbidden.
the same be first examined by the Vniuersitie of Oxford or
the same be first examined by the Vniuersitie of Oxford or
Cambridge, or at the least by twelue persons, whom the said
Cambridge, or at the least by twelue persons, whom the said
vniuersities or one of them shall appoint to be chosen at our
vniuersities or one of them shall appoint to be chosen at our
discretion, or the laudable discretion of our successors: and
discretion, or the laudable discretion of our successors: and
the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expedient appro-
the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expedient appro-
ued and allowed by vs or our successors, and in the name and
ued and allowed by vs or our successors, and in the name and
authoritie of the Vniuersitie, to be deliuered vnto the Statio-
authoritie of the Vniuersitie, to be deliuered vnto the Statio-
ners to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable
ners to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable
price, the originall thereof alwaies after, to remaine in some
price, the originall thereof alwaies after, to remaine in some
chest of the Vniuersitie. But if any man shall reade any such
chest of the Vniuersitie. But if any man shall reade any such
kinde of booke in schooles or otherwise, as aforesaid; he shall be
kinde of booke in schooles or otherwise, as aforesaid; he shall be
punished as a fauorer of schisme, and a fauourer of heresie, as
punished as a fauorer of schisme, and a fauourer of heresie, as
the qualitie of the fault shall require.

Constit 7. Item, it is a dangerous thing; as witnesseth blessed Saint
Constit 7.
Item, it is a dangerous thing; as witnesseth blessed Saint
Hyerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of one
Hyerome, to translate the text of the holy Scripture out of one
tongue into another: for in the translation the same sense is
tongue into another: for in the translation the same sense is
not alwaies easily kept, as the same Saint Hyerome confes-
not alwaies easily kept, as the same Saint Hyerome confes-
seth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he
seth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he
erred. We therefore decree and ordaine, that no man hereaf-
erred. We therefore decree and ordaine, that no man hereaf-
ter by his owne authoritie, translate any text of the Scripture
ter by his owne authoritie, translate any text of the Scripture
into English, or any other tongue, by way of a booke, libell or
into English, or any other tongue, by way of a booke, libell or
treatise, and that no man read any such booke, libell or treatise,
treatise, and that no man read any such booke, libell or treatise,
now lately set forth in the time of Iohn Wickliffe, or sithence,
now lately set forth in the time of Iohn Wickliffe, or sithence,
or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, priuily or apert-
or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, priuily or apert-
ly, vpon paine of greater excommunication, vntill the said
ly, vpon paine of greater excommunication, vntill the said
translation be allowed by the Ordinarie of the place, or (if the
translation be allowed by the Ordinarie of the place, or (if the
case so require) by the Councell prouincial. He that shall doe
case so require) by the Councell prouincial. He that shall doe
contrarie to this, shall likewise be punished as a fauourer of
contrarie to this, shall likewise be punished as a fauourer of
errors and heresie.

He confesseth that Saint Hyerome erred in his translation. And therefore the said Archbishop ordaineth that Diuerse Annes, for hauing the Scriptures in English.

Constit. 8. Item, for that almighty God cannot be expressed with any
Constit. 8.
Item, for that almighty God cannot be expressed with any
Philosophicall termes, or otherwise inuented of man: And
Philosophicall termes, or otherwise inuented of man: And
Saint Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes resolued such
Saint Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes resolued such
conclusions as haue been most true, because they haue been of-
conclusions as haue been most true, because they haue been of-
fensiue to the eares of the religious: We doe ordaine and spe-
fensiue to the eares of the religious: We doe ordaine and spe-
cially forbid, that no manner of person, of what state, degree,
cially forbid, that no manner of person, of what state, degree,
condition so euer he be, doe alleage or propone any conclusi-
condition so euer he be, doe alleage or propone any conclusi-
ons or propositions in the catholicke faith, or repugnant to
ons or propositions in the catholicke faith, or repugnant to
good manners, (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their
good manners, (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their
faculty of teaching or disputing in their schooles or otherwise)
faculty of teaching or disputing in their schooles or otherwise)
although they defend the same with newe & curious termes
although they defend the same with newe & curious termes
and words. For as saith blessed S. Hugh of the Sacraments,
and words. For as saith blessed S. Hugh of the Sacraments,
that which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well vnderstood.
that which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well vnderstood.
Euery man therefore after the publication of these presents,
Euery man therefore after the publication of these presents,
shall be commit wittingly to haue propoued such conclusions or
shall be commit wittingly to haue propoued such conclusions or
propositions, except (being monished) he reforme himselfe in
propositions, except (being monished) he reforme himselfe in
one month by vertue of this present constitution: he shall
one month by vertue of this present constitution: he shall
incurre the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto,
incurre the sentence of greater excommunication ipso facto,
and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntill he
and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, vntill he
hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he of-
hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he of-
fended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclu-
fended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclu-
sions: proposition in one Church or more, as shall be thought
sions: proposition in one Church or more, as shall be thought
expedient to the Ordinarie.

Termes and propositions in Religion not to be obtruded.

Inquisition to bee made through Colledges and Halles of Oxford.

Constit. 9. Item no manner of person shall presume to dispute vpon
Constit. 9.
Item no manner of person shall presume to dispute vpon
the articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the
the articles determined by the Church, as is contained in the
decrees, decretals, our constitutions prouinciall, or in the gene-
decrees, decretals, our constitutions prouinciall, or in the gene-
rall Councels. But onely to seeke out the true meaning
rall Councels. But onely to seeke out the true meaning
thereof, and that expressely, whether it be openly or in secret:
thereof, and that expressely, whether it be openly or in secret:
nor none shall call in doubt the authoritie of the said decretals
nor none shall call in doubt the authoritie of the said decretals
or constitutions, or the authoritie of him that made them,
or constitutions, or the authoritie of him that made them,
nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof:
nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof:
And chiefely concerning the adoration of the holy crosse, the
And chiefely concerning the adoration of the holy crosse, the
worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to
worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to
certaine places, or to the reliques of saints, or against the
certaine places, or to the reliques of saints, or against the
othes, in case as certified vnto to be giuen in both common pla-
othes, in case as certified vnto to be giuen in both common pla-
ces, that is to say, spirituall and temporall: That of all it shall
ces, that is to say, spirituall and temporall: That of all it shall
be commonly taught and preached, that the crosse and image
be commonly taught and preached, that the crosse and image
of the Crucifixe, and other images of saints in the honor of
of the Crucifixe, and other images of saints in the honor of
them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procefli-
them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procefli-
on, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, killings, oblati-
on, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, killings, oblati-
ons, lighting of candels and pilgrimages, and with all o-
ons, lighting of candels and pilgrimages, and with all o-
ther kinde of ceremonies and manners that haue been vsed in
ther kinde of ceremonies and manners that haue been vsed in
the time of our predecessors: And that giuing of eares to cer-
the time of our predecessors: And that giuing of eares to cer-
tes expected in the law, and vsed of all men to whom it belon-
geth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke
geth in both common places, ought to be done vpon the booke
of the gospell of Christ. Contrarie vnto this whosoeuer doth
of the gospell of Christ. Contrarie vnto this whosoeuer doth
preach, teach, or obstinatlie affirme (except he be recant in man-
preach, teach, or obstinatlie affirme (except he be recant in man-
ner and forme aforesaid) shall forthwith incurre the penaltie
ner and forme aforesaid) shall forthwith incurre the penaltie
of heresie, and shall be pronounced an hereticke, in all effect of
of heresie, and shall be pronounced an hereticke, in all effect of
law.

Archbishops of the Realme not to be disobeyed vnder paine of heresie.

Abiuration of the crosse.

* All the old abomination.

Constit. 10. Item, we doe decree and ordaine, that no chaplaine be ad-
Constit. 10.
Item, we doe decree and ordaine, that no chaplaine be ad-
mitted to celebrate in any diores within our prouince of Can-
mitted to celebrate in any diores within our prouince of Can-
turbury, where he was not borne, or not receiued orders: ex-
turbury, where he was not borne, or not receiued orders: ex-
cept he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters com-
cept he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters com-
mendatorie from his Ordinarie, and also from other Bishops
mendatorie from his Ordinarie, and also from other Bishops
in whose dioces of a long time he hath been conuersant, where-
in whose dioces of a long time he hath been conuersant, where-
by his conuersation and manners may appeare: so that it may
by his conuersation and manners may appeare: so that it may
be knowne, whether he hath been defamed with any new opi-
be knowne, whether he hath been defamed with any new opi-
nions touching the catholicke faith, or whether he be free from
nions touching the catholicke faith, or whether he be free from
the same: or otherwise, as well he that celebrateth as he that
the same: or otherwise, as well he that celebrateth as he that
suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharpely punished at the di-
suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharpely punished at the di-
crerion of the Ordinarie.

No priest to celebrate without their letters of Orders.

Constit. 11. Finally, because those things which newly and vnaccusto-
Constit. 11.
Finally, because those things which newly and vnaccusto-
mablie creepeth by, standeth in need of new and speedie helpe:
mablie creepeth by, standeth in need of new and speedie helpe:
and where more danger is, there ought to be more warie cir-
and where more danger is, there ought to be more warie cir-
cumspection and stronger resistance, and not without good
cumspection and stronger resistance, and not without good
cause: the lesse noble ought discerne to be cut away that the
cause: the lesse noble ought discerne to be cut away that the
more noble may the more perfectly be nourished. Consider-
more noble may the more perfectly be nourished. Consider-
ing therefore and in lamentable wise shewing vnto vs, how
ing therefore and in lamentable wise shewing vnto vs, how
the ancient Vniuersitie of Oxford, which as a fruitfull vine
the ancient Vniuersitie of Oxford, which as a fruitfull vine
was wont to extend forth her fruitfull branches to the honor
was wont to extend forth her fruitfull branches to the honor
of God, the great persecutor, and defence of the church, now
of God, the great persecutor, and defence of the church, now
partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes,
partly being become wilde, bringeth forth bitter grapes,
which being vndiscretely eaten of ancient fathers that thought
which being vndiscretely eaten of ancient fathers that thought
themselues skilfull in the law of God, hath set on edge the
themselues skilfull in the law of God, hath set on edge the
teeth of their children: and our prouince is infested with di-
teeth of their children: and our prouince is infested with di-
uers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defiled with a new and
uers and vnfruitfull doctrines, and defiled with a new and
damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproch and of-
damnable name of Lollardie, to the great reproch and of-
fence of the said Vniuersitie being knowne in forraine coun-
fence of the said Vniuersitie being knowne in forraine coun-
tries: and to the great vnfruitfulnesse of the students there, and
tries: and to the great vnfruitfulnesse of the students there, and
to the great damnage and losse of the Church of England,
to the great damnage and losse of the Church of England,
which in times past by her vertue as with a strong wall, was
which in times past by her vertue as with a strong wall, was
wont to be defended, and now like to runne in ruine not to
wont to be defended, and now like to runne in ruine not to
be recouered. At the supplication therefore of the whole cler-
be recouered. At the supplication therefore of the whole cler-
gie of our prouince of Canturburie: and by the consent and
gie of our prouince of Canturburie: and by the consent and
assent of all our brethren and Suffraganes, and other the pre-
assent of all our brethren and Suffraganes, and other the pre-
lates in this conuocation assembled, and the Proctors of them
lates in this conuocation assembled, and the Proctors of them
that are absent: lest the riuer being cleansed, the fountaine
that are absent: lest the riuer being cleansed, the fountaine
should remaine corrupt, and so the water comming from
should remaine corrupt, and so the water comming from
thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to
thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to
prouide for the honor and welfare of our holy mother the Church
prouide for the honor and welfare of our holy mother the Church
and the Vniuersitie aforesaid: We doe ordaine and decree, that
and the Vniuersitie aforesaid: We doe ordaine and decree, that
euery Warden, Provost, or Master of euery Colledge, or
euery Warden, Provost, or Master of euery Colledge, or
Principall of euery Hall within the Vniuersitie aforesaid: shall
Principall of euery Hall within the Vniuersitie aforesaid: shall
once euery month at the least, diligently inquire in the said
once euery month at the least, diligently inquire in the said
Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whe-
Colledge, Hall, or other place where he hath authoritie, whe-
ther any scholler or inhabitant in such Colledge, or Hall, &c.
ther any scholler or inhabitant in such Colledge, or Hall, &c.
haue holden, alleaged, or defended, or by any meanes propo-
haue holden, alleaged, or defended, or by any meanes propo-
ned, any conclusion, proposition or opinion concerning the ca-
ned, any conclusion, proposition or opinion concerning the ca-
tholicke faith, or damning contrarie to good manners, or con-
tholicke faith, or damning contrarie to good manners, or con-
trarie to the determination of the Church, otherwise then ap-
trarie to the determination of the Church, otherwise then ap-
pertaineth to necessarie doctrine. And if he shall finde any sus-
pertaineth to necessarie doctrine. And if he shall finde any sus-
pected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office abmo-
pected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office abmo-
nith him to desist. And if after such monition giuen, the said
nith him to desist. And if after such monition giuen, the said
parte offend againe in the same or such like, he shall incurre
parte offend againe in the same or such like, he shall incurre
ipso facto (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of grea-
ter excommunication. And neuerthelesse, if it be a scholar
that so offendeth the second time, whatsoeuer he shall after-
ward doe in the said Vniuersitie, shall not stand in effect. And
if he be a bedar, a maister, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be
suspended from euery scholars act, and in both cases shall lose
the right that he hath in the said Colledge or Hall, whereof he
is, ipso facto: and by the Warden, Provost, Maister, Prin-
cipall, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and
a Catholicke, by lawfull meanes forthwith placed in his place.
And if the said Wardens, Provosts, or Masters of Colledges
or Principalles of Halles, shall be negligent concerning the
inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed
by the space of ten daies, from the time of the true or supposed
knowledge of the publication of these presents: that then
they shall incurre the sentence of greater excommunication:
and neuerthelesse shall be deprived ipso facto, of all the right
which they pretend to haue in the Colledges, Halles, &c. and
the said Colledges and Halles, &c. to be effectually vacant: And
after lawfull declaration hereof made by them to whom it
shall appertaine, new Wardens, Provosts, Masters, or
Principalles, shall be placed in their places as hath been ac-
customed in Colledges and Halles, being vacant in the said
Vniuersitie. But if the Wardens themselues, Provosts, Ma-
sters or Principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and
concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be fauou-
rers and defenders of such as doe therein offend: and doe not
cease being thereof warned by vs, or by our authoritie, or by
the Ordinarie of the place: that then by vs or they we be deprived,
as well of all such priuiledge scholastical within the Vniuersitie
aforesaid, as also of their right and authoritie in such Colledges,
hall,

Inquisition to bee made through Colledges and Halles of Oxford.

I would the like were vsed now for the searching of papistrie.



hall, &c. Besides other penalties afore mentioned, and that they incurre the said sentence of greater excommunication.

But if any man in any case of this present constitution or any other aboue expressed, doe rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof (although there be another penalty expressly there limited) yet shall he be made altogether vnable and vnworthy by the space of three yeres after, without hope of pardon to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our prouince of Canturburie: and neuerthelesse according to all his demerits and the qualitie of his excesse, at the discretion of his superiour, be shall be lawfully punished.

Constit. 12.

Constit. 13. And further, that the maner of proceeding herein be not thought vncertaine: considering with our selues, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of heresie and offending the Prince, as is auouched in diuers lawes: yet the fault is much vnlike, and to offend the diuine maiestie, requireth greater punishment, then to offend the princes Maiestie.

Constit. 13.

Easier to offend against the prince: law then against the bishops.

And where it is sufficient, (for feare of danger that might ensue by delaies) to conuince by iudgement the offender of the Princes Maiesties proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proofe by witnesses, and sentence definitiue to be: Wee doe ordaine, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premisses, and for the better reformation of the Church blinded and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly knowen, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in any article of the catholicke faith sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the Ordinary of the place or other superiour, be cited personally to appeare, either by letters, publicke messenger being Clearke: or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish Church, if he hath any certaine dwelling house. Otherwise, in the cathedrall Church of the place where he was borne, and in the parish Church of the same place where he so preached and taught: And afterwards certificate being giuen, that the citation was formally executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceded against him fully and plainly without sound or shew of iudgement, and without admitting proofe by witnesses and other canonicall probations. And also after lawfull information had, the said Ordinarie (all delaies set apart) shall giue sentence, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the qualitie of his offence, and in forme aforesaid: and further, shall doe according to iustice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

Oxford fauours his sincere religion.

Giuen at Oxford.

Who would haue thought by these lawes and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly prouided, so diligently executed; but that the name and memorie of this persecuted sort, should vtterly haue beene rooted vp, and neuer could haue stood? And yet such be the workes of the Lord, passing all mens admiration, all this notwithstanding so far was it off, that the number and courage of these good men was banished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in Registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholicke fathers did so greatly detest for heretickes, were in diuers countries of this Realme dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Northfolke, in Herefordshire, in Shrewesburie, in Calice, and diuers other quarters mo, with whom the archbishop of Canturbury Thomas Arundell, the same time had much ado, as by his owne registers both appeare. Albeit some there were, that did thinke, many did reuolt and renounce, for danger of the law. Among whom was John Purney, which recanted at Pauls crosse, of whom more followeth (the Lord willing) to be said in the yeere 1421. Also John Edward Priest of the dioces of Lincolne, who reuoked in the greene yard at Norwich, Richard Herbert, and Emmot Millicot London, also John Becket, who recanted at London. Item, John Seppons of Lincolneshire, who was caused to reuoke at Canturburie. The articles of whom which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abiure, most specially were these as follow.

John Purney. John Edward. John Becket. John Seppons blotted.

Their Articles.

Articles.

First, that the office of the holy crosse (so ordained by the whole Church) celebrated, doth containe idolatrie.

Item, they said and affirmed, that all they which doe reuerence and worship the signe of the crosse, doe commit idolatry, and are reputed as Idolaters.

Item, they said and affirmed, that the true flesh and blood of our Lord Iesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

Item, they said and affirmed, the sacrament of the altar to be sacramentall bread, not hauing life, but only instituted for a memoriall of Christs passion.

Item, they said and affirmed, that the body of Christ which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the bodie of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

Item, they said and affirmed that the decree of the prelats and clergy in the prouince of Canturburie, in their last conuocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last Parliament against him that was burnt lately in the citie of London; was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of materiall bread is euen as before in the sacrament of the altar it was, no change being made in the nature of bread.

Item, that any lay man may preach the Gospell in euery place, and may teach it by his owne authority, without the licence of his Ordinary.

Their articles commonly wont thus, that who so taketh vpon him the office of a Priest though he haue no cure of soules, nor licence of his Ordinarie, is bound to preach the gospell.

Item, that it is sinne, to giue any thing to the preaching Friers, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, to the Carmelites.

Item, that we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

Item, that the confession of sinnes to the priest, is vnnedfull.

Item, that euery good man (though he be vnlearned) is a priest.

Item, that the infant (though he die vnbaptised) shall be saued.

Item, that neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any Ordinarie can compell any man to sweare by any creature of God, or by the bible booke.

Item, that a lewd the bishop, the simple man, the priest, and lay man, be of like authoritie (as long as they liue well.)

Item, that no man is bound to giue bodily reuerence to any prelate.

## William Thorpe.

The occasion of the confutation of Sir William Thorpe.

THus much briefely being signified by the way, touching these which haue beene forced in time of this king, to open aburation. Next commeth to our hands the worthy historie of master William Thorpe, a warrior valiant, vnder the triumphant banner of Christ, with the processe of his examinations, before the foresaid Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his owne pen, at the request of his friends, as by his owne words in the proces hereof may appeare. In whose examination (which seemeth first to beginne, anno 1407.) thou shalt haue good reader, both to learne and to marueil. To learne, in that thou shalt heare truth discussed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the aduersary dissolued. To marueil, for that thou shalt behold here in this man, the marueilous force and strength of the Lords might, spirit and grace, working and fighting in his soulders, and also speaking in their mouthes, according to the word of his promise, Luke xxi. To the text of the Ieasp we haue neither added nor diminished: but as we haue receiued it, copied out, and corrected by master William Lindall (who had his owne handwriting) so we haue here sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wished it in his owne naturall speech, wherein it was first written. Not withstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple hereon, this I thought before to premonish and testifie to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet aliue which haue seene the selfe same copie in his owne old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech, and of the time: The name of whom, as for record of the same to auouch, is M. Whithead, who as he hath seene the true ancient copie in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he giuen credible relation of the same both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore, the said master Lindall (albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our maner) yet not fully in all words: but that something both remaine, fauouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were why this good man and seruant of Christ, W. Thorp did write it, and pen it out himselfe, it is sufficiently declared in his own preface, set before his booke, which here is prefixed in maner as followeth.

This history first set forth and corrected by M. Lindall, (who had this owne handwriting) and set out by M. Tindall.

### The preface of William Thorpe.

The preface.

THe Lord God that knoweth all things, wote well that I am right sorowful for to write to make knowen this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine euen christian sort in high state and dignity, so great blindnesse and malice may be knowen: that they which doe presume of themselues to destroy vices, and to plant in men vertues, neither dread to offend God nor list to please him as their workes doe shew. For certes the bidding of God and his law, which in the praising of his most holy name he commanded vs to be knowen and kept of all men and women, young and old, after the cunning and power that he hath giuen to them: the prelates of this land and their ministers, with the couent of priests chiefely consenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand and destroy the holy ordinance of God. And therethrough God is greatly wroth and moued to take hard vengeance, not only vpon them that doe the euill, but also on them that consent to these Antichrists limmes: which knowe or might knowe, their makes and falshod, and chelle them not to withstand their malice and their great pride. Neuertheless, foure things moueth me to write this sentence beneath.

Gods lawes must be knowen and followed.

Foure causes of writing this booke.

The first thing that moueth me hereto is this, that where as it was knowen to certaine friends, that I came from the prison of Shrewesburie, and as it befell indeede that I should to the prison of Canturb. then diuers friends in diuers places, spake to me full heartily and full tenderly: and commanded me

then, if it so were that I should be examined before the Archbishop of Canturburie, that if I might in any wise, I should write mine appealing, and mine answering. And I promised to my special friends, that if I might I would gladly doe their biddings as I might.

The 2. cause. The second thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: diuers seiends which haue heard that I haue been examined before the Archbishop haue come to me in prison, and consailed me busily, and coueted greatly that I should doe the same thing. And other brethren haue sent to me, and required on Gods behalfe, that I should write out and make knowne, both mine appealing and mine answering, for the profit that (as they say) vpon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bad me, that I should be busie in all my wits, to goe as nere the sentence and the words as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: Apaunture this writing may come another time, before the Archbishop and his consaile. And of this consselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was moued to doe this thing, and to aske hitherto the special help of God. And so then I considering the great desire of diuers friends of sundrie places, according all in one: I occupied all my minde and my wits so busilie, that through Gods grace I perceiued by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profite might come therethrough. For sothfastnesse and truethbath these conditions: where euer it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof commeth a sweet sauour. And the more violently the enemies of sothfastnesse dispose themselues to oppresse and to withstand the trueth, the greater and the sweeter smell commeth thereof. And therefore, this heauenly smell of Gods word, will not as a smoke passe away with the winde: but it will descend and rest in some cleane soule, that shall serue thereafter. And thus some deale by this writing may be perceiued through Gods grace, how that the enemies of the trueth (standing boldly in their malice) inforce them to withstand the freedome of Christs Gospell, for which freedome Christ became man and shed his heart blod. And therefore it is great pitie and sorrow, that many men and women doe their owne wepward will, noz bulie them not to know noz to doe the pleasant will of God.

Sothfastnesse enbaseth a sweet smell behinde it.

Godly counsell giuen, if it may be followed.

The men and women that heare the truth and sothfastnesse, and heare oz knowe of this (perceiuing that is noto in the Church) ought here though, to be the more moued in all their wits, to able them to grace, and to set lesse price by themselues, that they without tarrying, forsake wilfullie and bodily all the wretchednesse of this life, since they know not how soone, noz when, noz where, noz by whom God will teach them and assay their patience. For no doubt, who that euer will line pitiously, that is, charitably in Christ Jesu, shall suffer now here in this life persecution, in one wise oz another. That is, sfwe shall be saued, it behoueth vs to imagine full bustie, the bilitie and soulenesse of sinne, and how the Lord God is displeased therefore: and so of this wilfie, of hideousnesse of sinne, it behoueth vs to busie vs in all our wits, for to abhoze and hold in our minde a great shame of sinne euer, and so then we owe to sorow heartily therefore, and euer slaing all occasion thereof. And then behoueth vs to take vpon vs sharpe penance, continuing therein, for to obtaine of the Lord forgifenesse of our foredone sinnes, and grace to abstaine vs hereafter from sinne. And but if we inforce vs to doe this wilfullie, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not bitterly destroy and cast vs away) will in diuers manners moue tyrants against vs: for to constraine vs violently to doe penance, which we would not doe wilfully. And trust that this doing is a speciall grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt, who euer will not apply himselfe (as is said before) to punish himselfe wilfully, neither will suffer patiently, meekely, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howsoeuer that he will punish him: their warward wilies and their impatiencie, are into them earnest of euerlasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that doe able them thus faithfully to grace, for to sue here so simple and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging: herefore the louers of this world hate and pursue them that they know patient, meeke, chaste, and wilfulle pore, hating and sleing all worldly banitie and fleshly lusts. For surely, their vertuous conditions are euen contrary to the maners of this world.

The cause why persecution is suffered to come.

The 3. cause. The third thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this, I thought I shall busie me in my self to doe faithfullie, that all men and women (occupying all their businesse in knowing and in keeping of Gods commandements able them so to grace, that they might vnderstand truely the trueth, and haue and vse vertue and prudence, and so deserue to be lightened from aboue with heauenly wisedome: that all their wardes and their workes may be hereby made pleasant sacrifices vnto the Lord God: and not onely for helpe of their owne soules, but also for edification of holy Church. For I doubt not, but all they that will applie them to haue this so said businesse shall profite full meikill both to friends and foes. For some enemies of the trueth, through the grace of God, shall through charitable folkes be made affonied in their conscience, and peraduenture conuerted from vices to vertues: and also, they that labour to know and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God, and to suffer patiently all aduersities, shall hereby comfort many friends.

Edification of prayer necessary to be considered.

And the fourth thing that moueth me to write this sentence is this: I know by my feddaine and vnwarned appealing and answering, that all they that will of good heart without fainting, able themselues willfully and gladly after their cunning and their power, to follow Christ patiently, trauelling busily, priuily and apertly in worke and in word, to withdraw whomsoeuer that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) vertues, comforting them and strengthening them that stand in grace: so that therewith they be not bone vp in vaine glozie, through presumption of their wisedome, noz inflamed with any worldly prosperite, but euer meeke and patient: purposing to continue stedfastly in the will of God, suffering wilfully and gladly without any grutching whatsoeuer rod the Lord will chastise them with: that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all their tribulations, and at euery point of temptation that any enemie purposed for to doe against them. To such faithfull louers specially, and patient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth by his wisedome from aboue, then which the aduersaries of the truth, may not know noz vnderstand. But through their olde and new vnhumeneffall sinnes, those tyrants and enemies of sothfastnesse, shall be so blinded and obstinate in euill, that they shall wene themselues to doe pleasant sacrifices vnto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongfull pursuing and destroying of innocent men and womens bodies: which men and women, for their vertuous liuing, and for their true knowledging of the truth, and their patient, willfull and glad suffering of persecution for right counselle, deserue through the grace of God, to be heires of the endlesse blisse of heauen. And for the feruent desire and great loue that these men haue, as to stand in sothfastnesse and witness of it: though they be suddainely and vnwarnedly brought forth to be apposed of their aduersaries: the holy Ghoste yet that moueth and ruleth them through his charitie, will in that houre of their answering speake in them and shew his wisedome, that all their enemies shall not againsay, noz againstand, lawfully.

The assistance of God vnto faithfull them that are persecuted.

And therefore, all they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea, which through diligent keeping of his commandements and for their patient suffering of whatsoeuer aduersitie that commeth to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand continually in perfect charitie: For those men and women, dred not so the aduersities of this life, that they will feare (after their cunning and their power) to knowledge prudently the truth of Gods word, when, where, and to whom they thinke their knowledging may profit. Yea and though therefore persecution come to them in one wise oz another, certes they patiently take it, knowing their consolation to be in heauen. It is an high reward and a special grace of God, for to haue and inioy the euerlasting inheritance of heauen, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the terme of this life. For loe, this heauenly heritage and endlesse reward, is the Lord God himselfe, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himselfe, whereas he said to Abraham, I am thy meed: And as the Lord said, he was and is the meed of Abraham: so he is of all other his saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to vs all for his holy name, that made vs of naught, and sent his only most deare woz thy sonne, our Lord Jesu Christ for to redeme vs with his most precious heart blod. Amen.

## The examination of William Thorpe, penned with his owne hand.

Examination of William Thorpe, Thomas Arundell archbishop.

KNowne be it to all men, that reade oz heare this writing, that on the sunday next after the feast of S. Peter, that we call Lammasse, in the yere of our Lord 1407. I William Thorpe being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canturburie, and Chancellor then of England. And then that I came to him, he stod in a great chamber and much people about him and I him, that he sawe me, he went all into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to goe forth from him sone, so that no man was left then in that closet but the Archbishop himselfe and a physitian that was called Palueren, parson of S. Dunstanes in London, and other two persons vnknowne to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me. William, I know well that thou hast this twentie winters and more, trauelled about busilie in the North countrey and in other diuers countries of England, soning about false doctrine, having great businesse if that might with thine untrue teaching and frewde will, for to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine euill purpose, and let thee to enuenime the theape of my prouince. Nevertheless S. Paul saith: If it may be, as much as in be is, we ought to haue peace with all men. Therefore (William) if thou wilt now meekily and of good heart, without any feining, kneele downe and lay thy hand vpon a booke and kisse it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfill it dearly by all

Lopetering pistolers, cauing & piking trauelling preachers.

The grace of God and of my lord of Cant. be two things.

Your goddesse, and why we Gods ambassance. If it please your grace.



al thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious vnto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: Sir, since ye deem me an heretike, and out of beleeue, will ye giue me here audience to tell my beleeue? And he said yea, tell on. And I said: I beleeue that there is not but one God almightie, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is: the father, the sonne, and the sothfast holy ghost. And I beleeue, that all these three persons are euen in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all godnesse. For whatsoeuer that the father doth, oz can oz will, that thing also the sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power cunning and will, the holy Ghost is equall to the father, and to the sonne.

What is the holy Church.

Over this I beleeue, that thorough counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most conuenient time before ordained for the saluation of mankind, the second person of this Trinitie was ordained to take the forme of man, that is, the kind of man. And I beleeue, that this second person our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceiued thorugh the holy Ghost, in the wombe of the most blessed virgin Marie, without mans sed. And I beleeue that after nine moneths Christ was borne of this most blessed virgine, without any paine oz breaking of the closter of her wombe, and without filth of her virginitie.

The true notes of the true Church.

And I beleeue, that Christour Sauiour was circumcised in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angell, before that hee was conceiued in the wombe of Marie his mother.

And I beleeue that Christ, as he was about xxx. yere old, was baptised in the flood of Jordane of Johan Baptist: and in the likenesse of a Doue the holy Ghost descended there vpon him, and a voice was heard from heauen, saying: Thou art my welbeloued sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleeue, that Christ was inowed then by the holy Ghost, for to go into the desert, and there he fasted 40. daies and 40. nights without bodily meat and drinke. And I beleeue that by and by after his fasting, when the manhod of Christ hungred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttonie, in vainglozie, and in couetisebut in all those temptations, Christ concluded the fiend, and withstod him. And then without tarrying, Jesu began to preach, and to say vnto the people: Do ye penance, for the realme of heauen is now at hand.

What herein is this beleefe, I pray you my Lord.

The old Testament and new.

I beleeue that Christ in all his time here liued most holilie, and taught the will of his father most truely: and I beleeue that he suffered therefore most wrongfully, greatell reproefes and doplings.

And after this when Christ would make an end here of this temporall life, I beleeue, that in the day next before that hee would suffer passion in the mone: in forme of bread and of wine, hee ordained the Sacrament of his flesh and his blood, that is, his owne precious bodie, and gaue it to his Apostles for to eate: commanding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should doe it in this forme that hee ordined to them, wie themselues, and teach and common forth to other men and women in this most worshipfull and holiest Sacrament, in mindfulnesse of his holiest liuing, and of his most true preaching, and of his willfull and patient suffering of the most painfull passion.

That is, bodie & blood, the creatures of bread and wine.

And I beleeue that this Christ our Sauiour, after that hee had ordained this most worthie Sacrament of his olone precious bodie: hee went forth willfullie against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently vpon him, and to bind him, and tolead him forth as a theefe, and to scorne him and buffet him, and all to blow oz file him with their spittings. Over this, I beleeue, that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies, for to bing out with sharpe scourges the blood that was betweene his skinne and his flesh: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to crowne him with most sharpe thornes, and to smite him with a rod. And after, Christ suffered the cruell Jewes to hang him out vpon the crosse, and for to naile him thereupon hand and foot. And so thorugh his pitifull nailing, Christ shed out willfullie for mans life, the blood that was in his paines. And then Christ gaue willfully his spirit into the hands of power of his father. and so, as he would, and when hee would, Christ died willfullie for mans sake vpon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was willfully, painefully, and most shamefully put to death, as the world there knew: yet water and water in his heart, as before ordained, that hee would shed out this blood and this water for mans saluation. And therefore he suffered the Jewes to make a blind knight to thrust him into the heart with a speare, and this the blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for mans loue: and after this, I beleeue that Christ was taken down from the crosse and buried. And I beleeue that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the forte day thereafter, I beleeue that Christ ascended vp into heauen, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the father almightie. And the fiftie day after this vpgoing, he sent to his Apostles the holy Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleeue that Christ shall come and iudge all mankind, some to euerlasting peace, and some to euerlasting paines.

Doctors so to be followed, as they follow the word.

And as I beleeue in the father, and in the son, that they are one God almightie, so I beleeue in the holy Ghost that hee is also with them the same God almightie.

To sweare by a booke whether it be lawfull.

And I beleeue an holy Church, that is, all they that haue ben, and that now are, and alwaies to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endeuour them to know and to keepe the commandements of God, dreading ouer all thing to offend God, and louing and seking most to please him: and I beleeue, that all they that haue had, and yet haue, and all they that yet shall haue the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the beleefe of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercifull bounge, continuing to their end in perfect charitie, willfully, patientlie and gladly suffering perfecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and his Apostles, all these haue their names written in the booke of life.

Therefore I beleeue, that the gathering together of this people, liuing now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshly lustes. Wherefore, seing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and euery part thereof, neither coueteth, noz willeth, noz loueth, noz seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing will: meekly, gladly, and willfully, with all mine heart, I submit my self vnto this holy Church of Christ, to bee euer buxome and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of euery member thereof, after my knowledge and power by the helpe of God. Wherefore if knowledge now and euermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and gouernance of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceiue by the haning and wing of the before said vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherefore these articles of beleefe and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandement of God any man ought to beleeue) I beleeue verille in my soule, as a stedfast beap vnerch of my cunning and power, ought to beleeue: praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to increase my beleefe, and to helpe my vnbeleefe.

To whom, where, and when to sweare.

And for because to the praising of Gods name, I desire aboue all things to bee a faithfull member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coueting that all men and women that now be absent knewe the same: that is, what thing soeuer before this time I haue said oz done, oz that thing here I shall do or say, at any time hereafter, I beleeue, that all the old law and new law giuen and ordained by counsell of the 3. persons of the Trinitie, were giuen and written to the saluation of mankind. And I beleeue, that these lawes are sufficient for mans saluation. And I beleeue euery article of these lawes, to the intent, that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie are to be beleeued.

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and willfullie, I submit me with all mine heart: that whosoeuer can oz will by authozitie of Gods law, oz by open reason, tell me that I haue erred oz now erre, oz any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beleefe (from which inconuenience God keep me for his goodnesse) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxum and obedient vnto those lawes of God, and to euery article of them. For by authozitie specially of these lawes, I will through the grace of God, bee buxom charitable vnto these lawes. Yea sir, and euer this, I beleeue and admit all the sentences, authozities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors, according vnto holy scripture, and declaring it truely.

I submit me willfullie and meekely to bee euer obedient after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in worke and in word to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie oz feare, through the helpe of God. Wherefore I pray you tell me after your bidding, I shall lap my hand vpon the booke, to that entent: to sweare thereby: And the archbishop said to me, yea, therefore else: And I said to him: Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of diuers creatures, and to sweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is against it.

But sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerks, with my forehead in reuerence, that how, where, when, and to whom, then am bound to sweare oz to obey in any wise after Gods law, and saints, and true doctors, according with Gods law: I will through Gods grace bee euer readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you sir for the charitie of God, that ye will before that I sweare (as I haue here rehearsed to you) tell me how oz whereto, that I shall submit me: and shew me whereof that ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfill:

And the archbishop said vnto me: I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake al the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is flandered with: so that after this time, neither priuilie noz apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to this here. Noz thou shalt fauour no man noz woman, young noz old, that holdeth any these forsaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt force thee to withstand all such

such disturbers of holy Church in every diocesse, that thou commest in: and them that will not leaue their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them vp, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the diocés that they are in, or to the bishops ministers. And ouer this I will that thou preach no more vnto the time that I know by good witnesse and true, that thy conuersation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contrarying all the leaud learning that thou hast taught here before.

And I hearing these words, thought in my heart, that this was an vnlefull aduing: and deemed my selfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how Susan said: anguish is to me on euery side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to me: answere one wise or other: and I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as yet haue here before rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or euery bishops espie, sommoner of all England. For and I should thus put vp, and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceiue full many persons: yea sir, as it is likely by the dome of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghostly. For many men and women shall stand now in the way of saluation: if I should for the learning and reading of their beleeue, publish them therefore vp to the bishops or to their vnpitcous ministers, I know some deale by experience that they should be so disturbed and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I thinke) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth then to be trauelled, groned, slandered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers now vse for to constraine men and women to consent to them.

But I find in no place in holie scripture, that this office that ye would now inferre me with, accordeth to any priest of Christes see, nor to any other Christian man: and therfore to doe this, were to me a full noious bond to be bounden with and euer grieuous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea sir, might iustly to my confusion say to me, that I were a traytor to God and to them: since (as I thinke in mine heart) many men and women trust so inlike in this case, that I would not for sauing of my life, doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered thankfullie the word of God. For if I consented to you to doe here, after your will, for banchese or mischefe that may befall vnto me in this life, I deme in my conscience, that I were worthie hereforé to bee cursed of God and alle of all his Saints: for which inconuenience, kéep me and all christian people, almightie God now and euer for his holy name. And then the archbishop said vnto me: Oh, thine heart is full hard inducate, as was the heart of Pharao, and the diuell hath ouercomen thee, and peruerted thée, and hee hath so blinded thée in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercie that I haue profered to thee. Therfore, as I profer thee now by thy foolish answere, thou hast no will to leaue thine old erroes.

But I say to thee leaud losell, other quicklie consent thou to mine ordinance and submit thee to stand to my decrées: or by Saint Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow into Smithfield. And at this saying, I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercie bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this manasing of the archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet forsworn all to that hee made William Sautre wrongfully to bee burnt: and as I considered, that the archbishop threted yet after more shedding out of innocent bloud. And all therefore I was moued in all my wits, for to hold the archbishop neither for prelate nor for priest of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the archbishop, me thought I should not haue any dread of him. But I was right heauie and sorowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by: but in my heart I prayed the Lord God, for to comfort me and strength me against them that there were against the sothfastnesse. And I purposed to speakere more to the archbishop and his clerks then me néed behoued: and all thus I praide God for his goodnesse to giue mee then and alway grace to speake, with a méke and an easie spirit: and whatsoeuer thing that I should speake, that I might thereto haue true authorities of Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishops clerkes said vnto me: What thing muself thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then some after, the archbishop said to me: Art thou not yet benthought, whether thou wilt to as I haue said to thee? And I said then to him: Sir, my father and my mother, on whose soules God haue mercie (if it bee his will) spent awhile more in diuers places about my learning for the intent to haue made mee a priest to God. But what I came to yeres of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friends were right heauie to mee, and then mee thought their grudging against me was to painefull to mee, that I purposed therefore to haue left their companie. And when they perceiued this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to mee: But for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to bee a priest, they spake to me full ofttentimes very grieuous words, and manased mee in diuers manners, shewing to mee full heauie there. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in grieuous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, or I consented to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine ereuations, but either I should consent to them, or I should euer beare their indignation, yea, their curse (as they said:) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would giue me licence for to goe to them that were named wise priests, and of vertuous conuersation to haue their counsell, and to know of them the office and the charge of priesthood. And hereto, my father and my mother consented full gladly, and gaue me their blessing and good leaue to goe, and also money to spend in this iourney. And so that I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy liuing, and best learned, and most wise of heauenly wisedome: and so I communed with them vnto the time, that I perceiued by their vertuous & continuall occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore sir, by the example of the doctrine of them and specialliè for the godly and innocent workes which I perceiued then of them, and in them: after my cunning and power, I haue exercised me then and in this time, to liue to perfectnesse Gods law, hauing a will and desire to line thereafter, which willeth that all men and women should exercise themselues faithfully thereabout. If then sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither to saue, nor of so vertuous conuersation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as these men were of whom I tooke my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenlie and shortlie, and vnwarned, all the learning that I haue exercised my life in these thirtie Winters and more, my conscience should euer be herewith out of measure vnquieted: and as sir I told you wel, that many men and women should be therthrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said sir, to you before for mine vntruth and false cowardnesse, many a one should bee put into full great repraue: yea sir, I dread that many one (as they might then iustly) would curse me full bitterlie: and sir I feare not, but the curse of God, which I should deserue herein, would bring me to a full euill end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to constraine mee now to forsake: yea sir, all the bishops of this land, with full many other priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse: and they that now haue (though I be vnworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would neuer trust to me, though I could teach and liue neuer so vertuously, more then I can or may. For if after your counsell I left vtterly all my learning, I should hereby sticke wounde and defile mine owne soule, and also I should herethrough, giue occasion to many men and women of full sore hurting: yea sir as it is likely to mee, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine euill example in it, as farre as in mee were, slea many soules ghostly, that I should neuer deserue for to haue grace of God, to the edifying of his Church, neither of my selfe, nor of none other mans life, and vndone both before God and man.

But sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of H. of I.P. and B. and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become B. of Lincolne: I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to flée all such slander that these foresaid men chiefly haue defiled, principallie themselues with. And in it that in them is, they haue enuenomed all the church of God, for the slanderous reuoking at the crosse of Pauls, of H.P. and of B. and also now Philip Rampington pursueth Christs people. And the fayning that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, kéeping them couardlie in their preaching and communing with me the bonds & tearmes (which without blame may bee spoken and shewed out to the most worldly liuers) will not bee vnpunished of God. For to the point of truth that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lines. But by example, each one of them as their words and their workes shew, busie them thereby their fayning, for to slander, and to pursue Christ in his members, rather then they will be pursued.

And the archbishop said to me: These men the which thou speakest of now, were soles and heretikes, when they were content vnto mine of this and other such soles. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other blame them vnwise. Neuertheles I will neuer none that right said, that any while were enuenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, I thinke well that these men and such other are now wise as to this world: But as their words soundeth sometime, and their works shewed out-



outwardly, it was like to inoue mee that they had enuick of the wisedome of God, and that they should haue deserued nie the grace of God, to haue saued their owne soules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilfull pouerte, and in other simple vertuous liuing: and specialliè if they had with these forsaid vertues continued in their busie feuitfull sowing of Gods word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, full busily to know the pleasant will of God, trauelling al their members ful busilie for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and saluation of christian people. But two worthy false conuicte, and euill counsellid and tyrannie, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an euill end.

Then the archbishop said vnto mee: Thou, and such other losels of thy sect, would thaue your beards full nére for to haue a benefice. For by Iesu, I know none more couetous than ye are, when that ye haue a benefice. For loe, I haue shewed you a benefice but a mile out of this castle, gaue to John Purvie a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his couetousnes for tithes and other mis doings, then I did of all men that were aduanced within my diocesse.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, Purvie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gaue him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that hee taught and writ before time: and thus hee the weth him self is neither to be hot nor cold, and therefore he and his fellowes, may soue dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they haue forsaken, peraduenture they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said: Though Purvie bee now a false harlot, I quit mee now to him: But come hee more for such cause before me (or we part) I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I say to thee: which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

And I said: Sir, master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greatest clerke that they knew then liuing, and therewith hee was named a parfit lerned man and an innocent in his liuing: and herefore, great men commoned oft with him, and they loued to his learning, that they writ it, and bustlie inforced them to rule themselues thereafter. Therefore sir, this forsaid learning of M. John Wickliffe, is yet the deed of full many men and women, the most agreeable learning vnto the liuing and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the church of Christ hath been and yet should bee ruled and gouerned. Therefore, if many men and women couet this learning, and purpose, though Gods grace, to conforme their liuing like to this learning of Wickliffe. M. John Ashton taught and writ accordingly, and full busily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he wed it himselfe right perfectly vnto his liues end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester. Nicolas Hereford, Dauie Gotrale of Pakring, monke of Wlland, and a maister of Dittinitie, and John Purueay, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ bustlie this forsaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willingliè to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specialliè, and of these men I take the learning that I haue taught: and purpose to liue thereafter (if God will) to my liues end. For though some of these men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therfore with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to vse the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moses chaire, and specially while that they sat on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with Gods helpe. For they faine, and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainely and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men haue been blamed for their slanderous doing: they grant not that they haue taught amisse or erred before time, but that they were constrained by paine to leaue to tell out the soth, and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, then to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for sothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart bloud for.

And the archbishop said: That learning that thou calleth truth and sothfastnesse, is open slander to holy Church, as it is proued of holy Church. For albeit, that Wickliffe youre author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liuer: yet his doctrine is not approued of holy Church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well wote the are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first Canon, and after abbat of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincolne: I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he failed the queen. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught, when hee was a Canon of Leicester. For no kinde of this land pursueth now more sharpely them that hold thy way, then he doth.

And I said: Sir, full many men and women wonderely vp on him, and speaketh him milde shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me: Therfore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou (shortly (as I haue said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said: Sir, I tell you at one word: I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that yet haue about rehearsed to me.

And thus as if they had been wroth, hee laid to one of his clerks: Fetch hither quickly, the certification that came to me from Shrewesburie vnder the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this losell hath venimously sowne there.

Then hastilie the clerke toke out and laid forth on a couple bord, diuers roles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerke deliuered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence.

The third Sunday after Easter, the yere of our Lord 1407. William Thorpe came vnto the towne of Shrewesburie, and though leaue granted vnto him to preach: hee said openly in S. Chads church in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images, should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not goe on pilgrimages. And that priests haue no title to tithes. And that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise.

And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it vp againe, and said to me. Is this wholsome learning to be among the people?

And I said to him: Sir, I am both assamed on their behalfe, and right sorowfull for them that haue certified you these things thus untruly: for I preached neuer, nor taught thus openly nor apertly.

And the archbishop said to me, I will giue credence to these worshipfull men which haue written to me, and witnessed vnder their seales there among them. Though now thou denie all this, wenest thou that I will giue credence to thee? Thou Losell, hast troubled the worshipfull communalties of Shrewesburie, so that the bailiffes and communalty of that towne haue written to me, praying me that an archbishop of Canturbury primat and chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open iourelle for thine heresies, that thou mayst haue thy iourelle openly there among them: So that all they whom thou and such other losels haue there peruerted, may through feore of thy deed be reconciled againe to the vnitie of holie Church. And also they that stand in true faith of holy church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, he said, Verily thine heartie prayer, and feruent request, shall be thought on.

But certainlie, nother the prayer of the men of Shrewesburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made mee any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly reioyced, and yet both. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke shall come to all the church of God here thorow, by the specialì mercifull doing of the Lord. And as hauing no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the sothfastnesse, and to stand therebye after my cunning and power: I said to the archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to proue by likelie euidence, that they that are fained to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewesbury and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to mans iudgement (dreading and loting faithfullie God) their will, their desire, their loue and their busines are moste set to dread to offend God, and to loue for to please him in true and faithfull keeping of his commandements. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holy church in Shrewesburie and in other places, by open euidence of their proud, couious, malicious, couetous, lecherous, and other foule words and workes: neither know no haue will to know, nor to occupie their wits truelie and effectuouslie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, no: none that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy church, except they enforce them more truely to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women that are now called faithfull and holden suff, nother know, nor will exercise themselfe to know (of faithfulnesse) one commandement of God.

And thus ful many men and women now, and specialie men that are named to bee principall lims of holie church for God to great wrath, and deserue his curse for that they call or hold them suff men, which are ful vnsuff as their vitious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous shamefull works shew openly and witnesse. And therefore such vitious men and vnsuff in their owne confusion, call them vnsuff men and women, which after their power and cunning bustle them selues to liue iustly after the commandement of God. And where sir ye say, that I haue disturbed the communalitie of Shrewesburie, and many other men and women with my teaching: If it thus bee, it is not to bee wondred of wise men, since

Behold the proudly proceedings of these holy fathers.

No marueil why holy Christ and his church be so sorely agaste?

It is pitie when Pharao hath such blindnesse, & where learned priests lead to hell your blind ghostly Rather.

He meaneth Gods martyr Will. Sautre.

The order and manner of his bringing vp.

Philip Repington made bishop, and a persecutor.

Two false counsellers.

This spirite theefe thinke cannot forsake Christ willfully, but he must needes forsake with pompes.

Thankfull communication of master John Wickliffe.

M. John Ashton, M. Rampington, M. Hereford, Dan. Gotray, Ian Purvay.

The testimonie for Wickliffe, out of the mouth of his owne aduersarie.

Many such bils haue our spirituall halters, Rexington becomes a persecutor, for he was made bishop.

Happy better that continue to the end.

The Sacrament after consecration material bread. Against obiected against William Thorpe.

Wholsome enough for many soules, though not for your kitchin.

O Shrewesburie, then had a cause to repent thee in that then wouldst not receiue the truth when it was offered thee.

The Romish Church must be stablished, by persecuting of true preachers.

A sure trust in God to confound the malice of tyrants.

If the truth alone maye stye, truth should be knowne.

The description of the right Christians in Shrewesbury. The Catholikes of Shrewesbury. Shrewesbury, except thou turne from thy wicked waies, thou canst not receiue the truth.

Jerusalem troubled by the preaching of Christ.

since all the communalte of the Citie of Jerusalem was disquieted & troubled of Christs owne person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that euer was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moued against Christ, and so full filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose vp and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him vp to the top of a mountaine for to cast him downe there headlong: also accordingly hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that he shall put dissension betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Thus sir is he, that shall preach the truth of Gods word to the vnfaithfull people, and shall let the faithfullnesse of the Gospell, and the prophecie of God alnighties to be fulfilled:

And the archbishop said to me: If followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that pe doe right wel for to preach and teach as pe doe, without authoritie of any bishop. For pou presume, that he lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

The word of God ought first to be preached.

And I said: Sir by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors I am learned to deeme, that it is euery priests office and dutie for to preach busily, freely and truely the word of God. For no doubt euery priest should purpose first in his soule, and couet to take the order of priesthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approuing his words euer to be true by his vertuous workes: and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelats of holy Church, should chiefly take and vse their prelacie, and for the same cause bishops should giue to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach. Therfore sir, by the binding of Christ, and by the crample of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holie Apostles and Prophets, wee are bound vnder full great paine, to exercise vs after our cunning and power (as euery Priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfill fully the office of priesthod. We presume not here of our selues for to be effeemed (neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull disciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But sir, as I said to you before, wee deeme this by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of euery priest, to bruse him faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people, and so to commune the commandement of God charitable, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that euer we may, is our very dutie: and for the wil and businesse that wee owe of due debt to doe fulfille our office through the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie: wee desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ, and we pray this gratious Lord for his holie name, that he make vs able to please him with deuout prayers, and charitable priestly works, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankefully.

If this lesson had been well followed, the world had not been brought to such darkenes by blind and dumb pastils.

An effectuous prayer. God grant it all men's hearts.

And the archbishop said to me: Leaud loyel, whereto makest thou such baune reasons to me? Alketh not Saint Paul, how should priests preach, except they be sent? But I sent thee neuer to preach. For thy venomous doctrin is so known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by writnessing of their letters. Thy then leaud idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licenced of thy souereigne to preach? Saith not Saint Paul, that subiects ought to obey their Souereignes, and not onely good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vitious?

Who he preacheth without the bishops licence.

And I said to the archbishop: Sir, as touching your letter of licence of other bishops, which pe say, wee should haue to witnesse that we were able to bee sent for to preach: wee know well that neither you sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to vs any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige vs to you, and to other bishops by writefull othes, for to passe not the bounds and dermes which pe sir, or other bishops, will limit to vs. And since in this matter your termes bee come to large, and some too strait: wee bee not oblige vs thus to be bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to vs, as you doe to friers and such other preachers: and therefore, though we haue not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with inke vpon parchment: wee dare not therefore leane the office of preaching (to which preaching, all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by diuers testimonies of Gods law, and great doctors) without any mention making of bishops letters. For as mikle as wee haue taken vpon vs the office of priesthod (though we are vnworthie thereto) wee ame purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his olone law, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God. For pat he hee commanded vs to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, speciallie occupie vs faithfullie to doe our office iustlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or vnfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnes-bearers: for the truth where it is found, may not be vnwitnessed. For all that are conuerted and saued by learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse-bearers; that the truth and stedfastnes which they heard and did after, is cause of their saluation. And again,

The answereth to the question concerning the letter of licence.

The inconuenients & vices of seeking of the bishops letter of licence.

The ill liuing of the bishops letter of licence.

all vnfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not doe thereafter: also all they that might haue heard the truth, and would not heare it, because that they would not doe thereafter: all these shall beare witnes against themselues, and the truth which they would not heare. Or else heard it, and beleued to doe thereafter, through their vnfaithfulnesse, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore sir, since this also stand witnessing of God, and of diuers Saints and Doctors, and of all the people good and euil, sufficeth to all true preachers: we thinke that we do not the office of priesthod, if that we leaue our preaching, because that wee haue not, or may not haue duly bishops letters, to witnesse that wee are sent of them to preach. This sentence answereth Saint Paul, where he speaketh of himself and of faithfull Apostles and disciples, saying thus: We need no letters of commendations as some preachers doe, which preach for couetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praysing. And there pe say sir, that Paul biddeth subiects obey their souereignes, that is soth, and may not be denied. But there is two manner of souereignes, vertuous souereignes and vitious tyrants. Therefore, to these last souereignes, neither men nor women that be subiect, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous souereigns and charitable, subiects owe to obey willfully and gladlie, in bearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull works.

Two maner of souereignes.

Yet this bishop plucketh him not by the hand, nor hurteth not of his hors as Peter did.

This sentence Paul answereth, where hee saith to subiects: We pe mindfull of your souereignes, that speake to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whose conuersation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul saith after, these souereignes, to whom subiects owe to obey in following of their maners; we be buxlie in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselues, and after in all their subiects, and how they may best plant in them vertues. Also these souereignes make deuout and feruent prayers, for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subiects may ouercome all thing dread to offend him, and to loue for to please him. Also these souereignes to whom Paul biddeth vs obey, as it is said before, lure to vertuousnesse, that all they that will liue well, may take of them good example, to know and to keepe the commandements of God. But in this foreiaid wise, subiects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vitious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their works are so vitious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterfull and cruell in bosting and menacing, in oppressions & diuers punishings: Saint Peter biddeth the seruants of such tyrants, to obey meekely such tyrants, suffering patiently their malitious cruelnesse. But Peter counselleth not any seruant or subiect, to obey to any lord or prince, or souereigne in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

Two maner of obeying: 1. In following their doings and examples. 2. In suffering their tyranny.

Wicked rules are not to be followed in euill.

Well reasoned my lord and like a clerke.

And the archbishop said vnto me: If a souereigne bid his subiect doe that thing that is vitious, this souereigne herein is to blame: but the subiect for his obedience, deserueth meed of God. For obedience pleaseth more to God, then any sacrifice.

2. Parts of the Church.

And I said, Samuel the Prophet said to Saul the first king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, then with any sacrifice of beasts. But David saith, and S. Paul, and S. Gregorie accordingly together, that not only they that doe euil, are worthie of death and damnation: but also they that consent to euill doers. And sir, the law of holy church teacheth in the decrees, that no seruant to his lord, nor childe to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbat, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull.

Obedience not to be given, but in things lefull and lawfull.

And the archbishop said to mee: All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou inforcest thee to preme, that thou and such other are so iuste, that pe ought not to obey to prelates. And thus against the learning of Saint Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if pe were sent of your owne authoritie, pe will goe forth and preach, and doe that pe list.

All is pretension that he only against your masterfull ambition.

And I said: Sir, pe teach not euery priest the office of the Apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ. And the archbi. said, yea. And I said, Sir, as the Chapter of Matth, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth; Christ sent his Apostles for to preach. And the r. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seuentie disciples for to preach, in euery place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregorie in the common law saith, that euery man that goeth to priesthood, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: For as hee saith, that priest serueth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses vpon Ezechiel, witnesse: that the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be blame by other speciall grace of God, then by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as he bee God, they are manslayers. For as farre as in them is, such priests as preach not busilie and truely, slay all the people ghostly: in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Hilare said, Priests shall bee damned, for wickednesse of the people, if

Priests in that they take priesthood, they are sent to preach. Matth.10. Mark.vi. Luk.10.

The office of priesthood is the office of preaching.

The bishop of Lincoln. Duns D. clerk.

Priests that preach not, be slayers of the people. Hilarius.

The bishop of Lincoln. Duns D. clerk.

The writtes of the Sacrament kindred by the heretikes, more likely in the outward signe.



Termine of faith. Discipline of faith.

if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the workes of businesse of priests, standeth in preaching and teaching, that they confesse all men, as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of works, that is vertuous teaching. And as the Gospel witnesseth: Christ said in his teaching: I am borne and comen into this world, to beare witnesse to the truth, and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.

Priests not onlie sent to preach, but commanded to preach. Gregorius. Ezechielis. Whatsoeuer a man doth, leauing that vndone which he is chiefly bound to doe, is sin.

Then sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach: whatsoeuer priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the crample of Christ and of his Apostles; whatsoeuer other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, Saint Gregorie saith, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to doe, whatsoeuer other thing that a man doth, it is vnthankfull to the holy Ghost, and therefore saith Lincolne: The priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seene to haue none other default, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theef, and a day theefe, a sleyer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darknesse. Wherefore sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply nree not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priests, which of good purpose and will, enforce them not busilie to doe thus, and also all them that haue purpose or will to let any priest of this busineslie.

Yet the bishop plucketh him not by the hand, nor hurteth not of his hors as Peter did.

And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stood before him: Loe sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy scripture and doctors, to maintaine their sect and loze against the ordinance of holy Church. And therefore I selle, it is thou that couetest to haue against the Psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canturbury, to record sharpe verses against vs. But thou shalt neuer haue that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully, to be good subiect to holy Church.

Holy church.

And I said: Sir, all my will and power is, and euer shall be (I trust to God) to be gouerned by holy Church.

And the archb. asked me, what was holy Church?

And I said: Sir, I told you before, what was holy Church. But since pe aske me this demand: I call Christ and his saints holy Church.

And the archbishop said vnto me: I wot well that Christ and his Saints are holy Church in heauen, but what is holy church in earth?

And I said: Sir, though holy church be euery one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part, hath ouercomen perfectly all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth ioyfully in heauen with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the fiend: forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts, which onely are the pilgrims of Christ, wanding toward heauen by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heauenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any dooms discording from holy Scripture, nor by the floos of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of manalling of any creature: For they are all fast grounded vpon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and louing it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And the archbishop said to his clerks: See pe not how his heart is indurate, and how he is trauelled with the diuell occupping him thus busily to alleage such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie vs here all day, if we would suffer him.

Mr. Archdeac. Lund D. clerk.

Then said the archbishop to me: All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou inforcest thee to preme, that thou and such other are so iuste, that pe ought not to obey to prelates. And thus against the learning of Saint Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if pe were sent of your owne authoritie, pe will goe forth and preach, and doe that pe list.

Mr. Archdeac. Lincolne.

And I said: Sir, pe teach not euery priest the office of the Apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ. And the archbi. said, yea. And I said, Sir, as the Chapter of Matth, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth; Christ sent his Apostles for to preach. And the r. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seuentie disciples for to preach, in euery place that Christ was to come to: and S. Gregorie in the common law saith, that euery man that goeth to priesthood, taketh vpon him the office of preaching: For as hee saith, that priest serueth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses vpon Ezechiel, witnesse: that the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be blame by other speciall grace of God, then by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as he bee God, they are manslayers. For as farre as in them is, such priests as preach not busilie and truely, slay all the people ghostly: in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Hilare said, Priests shall bee damned, for wickednesse of the people, if

Matth.10. Mark.vi. Luk.10.

The office of priesthood is the office of preaching.

Yet the bishop plucketh him not by the hand, nor hurteth not of his hors as Peter did.

Mr. Archdeac. Lincolne.

Mr. Archdeac. Lincolne.

Mr. Archdeac. Lincolne

To grant the reall being of the holy Sacrament but denieth as much as to grant the Accident to be without the subiect.

bodie is accident without subiect. But sir, for as mikle as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schole matter, about which I busied nere nor neuer yet to know: and therefore I commit this terme accidens sine subiecto, to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtile sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are, and vnderstand not themselues. But the shame that these proud Sophisters haue to yeeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft soles, and to be conclubed shamefully before God.

Against proud Sophisters. *Temptans dominum.*

*Tentat non dominum.*

And the archbishop said to me: I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art vnable thereto: but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy Church.

The Church could neuer find till the fiend broke loose.

And I said: sir, by open euidence and great witnesse, a. 30. yeere after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I haue here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy Church as sufficient to the saluation of all them that would beleeue it faithfully, and worke thereafter charitable. But sir, the determination of this matter which was brought in since the fiend was loosed by frier Thomas againe, specially calling the most worshipfull Sacrament of Christs owne bodie an accident without subiect: which terme since I knew not that Gods law approueth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but vtterlie I denie to make this friers sentence, or any such other, my beleefe; doe with me God what thou wilt.

Transubstantiation brought in by frier Thomas Aquin.

It is happie he did not lie in his face as Bonner did.

And the archbishop said to me: Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leaue thee. But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthie men of Shrewesburie, saying, that thou preachedst there, that Images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

The second point touching images. Thirtie charged with an vntruth.

And I said: Sir, I preached neuer thus, nor through Gods grace I will not at any time consent to think not to say thus, neither pitifully nor openly. For loe, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the things which hee made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipfull in their kind. And therfore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull, and especiallie man that was made after the image and likenesse of God, is full worshipfull in his kind, yea, this holy image that is man, God worshipeth. And herefore euery man should worship other, in kind, and also for heauenly vertues that men vse charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, siluer, or any other matter that images are made of: all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the caruing, crafting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit þ this being be accept of ma of highest state and dignitie, and ordained of them to bee a calender to leaud men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and diuers workings: yet this imagerie ought not to be worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft. Neuertheless, that euery matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to the end that God made and ordained it to, I true man.

Man a worshipfull image of God.

Though man accept the painting or carning of images, yet is it not the right way to leaue to serue God.

Then the archbishop said to me, I graunt well that no body, ought to doe worship to any such images for themselues. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought thereby to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgine Marie Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For lee, earthly kings and lords vse thus to send their letters enclosed with their armes, or with their priuie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receiue their lords letters, in which they se and know the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they doe off their capes to those letters. Why not then, since in images made with mans hand, we may read and know many diuers things of God, and of his Saints, shall we not worship their images?

The image of the Trinitie.

A similitude of the kings seale or letters to prooue the worship of images.

And I said, within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly vsages of temporall lawes that yee speake now of, may be done in calf without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images made by mans hand, since that Moses, Dauid, Salomon, Baruch and other saints in the bible forbid so plainely the worshipping of such images.

No similitude to be made between earthly things and spirituall matters, when God would both prescribe to the contrary.

Then the archbishop said to me: I ean Iosell, in the old law before that Christ take manhind, was no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie, neither beloued to man, nor knowne of man: But now since Christ became man, it is lefull to haue images to shew his manhood, yea, though many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinitie: I say it is wel done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great mouing of deuotion to men, to haue and to behold the Trinitie and other images of saints, carued, calf and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that euer I saw. And sirs I tell you, this is their manner and it is a good manner: When that an image maker shall carue, caff in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a preest, and shriue him as cleane, as if he should then die: and take penance, and make some certaine vow of fasting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying the preest specialtie to pray for him, that he may haue grace to make a faire and a deuout image.

The Scripture sufficiencie of men, the diuell may worke miracles.

And I said: Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters vnderfood truly the text of Moses, of Dauid, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors: these painters should be moued to shrine them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking vpon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinfull and vaine craft of painting, carning, or casting they had vsed: promising God faithfully, neuer to doe so after: knowledging openly before all men their reprouable learning. And also sir, these priests that shriue (as you doe say) painters, and enioyne them to doe penance, and pray for their soed, promising to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinfull crafts: sinne herein more grieuously, then the painters. For these priests doe comfort and giue them counsell to doe that thing, which of great paine, yea vnder the paine of Gods curse, they should vtterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holy liuing and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets, were made knowne to the people by holy liuing and true, and lusse teaching of priests: these things (sir) were sufficient bookes and kalenders to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vitious liuing of priests and their conetousnesse, are chiefe cause of this error, and all other vitiousnesse that raigneth among the people.

The Church hath power to ordeine and change rites and ceremonies.

Then the archbishop said vnto me, I hold thee a vitious priest and accurst, and all them that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy Church, and all images that moue men to deuotion thou and such other goe about to destroy. Loseli, were it a faire thing to come into the Church and see therein none image?

A better sight my lord thinketh he blind locke where to be worshipped.

And I said: sir, they that come to the church for to pray deuontly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits bee the more feruent, that all their outward wits bee close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and letting. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and haue beleeued faithfully in him: it sufficeth them to all men (though hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to doe thereafter) for to beleeue in God, though they neuer see images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other Saint.

The right seruice of a Christian.

And the archb. said to mee, with a feruent spirit: I say to thee Iosell, that it is right well done to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie: Yea, what saist thou: is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

Why Gods name, your grace, will not an Image Gods nay.

And I said: Sir, yee said right now that in the old law of Christ take manhind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men: therefore sir, yee said it was not then lefull to haue images, but now ye say, since Christ is become man, it is lefull to make and to haue an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since the father of heauen, yea and euery person of the Trinitie was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors: Why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now to haue made an image of the father of heauen, and to haue made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to haue bin Kalenders to aduise men and moue them to deuotion, as ye say that images now doe?

Most this preachers and maintainers of Images.

The Synagogue of Antichrist hath authoritie.

And the archbishop said: The synagogue of the Iewes had not authoritie to appr oue these things as the Church of Christ hath now.

And I said: Sir, saint Gregorie was a great man in the new law, and of great dignitie, and as the common law witnesseth, he commanded greatly a bishop, in that he forbad vttetly the images made with mans hand should bee worshipped.

Euery good work is a good step to heauen.

And the archbishop said: Thogrations Iosell, thou fauourest no more truth then an hound. Since at the rood at the North doore at London, at our ladie at Walsingham, and many other diuers places in England, are many great and praisable miracles done: should not the images of such holy saints and places, at the reuerence of God and our ladie and other saints be more worshipped then other places and images, where no miracles are done?

The manner and examples of saints.

Great miracles done by images, but my lord doth not credit by whose power.

And I said: Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore bee worshipped: wherefore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And herefore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewesburie and other places, I say now here before you: That no bodie should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should vow to them nor seeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor encense them. For loe the most worthie of such images, the brasen Serpent (by Moses made, at Gods bidding) the good king Ezechias destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was encensed. Therfore sir, if men take godhed to

Miracles seruing worthy to be done to Images may well be ascribed vnto the power of God.

A Christian man ought not to vow, seeke, nor bow, nor pray, nor offer to a like an image.



to the writing and to the leauing of S. Augustine, of S. Gregorie, and of saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and Doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall bee done now in the last end of the world: It is to dread, that for the vnfaithfulnes of men and women, the fiend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that now are done in such places. For both men and women delight now more to heare and know miracles, then they doe to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuouslie. Therefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do; Christ saith: the generation of adulterers re-

The word of God sufficeth vs to saluation, without miracles.

That which is of nature vnknowne, cannot be ensembled by any visible creature knowne.

quireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Neuertheless as diuers saints say, now when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans saluation, without such miracles: and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithfull men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the father of heauen, that is God in his godhead, is the most vnknowne thing that may bee, and the most wonderfull spirit, hauing in it no shape nor likenesse, and members of any deadly creature: in what likenesse or what image may God the father be shewed or painted?

Holy church of your owne building.

And the archbishop said, as holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted and shewed; it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church; thou fauourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leaue we this matter.

The 3. article. Pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage is pleasant to God.

Good will reserued in pilgrimage.

And then he said to me: What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull: and ouer this thou saidest that the men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beuerley, to Karlington, to Wallsingam, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

And I said: Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I said neuer thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore sir, howsoeuer mine enemies haue certified you of me, I told at Shrewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

Two maner of pilgrimages.

The true pilgrimage is to trauell in heauenly things.

And the archbishop said to me: whom callest thou true pilgrimes?

Well spoken my lord for Lincolnshire pilgrims. And why then blanket Bonner Philpot for singing in the locket?

And I said: sir, with my protestation I call them true pilgrimes trauelling toward the blisse of heauen, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfully for to occupie all their wits bodilie and ghostly, to know truely, and to kepe faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seuen deadly sins, and euery branch of them: Ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with all their wits, doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodilie and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abiding them to the giftes of the holy Ghost, disposing them to receiue them in their soules, and to hold therin, the right blessings of Christ: busying them to know and to keepe the seuen principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine here through grace, for to be thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then they shall be moued with the good spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they erre in any article of beleefe, hauing continually (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse, to dread and to flie the offence of God, and to loue ouer all, and to seeke euer to doe his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, what soeuer good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke: Euery such thought, word & worke is a step number set toward him into heauen. These foresaid pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke willfully the prosperitie of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the fiend, how they restrained their fleshlie lusts, how discreete they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their aduersities, how prudent they were in coinselling of men and women, mouing them to hate all sinne, and to flie them, and to shame euer greatly thereof, and to loue all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his followers by example of him, suffered scornes and slanders, and how patiently they abode and take the wrongfull manacing of tyrants: How homely they were and serniceable to pore men to releeue and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning, and how deuout they were in prayers, how feruent they were in heauenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings, and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and vsefull they were, to sow and to plant vertues: These heauenly conditions and such other, haue pilgrimes, or endeuor them for to haue: those pilgrimage God accepteth.

Organs in the church. A true comparison for my lords and like yourselues.

And againe, I said, as their workes shew, the most part of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, haue not these foresaid conditions, nor loueth to busie them faithfully for to haue. For as I well know, since I haue full oft assaid, examine wholsoeuer will of these pilgrimes, and hee shall

no find three men or women that know surely a commandement of God, nor can say their Pater noster, and Aue Maria, nor their Creed readile in any manner of language. And as I haue learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage: It is more for the health of their bodies, then of their soules: more for to haue riches and prosperitie of this world, then for to bee enriched with vertues in their soules: more to haue here worldly and fleshly friendship, then for to haue friendship of God, and of his saints in heauen, for whatsoeuer thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, nor of any other saint cannot bee had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further with my protestation, I say now as I said in Shrewsburie, though they haue fleshly wils, trauell sarre their bodies and spend mikle money, to seeke and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that: such pilgrimage going is neither praisable nor thankfull to God nor to any saint of God, since in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will neither know nor keepe, nor conforme them to liue vertuouslie by example of Christ and of his saints. Therefore sir, I haue preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to do with Gods helpe, saying that such fond people wast blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods vpon vitious holelers which are oft vnchaste women of their bodies: and at the least, those goods with the which they should doe workes of mercie after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

The incommodiousness that commeth by pilgrimage.

These poore mens goods and their liuelode, these runneris about, offer to rich priests which haue mikle more liuelode then they need. And thus those goods they wast wilfully, and spend them vnlawfully against Gods bidding vpon strangers, with which they should helpe and releue, after Gods will their poore needie neighbours at home: yea and ouer this follie, oftentimes diuers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage; borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steale mens goods hereto, and they pay them neuer againe. Also sir, I know well that when diuers men and women will goe thus after their owne wits, and finding out one pilgrimage; they will ordaine with them before, to haue with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrimes, will haue with them bagpipes: so that euerie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the iangling of their Canturburie bels, and with the barking out of dogs after them, that they make more noise, then if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great ianglers, taletellers, and liars.

Well spoken my lord.

And the archbishop said to me: Leaud Iosell, thou liest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great trauell of pilgrims, therfore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims haue with them both fingers and also pipers: that when one of them that goeth barefoote, striketh his toe vpon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed: it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a long, or else take out of his bosome a bagpipe, for to driue away with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace, the trauell and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merely borne out.

Instruments and musicke of the old testament, how they are to be applied and vsed in the new testament.

And I said: sir, S. Paul teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

A new found way to preach by the Bishops making.

And the archbishop said, what ianglest thou against mens deuotion? Whatsoeuer thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage that now is vsed, is to them that doe it, a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold they vnable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the deuotion of the people: since by authozite of holy Scripture, men may lefully haue and vse such solace as thou reprouest. For Dauid in his last psalme, teacheth men to haue diuers instruments of musicke for to praise therewith God.

And I said: sir, by the sentence of diuers Doctors expounding the psalmes of Dauid, that musicke and minstrelsie that Dauid and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now nother to be taken nor vsed by the letter, but these instruments with their musicke ought to bee interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name. For saint Paul saith all such things befell to them in figure. Therfore sir, I vnderstand, that the letter of this psalme of Dauid and of such other psalmes and sentences doth slay them that take them now litle: ally: This sentence as I vnderstand sir, Christ approueth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsell.

Organs in the church.

And the archbishop said to me: Leud Iosel, is it not lefull to vs to haue Organs in the church for to worship therewithall God? And I said, yea sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples vnderstanding were mikle more pleasant to God.

And the archbishop said, that Organs and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened more mens wits then should a ny sermon.

But I said: Sir, lustie men and worldly louers, delight and count and trauell to haue all their wits quickned and sharpened with diuers sensible solace: But all the faithfull louers and followers of Christ, haue all their delight to heare Gods word, and to vnderstand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to loue to please him in all things quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Gods chosen people; and able them so to grace, that they ioy greatly to withdraw their eares and all their wits and members, from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For saint Hieronime (as I thinke) saith: No body may ioy with this world and reigne with Christ.

And the archbishop, as if he had beene displeased with mine answere, said to his clerks: What gelle ye that this idiot will speake there, where he hath no dred: since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt bee ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerly.

WHat saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests haue no title to tithes?

And I said: Sir I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a moneth after that I was arested: there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I said to him: Sir, in this towne are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars: Therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me: Sir, our prelats say, that we also are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that re true to vs: and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly fro them of their tithes. And I said (sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you: that I wote not that any priest dare say, men to bee accursed, without the ground of Gods word. And the man said: Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authoritie of Gods law. And I said: Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore sir, I pray you that ye will aske the most cunning clerke of this towne, that yee may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this man would not goe from me to aske this question, of an other body: But required me there, as I would answere before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approued of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of saint Peter, teaching priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts: being euermore readie (as far as in them is) to answere through faith and hope to them that aske of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to vse with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Therefore sir, I said to this man in this wise: In the old law, which ended not fully, till the time that Christ rose vp againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be giuen to the Leuites, for the great business and battle trauell that pertained to their office. But priests, because their trauell was milde more easie and light, than was the office of the Leuites: God ordained the priests should take for their liuelode to doe their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were giuen to the Leuites. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles take tithes of the people nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to priests nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercie, to poore meeke men of surplus, that is, superfluous of their temporall goods) which they had, more then them needed reasonable to their necessarie liuelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ liued and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they might not trauell otherwise for to get their liuelode. But after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had received the holy Ghost, they trauelled with their hands, for to get their liuelode, when that they might thus doe for busie preaching. Therefore by example of himselfe, S. paul teacheth all the priests of Christ for to trauell with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus doe. And thus, all these priests whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the apostles time, and after their decease: will doe to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the thousand yeare of our Lord Iesus Christ 1111. yeare, one pope Gregorie the tenth ordained new tithes first to bee giuen to priests now in the new law. But saint Paul in his time, whose race or example all Priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the couetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroy the foule sinne through the grace of God and true vertuous liuing and example of himselfe: wrought and taught all priests for to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly and gladlie in high pouerte: Therefore Paul saith thus: The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospell, shall liue of the Gospell. But we (saith Paul) that couet and busie vs to be faithfull followers of Christ, we not this power. For to (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poore and needie, preaching among the people he was not chargeous vnto them, but with his handes he trauelled not onely to get his owne liuing, but also the liuing of other poore and needie creatures. And since the people was neuer so couetous, nor so snarous I gesse (as they are now) it were good counsell that all priests take good heed to this heauenlie learning of Paul, following him here in wilfull pouertie, nothing charging the people for their bodilie liuelode. But because that many priests be contrarie to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul bidde th the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had giuen them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people: Accept yee none other Priests then they, that liue after the forme that I haue taught you. For certaine, in what soeuer dignitie or order that any priest is in, if hee conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilfull pouertie, and in other heauenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word: though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the worke of a verie priest, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approueth Augustine, Gregorie, Chrysostome, and Lincolne plainely.

And the archbishop said to me: Thinkest thou this wholesome learning for to solue openly, or yet priuilie among the people? Certaine, this doctrine contrarieth plainely the ordinance of holie fathers, which haue ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in diuers degrees, and to liue by tithes and offrings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said: sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and liued vertuouslie, and taught builtie and truelie the word of God, by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take: the people would giue them freely sufficient liuelode.

And a clerke said to me: How wilt thou make this good, that the people will giue freelie to priests their liuelode; since that now by the lawe euerie priest can scarcelie constraine the people to giue them their liuelode?

And I said: sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to giue priests the liuelode that they aske: Priest people know now, how that priests should liue, and how that they liue contrarie to Christ & to his apostles. And therfore the people is full heauie to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons and vnto other vicars and priests, which should be faithfull dispensators of the parishes goods: taking to themselues no more, but a scarce liuing of tithes, nor of offrings, by the ordinance of the common law. For what soeuer priests take of the people (be it tithe or offring, or any other dutie or seruice) the priests ought not to haue therof no more, but a bare liuing, and to depart the residue to the poore men and women specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall liuing. But the most deale of priests now waste th their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their owne will after the world, in their baine lusts: So that in few places poore men haue direly (as they should haue) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offrings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in diuers maners aboue that they nede for needefull sustenance of meate and clothing: But the poore needie people are forsaken & left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with.

And thus sir, into our great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also sir, the parishioners that pay their temporall goods (be they tithes or offrings) to priests that do not their office among them iustly are partners of euerie sinne of those priests: because that they sustaine those priests follie in their sin, with their temporall goods. If these things bee well considered: what wonder is it then sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me: Thou that shouldest bee iudged and ruled by holy church, ye sumptuouslie thou deemest holie church to haue erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be payed to priests. It shall be long ere thou thrine Lord, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speake this (I said) among the people? Are not tithes giuen to priests for to liue by?

And I said: sir, saint Paul saith, that tithes were giuen in the old law to Leuites and to priests, that came of the linage of Leui. But our priests be saith, came not of the linage of Leui, but of the linage of Iuda, to which Iuda no tithes were promised to be giuen. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Leui to the generation of Iuda: it is necessarie that changing also bee made of the law. So that priests line now without tithes and other duetie that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in wilfull pouerty, as they haue giuen them example. For since Christ lined (all the time of his preaching) by pure almes of the people: and by example of him, his apostles lined in the same wise, or else by the trauel of their hands, as it is said aboue: euerie priest, whose priesthood Christ approueth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be aboue his master, but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his master, simple, and pure, meeke and patient: and by example specially of his master Christ, euery priest should rule him in al his liuing: & so after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule, whomsoeuer he might charitablie.

And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods curse haue thou and mine for this teaching: for thou wouldest hereby make the old law more free & perfect then the new law. For thou saiest that it is lefull to Leuites and to priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enioy their priuiledges: but to bs priests in the new law, thou saiest it is not lawfull to take tithes: and thus thou giuest to Leuites of the old law, more freedome then to priests of the new law.

And I said: sir, I marueil that yee vnderstand this plaine text of Paul thus. Ye wot well, that the Leuites and priests in the old law that take tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that take no tithes. And sir, there is a Doctor, I thinke that it is saint Hierome, that saith thus: The priests that challenge now in the new law, tithes; say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans loue. Wherefore this Doctor saith this sentence: Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Leuites and to priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and sleing of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the host of Israel, and other diuers obseruances that pertained to their office: those priests that will challenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and doe the priests office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted: for else (as this Doctor saith) priests take now tithes wrongfully.

And the archbishop said to his clerkes: Heard you euer Lofel speake thus? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that where soeuer they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

And I said: sir, why call ye the taking of tithes, and of such other duties that priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedome of holy church: since neither Christ nor his apostles, challenged nor take such duties? Wherefore these takings of priests now are not called iustly the freedome of holy church, but all such gruing and taking ought to be called and holden, the flanderous couetousnesse of men of the holy church.

And the archbishop said to me: Thy Lofell, wilt not thou and other that are confederat with the, forbeare out of holy Scripture and of the sense of Doctors, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squires, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests?

And I said: sir, what soeuer men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our commoning, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: But sir, since Chrysostome saith, that priests are the stomacke of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood: Since by the vitiousnesse of priests both lords and commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the couetousnesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they haue and make of their dignitie and power: defaceth not onely the vertues of priesthod in priests themselues, but also ouer this, it sheereth God to take great vengeance both vpon the lords, and vpon the commons, which suffer these priests charitable.

And the archbishop said to me: Thou iudgest euery priest proud that will not goe arraied as thou doest: by God I deeme him to be more meeke that goeth euery day in a scarlet gowne, then thou in thy third-hare blew gowne. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

And I said: sir, a proud priest may be knowne, when he deniethe to follow Christ and his apostles, in wilfull pouertie and other vertues: and coueteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladlie, and gathereth together with pleading, manasling, or with flattering, or with simonie any worldly goods: And most, if a priest busie him not chiefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning & power to withstand sin.

And the archb. said to me: Though thou knewest a priest to haue all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest louely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly: wouldest thou therfore denme this priest damnable? I say to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

And I said: sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may bee done, so that the sinner leaueth his sinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin: and most specially a priest that should be example to all other for to hate and flie sinne. And in how short time that euer ye say that such a sinner may be repented: he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be iudged verily repentant, without open euidence of great shame and heartie sorie for sinne. For two thinges euer (and specially a priest) that vseth pride, enuie, couetousnesse, lecherie, simonie, or any other vices; the which not as open euidence of repentance as hee hath y wont: will example and occasion of sinning if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may: it is likely that sinne leaueth him, and he not sinne. And as I vnderstand, such a one sinneth vnto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as saint John saith.

And a clerke said then to the archbishop: sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is: and the more ye busie you to a mend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so thrward a kind that he chaunceth not onely to be himselfe a foule neil, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke: Smeer a while; for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so then he said to me: Loe it is here certified against thee that thou preachest openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case.

And I said: sir, I preached neuer so openly, nor I haue taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie, with my protestation I say to you now here: that by the authoritie of the Gospel of saint Iames, and by writings of diuers saints and doctors: I haue preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And ouer this sir, I haue also preached and taught by the foresaid authorities: that no body should sweare in any case, if that without oth in any wise hee that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only, that is, sothfastnesse, for to witnesse to sothfastnesse.

And then a clerke asked me if it were not lefull to a subiect at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Gospell booke, and kisse it, saying: So helpe me God and this holy booke: for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I said to them: sirs, ye speake here full generally or largely. That if a prelate commaunded his subiect to doe an vnlawfull thing: should he obey thereto?

And the archbishop said to me: A subiect ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him doe an vnlawfull thing. For a subiect ought to thinke that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will answere for before God, that it is lefull: And then, though the bidding of the prelate be vnlawfull, the subiect hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and iudgeth, that that soeuer thing his prelate biddeth him doe, that it is lefull to him for to do it.

And I said: sir I trust not thereto. But to our purpose: Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a maister of diuinitie, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in diuinitie. And among other things, these men spake of othes, and the man of law said: at the bidding of his soueraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, hee would lay his hand vpon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his bounden standing were vnlefull hee would haltily withdraw his hand vpon the booke, taking there onely God to witnesse, that hee would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the maister of diuinitie said then to him thus: Certaine, hee that layeth his hand vpon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded; is obliged there by by a booke oth, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus vpon a booke (touching the booke, and sweating by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to doe this thing or that) will say and witnesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne vpon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare hereof, in the same wise will say and witnesse, that this man hath sworne vpon a booke. Wherefore, the maister of diuinitie said, it was not lefull neither to giue nor to take any such charge vpon a booke: for euery booke is nothing else, but diuers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare vpon a booke, is to sweare by creatures. And this swearing is euer vnlefull. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to sweare vpon, charging clerkes that in no wise they constraine any body to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the archbishop manalled me with great punishment and harpe, except I left this opinion of swearing.

And I said: sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Sauiour, and of saint Iames, and of Chrysostome, and of other diuers saints and doctors.

Then the archbishop bad a clerke reade this homilie of Chrysostome: which homilie, this clerke held in his hand written in a roll: which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canterburie. And so then this clerke read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, that it is sin to sweare well.

And then a clerke (Malureen, as I gesse) said to the archbishop: sir, I pray you wote of him, how he vnderstandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked me, how I vnderstood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was sometime affraid to answere hereto:

Christ permitteth simple and plaineth mouth and vtterance.

For I had bulled me to studie about the sense thereof, but lifting vp my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as, I thought how Christ said to his apostles: When ye my name ye shall be brought before iudges, I shall giue into your mouth, wisedome that your aduersaries shall not against say. And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said: sir, I know well that many men and women, haue now swearing so in customs, that they know not, nor will not know, that they do euill to sweare as they doe: But they thanke and say, that they doe well for to sweare as they do, though they know well that they sweare vntruely. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be falle) bode blame or temporall harme, which they should haue if they sweare not thus. And sir, many men and women maintaine strongly that they sweare well, when that thing is soth that they sweare for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not, as they say, otherwise be beleued. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to sweare by God, and by our Ladie, and by other saints, for to haue them in minde. But since al these sayings are but recreations, and saine: me thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged well against all such swearers: witnessing that all these saine grieuousnesse, though they thinke themselues for to sweare it this foresaid wise, well: For it is euill done, and great sin for to sweare truth, when in any maner a man may excuse himselfe without oth.

The place of Chrysostome expounded, by how it is lawfull to sweare well. What it is to Forsweare well.

And the archbishop said, that Chrysostome might bee thus vnderstood.

And then a clerke said to me: wilt thou tarrie my lord no longer, but submit thee here meekely to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand vpon a booke, touching the holy Gospel of God, promising not onely with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my lordes ordinance?

Pope holy church.

And I said: sir, haue I not told you here, how that I heard a maister of Diuinitie say: that in such case it is all one to touch a booke, and to sweare by a booke?

To touch a booke is to sweare by a booke.

And the archbishop said: There is no maister of Diuinity in England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shall doe the, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.

And I said: sir, is not Chrysostome an ententife Doctor? And the archbishop said, yea.

Chrysostome an ententife Doctor and did of Constance.

And I said: if Chrysostome proueth him worthie great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare vpon: it must needs follow, that hee is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

It is lawfull that Christ-sense to sweare not if it be vtterly be vsed in time and place by the booke. Matthew vsed cannot be confuted. Therefore it is not to forsweare.

And the archbishop said: if Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

And then said a clerke to me: Is not the word of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

And I said, yea.

Then he said to me, why wilt thou not sweare then by the Gospell of God, that is, Gods word, since it is alone to sweare by the word of God and by God himselfe?

And I said: sir, since I may not now other wise be beleued, but by swearing: I perceiue (as Austine saith) that it is not spedefull that ye that should be my brethren should not beleue me: therefore I am redie by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to sweare.

Then the clerke said to me: Lay then thine hand vpon the booke, touching the holie Gospell of God and take thy charge.

And I said: sir, I vnderstand that the holy Gospell of God may not be touched with mans hand.

And the clerke said I lerned, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more to reade the Gospell then to touch the Gospell.

And he said, it was more to reade the Gospell.

Whether the booke be the Gospell. Whether saith the Gospell is not the Gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beleefe that men haue in the word of God. That it is the Gospell that we beleeue, and not the letter that we reade: for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospell, but the sentence that is verily beleeued in mans heart, is the Gospell. For: S. Hierome saith: The Gospell, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaues of the booke, but it is in the tree of reason. Neither the Gospell he saith, is in the writing aboue of the letters, but the Gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approueth S. Paul, saying thus: The kingdome of God is not in word, but in vertue. And Dauid saith: The voice of the Lord, that is, his word, is in vertue. And after Dauid saith: Through the word of God the heauens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them. And I pray you sir, vnderstand you well how Dauid saith: then in the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

Dauid.

This clerke was wyll learned in the Bible booke.

And the clerke said to me: Thou wouldest make vs to fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospell is written in the Masse booke?

And I said: sir, though men vse to say thus, yet it is an vnperfect speech. For the principall part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For lo, mans soule that may not now bee seene here nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root therof that may not be seene, for doe away the rote, and the tree is destroyed. And sir, as ye said to me right now, God and his word are of one authoritie: And sir, saint Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (very God and very man) is vp in the letter of the law: thus also sir, the Gospell is vp in the letter. For sir, as it is full likely many diuers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his godhead: right thus sir, many men now touch and see, and write, and reade the Scriptures of Gods law, which neither see, touch nor reade effectually the Gospell. For as the godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beleefe, so is the Gospell, that is Christs word.

The Gospell is not the letter, but vp in the letter.

And a clerke said to me: These be full mickle matters and vnlaweie that thou shewest here to vs.

Mickle matters for your blind eyes.

And I said: sir, if ye that are masters, know not plainely this sentence, ye may lose bread that the kingdome of heauen be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests and from the elders of the Iewes.

And then a clerke, as I gesse, Malverew, said to me: Thou knowest not thine equiuocations: for the kingdome of heauen hath diuers vnderstandings. What calleth thou the kingdome of heauen in this sentence, that thou shewest here?

The kingdome of God taken for the vnderstanding of Gods word. This saie was somewhat rob sharpe for, their rotten flesh to abide.

And I said: sir, by good reason and sentence of Doctors the realm of heauen is called here, the vnderstanding of Gods word.

And a clerk said to me: From whom hinkest thou that this vnderstanding is taken away?

And I said: sir, by authoritie of Christ himselfe; the effectuall vnderstanding of Christs word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and presume to vnderstand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire mastership and high state and dignitie: but they will not consome them to the liuing & teaching of Christ & of his apostles.

Then the archbishop said: Well, well, thou wilt iudge thy soueraignes. Iby God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerke said to me: Why (on friday that last was) confessedst thou a man of my lords, that hee should not shriue him to no man but onely to God?

Peter denied Christ with his fellow John.

And with this asking I was abashed: And then by and by I knew that I was subtillie betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me of full feruent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgiue him if it be his will. And with all my heart then I had thought thus, I said to this clerke: Sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hither: and all the words as neare as I can repeate them, which that I spake to him, on friday in the prison, I will cheerfully now here before you al, and before him.

Note here the exacte practise of this holy church.

And (as I gesse) the archdeacon said then to me: They that are now here, suffice to repeat them. Holy faidst thou to him?

A false brother.

And I said: sir, that man came and asked me in diuers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I vnderstood) that god was: And as he shewed to me by his words, he was one of his liuing in court, and right heauie for his owne vicious liuing, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and specially of priests euill liuing: and herefore he said to me with a sorowfull heart (as I gessed) that hee purposed fully within short time for to leaue the court, and to busy him to know Gods law, and to confesse all his life thereafter. And when hee had said to me these words and moe other which I would to heartie and he were present, he prayed me to heare his confession. And I said to him: sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth mee here, as one vnworthy either to giue or to take any Sacrament of holy church.

Auricular confession.

And he said to me: Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully verst, and therfore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to him: Certaine I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this household would be full euill apaid both with you and me, if they will that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them: And as me thought, hee spake these words and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to haue knowne and done the pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here: sir, I counsell you, for to absent you from al cuil companie, & to draw you to them that loue and buske them to know and to keepe the precepts of God: And then the good spirit of God will moue you for to occupie busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, thanking greatly of them and sorowing heartily for them: Yea sir, the holy Ghost will then put in your heart a good will and a feruent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate euer: & to flie, (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisedome shall come to you from aboue, lightening (with diuers beames of grace and of heauenly pesire) all your wits, enfouning you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord know-

A cruell traitor of a popish sacrament.



knowledging to him onely all your vicious liuing, praying to him euer deuoutly of charitable counsell and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if yee continue thus, busping you faithfully to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely may) forgiue you all your sins. And this man said to me: Though God forgiue men their sinnes, yet it behoueth men to be assoiled of priests, and to doe the penance that they enioyne them.

And I said to him: sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgiue men their sinnes. Wherefore since it pertaineth onely to God to forgiue sinne: it sufficeth in this case, to counsell men and women for to leaue their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And againe ward, priests ought to tell sharpely to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sinne, but continue in diuers sinnes while that they may sinne, all such deserue paine without any end. And herefore, priests should euer busie them to liue well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truely the word of God, shewing to all folke in open preaching and in priuie counselling, that the Lord God onely forgiueth sinne. And therfore, those priests that take vpon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God: since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take vpon him to teach the people, neither priuily nor apertly, that they behoued needes to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now doe. But by authoritie of Christs word, priests bound indurate customable sinners to euerlasting paines, which in no time of their liuing would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sin, dreading ouer all things to offend God, and louing for to please him continually: to these men and women priests shewed how the Lord assoiled them of all their sinnes; and thus Christ promised to confirme in heauen, all the binding and loosing that priests by authoritie of his word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here vpon earth, that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might well in conscience consent to this sentence. But hee said: Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to goe shrieue them to priests? And I said, If a man feele himselfe so disrobled with any sinne, that he cannot by his owne wit auoide this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser then he: in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good priest faile, as they do now commonly, in such a case, saint Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take himself of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is ouerladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne sinnes into their mind, busping them night and day for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a figh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordingtie to this sentence vpon Midlent Sundap (two yeare as I gesse now agone) I heard a monke of Feuersham, that men called Morden, preach at Canterburie at the crosse within Christ church abbey, saying thus of confession: That as though the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other body, of themselues many men and women can imagine and find meanes and waies enough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other diuers vices: in contrariwise this monke said, Since the Lord God is more readie to forgiue sinne then the feend is or may be of power, to moue any body to sinne: then whosoeuer will shame and sorow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body then of God and of himselfe (though the grace of God) all such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and for to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said for to this man of yours, and the selfe words as neere as I can gesse.

A good secular man may be counsellor, but not a priest lasted, by S. Augustine.

Modern monk of Feuersham preaching of confession.

Hearty repentance to God needeth no confession to a priest.

And the archbishop said: Holy Church approueth not this learning.

No new thing els that is good.

And I said, sir, holy church of which Christ is head in heauen and in earth, must needs approue this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occasion of sinne, and to loue and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beleeue in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therin perseuerantly. And more ouer the Lord assureth not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died vpon the crosse busilly to make men free: men of the church are to bold and to busie, to make men thrall, binding them vnder the paine of endles curse (as they say) to doe many obseruances and ordinances, which neither the liuing nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approueth.

Shrift gluerth freedome, the pope gluerth thraldome.

And a clerke said then to me: Thou shewest plainely here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that trauell to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe away cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my Lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gratious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke said to me: How walt thou to bold at Pauls Crosse in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine heade, and to repeate in his sermon the worthie clerke Aikerton, drawing away all that thou mightest: yea, and the same day at after noone, thou meeting the worthie Doctor in Watlingstreet, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said: sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sinne, and loued vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Oxford, and also Aikertons sermon) but they said or might iustly say, that Aikerton reproued that clerke vntruly, and slandered him wrongfully and vncharitablie. For no doubt: if the liuing and teaching of Christ chiefly and of his apostles bee true, no body that loueth God and his law, will blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there: since by authority of Gods word, & by approued Saints and Doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approued all things clerely that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me, his sermon was false, and that hee the weth openly, since hee dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said: sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand stedfastly thereby, or else he slandereth foully himselfe, and also many other that haue great trust that hee will stand by the truth of the Gospell. For I wote well, this sermon is written both in Latine and English, and many men haue it and they set great price thereby. And sir: If yee were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerke appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two daies hee maintained it before the archbishop and his clerks.

And then the archbishop or one of his clerks said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shall bee met with, for that sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said: Pour cursed sect is busie, and it openly right greatly to contrary and to destroy the priuiledge and freedome of holy church.

The true freedome of holy church not destroyed but increased by true preachers.

And I said sir, I know no men that trauell so busilie as they sect doth (which you reproue) to make rest and peace in holy church. For pride, couetousnesse, and simonie, which dissrouble most holy church; this sect hateth and sleeth, and trauelleth busilie to moue all other men in like maner, vnto meeknesse and wilfull pouertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the Sacraments: this sect loueth and vseth, and is full busie to moue all other folks thus to doe. For these vertues, owe all members of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop: sir, it is farre daies, and we haue farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for he will none make: but the more sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumace he is made and the further fro you.

Take my lord blessing and haue vp.

And then Malverew said to me: William, kneele downe, and pray my lord of grace, and leaue all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy church.

And I said: sir, I haue prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the loue of Christ, that hee will leaue his indignation that he hath against me: and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to doe it. For I couet nought else but to serue my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and haue taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me: If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsell, obeying meekely and wilfully to my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no longer, grant to doe this that I haue laid to thee now here shortly, or deny it vtterly.

My lord hath bulled for being benighted.

And I said to the archbishop: sir, owe wee to beleeue that Jesu Christ was and is, very God and very man?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe we to beleeue that all Christs liuing and his teaching is true in euery point?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe we to beleeue that the liuing of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ, and all the prophets, are true which are written in the Bible, for the health and saluation of good people?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, owe all christian men and women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their liuing, to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and liuing of his apostles and of prophets, in things that areplea-sant to God, and edification of his church?

And he said, yea.

And I said: sir, aught the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed vnto; except this doctrine, these biddings or this counsell, may be granted and affirmed by Christs liuing and his teaching specially, or by the liuing and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

And the archbishop said to me: Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor wee owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except we can perceiue that his bidding or counsell,

And why commeth you this man to the contrarie?

according with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

Thorpe commeth to the bishop his life to examine and counsell.

And I said: sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the privie suggestions, and the apert temptations of the fiend: and also waies and healefull remedies, to slap pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the branches of them, and soueraigne meanes to purchase grace for to withstand and ouercome all the fleshly lusts and mouings.

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said: sir, what soeuer thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to doe, according to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me: Submit thee then now here meekely and willfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said: sir, accordingly as I haue here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddings and counsels of euery pleasing member of him.

If Thorpe had been there, he would not haue taken them vp cupboord.

Then the archbishop striking with his hand secretly vpon a cupbord, spake to me with a great spirit saying: By Jesu, but if thou leaue not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (or that I goe out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the pin fan of Lanterne: aduise thee now what thou wilt doe. And then as if he had beene angred, hee went fro the cupbord where hee stood, to a window.

The multitude is not to be followed in euill.

And then Malueren and an other clerke came nearer me, and they bade to me many words full pleasantly, and an other while they manaced me, and counselled full busilie to submit me, or else they said I should not escape punishing ouer measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, thou maiest eschew all these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee willfully and meekely to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pittie of Christ said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincolne, Herford, and Purucy were, and yet are, and also Sir, that is a well vnderstanding man. Which also haue forsaken and troubled all the learning and opinions, that they and such other hold. Therefore, since each of them is milde twise then thou art, we counsell thee for the best: that by the example of these foure clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

Sore what man he is, God giueng him thy so thinkelle.

And one of the bishops clerks said then there, that he heard Nicol. Herford say: that since he forsooke and trucked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater fauour and more delight to hold against them, then euer hee had to hold with them, while he held with them.

Malueleane fleam thinke as seem time.

And therefore Malueren said to me: I vnderstand and thou wilt take the to a priest, and forsake thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lad here, for the holding and teaching of them: within short time, thou shalt bee greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerks, that thus busilie counselled me to fellow these foresaid men: Sirs, if these men of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of couetousnesse and of fleshly lust, and had taken vpon them simple liuing, and willfull pouertie: they had herein giuen good example to me and to many other, to haue followed them. But naie, since all these foure men, haue slanderously and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receiue and to haue and to hold temporall benefices, liuing now more worldly, and more fleshly then they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world: I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose with the helpe of God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my soule cursed liuing) to hate and to flee priuily and openly, to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoeuer that I may, for to flee and to eschew the way that they haue chosen to goe in, which well leade them to the worst end, (if in conuenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and renoking openly the slander that they haue put, and euery day yet put, to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they haue spoken and done, in their renoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not nor may not priuily be amended, duly. Wherefore sirs, I pray you that you busse not for to moue me to follow these men, in renoking and forsaking the truth, and loathfulnes as they haue done, and yet do: wherein by open euidence they flire God to great wroth, and not onely against themselues, but also against all them that fauor them, or consent to them herein, or that communely with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they haue obliged them by oth for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Therefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly couetousnesse, and the lustie liuing and the sliding from the truth of these runagates; shall be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an euidence, to stand more stiffie by the truth of Christ.

Other men ex-amples are for to be followed, and they here forsaken of Christ.

For certaine, right many men and women do marke and abhor the foulenesse and couardnesse of these foresaid untrue men, how that they are ouercome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawne from the truth of Gods word, forsaking directly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this vnfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men) and haue knowledged openly the truth: and now (either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, haue taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that court to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes, many men and women therefore are now moued. But many moe thorow the grace of God, shall be moued herby for to learne the truth of God, to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Dignitaries commonly and great liuings, cloke truth.

Men following the wales of Balaam.

Then the archbishop said to his clerks: Waste you no longer about him, for he and other such as he is, are conformed together that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelats of holy church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not sweare to me. And lo sell, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast bulled thee to lose this young man, but blessed be God, thou shalt not haue thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all the learning, submitting him to bee buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and inespeth full bitterly, and curseth the full heartily for the beneomous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

Thorpe refuseth to sweare to the prelate.

And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sore. For long time thou hast bused thee to peruert whomsoeuer thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast giuen euill counsels. And therefore by Jesu, thou shalt goe thither, where Nicol. Herford and Thomas Purucy were harbored. And I undertake, or this day bind daies, thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that euer I bid thee to do. And Losell, I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorowfull (as it was told me) thou wast glad of my last going out of England. By S Thomas, I shall turne thy ioy into sorow.

Vide supra, pag. 472.

Arundell the Archb. going out of England.

And I said: sir, there can no body plone lawfully that I ioyed euer, of the maner of your going out of this land.

The gentlenes of the bishop of London to Thorpe.

But sir, to say the sooth, I was sorfull when ye were gone: for the bishop of London in whole prison yee left me, found in mee no cause for to hold mee longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he deliuered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

So promised Winchester in queene: Wardes time, but that passed his power to put to me.

Then the archbishop said to me: Therefore that I pede sist of England, is vnknowne to thee: But bee this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me a gaine, and brought me into this land, for to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall purlue you so narrowly, that I shall not leaue a slip of you in this land.

A notable answer of Thorpe to the bishop, promising to destroy all the Gospellers.

And I said to the archbishop: sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany: Then the wood, that is, the prophecie of a prophet is knowne or fulfilled: then it shall bee knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

Such praties would better beseeme my L. your goldin spoon.

And the archbishop (as if he had not beene pleased with my saying) turned him alwayward hitherto and thither, and said: By God, I shall set vpon thy thinnes a paire of pearles, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

As ill clamabant dicentes, esse talle rum esse eum. Luke 23.

These and many moe wondrous and contrarious words, were spoken to me, manassing me: and all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed into the vttermost.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him: and that clerke went forth, and some he brought in the Constable of Walwood castle, and the archbishop rowned a god while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then came in diuers seculars, and they seazed me on euery side, and manassed me greatly. And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

How we are made the temple of God.

And a clerke standing beside me, there kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that hee would deliuer me to him for to say matens with him: and hee would vndertake, that within three daies I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archb. said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the Constable and spake priuilie to the archbishop: and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, wee were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop: a clerke bad me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

Marke what he haue by Christ.

And I said then to the archbishop: Sir, as I haue said to you diuers times to day, I will willfully and lowly obey and submit me to bee ordained euer after my cunning and power, to God and to his lain, and to euery member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceiue that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, specially of Gods lain.

The property of a square stone.

Obedience to God and to his law would not serue.

And the archbishop said: I will well he would not without such additions submit him.

And



And then I was reuiled, scorned, and manassed on euery side: and yet after this, diuers persons cried vpon me to kneele downe and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them manasse, curse, and scorne me: but I said nothing.

In patience and silence possesse your soules.

And a while after, the archbishop said to me: Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy Church?

And I said: Sir, I will full gladly submit me; as I haue shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the Constable to haue me forth thence in haste.

Thorp cast into prison.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule vnhoneſt prison, where I came neuer before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison doue after them, by and by after, I therein by my selfe, bussed me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodnesse. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then deliuered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies: but much more I rooted in the Lord, because that thorough his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, among the manassing of mine aduersaries, that without beasinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid vpon another tree, ouerthwart or crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks alwaies contrary to me, and I to them.

Thorpe comforted and strengthened of the Lord, after his conflict with the bishop.

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make vs one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy word, that is true perfit charity) and else not. And that it may this be, all that this writing reade or heare, pray heartily to the Lord God, that hee for his great goodnesse that cannot bee with tongue expressed, grant to be, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfit charitie. Amen.

Vide supra, pag. 472.

Besides this examination here aboue described, came an other treatise also to our hands of the same William Thorpe, vnder the name and title of his testament: which rather by the matter and handling thereof, might seeme to be counted a complaint of vicious priests: which treatise or testament, in this place we thought not meet to be left out.

When priests forget Gods truth, rest will they run headlong. Ex. great vnlocke the small.

MAtthew an Apostle of Christ, and his Gospeller, witnesseth truly in the holy Gospell, the most holy liuing and the most wholsome teaching of Christ. He rehearseth how that Christ likeneth them that heare his words and keep them, to a wise man that buildeth his house vpon a stone, that is, a stable and a sure ground. This house is mans soule, in whom Christ delighteth to dwell, if it be grounded, that is, stablished faithfully in his liuing and in his true teaching, adorned or made faire with diuers vertues, which Christ vsed and taught without any medling of any error, as are chiefly the conditions of charitie.

Fleshly priests cannot alway hurt those things.

Christ dwelleth in a faithfull soule.

This foresaid stone is Christ, vpon which euery faithfull soule must be builded, since vpon none other ground, then vpon Christs liuing and his teaching, no body may make any building or housing, wherein Christ will come and dwell. This sentence witnesseth Saint Paul to the Corinthians, shewing to them that no body may set any other ground then is set, that is, Christs liuing and teaching. And because that all men and women should giue all their businesse here in this life, to build them vertuously vpon this sure foundation; Saint Paul knowledging the feruent desire, and the good will of the people of Ephesie, wrote to them comfortably, saying: Now ye are not strangers, guests, nor yet comelings, but ye are the citizens and of the houshold of God, burlded aboue vpon the foundement of the Apostles and Prophets. In which foundement, euerie building that is builded or made through the grace of God, it increaseth or groweth into an holy temple: that is, euery bodie that is grounded or builded faithfully in the teaching and liuing of Christ, is there-through made the holy temple of God.

Christ is the stone whereon we must build.

They hunt after their owne wrath, tooth and naile.

This is the stable ground and stedfast stone Christ, which is the sure corner stone, fast ioyning and holding mightily together two walles. For through Christ Jesu, meane or middle person of the Trinitie, the Father of heauen is pitious or mercifully ioyned and made one together to mankind. And through dread to offend God, and feruent loue to please him, men bee vnseparably made one to God, and defended surely vnder his protection. Also, this foresaid stone Christ, was figured by the square stones of which the temple of God was made. For as a square stone, wheresoeuer it is cast or laid, it abideth and lieth stably; so Christ, and euery faithfull member of his church by example of him, abideth and dwelleth stably in true faith, and in all other heauenly vertues in all aduersities that they suffer in this valley of teares.

Attestation to all hearers, to see yerst-hood amended.

For loe, when these foresaid square stones were hewen and wrought for to be laid in the walles or pillers of Gods temple, no noise or stroke of the workman was heard. Certaine, this silence in working of this stone, figureth Christ chiefly and his faithfull members, which by example of him haue been, and yet are, and euer to the worlds end shall be so meeke and patient in euery aduersity, that no sound, nor yet any grudging shall any time be perceiued in them.

Christ to an example of all perfect meekenes.

Neuertheleſſe, this chiefe and most worshipfull corner stone, which only is the ground of all vertues, proud beggers reproued: but this despight & reproofe Christ suffered most meekly in his own person, for to giue example of all meekenes and patience to all his faithfull followers. Certaine, this world is now so full of proud beggers, which are named priests: but the very office of working of priesthood which Christ approueth true, and accepteth, is far from the multitude of priests that now raigne in this world.

Priests seek the pleasures of this world.

For from the highest priest to the loweſt, all (as who say) study; that is, they imagine and trauell busily, how they may please this world and their flesh. This sentence and many such other dependeth vpon them, if it be well considered: either God the Father of heauen hath deceiued all mankind by the liuing specially and teaching of Jesu Christ, and by the liuing and teaching of his Apostles and prophets: or else all the popes that haue been since I had any knowledge or discretion, with all the colledge of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, monks, canons, and friers, with all the contagious flocke of the comminalty of priesthood, which haue (all my life time, and mikle longer) reigned and yet raigne, and increase damnably from sinne into sin, haue been, and yet bee proud obstinate heretikes, couetous simoners, and defouled adulterers in the ministring of the sacraments, and specially in the ministring of the sacrament of the altar. For as their works sheweth, whereto Christ biddeth vs take heed; the highest priests and prelats of this priesthood, challenge and occupy vnlefull temporall lordships. And for temporall fauor and need, they sell and giue benefices to vnworthy and vnable persons; yea, these simoners sell sinne, suffering men and women in euery degree and estate, to lie & continue from yeare to yeare, in diuers vices slanderously. And thus by euill example of high priests in the church, lower priests vnder them are not onely suffered, but they are maintained to sell full deare (to the people for temporall need) all the sacraments.

Gient ode beware the life of the popes, and Christ and his Apostles.

And thus all this foresaid priesthood is blowne so high, and borne vp in pride and vaine glory of their estate and dignity, and so blinded with worldly couetousnesse, that they disdaine to follow Christ in very meeknesse and wilfull pouerty, liuing holily, and preaching Gods word truly, freely, and continually, taking their liuelihood at the free will of the people of their pure almes, where and when they suffice not for their true and busie preaching to get their sustenance with their hands. To this true sentence grounded on Christs owne liuing and teaching of his Apostles, these foresaid worldly and fleshly priests will not consent effectually. But as their works, and also their words shew, boldly and vnshamefastly these fornamed priests and prelats, couet and inforce them mightily and busily, all all holy Scripture were expounded and drawne accordingly to their manners, and to their vngrounded vsages and findings. Fourthly they will not (since they hold it but folly and madnesse) conforme their manners to the pure and simple liuing of Christ and his Apostles, nor they will not follow freely their learning. Wherefore all the emperors and kings, and all other lords and ladies, and all the common people in euery degree and state, which haue before time knowne, or might haue knowne, and also all they that now yet know, or might know this foresaid witnesse of priesthood, and would not, nor yet will inforce them after their cunning and power, to withstand charitably, the foresaid enemies and traitors of Christ, and of his church: All these stande with antichrist against Jesu, and they shall heare the indignation of God almighty without end, if in conuenient time they amend them not, and repent them verily, doing therefore due mourning and sorrow, after their cunning and power. For through presumptuousnesse and negligence of priests and prelats (not of the church of Christ, but occupying their prelacie vndily in the church) and also flattering and false couetousnesse of other diuers named priests: Louesengers and loinderers, are wrongfully made and named Heremites, and haue leaue to defraud poore and needy creatures of their liuelode, and to liue by their false winning and begging, in sloth and in other diuers vices. And also of these prelats, these coker noses, are suffered to liue in pride and hypocrisie, and to defoule themselues both bodily and ghostly. Also by the suffering and counsell of these foresaid prelats and other priests, are made both vaine brotherhoods and sisterhoods, full of pride and enuie, which are full contrary to the brotherhood of Christ, since they are cause of mickle dissention, and they multiply and sustaine it vncharitably: for in lusty eating and drinking vnmeasurably and out of time, they exercise themselues. Also this vaine confederacy of brotherhoods, is permitted to be of one clothing, and to hold together.

Priests vnly priests neglecting in their duties.

And in all these vngrounded and vnlefull doings, priests are partners, and great medlers and counsellers: and ouer this vicionsnesse, heremites and pardoners, ankerers, and strange beggers, are licensed and admitted of prelats and priests, for

to

to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously against all good reason and true belieue; and so to increase diuers vices in themselues, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them.

And thus, the viciousnesse of these foresaid named priests and prelats, hath been long time, and yet is, and shall be cause of wars both within the realme and without. And in the same wise these vnable priests haue been, and yet are, and shall bee chiefe cause of pestilence of men, and murren of beasts, and of barrennesse of the earth, and of all other mischiefes, to the time that lords and commons able them through grace, for to know and to keep the commandements of God, inforcing them then faithfully and charitably by one assent, for to redresse and make one this foresaid priesthood, to the wilfull, poore, meeke, and innocent liuing and teaching, specially of Christ and his Apostles.

Therefore all they that know, or might know the viciousnesse that raigneth now cursedly in these priests, and in their learning, if they suffice not to vnderstand this contagious viciousnesse: let them pray to the Lord heartily for the health of his church, abstaining them prudently from these indurat enemies of Christ and of his people, and from all their sacraments, since to them, all that know them, or may know them, they are but fleshly deeds and false: as S. Cyprian witnesseth in the first question of decrees, and in the first cause, *Ca. Si quis inquit.* For as this Saint and great Doctor witnesseth there, that not onely vicious priests, but also all they that fauour them, or consent to them in their viciousnesse, shall together perish with them, if they amend them not duly, as all they perished that consented to Dathan and Abiron. For nothing were more confusion to these foresaid vicious priests, then to eschew them prudently in all their vnlaw full sacraments, while they continue in their sinfull liuing slanderously, as they haue long time done, and yet doe. And no body need to be afraid (though death did follow by one wise or other) for to die out of this world without taking of any Sacrament of these foresaid Christs enemies, since Christ will not faile for to minister him selfe all lefull and healfull Sacraments, and necessary at all time (and specially at the end) to all them that are in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charitie.

But yet some mad fooles say (for to eschew slander) they will be shriuen once in the yeere, and communed of their proper priests, though they know them defouled with slanderous vices. No doubt, but all they that thus doe or consent priuily or apertly to such doing, are culpable of great sinne: Since Saint Paul witnesseth, that not only they that doe euill, are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to euill doers. Also for their slanderous works (wittenesse) these foresaid vicious priests, despise and cast from them heauenly cunning, that is given of the holy Ghost. Wherefore the Lord throweth all such despisers from him, that they vse nor doe any priesthood to him.

No doubt then, all they that wittingly or wilfully take or consent that any other body should take any sacrament of any such named priest, sinneth openly and damnably against all the Trinitie, and are viable to any sacrament of health.

And that this foresaid sentence is altogether true, into remission of all my sinfull liuing, trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God, I offer to him my soule.

And to proue also the foresaid sentence true, with the help of God, I purpose fully for to suffer meekly and gladly my most wretched body to be tormented, where God will, of whom he will, and when he will, and as long as he will, and what temporall paine and death he will, to the praising of his name, and to the edification of his church.

And I that am a most vnworthy and wretched caitiffe, shal now through the speciall grace of God, make to him pleasant sacrifice with my most sinfull and vnworthy body. Beseeching heartily all folke that reade or heare his end of my purposed testament, that through the grace of God, they dispose verily and vertuously all their wits, and able in like manner all their members for to vnderstand truly, and to keepe faithfully, charitably, and continually all the commandements of God, and so then to pray deuoutly to all the blessed Trinity, that I may haue grace with wisdome and prudence from aboue, to end my life here in this foresaid truth, and for this cause, in true faith and stedfast hope, and perfect charitie. Amen.

The end of Ed. Thorpe vncertaine.

What was the end of this good man and blessed seruant of God William Thorp, I finde as yet in no story specified. By all coniectures it is to be thought, that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an aduersary against those men, would not let him goe. Much lesse it is to be supposed, that he would euer retract his sentence and opinion, which here so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirit. Againe, neither is it found that he was burned. Wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that hee being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorp confesseth himselfe) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there hee died by sicknesse.

The like end also I finde to happen to John Ashton, another good follower of Wicklisse, who for the same doctrine of the sacrament was condemned by the bishops, and because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetuall prison, wherein the good man continued till his death: An. 1382.

## ¶ John Purucy.

John Purucy.

FUrthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe, mention was made (as ye heard) of John Purucy, of whom also something we touched before: promising of the said John Purucy, more particularly to intreat in order and processe of time. Of this Purucy, Tho. Walden writeth thus in his second tome: John Purucy, saith he, was the vicary of Lollards, and glosier vpon Wicklisse. He said, that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation. And in his third tome hee saith: This John Purucy, saith Walsyd a doctor of Diuinity, were grieuously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwod, and at the length recanted at Pauls crosse at London (Thomas Arundel being then archbishop of Canturbury.) Afterward againe, he was imprisoned vnder Henry Chichele archbishop of Canturbury, in the yere of our Lord 1421. Thus much writeth Walden. The workes of this man which hee wrote, were gathered by Richard Lauingham his aduersarie, which I thinke worthy to be remembred. First, as touching the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keies, the preaching of the Gospel, of marriages, of vowes, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the lawes and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergie: of all these generally, he left diuers monuments grauely and exactly written, part whereof, here in the end of his story we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latine into English.

John Purucy published after his recantation.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Pauls crosse, were these hereafter following:

Articles of John Purucy recanted.

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be any accident without the subiect: but there bodily remaineth the same substance and the verie bodie and corruptible bread, and likewise the verie same wine the which before the consecration were set vpon the altar to bee consecrat of the priest: likewise as when a Pagan or Infidell is baptised, he is spiritually conuerted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was in his proper nature and substance.

2. Auricular confession or priuat penance, is a certaine whispering, destroying the liberty of the Gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sinne, and to drawe their soules into hell.

He preacheth of priests here, and out of publike ministers appointed in the church.

3. Euery lay man being holy, and predestinate vnto euerlasting life (albeit he be a lay man) yet is he a true priest before God.

4. That diuers prelats and other of the clergy doe liue wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his Apostles. Therefore they which so liue, haue not the keies neither of the kingdome of heauen, neither yet of hell: neither ought any christian to esteeme his censure any more then as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should peraduenture interdict the realme, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit vs, forsomuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the obseruation of his lawes, and from saying of seruice, according to the custome of the church.

Clowes.

5. If any man doe make an oth or vow, to keepe perpetuall chastitie, or doe any thing else vnto which God hath not appointed him, giuing him grace to performe his purpose: the same vow or oth is vnreasonable and indiscreet, neither can any prelat compell him to keepe the same, except he will doe contrary vnto Gods ordinance. But he ought to commit him vnto the gouernance of the holy Ghost and of his owne conscience: forsomuch as euery man which will not fulfill his vow or oth, cannot doe it for that cause.

The charge of priests.

6. Who so taketh vpon him the office of priesthod, although he haue not the charge of soules committed vnto him according to the custome of the church: not onely they may, but ought to preach the gospel freely vnto the people; otherwise he is a theefe, excommunicated of God, and of the holy Church.

Against transubstantiation.

7. That Innocentius the third pope, and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelats, with all the rest of the clergie, which together with the same pope agreed and determined: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, that the accidents of the said bread and wine doe remaine there, without any proper subiect of the same: the which also ordained, that all christians ought to confesse their sinnes once a yere vnto a proper priest, and to receiue the reuerent sacrament at Easter, and made certaine other lawes at the same time: All they, saith he, in so doing were fooles and blockheads, heretikes, blasphemers, and seducers of christian people. Therefore we ought not to beleeue their determinations, or of their successors, neither ought we to obey their lawes or ordinances, except they bee plainly grounded vpon the holy Scripture, or vpon some reason which cannot be impugned.

Other



## Other Articles drawne out of Purueyes bookes more at large by Ri. Lauingham.

Articles out of Purueyes bookes, collected by R. Lauingham.

AS touching the sacrament of thankes giuing, he saith: That that chapter of repentance and remission Omnis vtriusque sexus: wherein it is ordained that euery faithfull man ought once euery yere at the least, that is to say, at Easter, to receiue the sacrament of the Eucharist; is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

The sacrament of the popish altar.

Item, that Innocentius the third pope, was the head of antichrist, who after the letting loose of Satan, inuented a new found article of our faith, and a certaine fained verity touching the sacrament of the altar: That is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else an heape of accidences without a substance. But Christ and his Apostles doe teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he called it bread, he would haue the people to vnderstand as they ought with reason, that it is very and substantiall bread and no false nor fained bread.

Pope Innocentius head of antichrist.

And although Innocentius that antichrist doth alledge, that in the councell at Lions, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelats, which were in one opinion of this determination: All those notwithstanding he calleth fooles, according to that saying of Ecclesi. Of fooles there are an infinit number. And so in like maner he calleth them false Christs, and false Prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24. of Matthew: Many false Christs and false Prophets shall arise and deceiue many. And therefore euery christian man ought to beleeue strongly, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor fained bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet notwithstanding it is the very body of Christ in that sort hee spake and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ concerning his humanitie, was both visible and passible, and by his Diuinitie was inuisible and impassible: so likewise, this sacrament in that it is very bread, may be seene with the corporall eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seene with the corporall eye, although it be the body of Christ in that manner hee spake it: for that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is not incorruptible in heauen. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also Innocentius the third, with a great multitude of his secular clerkes, made a certaine new determination, that the sacrament of the altar is an accidence without a substance, whereas neither Iesus Christ, nor any of his Apostles taught this faith; but openly and manifestly to the contrary; neither yet the holy Doctors for the space of a thousand yeeres and more, taught this faith openly.

The sacrament is substance bread, in signification the body of Christ.

Transubstantiation not openly taught 1000. yeeres after Christ.

Therefore, when antichrist or any of his shauelings doth aske of thee that art a simple christian, whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not: affirme thou it manifestly so to bee. And if hee aske of thee whether it be materiall bread, or what other bread else: say thou, that it is such bread as Christ vnderstood and meant by his proper word: and such bread as the holy Ghost meant in Saint Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he bake; and made thou no further herein. If hee aske thee how this bread is the body of Christ: say thou, as Christ vnderstood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no vntruth; say thou also, as the holy doctors doe say, that the terrestriall matter or substance, may bee conuerted into Christ, as the Iagar or infidell may bee baptised: and hereby spiritually to bee conuerted and to be a member of Christ, and so after a certaine manner to become Christ, and yet the same man to remaine still in his proper nature. For so doth Saint Augustine grant, that a sinner forsaking his sinne, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charitie, may be conuerted into God, and to bee after a manner God: as both Dauid and Saint John doe testifie, and yet to be the same person in substance and nature, and in soule and bertue to be altered and changed. But yet, men of more knowledge and reason, may more plainly conuince the falsity of antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keepe the manifest and apparant words of the holie Scripture, and the plaine sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly to commit that vnto the spirit of God, which perfectly their vnderstanding: then may they safely offer themselues to death, as true martyrs of Iesus Christ.

The sacrament bith bread, and the body in diuers respects.

Secular confession and penance.

As touching the sacrament of penance; that chapter Omnis vtriusque sexus, by which a certaine new found auricular confession was ordained, is full of hypocrisie, heresie, couetousnesse, pride, and blasphemy, he saith, and reproueth the same chapter verbatim, and that by the sentences of the same processe. Also, that the penance and paines limitted by the canons, be vnreasonable and vniust, for the austerity and rigorousnesse which they containe, more then are tared by Gods law. He also doth exemplifie, of the solemne and publike denial of penitents to be receiued into orders, according to the decree of the generall councell, Distinctione 50. cap. Expenitentibus. Also of the seuen-fold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter, Presbyter Distinct. 82. And further theweth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, Qui presbyter enim &c. Whereas the Decretall of the generall councell saith, that such a one ought to remaine continuing his life in the wantes, and not to marry.

Tonsure maketh not a priest.

And how Innocentius the third, brought in a new found confession, whereby the priests doe oppresse the simple lay men. And that many other things they doe, compelling them to confesse themselues to blinde and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else then pride and couetousnesse, hauing such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also, that the Decretall of Innocentius the third, touching the forsaid auricular or vocall confession, was brought in and inuented, to intricate and intangle mens conscience with sinne, and to draw them downe to hell. And furthermore, that such manner of confession destroieth the Euangelicall liberty, and doth let men to inquire after, and to retaine the wise counsell and doctrine of such as be good priests, which know faithfully how to obserue his precepts and commandements, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to heauen. For which abuse, al christian men, and specially all Englishmen, ought to erclaime against such wicked lawes.

The order of priesthood.

As touching the sacrament of order, hee saith: That all good christians are predestinate and bee ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselues, and to Christ, themselues: as also to teach and preach the Gospell to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of liuing. That the worldly shauelings doe more magnifie the naked and bare signes of priesthood (inuented by sinfull men) then the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and liuely faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needfull to haue such shauelings, God knoweth how, and can make when it pleaseth him, priests (without mans working and sinfull signes: that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to be knowne and discerned of the people, by their vertuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the laws of God. For so made hee the first made priests and elders before the law of Moyses: and so made he Moyses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without mans operation at all: and euen so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true christians, receiue none such as priests, but vnlesse they follow Christ and his Apostles; neither doe they beleeue that they make the sacrament of the altar (which they affirme to bee Gods body) when it pleaseth them, lest happily God bee not with them, forasmuch as that they doe this thing for couetousnesse sake, or else to brag of their owne power. And therefore such as be simple men, will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulnesse, with a silent condition; that is, if it be made by Gods authority, and to haue their deuotion to the body of Christ in heauen. Also, that such as bee elders, if they be Gods priests, be bishoppes, prelats, and curats of their christian brethren, whom they may leade to heauen by the example of their holy conuersation, and by preaching of the Gospell, although they make no sacrifice to that antichrist of Rome for their confirmation: neither bee they dedicated to the world by secular diuine things, and by continuing the liuings of the pope, as be those secular bishops, prelats, and curats. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custome of the church is, yet Christ which is the head of his church, both ordaine such a pope as pleaseth him: and that is, whosoeuer is most humble and louely, and best doth the office of a true priest, although hee be vnknowne to the world: and although there were no such proud bishoppe aboue all the rest, as the church doth vse; yet all the priests might well gouerne the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishoppes, &c. And admit that no such priests were according as the accustomed vse now of receiuing of order and tonsure, by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure: yet Christ knoweth both how to make and chuse such as shall well please him, both in conuersation of life, and sincere preaching of the Gospell, in ministring to his people all necessary sacraments. And euery holy man which is a minister of Christ, although hee be not thaten, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop euer lay his character vpon him. So that the pope and prelats doe make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crownes by them inuented) then of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God: whereas all those that are predestinate, are true priests made of him.

He meaneth of priuat preaching to their neighbours. True ministers may be made without tonsuring.

Priests here haue a priuat, not a publike vnderstanding.

What if there were no pope known to the church could stand.

The popes crosse fitteth for the blast of Lucifer.

As touching the authority of the keies and censures, no christian man ought to esteeme satan (whom men call the pope) and his vniust censures, more then the filling of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of couetous priests, which indulgences doe draw away the hope which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinfull men, and doe rob the poore of such almes as is giuen to them. Such priests be manifest betrairers

Paules priests following the steps of them, but rather of Lucifer.

betrainers of Christ and of the whole church, and by satans owne stewards to beguile christen soules by their hypocrisie and fained pardons. Also, forasmuch as the prelates and clergy men liue so execrable a life, contrary to the Gospell of Christ, and examples of his Apostles, and teach not truly the gospel, but onely lies & the traditions of sinful wicked men: it appeareth most manifestly, that they haue not the keies of the kingdome of heauen, but rather the keies of hell. And they may be right well afeared, that God neuer gaue vnto them authority to make and establish so many ordeyn ces and traditions, which be contrarie to the liberte of the Gospel, and are blocks in christen mens waies, that they can neither know nor obserue the same his Gospell, in liberty of conscience, and so attaine a ready way to heauen.

The pope and his cleargie purpose not to reforme this.

Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter Religiosi, touching the priuiledges in the Clementines may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same: so also as the same is a worke of charity, which auaileth the will and ordinance of the pope in his fautors in this case is to hinder and let. Item, if the pope shall interdict this our realme; that cannot hurt vs, but much profit vs, because that thereby hee should separate vs from all his wicked lawes, and from the charges of sustaining of so many thousand thaurlings, which with small deuotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new found sang, secundum vsum Sarum. So that not withstanding the pope in his generall councell bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heauen, either for that hee bindeth vnreasonably, and contradictorily both against himselfe, or else for that hee hath forsaken the iudgement of God.

Scripture not sufficient cause to extraine matrimonie.

As touching the preaching of the Gospell: Whatsoeuer reuerence or taketh vpon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and discharge th not the same by the example of his good conuersation and faithfull preaching of the Gospell, is a theefe, excommunicat of God, and of holy church. And further, if the curats preach not the word of God, they shall be damned: and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resigne their benefices. So that those prelates which preach not the Gospell of Christ (although they could resolue themselues from the doting of any other cuill) are dead in themselues, are antichrists, and satans, transfigured into Angels of light, night theeues, manquellers by day light, and betrayers of Christ his people.

The first mariage (if there be no impediment) is made with the words of the present tence, and is more auailable than the second.

Concerning the sacrament of Matrimony: Notwithstanding any spirituall kinred or gossoppie, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papisticall. And in the same place hee saith, that if our realme dor admit one not borne in matrimony or legitimate to the imperiall crowne, so that he doth well bilegetimate to the imperiall crowne, so that he doth well bilegetimate to the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reiect another king or heire of the kingdome, being borne in matrimony and legitimate: So, for such spirituall kinred there ought no impediment to be made. Also notwithstanding the Cap. Si inter desponsalibus: If any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tence, by an oth taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tence: that then the second contract standeth. Also, if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tence vpon his oth taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another not altering the words, and hath carnall copulation vpon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also, if a man before witnesse, assure himselfe to a woman by a contract made in the present tence, and hath children by the same woman, and afterward the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in the present tence, before witnesse; although the first witnesses be dead, or else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the Iudge to proue the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope (allowing the second contract) doth compell them to line in adulterie against the commandement of God. Also, hee condemneth the Decreall of the restitution of things stollen, Cap. Literas tuas: which willeth, that a man and woman hauing carnall copulation in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witnesse hereof: if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remaine with him, and to yeeld her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly hauing no witnesse, and with the other openly hauing witnesse, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiencie of the law, and to suffer men to bee ruled by their consciences, then by the censures to compell them to commit and line in adultery.

Swearing and making of vowes.

As touching the swearing and making of vowes: That vow or oth is lesse vnto, and is without all discretion made, which to performe and keepe, a man hath no power but by grace giuen him of God: because that some such there be, whom God doth not accept to persuere in the state of chastitie and perpetuall virginitie: and such a one cannot keepe his vow, although hee make the same. Also, that euery one making a vow of continencie or chastitie, when making the same, hee shall not be accepted of God, doth erre vndiscretly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself without the gift of God to fulfill his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, cap. 8. No man hath the gift of continencie, vnlesse that God giue it vnto him. Forsothe wise, if God helpe not such a one to perfo;me the vow or oth which he hath made and taken, no prelat can compell him, vnlesse he do contrary to Gods ordinance; but he ought to commit himselfe to the gouernment of Gods holy spirit, and his owne conscience.

Possessions of the church.

For the possessions of the church: In another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords and commons may without any charge at all, keep fifteen garrisons, and finde 15000. souldiers, hauing sufficient landes and reuenewes to line vpon; out of the temporalties gotten into the handes of the clergy and fained religious men, which neuer do that, which pertaineth to the office of curats to doe, nor yet to secular lords. And moreouer, the king may haue euery yere 20000. pound to come freely into his coffers, and aboue. Also may finde or sustaine fifteene colledges more, and 15000. priests and clerks, with sufficient liuing, and an hundred hospitals for the sick, and euery house to haue one hundred marks in landes. And all this may they take of the foresaid temporalties, without any charge to the realme wherein to the king, the lordes, and the commons are to be inuited. For otherwise, there seemeth to hang ouer our heades a great and marueilous altercation of this realme, vnlesse the same be put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and fained religious, which bee Simonacks and heretikes, which faine themselues to say masse, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and alledge, 1.q. 3. Audiuimus, & cap. Pudenda, & cap. Schisma; by which chap. such priests and religious doe not make the sacrament of the altar; that then all christians, especially all the founders of such abbies, and indowers of bishoprickes, priories, and churteries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions, which are the maintenance of all their sinnes. And also, that christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy, such secular dominion as nouselleth and nourisheth them in heresies and ought to reduce them vnto the simple and poore life of Christ Iesus and his Apostles.

1.q.3.§.q.i. Cap. Audiuimus.

Good kings ought to depose euill priests.

Pe confessa-tion, dist 2. cap. Scelera.

Why cheefe of all disposed princes, and of inferiour magistrates, not to be nourished with temporalities and dignities.

And further, that all christian princes (if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God) ought to take away their temporalties from that shamefull generation, which moste of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in likewise, the fat tithes from churches appropriat to rich monks and other religious fained by manifest liuing, and other vnlawfull vsurues, likewise ought to bebarre their gold to the proud priest of Rome, which doth poison all Christendome with simony and heresie. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishoppes, monks, and other prelats, be so great lords in this world, whereas Christ with his Apostles and Disciples, neuer tooke vpon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate vnto them churches, as these men doe, but led a poore life, and gaue a good testimony of their priesthood. And therefore, all christians ought to the vttermost of their power and strength to sweare that they will reduce such shauelings, to the humilitie and pouerty of Christ and his Apostles: and likewise thus doth not, consenteth to their heresie. Also, that these two chapters of the immunitie of churches, are to be condemned, that is, cap. Non minus, and cap. Aduersus. Because they doe decree, that temporall lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any ecclesiasticall persons.

The popes lawes contrary to themselues.

Correction of the clergy.

Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God and by reason, the king and all other christians may take reuenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and to reduce them vnto the humble ordinance of Iesus Christ. Also, that the lads of Suffolke the pope, which is declared in 2.q.7. cap. Presul, and cap. Nullam, is contrary to the law of Christ and either testament. And that proud and ambitious Sulleyter by his law, so defended two cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no means they might be conuinced, although they were both vicious and euil. And although Christ sustained and suffered the iudgement of vntrust temporall Iudges; our mitred prelats in these dates, so magnifie themselues beyond Christ and his Apostles, that they refuse and will none of such iudgements. Also, that those Decretals of accusations, cap. Quando & Qualiter: which doe prohibit that any clerks should be brought before a secular Iudge to receiue iudgement, doe containe both heresie, blasphemie, and error, and bringeth great gaine and commodity to antichrists coffers.

The pope and his cardinals blasphemers of the true church.

2.q.7. Presul. Ibid. Nullam.

Punishing of ministers before recourse to secular magistrates in their spirituall causes.

Furthermore, that all christian kings and lords, ought to reclaime against the pope and those that bee his fautors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his Gospell, kings and other ministers of Gods iustice. Also, that bishops and their fautorers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords (but vnto them and their Officials) to punish adultery and fornication, doe fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresie against the Scripture. Also, that it appertaineth to the king, to



to haue the order both of priests and bishops, as these kings, Salomon and Iosaphat had.

Furthermore, that chapter Nullus iudicium de foro competenti, by the which secular iudges, are forbidden without the bishops commandement, to condemne any clerke to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, declaring that kings haue power ouer clerks and priests, to punish them for their deserued crimes. Also, that the decree of Boniface de penis in 6. cap. Ecclesiis, made against the professors, scribers, and inquisitors of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also, that by the law of God and reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinall, and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, aduitery, and manifest blasphemie. Also that the chapter Si Papa dist. 40. which saith, that the pope ought to be iudged of none, vnlesse he be deuius a fide, is contrary to the Gospell, which saith: If thy brother sinne against thee, correct him. Also, whereas S. Gregory and S. Augustine called themselues the seruants of Gods seruants, this proud bishop of Rome, which will not be iudged by his subiects (which be in very deed his lords, if they be iust and good men) doth destroy the order of Gods law, and all humilitie, and doth extoll himselfe aboue God and his Apostles. Also, that christian kings ought not onely to iudge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him by the example that Cestrensis, lib. 6. cap. 8. declareth of Otho the emperor, which deposed Iohn the twelfth, and did institute Leo in his place. And further, hee maketh an exhortation to the princes to iudge the church of Rome, which hee calleth the great and cursed strumpet, of whom S. Iohn writeth in the Apocalyps, chap. 17.

Lastly, touching the lawes and determinations of the church; christians haue reasonable excuses and causes to repell the statutes of the pope and of his hauelings, which be not expressly grounded on the holy Scriptures, or else vpon reason ineuitable. Also he saith, that that law which is set forth of consecration distinctione 2. cap. Seculares, & cap. Omnis homo, & cap. Et si non frequentius, & cap. In cena domini: That such secular men as do not receiue the sacrament of the altar at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsontide, are not to be counted amongst the number of christians, nor are to be esteemed as christians: whereby it followeth, that all clerks and lay men that obserue not the same, it seemeth they goe straight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the custome and vse in receiuing is contrary to the same: then may we blesse such rebellion and disobedience to the pope and his law: for otherwise we should flee to hel without any stay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all christians ought well to practise this schole of disobedience against the pope and all his lawes (not founded vpon the holy Scripture) which doe let men to climbe to heauen by the keeping of charity, and the libertie of the Gospell. Also, that christian men haue great cause to refuse the lawes & statutes of these worldly clerks, which the people call the papall lawes and bishoplike statutes, for the couetousnes and voluptuousnes of them; without the which, the church and congregation of God might safely run towards heauen by the sweet yoke of the Lord, as it did 1000. yeres before the said lawes were prescribed and sent to the Vniuersities, and withdrawn men from studying of the holy Scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly goods. Also, that simple men doe reuerently receiue the sentences of the doctors and other lawes, so far forth as they be expressly grounded vpon the holy Scripture or good reason. Also, that whereas the popes lawes, and lawes of his ministers and clerks, be both contrary to themselues, and haue not their foundation neither vpon the Scripture, nor yet vpon reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also, that when all the Apostles faith failed them in the time of the Lords passion, faith then rested in the blessed virgin: much more might that proud priest of Rome with all his rabble, easily erre in the faith; and yet is the christian faith preserued whole and safe, in the faithfull members of Christ which are his true church: but the pope and all his crabblement cannot proue that they be any part of his church. Also, that the pope with all his fautors, may as well be deceiued by a lying spirit, as was Achab and all his prophets: and that one true prophet, as was Michias, may haue the verity shewed vnto him contra concilium. Also, that all good christians ought to call from them the popes lawes, saying: Let vs breake their bands in sunder, and let vs cast from our neckes those heauy pokes of theirs. Also, that where these prelats doe burne one good booke, for one error perhaps contained in the same, they ought to burne all the bookes of the canon law, for the manifold heresies contained in them.

The canon law full of heresie.

¶ And thus much out of a certaine old written booke in parchment, borowed once of T. N. which booke containing diuers ancient records of the Vniuersity, seemeth to belong sometimes to the library of the Vniuersity, bearing the yere of the compiling thereof. 1296. Which computation if it be true, then was it written of him, or that he recanted before Thomas Arundel archbishop at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned. Whereunto I thought also to annex a certain godly and most fruitfull sermon of like antiquity, preached at Pau's crosse much about the same time, which was in the yere of our Lord 1388. by a certaine learned clerke, as I finde in an old monument, named R. Wimbeldon. Albeit, among the ancient registers and records belonging to the archbishop of Canturbury, I haue an old worne copy of the said sermon, written in very old English, and almost halfe consumed with age, purporting the said author hereof, being also the forsaid name. The true copy of which sermon, in his owne speech wherein it was first spoken, and preached at the crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, and after exhibited to the archbishop of Canterbury (being then as it seemeth William Courtney) here followeth.

## 28. A Sermon no lesse godly then learned, preached at Pauls crosse on the Sunday of Quinquagesima, an. 1389. by R. Wimbeldon.

*Redde rationem villicationis tuæ. Luc. xvi.*

The Sermon of R. Wimbeldon.

Matth. 20.

My dere frends, ye shulden vnderstond, that Christ auntso and doctor of truth, in his boke of the Gospel (likening the kingdome of heauen to an houlholder) saith on this manner: Like is the kingdome of heauen to an houlholding man, that went out first on the morow to hire workmen into his vine. Also, about the third, sixth, ninth and eleuenth houres he went out, and found men standing idle: and said to them: Go ye into mine vineyard, and that right is, I will giue you. When the day was ago, he cleped his stiward, and bigh to giue eche man a pente.

The calling of God is diuerse.

The spirituall vnderstonding of this householder, is our Lord Iesu Christ, that is head of the housholde of holy church. And thus clepith men in diuerce houres of the day, that is in diuerce agees of the werld. As in time of law of kind, he cleped by enspiring, Abel, Ennok, Noe, and Abraham. In time of the old law, Moses, Dauid, Isay, and Ieremy: and in time of grace, Apostles, martyrs, and confessors and virgins. Also he cleped men in diuers agees, some on childhode, as Iohn Baptist; some in flate of manhode, as Peter and Andrew; and some in old agee, as Gamaliel, and Ioseph of Arimathie. And all these he clepeth to trauaile in his vine, that is the church, and that in diuers maner. For right as yee seeth, that in tilling of the materiall vine, there ben diuers labours, for some kutten awey the void branches, some maken forkis and railes to beren vp the vine, and some diggen away the old earth fro the rote, and leyn there fatter. And all this offices ben so necessary to the vine, that if any of them faile, it shall harme greatly, other destroy the vine. For but if the vine be kut, he shall wax wilde; but if he be railed, he shall be ouergo with nettles and wedis: but if the rote be fatted with dong, she for febleuis shuld wax barraine.

Right so in the Church beth nedefull these three offices, priesthode, knythode, and labourers. To priests it falleth, to kut away the void braunches of sins with the fwerd of her tong. To knighthode it falleth to letten wrongs and thefts to ben done, and to maintaine Goddis law, and them that ben teachers therof, and also to kepe the lond from enemies of other lords. And to labourers it falleth, to trauail bodelich, and with their fore fwete, geten out of the earth bodilech lifelode for hem, and other parties. And these flates beth also nedefull to the church, that none may well ben without other: for if priesthod lacked, the people for default of knowing of Gods law, shuld waxe wilde in vices, and deyen gostely: and if the knithod laked, and men to rulin the puple by law and hardinesse, theeues and enemies shulden so encres, that no man shuld liue in peace. And if the labourers were nought, both knights and priests must become acre men and herdis, and else they shuld for defaut of bodily sustenance dey. And therefore saith clerke Auicenne, that euery vereasonable beast, if he haue that kind hath ordained for him, as kind hath ordained it, he is suffisance to liue by himselfe without any helpe of other of the same kind. As if there were but one horse other one fwepe in the world, yet if he had grasse and corne, as kind hath ordained for such beasts, he shuld liue well inow. But if there ne were but O man in the world, though he had all that good that is therein, yet for defaut he shuld dey, or his life shuld be wors then if he were naught; and the cause is this, for that thing that kind ordaineth for a mans sustenance, without other arraieng then it hath of kind, accordeth nought to him. As though a man haue corne as it commeth from the earth, yet it is no meat according to him, vnto it be by mans craft, changed into bread: and though he haue flesh other fish, yet while it is raw, as kind ordained it, till it be by mans trauaile sodden, rosted, or baken, it corded not to mans lifelode. And right so, wolle that the fweepe beareth, not by mannis diuers craftis and trauailes be chaunged or it be able to cloth any man: and certis O man by himselfe shuld neuer doe all these labours. And therefore, saith this clerke, it is need that some be acre men, some bakers, some makers of cloth, and some marchaunts to fetch that, that one lond fetcheth from another there it is plenty.

And certis this shuld be a cause why euery state shuld loue other. And men of o craft shuld not despise ne hate men of none other craft, sith they beso nedefull euerich to other. And oft thelke crafts that ben most vthonest, might worst ben forbore: and o thing I dare well say, that he that is neither trauailing in this world, on studying, on praiers, on preaching, for helpe of the people as it falleth to priests, neither ruling the people,

people, maintaining me defending fro enemies, as it falleth to knights, neither trauelling on the earth, in diuers crafts, as it falleth to labourers: What the day of rekening commeth, that is, the end of this life, right as he liued here without trauaile, so he shall there lack the reward of the pennie, that is, the endelesse ioy of heauen. And as he was here liuing after none state ne order, so he shall be put than in that place that no order is in, but euerlasting horror and sorrow, that is, in hell. Herfore, euerich man see to what state God hath cleped him, and dwel he therein by trauaile, according to his degree. Thou that art a laborer or a craftie man, doe this truly. If thou art a seruant or a bondman, besigger and low in dredeof displeasing of thy Lord. If thou art a marchaunt, disceiue nought thy brother in chaffering. If thou art a knight or a lord, defend the poore mā & needy fro hands that will harme thē. If thou art a Justice or a Iudge, goe not on the right hand by fauor, neither on the left hand, to punish any man for hate. If thou art a priest, vndermine, pray, and reprehende, in all manner patience and doctrine. Vndermine thilke that ben negligent, pray for thilke that ben obedient, reproue tho that ben vnobedient to God. So euery man trauaile in his degree. For whan the euen is come, that is, the end of this world, than euery man shall take reward, good or euill, after that he hath trauailed here.

1 Cor. 7. 1 Pet. 2. 1. Thes. 4.

Rom. 8. 2 Tim. 4.

The words that I haue taken to make of my sermon, be thus much to say: Yeld rekoning of thy baily. Christ, autor of pitie and louer of the saluation of his people, in the processe of this gospell, enformeth euery man what is his baily, by maner of a parable of a baily that he speaketh of, to array him to answer of the goods that God hath taken him, when the day of strait reckoning shall be come, that is, the day of dome. And also at this time, through the helpe of God, following him that is so great a maister of autority, because that I know nothing that should more draw away mans vnreasonable loue fro the passing ioy of this world, then the mind of the dreadfull reconing: As much as suffice, I shall shew you how yee shall dispose you to auoid the vengeance of God, when there shall be time of so straight doome, that we shall geue reconing of euery idle word that we haue spoken. For than it shal be said to vs, and we shall not flee it: Yeld reconing of thy baily.

Note.

But for forther processe of this first party of this sermon, ye shall wete that there shall be three bailiffes that shall be cleped to this strait reconing. Twaine to answer for themselfe and for other, that ben priests that haue cure of mens soules, and temporall men that haue gouernaile of people: and the third bailiffe shall account onely for himselfe, and that is euery christen man, of that he hath receiued of God. And euery of these shall answere to three questions. To the first question, how hast thou entred? The second, how hast thou ruled? And to the third, how hast thou liued? And if thou canst well assoile these three questions, was there neuer none earthly lord that euer so well rewarded his seruant without comparison, as thy Lord God shall reward thee, that is, with blisse, and ioy, and life that euer shall last. But on that other side, and thou wilt now be recheles of thine owne welfare, and take none heed of this reconing: If that day take thee sodainly, so that thou passe hence in deadly sinne (as thou wost neuer what shall fall thee) all the tongues that euer were, or euer shall be, mow not tell the sorrow and wo that thou shalt euer be in, and suffer. Therefore the desire of so great ioy, and the dread of so great paine, though loue ne dread of God were not in thine heart, yet should that make thee afeard to sinne, for to thinke that thou shalt giue reconing of thy baily. Therefore as I say to thee, the first question that shall be proposed to the first baily, that is a prelat ether a curat of mens soules, is this: How hast thou entred? Matth. 22. Friend, how entredst thou hether? Who brought thee into this office? Truth or Simony? God or the Diuell? Grace or mony? The flesh or the spirit? Giue thou thy reconing if thou canst. If thou canst not, I rede that thou tary for to learne. For vp hap ere night thou shalt be cleped. And if thou stand dombe for vnkunning, or else for confusion of thy conscience, thou fall into the sentence that anon followeth: Binde his hands and his fete, and cast him into the vter ward of darknesse, there shall be weeping and grenning of teeth. Therefore I rede thee, that thou adresse thee how thou shalt answer to this question: How hast thou entred? whether by cleping, or by thine owne procuring: for that thou wouldest trauaile in Gods gospell, other for thou wouldest be richly arraied? Answer now to thy owne conscience as thou shalt answere to God, thou that hast take now the order of priest, whether thou be curat or none: who stirred thee to take vpon thee so high an estate? Whether for thou wouldest liue as a priest ought to doe, studying of Gods law to preach, and moll heartily to pray for the people: or for to liue a delicious life vpon other mens trauaile, and they selfe trauaile nought. Why also setten men their sonnes, either their cosins to schoole? Whereto, but for to get them great auancements, or to make them the better to know how they shulden serue God? This men may see openly by the sciences that they set them to. Why I pray you put men their sonnes to the law ciuell, or to the kings court to write letters and writs, rather then to Philosophie or Diuinitie, but for the hope that these occupacions should be euer meanes to make them great in the world? I hope that there will no man say, that they ne should better learne the rule of good liuing in the booke of Gods law, then in any bookes of mans worldly wisdome. But certes now it is sothe, that Iohn Chrysostom saith: Mothers be louing to the bodies of their children, but the soule they despise; they desire them to welfare in this world, but they take none heed what they shall suffer in the tother: some ordeinen fees for their children, but none ordeine them to Godward: the lust of their bodies they wol deere by, but the health of their soule they recke nought of. If they see them poore or sicke, they sorrow and sigheth, but though they see them sinne they sorrow not. And in this they shew that they brought forth the bodies, but not the soules. And if we take heed truly, what abominations be scattered and spread abroad in holy church now adaies among priests, we shul wel wit, that they come not all to the fold of Christ by Christs cleping for to profit, but by other waies to get them worldly welth, and this is the cause of lesing of soules, that Christ bought so deare, & of many errors among the people: and therefore it is iwrit in the booke of mourning, where Prophet speketh thus to God, Thre. 1. The enemy hath put his hand to all things desireable to him: for he hath let lawlesse folke enter into the sanctuary, of the which thou hadst commanded, that they should not enter into the church. This enemie is Sathanas, as his name sowneth, that hath put his hand to all that him liketh. What sinne I pray you will the fiend haue sow on men, that nis now yvied? In what plenty is now pride, enuy, wrath, and couetise? whan were they so great as they be now? and so of all other sinnes. And why trowest thou? But for there be a lawlesse people entred into thy sanctuary, that neither keepe in themselfe the law of God, ne lonne teachen other: and to euery such, saith God by the Prophet: Ose. 4. For that thou hast put away cunning, I shall put thee away, that thou shalt vse no priesthood to me. Lo that God expredly here in holy writ, forbiddeth men to take the state of priesthood on them, but they haue cunning, that needeth them. Thou than that canst neither rule thy selfe, ne other, after the law of God, beware how thou wilt answere to God, at his dreadfull dome, when he shall say to thee, that which I tooke to my theame:

Solution. Iohannes Chrysostomus homilia 27.

Note.

Ose. 4.

Yeld the reckening of thy baily, how thou hast entred.

The second question that euery curat and prelat of holy church shall answer to, is this: How hast thou ruled? That is to say, the soules of thy suggets, & the goods of poore men: Geue now thine account. First, how thou hast gouerned Gods folke that were take thee to keepe? Whether art thou an herd or an hired man, that doost all for loue of bodelich hire? As a father, or as a wolfe that eaten his sheepe, and keepeth them nought? Say, whom hast thou turned from his cursed liuing, by thy deuout preaching? Whom hast thou taught the law of God that was earst vncunning? There shall ben heard a grieuous accusing of fatherlesse children, and a hard alledging, that priests haue liueden by their wages, and not done away their sins. Yeld also reconing how thou hast ruled, and spended the goods of poore men. Harke what S. Bernard saith: Dread clerks, dread the ministers of the church, the which ben in the place of Saints, that they doe so wickedly, nought holding them apaid with such wages that were sufficient to them: That ouerplus that needy men should be sustained by, they be not ashamed to waste in the house of their pride and lechery, and withbolden to themselfe wickedly and cursedly that which should be the lifelode of poore men. With double wickednesse truly they sinne. First, for they reeuen other mens goods, and saith they misuse holy things in their vanities and in their riches. Euery curat baily therfore beware, for whom, to the last farthing he shall reckon with Christ. Trowest thou not then, that thou ne shalt be disallowed of God, of that thou hast mispended in feeding of fat palfreys, of hounds, of hawkes, and if it so be, that is worst of all, on lecherous women? Heare what is said of such. They had led their daies in wealths: And in a point they ben gone downe into hel. Think therefore I rede thee, that thou shalt yeeld reckening of thy baily.

How hast thou ruled.

Bernardus.

Deut. 9.

Iob 21.

The third question that this baily shall answere to, is this: How hast thou liued? What light of holinesse hast thou shewed in thy liuing to the people, or what mirror hast thou ben of holinesse to them? Geue now thy reconing how thou hast liued, as a priest, or as a leude man, as a man, or as a beast. That is to wonder truly how the life of priests is chaunged. They be clothen as knights, they speaken as vnhonestly as carles; other of winning as Marchaunts; they riden as princes, and all that is thus spended, is of the goods of poore men, and of Christs heritage. Therefore saith an holy doctor: The clay of Egypt was tough and stinking, and medled with bloud. The slaues were hard to be vndone, for they were baked with fire of couetise, and with the light of lust. In this trauaileth rich men, in this they wake, awaiting pecunien. In these trauaileth prelats, that ben too much blent with too much shining of riches, that make them houses like churches in greatnesse, that with diuers paintries, coloren their chambers, that with diuers clothings of colours, make images gay: but the poore man for default of clothes, beggeth, and with an empty wombe crieth at the doore. And if I shall the sooth say, saith this doctor, oft time poore men be robbed for to clothe the trees and stones. Of such speaketh the Prophet: How art thou here? or as who art thou? Here thou art occupying the place of Peter and of Poule, or of Thomas or of Martine: But how, as Iudas among the apostles, as Symon Magus among the disciples, as a candle new quenched amongst thilke all the house in steed of a light lanterne, as a smoke that blindeth mens eien, in place of cleane fire? If thou contrary thus the forme of liuing that Christ and his disciples left to priests: Loe what saith the prophet Ieremy. They haue entred, and they haue had and nought ben obedient. They hauen with false title or with their false and corrupt intention, had poore mens goods to their misusing, and they haue not be obedient to the law of God in their owne liuing. Therefore it is writ, that the hardest dome shall fall on such. An hard dome, for they haue misentred. An harder dome, for they haue misruled: and the hardest dome, for they haue so curtedly liued. Thinke therefore I rede, how thou wilt giue reckning of thy baily.

Ier 23.

Sap. 6.

Note.

Kings, princes and magistrates admonished. How thou hast entred.

The second bailiffe, that accounteth at this dome for himselfe and also for other, is hee: that keeping hath of any communite, as kings, princes, maiers, and shireues, and iustices. And these shull also answere to the same three questions. The first question, how hast thou hentred, that is to say, into thine office? Other for helpe of the people to destroy falshed and fortheren truth? Other for defire of winning of worldly worship? If thou take such an office, more for thine owne worldly profit, than for helpe of the communite, thou art a tyrant as the philosopher saith. For it is to feare left there ben too many that desiren such states, that they may the rather oppresse thilke that they hateth, and take gifts to spare to punish thilke, that hauen trespassed, and so maketh them partners of their sinnes. And many such, when they ben so high, they recke nought that they beth poore mens brethren, but they wene to passe them in kind, as they passeth in worldly worshippe, that is but winde: of which God saith by the prophet, they hauen raigned, but nought of me, they haue bene princes but I know nought. So we read of Roboam, that was the son of king Salomon, what time he was first king, the people of Israel comen to him, and said: Thy father in his last daies, put on vs great charge. Wee pray thee some deale make it lighter, and we willen serue thee. And the king tooke counsell of the old wise men, & they counsailden to answere them faire, and that should bee for the best. But he left these old wise mennis counsaile, and did after the counsaile of children that were his playferen, and said to the people when they came againe. My left finger is greater than my fathers riegge. My father grieued you somewhat, but I will echen more thereto. And the people heard this, and rebeleden to him, and tooke them another king: and sith, the kingdome came neuer whole againe: and therefore it is good, that euery ruler of communalties, that they be not lad by follies, ne by none other eare rowner, that he ne haue an eygh of loue to the commonty that he hath to rule. For weteye well, bee he neuer so high, that he shall come afore his higher, to yeeld reconing of his baily.

Ose. 8.

3. Para. 10.

Prou. 13. Matth. 7.

How hast thou ruled.

The second question is, How hast thou ruled the people, & the office that thou haddest to gouerne? Thou that hast bene a iudge in causes of poore men, how hast thou kept this heft of God? Thou shalt not take heede to the person of a poore man, to be to him the harder for his pourety, ne thou shalt not behold a rech mans semblance, to spare or to fauour him in his wrong for his riches. O Lord, what abusion is there among officers of both lawes now a daies: If a great man pleadeth with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euery officer shall be ready to hie all that hee may, that the rich man might haue such an end as he desired. But if a poore man plead with a rich man, then there shall be so many delaies, that though the poore mans right be open to all the countrie, for pure fault of spending, he shall be glad to cease. Shrieues and bailiffes, willen retourne poore mens writs, with *tarde venit*, but gif they feelen meed in their hands. And yet I here say, men that hauen seyen both lawes, that ilke court that is cleped Christs court, is much more cursed. Therefore it is writ, giftes they taken out of mens bosomes, to ouerturne the right way of dome. But it is to dread the word of Christ: In what dome ye deeme, ye should be deemed when ye comen to yeeld a reckoning of your baily.

Deut. 9.

Matth. 7.

How hast thou liued.

The third question that is, How hast thou liued, thou that deemest and punishest other men for their trespas? A great doctor saith: thee behoueth to flee the wickednesse of other men that thou chastiest them for their trespas. For if thy selfe do vnlawfullich in deming other men, thou damnest thy selfe, syth thou doest that thou damnest. And Poule saith, why teachest thou nought thy selfe, that thou teachest other? Why stealest thou, that teachest nought other men to steale? Sain Gregory saith: He shall not take gouernaile of other, that cannot goe before them in good liuing. And when any man stand before him in dome, he must take heede to fore what iudge he shal stand himselfe, to take his dome after his deeds. But it is to dread, that many fareth as twe false priests that woulden haue damned to death holie Susan? for she would not assent to their leacherie. Of the which it iswrit, they turned away their eyen, for they would not see heauen, ne heue mind of rightfull domes. So it happeth oft, they that were more worthie to be hanged, damneth them that be lesse worthie, as a clerke telleth of Socrates the Philosopher, saith he, vpon a day a man asked of him why he laughed. And he said, for I see great theeues leaden a little theefe to hanging. I pray thee, whether is hee a greater theefe that beareth a man his house and his land from him and from his heires for euermore, other he that for making of great need, stealeth a sheepe or a calfe? Whether trowe ye nought, that it happeth such extortioners to bee otherwhile iudges, and demeth men thus: but I read thee that thus deceiueth other, thinke on that dome thou shalt come to, to yelde the reckening of thine baily.

Sap. 6.

Socrates.

Ecc. 12. quis tu hic aut quasi quis hic.

Iere 32.

Sap. 6.

Kings, princes and magistrates admonished. How thou hast entred.

Ose. 8.

3. Para. 10.

Prou. 13. Matth. 7.

How hast thou liued.

Rom. 2.

Sap. 6.

Socrates.

Valerius Maximus libro 6.

The third Bailiffe that shall be cleped to this dreadfull account shall be euery christian man, that shall geue reckening to his Lord God, for goods that he hath had of his. And heere I will speake but of the first question, that is this: How entrest thou? And here by the way, yee that haue gotte any worldly good, other take by extortion, by rauine, by visirie, other by diuest: We shall be to him at this dreadfull day as saincte Austen sayth. If he be cast into the fire that hath nought giuen of his owne good: where trowest thou shall he be cast in, that hath reued other mens from them? And he shulle been with the fend that hath nought clothed the naked, where trowest thou shall hee bren that hath made him naked that was earst clothed? But as S. Gregory saith, two things maketh men to liue thus by rauaine of other neighbors, that they desire heynes and dread pouerty, and what vengeance falleth of this sinne of couetise, I may see by figure in holy writ, when the angell said to prophet Zacharie. Reare vp thine eien, and see what is that goeth out. And the prophet said what is it? Then the angell said, this is the potte going out, this is the eize of hem on all the earth, and there was a waight of leade I bore, and there was a woman sitting in the middle of this pot. And the angell said, this is Impiety: and he tooke her and cast her into the middle of this pot, and he tooke the gobbette of leade and cast it into the pots mouth. And the prophet lift vp his eie, and hee saw two women coming out, and spirits in her wingis like two kytes other gledes, and they arerid vp this pot betweene heauen and the earth, and than the prophet spake to the angell, whider wol these beare this pot? And hee said, into the lond of Sennaar: This pot is couetise. For, right as a pot hath awide open mouth, so couetise gapeth after worldly good: and right as the licour in the pot, profiteth nought to the pot, but to men that drawen and drinketh therof: so worldly good oft profiteth not to churles, but to other that commeth after, as it is written. He that hath money shall haue no fruit of it: and this couetise is the eie of couetous men, for they ben blind to see how they should see to goe to heauen, but to winning of worldly thinges they see many waies, like to owles and night crowes, that seene better by night than by day. The gobbet of leade, is the sinne of obstination. The woman that sat in the pot, is vnpitie, as the angell said, that followeth vnrighteousnesse and auarice. For through auarice, a man leeseth the pity that he should haue of other, and his soule. For oft time, men leese the life of their soule, by deadly sin that they do to haue the worldly winning, and also they leese the pitie that they should haue of their body, putting themselues to many great bodilie trauayls and perils both by sea and land, and all maketh couetise. This pot is stopped with the gobbet of lead, when vnpitie is thus by sinne of obstination closed in couetise, that hee may not goe out of the chinches hart by penance. For as Iob saith: when he is fulfilled, he shall be stopped. The two women that bare vp this pot, are pride and lust of flesh, that bee cleped in holy writ the twe daughtren of the water Lethe, crying, bring, bring. And they had wings: the first wing is grace spirituall, as cunning, wisedome, and counsell, with such other many. For which gifts many men wexe proud. The second wing is bodily grace, as strength, fairehood, gentrie, and many other such, whereof men wexe proud. The wings of the second woman, that is, fleshly desire, beth gluttony and sloth. Of gluttony speaketh saint Gregorie: when the wamb is fulfilled, the prickes of lecherie beth meued. And of sloth saint Austine saith: Lot the while he dweled in businesse among shrewes in Sodome, hee was a good man. But when he was in the hill slowe, for sykernes, he in his drunkennes lay by his daughtren. And these women had wings like kytes, that with a crying voice feecheth their meate, as Bartholomeus saith. And thus fareth couetise of men: Witnessing saint Austine, what is the greedines of fleshlie desire. Inasmuch as the rauenous fysshes haue sometime measure, yet when they hunger, they rapine, and when they fulfill, they spare: But onely couetise of men may not be fulfilled. For euer he taketh, and neuer hath inough. Neither hee dreadeth God, neither shame of men. He ne spareth his father, ne knoweth his mother, ne accordeth with his brethren, ne ether keepeth truth with his friend. He ouerpresseth widowes and fatherlesse children. Free men he maketh bond, and bringeth forth false witnes, and occupieth dead mens things, as he should neuer die. What manhode is this, saith this Doctour, thus to leese life and grace, and get death of soule? Win gold, and leese heauen? And herefore saith the prophet, haue trauaile in the midst, and leaue vnrighteousnesse. Also innocent speaking of the harmes that come of couetoise, saith thus; O how manie men haue couetise deceiued and spilt! When couetise Balaam would for gifts that the king profered him, haue cursed Gods people, his owne asse reproued him, and hurt his foote

Tbe cbeftest bailiffe.

Austen.

Tbe third ammunition in a strife to be vp against man.

Zacha. 6.

Exposition.

Ecc. 5.

Against couetise Gregory.

August. de conflictu virtutis & vitiorum Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum.

Austen.

Augustini Psal. 54. Innocentius.

Numer. xxv. Iosue 7. 2. Reg. 5. Acts 8.

against a wall. Achor was stoned to death: for couetise made him stale gold and clothes, against the commandement of God. Giezi was smit with meselrie, for he sold Naamans heal, that came of Gods grace. Iudas for couetise sold Christ, and afterward he sang himselfe. Anany and Zaphira his wife were dead sodainely, for they forsoken to giue Peter their money that they had. And couetise maketh also that rich men eate the poore, as bestes: done their seruis holding them low. This may we well day, in deed I dread. For if a rich man haue a field, and a poore man haue in the middest or in the side thereof one acre, and a rich man haue all a street saieth O house, that some poore brother of his ow eth, he ceaseth neuer till hee get it out of the poore mans hand, either by praier, or by bying, or by pursuing of deceit. Thus fared it by king Achab, that through his false queenes giune, slow e the poore man Naboth, for that he would not sell him his vineyard that was nigh to the kings palace. Vppon which proces, thus saith saint Ambrose: How farre will yee rich men stretch your couetise? Will yee dwell alone vpon the earth, and haue no poore man with you? Why put ye out your fellow by kind, and challenge to your selfe the possession comen by kind? In comuune to all rich and poore the earth was made. Why will ye rich chalenge proper right herein? Kind knoweth no riches, that bringeth forth all men poore. For we be not got with rich clothes, ne borne with gold ne with siluer. Naked hee bringeth them to this world, needie of meate and of drinke and clothing. Naked the earth taketh vs, and the naked brought vs hither. Shee cannot close with vs our possession in the sepulchre, for kinde maketh no difference betweene poore and rich, in comming hither, ne in going hence. All in o manner the bringeth forth, all in o manner she closeth in graue. Who so wil make difference of poore and rich, abyde till they haue a little while leyne in the graue. Than open and looke among dead bones who was rich, and who was poore, but if it be thus that mo clothes rotteth with the rich then with the poore, and that harmeth to them that both on lue, and profit net to them that beene deade: Thus saith the doctour of such extortion as it is writ. Other mens fields they repeth, and fro the vine of him that the harme oppresed, they plucke away the grapes: they leueth men naked, and taketh away her clothes that hath nought wherewith to helle them in cold, and liften vp this pot bytweene heauen and earth. For couetous men nother haueth charity to their brethren vpon earth, neyther to God in heauen: and they bare this pot into the lond of Senaar, that is to say, into the lond of Stenche, that is hell, for there shall be stench, in stead of sweet smelling as Isay saith. Beware I reade, that yee nought haue to doe with this pot, ne with the woman therein: and on all manner that ye be nought weddid to hir, for than ye must be both one. This is thilke foule lecherous woman: the kings and marchaunts of the earth haue done lecherie, an i of their venue they haueth be made rich, whose damnation is written in the booke of prinities in these words. In o day, shall come all this vengeances of her death, weping and hunger and fire shall breine her, for strong is God that shall venge him on her, and than shulleth weepe and howle vppe on her; the kings of the earth, that haueth done lecherie with her, and haueth liued in delices when they shull see the smoke of her brenning, stonding afere weeping and weyling and saying. Alas, alas, thilke great city that was clothed with bis and purpre, and brasile, and ouergult with gold and pretious stones and pearle. For in one houre all these great riches shall be destroyed, then shall they sey that shall be damned with her. We haue erred fro the way of trouth and right wisnes, light haue not shined vs vs, and the sonne of vnderstonding haue not resen to vs: we haue be made weery in euerich way of wickednes and of lust, and haue gone hard waies, but the waies of God we knew nought: what hath pride profited to vs, or the boast of riches what hath it brought to vs? All this is as a shadow of death, and we mow now shew no token of holinesse, in our wickednes we be wasted away. Thinke therefore I read, that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly. Here endeth the first part of this sermon, and beginneth the second part.

Luke 16. Ambros. tract. de Nabuth. Iob 14. Mat. 25. 1. Sapientiæ. 1. Sapientiæ. Death.

And sumne, ye the most part that deyeth now a dales, deyeth byfore her kind agee of deeth: therefore I say, that the first that clepeth to this special reckning is sicknesse, that followeth all mankind, so that euery man hath it: and sumne is sicknesse that sumne men haueth but nought all. Yet the first sicknesse is double, for sume is within in the mightes of the soule, and sume is without in feeblenesse of the body that needis mo bee stroyed, whan time by hemselfe is cause of corruption as philosophie saith, that thereby feeblenesse and sicknes. And so may we see hereby, though that a man shut out of the house of his heart all manner of worldly and flesshlie thoughts, yet vneth shall a man for ought that he can doo, thinke on God only, the space of o Pater noster, but that some other thing that is passing, entreth into the soule, and draweth her from contemplation. But O Lorde God, what seekenesse is this, an hesuie burden on the sonnes of Adam, that on soule moocke and sen of the world we may thinke long ynow. But on that the soule shoulde moste delectation haue by kinde mow wee nought thinke so little a space, but if the cokle enter among the wheate. Of this seekenes speaketh Poul, where hee saith: I see a law in my limmes fighting agenes the law of my spirit, and taking me into the law of sinne. So that it fares by vs, as by a man that would looke ageyns the sunne, and may nought do it long for nothing. And forsooth that is for no default that is in the sunne, for thee is most cleere in her selfe, and so by reason beft should bee seyn, but it is for feeblenes of mans eye. Eyght so, syth Adam our first fader was put out of Paradise, all his offspring haue ben thus sicke, as the prophet seyth. Our faders haue eate a bytter grape, and the teeth of the children be wexe an edge. The second sicknesse, that is commune to all mankind, commith of feeblenes of the body, as hunger and thorst, colde and heate, sorrowe and wearines, and many other as Iob 18. saith. A man that is ybore of a woman, lyuing a little while, is fulfilled with many miseales. Yet there is other sicknesse that commeth to some men, but not to all, as Lepyr, Palsey, Feuer, Dropsie, Blindnesse, and many other, as it was seyden to the people of Israell, in holy writ. But thou keepe the commandements that be writ in this booke, God shall achen the sicknesse of thee and of thy seede, great sicknesse and long abiding. Yet yee shall vnderstond, that God sendeth otherwhile, such sicknesse to good menne, and other while to shrewes. To good men God dooth it for two causes, and that is sooth. Of sicknesse I wol to be vnderstond also, of all maner of tribulations. The first cause, for they shoulde alway euer know, that they haue none perfection of themselfe, but of God only, and to echen their meekenes. And thus saieth Poule, least the greatnesse of reuelations rere mee vp into pride, is giuen a pricke of my flesh, the angell of Sathanas to smite me on the necke, wherefore I haue thrice prayed God, that he should go fro me, and he answered mee: My grace is sussisant to thee, for vertue is fulfilled in sicknes, where on thus sayn the glose. The send axing Iob to bee tempted, was heard of God, and nought the apostle axing his temptation to bee removed. God heard him that should be damned, and he heard nought him, that he should saue. For oft the sicke man axit many things of the leche, that hee wol not geue him, and that is for to make him whole of sicknes. Also God sendeth saincts oft sicknesse and persecution, to giue vs sinnefull wretches example of patience: For if he suffer his saindts to haue such tribulation in this world, and they thankin him thereof, much more wretchis that God sendeth not the hundred apartie of their sorrowe, shoulden beare it meekely, sith we haue deserued a thousand so much as they haueth. Whereof, Tobie that one day when he was wearie of burying of poore men, the which shulden haue ley vnburied, and haue be eteene of houndis, and foules, as carynes, of other vnreasonable beasts, when for werinesse he had leyde him to rest, through Goddis sufferance the swallowes that bredden aboue on his hous, maden ordure into his eyen, and he wexet blind. Thus it is writ of this temptation for sooth: Therefore God suffered to come to him, matter to them that coinen after, should be giuen ensample of patyence, as by the temptation of holy Iob. For sith from his childhod, euermore hee dreade God, and euer kept his hestes: Hee was not agreeued ayenst God that the mischiefe of blindnesse fell to him: but vnmoueable dwelled in the dread of GOD, thanking him all the daies of his life. Loe that holy writ sayth expressely, that God suffered this holy man to haue that sicknesse, to giue them that should come after him ensample of patience. Also otherwhile, God sendeth sicknesse and tribulation to wicked men, and for two causes. First, for that they shoulde the rather dread God, and leaue their sinne. As it is writ: their sicknesse hath beene multiplied, and after, they haue hyed to Godward. For we see oft men in sicknesse know their God, that neuer would haue turned to him while they hadde beene whole. Also God sendeth them sicknes oft to agast other men, least they followe their sinne. As the sicknesse of king Antioche, whom God smote with such a sickines, that worme fell out of his body while he liued, in so far forth, that he stanke so fowle, that his friends were so weary of it, that they might not suffer it. And at the last, when he himselfe might not suffer his owne stinch, then he began to know himselfe, and said: It is rightfull to be subiect to God, and a deadly manne not to hold

The second sumner. Prophecies of death. Iob 14. Deuteron. Esay. The third sumner. Definitio mortis. Augustinus. The day of iudgement. To know the hydus sickness. Matthæi. 1. Timoth. Tob. 2. Antioche.



hold himselfe only euen with God, and the storie saith he asked mercie of God, and made a vow to God, that he would make the citie of Ierusalem free, and the Iewes to make them as free as the men of Athens: and that he would honour Gods temple with pretious ary, and multiplie the holy vessels, and finde of his owne rent and spences pertening to the sacrifice. And he would become a Iewe, and goe ouer all the lond to preach Gods might. And yet God gate him not such mercie as he desired. And I trow certein that it was for good. In as much as God knew he would not after wand hold his couenant, or els for he axket it too late. What meede was it for him to forsake his wickednes? when he was vnmighty to do good or euill. Neuerthelesse, I trow he was not damned, in asmuch as he had such repentance, for repentance in this life come neuer too late if it be true. But by this vegeance that GOD tooke on this king, should men see, what it is to be vnobedient to God. And also it is to take heede, that when euer sicknesse commeth, euer it sheweth, that he that suffereth this deadlie, shall nedes die. For though he may skape of his sicknes, yet he may not skape death. And so thou must needes come giue rekening of thy bayly. The second sumnour that shall clepe thee to this particular dome, is elde or age. And the condition of him is this, though that he tarie with thee, he will not leaue thee, till he bring thee to the third, that is death. But there be many that though they haue this somnor with them, they take none hede, though they see ther heare hore, her backe crooke, her breth stynke, her teeth faile, her yen derk, her visage riuely, her crene wexit heuy to her. What meaneth all this, but that age sumneth to the dome?

But what more madhead may be than a man to bee cleped, and drawe to so dreadfull a reckening there, where but he answere well he forseeth both body and soule to damnation for euer? If seing a litle worldly mirth on the way, he thinketh so meskil therein, that he forgetteth who drayeth him, or whether he draweth: So doth he that is smitten with age & liketh so on the false world is wealth, that he forgetteth whether hee is away: Herefore saith an holy Doctour, that among all abusions of the world most is of an olde man that is obstinate: for he thinketh not on his out going of this world, ne of passing into the lyfe that is to come: he beareth messengers of death, and he leeueth hem not, and the cause is this, for the threefolde cord that such an old man is bounden with, is hard to breke. This cord is custome, that is of three plightes, that is, of ydle thought, vnhoneft speach, and wicked deedsthe which if they groweth in a man from the childhoode into mans age, they maketh a treble cord to binde the old man on custome of sin. Herefore sayth Esay, breake the bondes of sin. Thinke herfore whosoeuer that thou be that art thus sumned, that thou might not scape, that thou ne shalt yeld the rekening of thy baily.

The third somner to this reckening, is death. And the condition of him is, that whan euer he come, first, other the second, other the last houre he ne spareth, neyther power, ne yough, ne he dreadeth no thretning, ne he ne taketh hede of no prayer, ne of no gift, ne he graunteth no respit, but withouten delay he bringeth forth to the dome. Herefore seyth saint Austen: Well ought euery man drede the day of his death. For in what state a mans laft day findeth him, in the same state he bringeth him to his dome. Herefore seyth the wiseman: Sonne thinke on thy last daye, and thou shalt neuer sinne. Therefore I rede that thou thinke, that thou shalt geue reconing of thy bayly. I said also, that there shall be another doome, to the which all men shall come together, and this shall be vniuersall. And right as to the other dome, euery man shall bee cleped with these three sumnours: so to this dome all this world shall be cleped with three generall clepers. And right as the other three messengers tell a mans end, so these tell the end of the world. The first cleper is the worldlie sicknesse, the second cleper is feeblenesse, and the thirde is the end. The sicknesse of the world thou shalt know by charity a cooling. His elde and feblenes thou shalt knowe by tokens sulfilling, and his end thou shalt know by Antichristes pursuing. First I said, thou shalt know the worldes sicknes by charitie a cooling. Clerkes that treate of kinde sayne: that a bodie is sicke, when his bodilie heate is too lite, or when his vnkindelie heate is too much. Sythe then all mankind is one bodie, whose kindlie heate is charity (that is loue to God and to our neighbors) vnkindly heate is iustfull loue to other creatures. VVhen therefore thou seest that the loue of men to Godwarde and to their neighbour is little and faint, and the loue of worldlie things and lustes of the flesh is great and feruent: then wit thou well, that vnkindly heate is too great, and kindly heate is too litele. That this be acknowlech of this sicknesse, I may prooue by autoritie of Christ. For he himselfe gaue them as a signe of the drawing to the ende of the worlde: For that wickednesse shall be in plentie, charitie shall a coole. Therefore when thou seest charitie this litele in the worlde, and wickednes encrease, know well that this worlde passeth and his wealth, and that this sumner is come. And thus seyth seynt Poule, VVit ye well, that in the last daies shall come perillous times, and there shall be men louing themselfe, that is to say, their bodies, couetous by pride, vnobedient to father and mother, vnkynde fellons, withouten affection; withouten peace, blamers, incontinent, vnmilde withouten benignitie, traytors, rebels, swelling, louers of lustes, more than of God, hauing a likenesse of pietie, and denying the vertue thereof. And these flee thou. If thou seest the people busied with such conditions, wit thou well that the first sumnour warneth all the world, that the day of reconing draweth toward.

The second sumnour, that warneth all the world, is elde or age of the world and his feblenesse, and sheweth tokens fulfilling. But I know well, that we be nought sustisaunt to know the tunes other the whiles that the Father in Trinitie hath put on his owne power, to shewe certeinelie the day, yeare, other houre of this dome, sith this know lech was hud fro the privy Apostles of Christ, and from Christs manhoode as to shewe it to vs. Nathlesse, we inough by authoritie of holy writ, with reasons, and expositions of saintes well and openly shewe, that this day of wrath is nigh: But yet least any man sey in his hart as it is written of follie baylies, that they shall seien, my Lord, that is, tarryeth to come to the dome, and vpon hope hereof hee taketh to smite seruaunte and hynen of God, eate and drinke and make him dronke: I shall shewe that this day is at the bonde: howe ny neuerthelesse, can I not seie ne wele. For the holie sayde nowe for a thousande and three hundred yeere, and passed moe: wee ben thilke, into whom the endis of the worlde ben come, much rather may wee seie the same that been so much neere the end than he was. Also saint Chrysostome from sayth: thou seest ouer all darknes, & thou douteest that the day is go, first on the valeys is darknes whan the day draweth downward: whan therefore thou seest the valeies yderked, why douteest thou whether it be nigh euen, but if thou see the sun so low that derkenes is vpon the hils, thou wolt seie doutles, that it is night. Right so if thou see first in the seculars and the lewd Christen men beginneth derkenesses of sinnes and to haue the maistrie, it is token that this world endeth. But when thou seest priestes that ben put on the high toppe of spirituall dignities, that shulden be as hilles abouen the commune people in perfect liuing, that derkenesse of sinnes hath taken them, who douteth that the world nis at the end? And also Abbot Ioachim in exposition of Ieremye seyeth: Fro the yeare of our Lord 1200. all times beth suspected to me, and wee ben passed on this suspect time nigh 200. yeare. Also mayden Hyldegare in the booke of her prophesie the thirde partie, the xi. vision the seuenth chap. meueth this reason. Right as on seauendaies God made the world, so in 7000. yeare the world shall passe And right as in the sixt day man was made and fourmed: so in 6000. yeares he was brought againe and reformed. And as in the seuenth daye the worlde was full made, and God lesse off his working, right so in the 7000. yeare, the number of them that shullen be saued shall be fulfilled, and rest shall be to seyntes full in bodie and soule. If that it be so as it seemeth to followe of this maydens words, that 7000. in passing of the world accordeth to seauen daies in his making it, see what lacketh that these 7000. yeares ne beth fulfilled. For if wee reken the number of yeeres fro the natiuitie of Christ, to the yeares fro the beginning of the world, to Christ, & thou wolt followe Austine, Bede, and Orosie, and most probable doctors Augustine. treating of this matter, are passed now almoft, sixe thousande and fiue hundred, as it is open in a booke that is cleped *Speculum Iudiciale*. So it sueeth that this laste day is more than a halfe agoe, if we shulden giue credence to this maydens reason: But if we shull lene to the Gospell, than we shall finde in the Gospell of Matthew, that the Disciples axiden of Christ three questions. First, what time the citie of Ierusalem should be destroyed. The second, what token of his comming to the dome. And the third, what signe of the ending of the world. And Christ gaue them no certaine time of these thinges when they shoulden fall, but hee gaue them tokens, by which they might know when they drew nighe, and so as to the first question of the destruction of Ierusalem he saide: when the Romaines come to besiege that citie, then soone after shee shall be destroied.

Chrysostome. Anopere simulitudine. Ioachim. Gualt. Hyldegar. Matth. 24. Note.

And as to the second and the thirde, he gaue manie tokens, that is to say; That the Realme shall rise against Realme, and people against people, and pestilences and earthquakinges, the which we haue seene in our daies. But the last token that he gaue, was this; when ye seene the abhomination of elegnesse sayd of Danyell the Prophet, standing on the Sanctuarie: then who so readeth, vnderstond. Vppon which text, thus argueth a Doctour in a booke that hee maketh of the end of the world. If the wordes of Danyel hauen authoritie (as God sayth that they hauen) it sufficeth of the number of the yeares of the ende of the world, that Danyel hath written. Now Danyel in the twelfth chapter, speaking of this abhommination, putteth betweene the ceasing of the busie sacrifice of the Iewes, the which fell, when by Titus and Vespasianus, Ierusalem was destroyed, and the people of the Iewes were disparkled into all the world. And this abhomination that doctours sayne, shall be in the great Antichristes daies, 1290. Now prooueth this doctour, that a day must be taken for a yeare, both by autoritie of holy writ in the same place and in other, and also by reason: So it seemeth to this clerke, that the great Antichrist should come in the 1400. yeare fro the birth of Christ, the which number of yeares is nowe fulfilled, net fully twelue

Antichrist to come an. 1290. This sermon ergo was made an. 1389. Apoc. 9.

yeares and a halfe lacking. And this reason put not I as to shew any certaine time of his comming, sith I haue not that knowledge: but to shew that he is nye, but how nygh I wot neuer. But take wee heede to the fourth part of the second vision of saint Iohn, put in the booke of Reuelations, in the which vnder the opening of the seauen seales, is declared the state of the Church, from the time of Christ into the ende of the worlde. The opening of the foure first seales, shew the state of the Church, fro the time of Christ, to the time of Antichrist and his foregoers, the which is shewed in the opening of the other three seales. The opening of the first seale, telleth the state of the Church in the time of the preaching of Christ and of his Apostles. For the first, that is, the Lyon, gaue his voice, that betokeneth the preachers of Christes resurrection and his ascension. For then yede out a white horse, and he that sate vpon him had a bowe in his hande, and hee yede out ouercomming and to ouercome. By this white horse we vnderstande, the cleane life and conuersation that these preachers laden: and by the bow, their true teaching, pricking sorrowe in mennes hearres for their sinnes without en flattering. And they wenten out of Iewry that they comen of, ouercomming some of the Iewes, and maken them to leaue the trust that they hadden in the olde lawe, and to beleeue in Iesus Christ, and shewen his teaching. And they wenten out to ouercome the Paynemes, shewing to them that their Images were no Gods, but mens workes, vnmightie to saue them selue or any other, drawing them to the belief of Iesus Christ God and man. In the opening of the second seale, there cried the second beast, that is, a calfe, that was a beast wonted to be slaine, and offered to God in the olde law. This sheweth the state of the Church in the time of Martyrs, that for their stedfast preaching of Gods true lawe, shed their bloud, that is signified by the redde horse that went out at this seale opening; and this estate began at Nero the cursed Emperour, and dured vnto the time of Constantine the great, that endowed the Church. For in this time many of Christes seruantes, and namely the leaders of Gods flocke were slaine. For of two and twenty bishops of Rome that were betweene Peter and Siluester the first, I reade but of foure, but that they were Martyrs for the law of Christ. And also in the time of Diocletian the Emperour, the persecution of the Christen men was so great, that in thirtie daies weren slaine 22. thousande men and women in diuers countreyes, for the lawe of God.

*Expositio. Nero. Constantinus magnus.*

*Siluester.*

*The 3. seale.*

The opening of the third seale, telleth the state of the Church in time of heretikes that beth figured by the blacke horse, for false vnderstonding of holy write: for than cayed the thirde beast that is a man, for at that time was it needfo preache the mysterie of Christes incarnation, and his passion ayenst these erretikis that felden mis of these pointis: howe Christ tooke verrayly mans kinde of our Lady, him being God as he was bifore, and his moder being mayden bysore and after. The opening of the fourth seale, telleth the state of the Church in the time of ypocritis, that beth signified by the pale horse, that beth signes of penaunce with outfoorth to blinde the people. And he that sate vpon this horse his name was death, for they shulle slee gostly them that they leden, and tesdeth to trust vpon other thing than God: and helle followeth him, for helle receiued thilke that these diden eth. At that time shall it need, that the fourth beast that is the Egle make his cry, that slyeth highest of soules to reare vp Gods Gospell, and to praise that lawe aboue other, least mens witte, and their traditions ouergone and treden downe the lawe of God, by enforming of these ypocrites, and this is the last state, that is, other shall be in the Church, bysore the comming of the great Antichrist. The opening of the fift seale, telleth the state of the Church that than God shall followe, and desire that louers of Goddis law shulleth haue after the ende of this world to be deliuered of this wo. The opening of the sixt seale telleth the state of the Church in time of Antichristis time, the which state yee may knowe to be in the Church whan ye seth fulfilled, that saint Iohn prophesieth to fall in the opening of this, where he saith thus: After this I sawe foure Angelles stonding vpon foure corners of the earth, holding the foure windes of the earth that they blowen nought vpon the earth, ne vpon the sea, ne vpon eny tree. These foure Angels beth the number of all the Deuils ministers, that on that time shulleth in the pleasaunce of their Lord Antichrist, stoppe the foure windis that beth the foure Gospelles to be preached, and to let the breth of the grace of the holy Ghost to fall vpon men morning for sinne, & calling them to amendement, and to other that wolden encrease in vertues, other vpon perfit men? What is there after this to fall, but that the mysterie of the seauenth seale bee shewed, that he come in his owne person. That Iesu Christ shall slee with the spirite of his mouthe, when the fiend shall shewe the vtmost persecution, that he and his seruantis may doo to Christis limmes, and that shall be the third warning that the world shall haue to come to this dreadfull dome.

*The 4. seale. Expositio.*

*The 5. seale.*

*The 6. seale.*

In all this matter haue I nought seid of my selfe, but of other doctors that beth prooued, I seyd also in my second principall part, that it were to wete sofore what Iudge we shall reken. Wherefore we shulleth wite that God himselfe shall heere this rekening, he that seeth all our dedis, and all our thoughts fro the beginning of our life to the ende, and he shall shew there the hid thingis of our hert, opening to all the world the righfulnes of his dome. So that with the might of God, euery mans dedis to all the world shall be shewed, and so it seemeth by the wordes of Seint Iohn in the booke of preuities, there he seith thus: I sawe dede men litel and great, stonding in the sight of the throne, and bookes weren opened: and an other booke was opened that was of life, and dede men weren iudged after the thinges that weren written in the bookes after their worchings. These bookes beth mens consciences that now beth closed. But than they shulleth bee opened to all the world to reden therein both dedis and thoughtes. But the booke of life, is Christs luing and doctrine, that is nowe hidde to men that shulleth be damned through their owne malice, that deemeth men to serue the world, rather than God: In the first booke shall be writ all that we haueth doe, in that other booke, shall bee write that wee shulden haue doo, and than shulle dede men bee demyd of thilke thingis that ben written in the bokis: For if the dedis that wee haue doe, the which ben written in the bookis of our conscience, be according to the booke of Christes teaching and his liuing, the which is the booke of life, we shulle be saued, and else wee shulle bee damned, for the dome shall be giuen after our workis. Looke therefore now what thing is written in the booke of thy conscience, while thou art here; and if thou findest ought contrarie to Christis life, other to his teaching, with the knife of penaunce and repentance, scrape it away and write it better, euermore herby thinking that thou shalt yelde rekening of thy bayly.

Apoca.

Also I saide principallie that it were to witen, what reward shall be geue on that doome, to wise seruantes and good, and what to false seruantes and wicked. For the which it is to wite, that our Lorde Iesu Christ, shall come to the dome here into this world, in the same body that hee tooke of our Ladye, hauing thereon the woundis that he suffred for our againe bieng. And all that euer shullen bee saued, taking againe their bodies clyuing to their head Christ, shull be rauished metyng him in the ayre as Paule saith: They that shall be damned syen vpon the earth, as in a tonne of wine the dreggis dwellen byneth and the cliere wine houeth aboue. Than shall Christ axe rekening of the deedes of mercy, reprouing false christen men for the leuyng of them, rehearsing the deedes of the same, and other truthis by the which his true seruantes than followed him: than shulle thilke false seruauntes goe with the deuill, whom they haue serued in the earth, then hwallowing into the endlesse fire. And rightfull men shullen goe into euerlasting life, then shall be fulfilled that is written in the booke of prinities: Woe, woe, woe, to hem that dwellen in the earth. Woe to the paynym that gate that worship to dead Images wroght of mans handes, and to other creatures that hee shoulde haue goue to God that him wrought: Woe to the Iewe that trusteth so muchil in the olde Lawe, than shall he see Maries sondemning the world whom he despised and set on the crosse: Woe to the false christen man that knew the will of his Lorde and fulfilled it nought.

Also woe for sinne of thinking to thee, that thou hast shyt out the meine of God, that is minde of his passion, holy contemplation, of his goodnesse and memorie of his benefites, fro the chaumber of thine hert; and hast made it an house of swyn and a denne of theeues, by vncleane thoughtes and delightes. As thou here hast sperd God out of thine hert, so he shal spere thee out of heauen: Thou hast herberwid the meine of the fiend, and with them in hell thou shalt euer abide: woe also for sinne of speach, for thou might nought open thy foule and stinking mouth with the which thou hast spoken vnhonestly, cursing, fraud, deceit, leasinges, forswearing, scorning, and backbiting, to praise God in the fellowship of saints. For louing is nought comynlych in mouthes of sinners. For in the which gif thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shouldest haue songen in fellowship of Angelles this blessed song: *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens:* Holie, holy, holy, Lorde God almighie. Then yelling and weeping thou shalt cry in company of deuils. *Ve, ve, ve, quanta sunt tenebre:* Woe, woe, woe, how great beth these darknes: woe also for sinne of feede. Thou hast bene proud, thy pride shall be drawne to hell, as Esay sayth, or thou hast bene brent with enuie of the deuill. Enuy entred into the world, and they shoulden folowen him that ben on his side, as Salomon sayth: Or thou hast be stirred with wrath, and euerich man that beareth wrath to his brethren, is gilty in dome, as Christ in the gospell sayth of Matthew. Or thou hast be slow to good deedes, mysfawe shall come to thee as a wayfaring man: and thy pouertie as a man armed, as the booke of Prouerbes sayth. Or thou hast haunted lecherie, glotonie, or couetise. That forsooth wete ye, that euerych auouterer, or vncleane man, that is a glutton, other chynych, shall neuer haue heritage in the realme of Christ and of God, as Poule saith. But fire, brimstone, and the spirit of tempestes, that is the fiend of hell, shulen bee a parte of their paine, as it is written in the Psaulter when these damned men bee in this woe, they shullen sing this reuful song that is ywritten in the booke of mourning. The ioy of our hart is a go, our quiet is turned into woe, the crowne of our heade is

Note.



is fallen vs fro. Alas for sinne that we haue do. But ioy and ioy, and ioy to them that be saued. Ioy in God, ioy in themselues, ioy in other that ben saued. Allo ioy for their trauell is brought to so gracious an end. Ioy, for they scape the paine of hell: Ioy, for their blisse that they han in the sight of God: *Cui sit honor & gloria, in secula seculorum, Amen.*

*Conclusion.*

And thus much concerning this worthie & fruitfull sermō, which as by the ancientnesse of the phase seemeth to be preached much about the time of Iohn Wicklisse: so I thought here, by the occasion of William Thopes examination, best to place the same: for the apt coherence both of the spirit, and of the matter. Especially hauing before our eyes, the publike vtilitie of the Reader, to whom by the studious reading thereof, might rise plentifull matter of true christian information, both of the wholesome fearing of God, and of the right guiding of euery christian mans life.

Whereunto I thought good to annere further in our storie, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdome of William Sautrey, and of Iohn Badby thus described (as ye haue heard) which was about the yeare 1409. By the way here is to be considered, at least to bee admonished, that all this while the schisme in the church of Rome did yet continue, and so indured till the councell of Constance, which was in whole, the space of twentie and nine yeares. The originе whereof (as was said pag. 399.) first began at Urbanus the fifth: which Urbanus being dead, An. 1389. next followed pope Boniface the ninth, who sate fourteene yeares. Hee in selling his pardons was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keyes of Peter (as saith Platina) in contempt. After him succeded Innocentius the seuenth, and sate two yeares: who being dead, the cardinals consulting together, and seeing the soule enormitie and inconuenience growing vpon this contentious schisme in their church of Rome (minding to prouide some remedie for the same, after the best deuice they could) in their conclaue where they were assembled for a new election of the pope, tooke this order, promising among themselues with solemne vow made to God, to Marie the blessed virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed companie of saints: That if any of them within the college or without the college, should be called to that high place of apostolicall preeminence, he should effectuouslie renounce the first diction and title of his popedome, if or whensoeuer the contrarie pope for the time being, would in like maner renounce his place and title, and his cardinals in like maner to condescend to the other cardinals of Rome. So that both these two colledges of cardinals agreeing together, one chiefe bishop might be chosen and taken out of them both, to bee made the true pope. Prouided moreouer, that none should seeke any releasement or absolution from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them: Vnto all which things furthermore euery one subscribed with his hand. These things thus proffred and ratified vpon the same, they proceeded to the election. In which was chosen Gregorius the twelfth, who the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in forme as followeth. And I Gregorie, this day being the last of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord, 1407. chosen and elected for bishop of Rome: doe sweare, vow, and promise, and confirme all the premises aboue contained, &c. This being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of 80. yeares. In the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the pope according to his oth would giue ouer, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed betweene the two popes to be attempted, by letters from one to another: assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

*Ex chron. D. Albani.*

*The oth and bond of pope Gre. 12.*

This so pattling on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy pertured father, so to neglect his oth, and vow so agreed. Insomuch, that at length, diuers of them did forsake the pope, as being pertured (as no lesse bee was) sending moreouer to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsell and assistance therein, to appease the schisme. Amongst the rest, cardinall Viturientis was sent to the king of England: who publishing diuers propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundell) disputeth, that the pope ought to be subiect to lawes and councels. Then king Henry (moued to write to Gregorie the pope) directeth his letter here vnder ensuing, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1409. The contents of the letter be these.

*The pope falsly pertured. Cardinals leaue the pertured pope.*

*King Henry 4. to pope Gregorie 12.*

*This hundreth thousand saints is slaine by schisme of Rome.*

## The letter of king Henrie the fourth, *to pope Gregorie the twelfth.*

MOst blessed father, if the discreet prouidence of the Apostolike see, would call to mind with what great perils the vniuersall world hath been damnified hitherto vnder pretence of this present schisme: and especially would consider, what slaughter of christian people to the number of two hundred thousand (as they say) hath beene through the occasion of war raised vp in diuers quarters of the world, and now of late, to the number of thirtie thousand souldiers, which haue beene slaine through the dissension mooued about the bishopricke of Leodium, betweene two set vp, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authoritie of the other pope, fighting in campe for the title of that bishopricke: Certes ye would lament in spirit and bee sore grieued in mind for the same. So that with good conscience yee would relinquish rather the honor of the see apostolike, then to suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, vnder the cloke of dissimulation, following herein the example of the true mother in the booke of kings: who pleading before Salomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, then the child should bee parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new creation of nine cardinals, by you last made, contrarie to your oth (as other men doe say) that you doe but little heede or care for ceasing the schisme: Yet fame bee it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect feate should euer be noted and disdained with such an inconstancie of mind: whereby the last errour may be worse then the first. *Ex Chron. D. Alb. mis:* part the second.

*10 thousand slaine in campe fighting for the bishoprick of Leodium.*

## King Henry the fourth to the cardinals.

AND to the cardinals likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following: Wee desiring to shew what zeale we haue had and haue, to the reformation of peace of the church; by the consent of the states of the realme, haue directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenour of the copie herewith in these presents enclosed to be executed effectually: wherefore wee seriously beseech your reuerend colledge, that if it chance the said Gregorie to bee present at the councell of Pise, and to render vp his popedome, according to your desire, and his owne oth; you then so ordaine for his state totally, that chiefie God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory and also wee which intirely loue his honour and commoditie, may haue cause to giue you worthily condigne thankes for the same: *Ibid.*

*King Henry 4. to the cardinals.*

*Concilium Pisanum.*

This being done in the yeare of our Lord 1409. afterward in the yeare next following, An. 1410. the cardinals of both the popes, to wit of Gregorius, and Benedictus; by common aduice assembled together at the citie of Pise, for the reformation of vnity and peace in the church. To the which assemblie, a great multitude of prelats and bishops being conuented, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander the fifth. But to this election, neither Gregorius, nor Benedictus did fully agree. Whereby there were 3. popes together in the Romaine church (that is to vnderstand) not three crownes vpon one popes head, but three heads in one popish church together.

*Ex chro. D. Albani.*

*Anno 1410.*

*3 popes together.*

*Pope Alexander 5.*

This Alexander being newly made pope, scarcely had well learned his triple crowne; but straight guiltie not full remission, not of a few, but of all maner of sinnes what soeuer: to all them that conferred any thing to the monasterie of saint Bartlemew by Smithfield, resorting to the said church any of these daies following: to wit, on Maundie thursday, good friday, Easter euen, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first euensong to the latter. But this pope which was so liberall in giuing remission of many yeares to other, was not able to giue one yeare of life to himselfe, for within the same yeare he died. In whose stead crept vp pope Iohn 23.

*The plenarie remission by the popes ambassiatours.*

*Pope Alexander dead.*

*Pope Iohn 23.*

In the time of this Alexander, great strife began in the countrie of Bohemia, by the occasion of the bookes of Iohn Wicklisse, which then comming to the hands of Iohn Husse, and of other both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and artificers, began there to doe much good. Insomuch, that diuers of them not onely men, but women also, partly by the reading of those bookes translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of Iohn Husse, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the Vniuersitie of Prage; were in short time so ripe in iudgement, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to mone questions, yea and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the holy Scriptures.

*Ex Ioan. Chocleo De historia Hussitarum lib. 1.*

*The boldnesse of the Bohemians to take roote in Bohemia.*

By reason whereof, complaint was brought to the said pope Alexander the fifth, who caused eftsoones the forenamed Iohn Husse to be cited vp to Rome. But when hee came not at the popes citation, then the said pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Suinco. Wherein hee straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolicall, all maner of preachings or sermons to bee made to the people, but onely in cathedrall churches or colleges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or else in their churchyards. And that the articles of Wicklisse, should in no case of any person of what state, condition or degree soeuer, bee suffered to bee holden, taught, or defended, either priuily or apertly. Commanding moreouer and charging the said archbishop, that he with foure bachelers of Diuinitie, and two Doctors of the canon law ioyned vnto him; should proceede vpon the same, and so proude that no person in churches, schooles, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approue any of the foresaid articles. So that whosoeuer should attempt the

*The letter of pope Alexander 5. to the archb. Suinco of Bohemia.*

The popes re-uel-bull against the Gospellers.

contrary should be accounted an heretick, & vnlesse he shall reuoke solemnly & publikely the said articles, and shall for euer abiure the bookes wherein the foresaid articles be contained. In that open may be vtterly abolished out frō the eyes of the faithfull: the same to be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the helpe also of the secular arme being called thereunto, whatsoeuer shall require, &c. These were the contents of this mightie and fierce bull of pope Alexander.

Iohn Hus. exclaimeth against the popes cruell bull.

Against the which bull on the other side Iohn Husse swiftly complaining, excepteth against and obiecteth many things, as appeareth in his booke intituled De ecclesia cap. 18. Where he declareth this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his apostles: considering, how Christ him self preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagogues, in villages: and the apostles also in all places did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared moreouer, the said mandate a bull of the pope to redound vnto the great detrīment of the church in binding the word of God, that it might not haue his free passage. Also, the same to bee preiudiciall vnto chapels newly erected for the word of God to bee preached in them. Wherefore (saith hee) from this commandement or mandate of pope Alexander, I did appeale vnto the said Alexander being better informed and aduised. And as I was persecuting my appeale, the lord pope (saith Husse) immediately died.

The miserable iudgement of God in striking the bull & the author of the Gospell.

Then the archbishop of Suinco aforesaid, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the pieces, buls and mandates of the bishop of Rome, to bee thus contemned of Iohn Husse and his fellowes, neither hauing any hope of redresse in Wincesslaus the king, which seemed to neglect the matter; went out of his countrie into Hungarie, to complaine vnto Sigismund king of Hungarie, and brother to the said Wincesslaus. But this quarrelling archbishoppe, whether before (as the Bohemians say) or after (as Sabinus saith) that he had spoken with Sigismund: immediately there (by the iust iudgement of God) died in Hungarie, as the story saith for sorrow. Whereby a little more libertie and quiet was giuen by the Lord vnto his Gospell, newly beginning to take roote among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillitie there did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious daies and reigne of Antichrist. For after this Meander aforesaid succeeded pope Iohn 23. Who likewise playing his part in this tragedie, bent all his might and maine to disturbe the Bohemians, as more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in further processe of our historie, comming to the yeare of our Lord, 1413.

The Gospell falleth some times into quiet.

D. Iohn 23.

Thus the poore christians (as pe see) like to the sillie Israelites vnder the tyranny of Pharao, were vniustly and oppressed in euery place, but especially here in England: and that so much the more here, because that the king, not like to Wincesslaus, went full and whole with the pope and his prelats against the Gospellers.

The pride and glory of the clergie of England in those daies.

By reason whereof, the kingdome of the pope and his members here in this realme began to be so strong, that none durst stirre or once mute against them. The bishops hauing the king so full on their side armed moreouer with lawes, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire, and fagot: reigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes within themselues. So strong were they of power, that no humane force was able to stand against them: so exalted in pride and pompe in glorie, that they thought all things to be subiect to their reuerend maiesties. Whatsoeuer they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be receiued and obeyed.

And such was their superstitious blindnesse and curious vanitie, that whatsoeuer toy came once in their fantasie; it was straightwaies determined and stablished for a law of all men to be obserued: were it neuer so friuolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterbury and other, who hauing now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, Martyrs and Confessours of the Lord, and hauing now brought their enemies (as they thought) vnder feet; began to set vp themselues, and to inuent new traditions, as the guise is of the popes church, likewise to trade into the church of God, some ceremony or custome of their owne making, whereby the church of Christ hath beene hitherto exceedingly pestred: So likewise this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies and vaine traditions of men; bringeth in a new found gaud, commonly called the tolling of Aues, in honor of our lady, with certaine Aues to be said, and daies of pardon to be giuen for the same. For the ratification whereof, vnder the presence of the kings regall, he directeth his mandate to the bishop of London, well stuffed with words of Idolatrie as by the reading thereof may appeare, in forme of tenures as followeth.

Fortie daies of pardon geuen by Sr. Arundel archbishop.

A mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the bishop of London, to warne men to say certaine prayers at the tolling of the Aues, or ringing of Curfew.

THomas, &c. To the right reuerend our brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God bishop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about vs, and behold attentiuely with circumspect consideration, how the most high word that was in the beginning with God chose to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stocke: in whose wombe he tooke true flesh by inspirall inspiration, that the mercifull goodnesse of the sonne of God that was vncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posteritie of mankind that was created, had by sinne incurred. Amongst other labours in the vine of the Lord of Sabbaoth, we sung to God our sauiour with great ioy in him carefully thinking, that though all the people of the christian religion did excell with voices of praises so worthy a virgine, by whom we receiued the beginnings of our redemption, by whom the holy day starre shined to vs, which gaue vs hope of saluation. And although all the same people were drawen to reuerence her, which being a happie virgin, conceiued the sonne of God, the king of heauen, the redeemer and sauiour of all nations, ministring light to the people that were miserable drowned in the darkenesse of death: Wee truely as the seruants of her owne inheritance, and such as are written of, to bee of her peculiar dower, as we are by euery mans confession acknowledged to be: we I say ought more watchfully then any other, to shew the endeauours of our deuotion in praising her. Who being hitherto mercifull to vs, yea being euen couragis, would that our power, being as it were spred abrode euery where through all the coasts of the world, should with a victorious arme, feare all forren nations: That our power being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue vnto our victorious standards, and made subiect vnto vs, nations both neare at hand and farre off.

* It ys to be not blasphemous and iniurious to Christ, for the creator to pray.

Likewise our happie estate (all the time that we haue passed since the beginning of our liues) may be well attributed onely to the helpe of her medicine: to whom also we may worthily ascribe not only in these our times vnder the mighty gouernment of our most christian king, our deliuerance from the rauening wolues, and themouthes of cruell beasts: which had prepared against our bankers, a messe of meate mingled full of gall, and hated vs vniustly, secretly lying in waite for vs, in recompence of the good will that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high sitting before the throne of the heauenly maiestie, the defendresse and patronesse of vs all, being magnified with all mens praises; may more plentifully exhibite to vs the sonnes of adoption the teates of her grace, in all those things that we shall haue to doe: At the request of the speciall deuotors of our Lord the king himselfe, we command your brotherhood, straitly enioyning you, that you command the subiects of your citie and dioceese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our lad, Mary the mother of God and our patronesse and protectresse, euermore in al aduersity: with such like kind of praier and accustomed maner of ringing, as the deuotion of Christs faithfull people is wont to worship her at the ringing of Coure le feu. And when before day in the morning yee shall cause them to ring, that with like maner of praier and ringing, she be euery where honoured deuoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffragans, and their subiects as well religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches: That we so humble calling vpon the mercy of the heauenly father, the right hand of the heauenly piety, may mercifully come to the helpe, the protection, and defence of the same our lord the king, who for the happie remedie of quietnesse, and for our succour from tempestuous floods, is ready to applie his hands to worke, and his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. Wherfore couetīg more earnestly to stirre vp the minds of all faithfull people to so deuout an exercise of God, &c. We grant by these presents, to all and euery man, &c: that shall say the Lords praier and the salutation of the angell fiue times at the morning peale with a deuout mind, *pateno apatiens*, how oft soeuer, 40. daies of pardon by these presents. Giuen vnder our seale in our manor of Lambeth the tenth day of Februarie, *An. nostre transl. 9. Ex regist. Thom. Arundel.*

Ringing & Curphew.

The papists would fayne haue our Ladies paps.

Why the bell is called Curphew.

Fortie daies pardon, for fiue Aues.

By this friuolous and barbarous constitution with many other of like sort heaped into the church by the papists: appeareth the proper nature and condition of this catholike generation. Who being themselues not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spirituall matter (as seemeth) take vpon them to gouerne the spirituall church of Christ, wherof indeed they haue no skill or very little. And therefore according to their vnskilfull working, they leade and rule the church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemely perhaps to their owne grosse affection: but not agreeing (nay rather cleane contrarie) to the right nature and condition of the spirituall house and kingdome of the Lord. And like as in their inuentions they swarue vtterly from the right handling of all spirituall gouernment: so in their maners and forme of life likewise, they do resemble little or no part almost, of such as are and ought to be true pastors and ministers of the mysticall body of Christ.

Decaying by ceremonies in the church.

Examples hereof are plentie and plaine, in these Romane prelats to be noted: who so well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to bee in pastorall leaders of the



the church, will compare the same with the vsuall pomp of these glorious potestates.

The poeme of the popes church noted.

As for example; what can be more conuenient for a true pastor of ecclesiasticall, then humilitie of heart and spirit, according to the example of the head bishoppe himselfe? So what greater shew of arrogancie and pride could there bee, then in this, whom I haue oft named before, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury: who passing by the high street of London, did not only take and wait for the ringing of the bels, for a triumph of his comming, but take great snuffe, and bid suspend all such churches in London (not only with the steeple and bels, but also with the organs) so many as did not receiue his comming with the noise of bels: according as out of his owne registers may appeare: the words whereof written to his owne Somner, I haue hereto annexed in his owne forme, as followeth.

Churches of London suspended for not ringing at the comming of the archbishop.

## A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certaine churches of London, because they rung not their bels at the presence of my lord the Archbishop of Canturbury.

THomas by the permission of God, &c. To our welbeloued Thomas Wilton, our Somner sworne, health, grace, and blessing. The comelinesse of our holy church of Canturbury, ouer which we beare rule, desireth and requireth, that while we passe through the prouince of the same our church (hauing our crosse carried before vs) euery parish church in their turnes, ought and are bounden in token of speciall reuerence that they beare to vs, to ring their bels. Which notwithstanding, yea on tuesday last past, when we betwixt eight and nine of the clocke before dinner, passed openly on foote as it were, through the midst of the citie of London, with our crosse carried before vs: Diuers churches, whose names are here beneath noted, shewed towards vs willingly (though they certainly knew of our comming) vnreuerence rather then reuerence, and the dutie that they owe to our church of Canturbury, ringing not at all at our comming. Wherefore we being willing to reuenge this iniury, for the honour of our spouse as we are bounden: command you, that by our authoritie, you put all those churches vnder our interdicement, suspending Gods holy organs and instruments in the same. Which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attaine of vs the benefit of more plentifull grace. Giuen, &c.

These iniurie maker a Bella-na of our Lady.

False hope longed and fed vp of the papists.

a Oh iniurious mettle to Christ his humilitie.

b The papists would sucke our Ladies paps.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishoppe either should thus take for the ringing of the bels, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I doe not see. Vnlike his mind in the meane time was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of Gods feare, with repentance and remembrance of his sinnes, with zealous care and solicitude for his flocke, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Sauiour, who in this world was so despised: or else was set vpon some graue thing, while he so fretted for the ringing of the bels, which were wont to be so noisom to all the dents. And why were not the trumpetters also shent as well, because they did not sound before his person? But and though the bels did not clatter in the steeples, and therefore his thunderbolt should haue fallen vpon the steeples which had deserued: why should the bodie of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poore organs (me thinketh) had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quier, because the bels rang not in the tolure.

Will ye seeme to ecle doctrine or catholikes? Spitt blasphemy against the mother of Christ.

Ringing of Curphew.

Organs suspended in the church because the bels did not ring.

Of the like matter also we read in the said regesters, falling betweene the bishop of Worcester, and the prior of the same towne, for not ringing at the bishops comming into the church. Whereupon much sute and contention was betweene them, till at length the archbishop of Canturbury toke vp the matter, moderating it, as in the said regesters, fol. 441. appeareth to be seene as followeth.

Fortie daies pardon, for fiue Aues.

Ex Regist. Tho. Arundell. Variance betwixt the bishop and prior of Worcester, for not ringing at the bishops comming.

VNiuersis, &c. Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reuerend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one party, and the religious and discreete men the Prior and Couent of the same church on the other partie, for not ringing of belles at the comming of our said brother to his foresaid church, at length the parties (considering the great inconuenience that might come thereof) at our instance and request did agree on this manner: that as often as it shall happen our reuerend brother to goe to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiours, or to make creame and oyle in the same church: Also in the feast of the assumption of the blessed virgin Mary, which is the chiefest feast in the abby aforesaid: then the Prior and the Couent, and their successours for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his comming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to bee made against the same. Which agreement that it may be more firmely kept, we let you all vnderstand by these presents, sealed with our seale. Giuen at our palace of Canturbury 12. July, the 10. yeer of our gouernment.

The like ser for belringing and for processions, had almost hapned betweene the archbishop of Canturbury, successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichley on the one party, and the abby of S. Albons on the other party, had not the abbat in time submitting himselfe to the archbishop, to prouided, that the ringing of their bels at his comming, might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth.

Ringing for the archbishop at S. Albons.

Ex Regist. Henr. Chichesley fol. 365.

HEnry, &c. to the religious men, the abbat and couent of the monastery of Saint Albons in the dioceese of Lincolne, health, &c. When as of late there happened a matter of variance betweene vs, and you the abbat and couent, by reason of not giuing reuerence to vs, being due to our province of Canturbury, that is, for not ringing the bels, and meeting vs with processions when we passed by diuers places of our prouince as well due of common custome as of old vse, and for the prerogatiue of the church of Canturbury, as also being due of euery one being within the compasse of this our said prouince, when and as often as we shall passe by their places: at length your lord abbat (comming personally to vs) did grant both for you and the couent aforesaid, to doe and to giue of your gentlenesse all reuerence and honour, with such reuerence both to vs and our church of Canturbury, as often as we passe by your monastery, or the places nigh or adioyning thereto, or shall hereafter goe by: so that it might not be preiudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your priuiledge: and that it might not be challenged for dutie hereafter. Wherefore we desiring to keepe you from damage, let you vnderstand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or priuiledge whatsoeuer herein: nor by any meanes to be preiudicial to you by these your reuerences or other duties, whatsoeuer you haue or shall grant to vs of your deuotion and liberality, both by you, and in places vnder your dominion. In witnesse whereof, &c Dated the 28. day of Ianuary, 1425. at S. Albons, the 12. yeer of our gouernment.

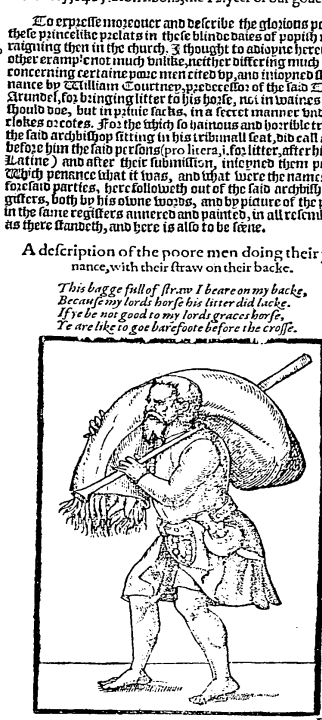
To expresse moreouer and describe the glorious pompe of these princelike prelats in these blinde daies of popish religion raigning then in the church. I thought to adioyne hereunto an other example not much vnlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certaine poore men cited vp, and inioyned strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his house, not in waines as they should doe, but in pittie sacks, in a secret manner vnder their closes or coates. For the which so hainous and horrible trespasse, the said archbishop sitting in his tribunall seat, did call and cite before him the said persons (pro litera, i. for litter, after his owne Latine) and after their submission, inioyned them penance. Which penance what it was, and what were the names of the foresaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishops registers, both by his owne words, and by picture of the persons in the same regesters annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seene.

William Courtney, predecessor of the bishops of Canturbury.

Ex Regist. W. Courtney.

## A description of the poore men doing their penance, with their straw on their backe.

*This bagge full of straw I beare on my backe,*
*Because of my lords horse his litter did lacke.*
*If ye be not good to my lords graces horse,*
*Ye are like to goe bare foote before the crosse.*



The picture of them drawne in all proportion according to the ceremoniar standing in the Register.

Errors

Ex Regist. Archiep. Cantuar.

*Errorie mater ignorantia, quasdam Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstall, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, Tenentes domini de Wengham reliter obcecauit, quod ante aduentum dicti domini Archiepiscopi ad palatium suum Cantuarie in vigilia dominice in ramis palmarum, anno domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo, de carendo & discendo ad dictum palatium, scuum, straamen, siue literam, prout ex tenura terrarum, & tenura suorum, quas & qua tenent de domino & ecclesia sua Cantuarie astringuntur, per ballaum domini ibidem iuste & legitime premoniti debita seruitia more solito impendere dedignantes, straamen huiusmodi non in carrucis & vehiculis publice in sufficienti quantitate, sed modice in saccis sub latibulo, ponificis ad palatium predictum perduxerunt; in vilipendium domini archiepiscopi ipsius ecclesie sue Cantua. Vnde super hec euocati coram domino, die Iouis in hebdomada Paschæ in cathedrali ecclesia de Stanewode pro tribunali sedente personaliter comparentes, ipsius iudicio in hac parte se humiliter submiserunt, veniam & misericordiam pro commissi deuote petendo. Et deinde dominus prefatus, Hugonem Pennie, Johannem Forstal, Johannem Boy, Johannem Wanderton, Gulielmum Hayward, & Johannem White, de stando mandatis ecclesie, & fideliter peragendo pœnam eis pro eorum demeritis iniungendam, iuratos ibidem in forma iuris, vnanimi eis & eorum cuilibet, pro modo culpe pœna salutari: videlicet, quod die dominico tunc proxime sequente, predicti pœnitentes nudi capita & pedes, processionem apud ecclesiam collegiatam de Wenghm fiendam cum singulis suscep super humeris suis palmam portantes (plenis videlicet fœno & straamine) ire quadstramen & fœnum huiusmodi ad ora saccorum patentium intuendo: processionem, lentis incessibus procederent humiliter & deuote.*

Penance imposed upon the bailife of Wengham for driving his carriage into the palace.

In English:

Ignorance the mother of error, so much had blinded and deceiued certaine persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham: that against the comming of the aforesaid archbishop to his palace of Canterbury on Palmes sunday euen, the yere of our Lord 1390, where they being warned by the bailife, to conuey and carry hay, straw, and other litter to the aforesaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they held of the see of Canterbury: refusing and disdaining to doe their due seruice, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in carts and waines openly and sufficiently, but by peece meale, and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the see of Canterbury. Whereupon they being attched and presented before the archbishop, sitting in iudgement at his manor of Stratcheud, pardon and submitted themselues to his lordships pleasure, humbly craueing pardon of their trespasse. Then the aforesaid archbishop abolished the abane named Hugh Pennie, &c. they sweareing to obey the lawes and ordinances of holy church, and to doe the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts: that is, that they going leasurely before the procession, euery one of them should carry openly on his shoulder, his bagge stuffed with hay and straw; so that the said hay and straw should appeare hanging out, the mouthes of the sacks being open.

Excommunication and absolution abused.

## Notes of certaine parliament matters passed in this kings daies.

Matters of this kings parliaments.

TO proceed now further in the raigne of this king, and to intreat also something of his parliaments, as we haue done of other before. First, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first yere of his comming in.

Moreouer, forsomuch as our catholike papists will not beleeue yet the contrary, but that the iurisdiction of their father the pope, hath euer extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places: Here therefore speaking of the parliaments holden in this kings daies concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the said king Henry in his first yere holden, and to the 27. article of the same. Where they may reade in the tenth obiection laid against king Richard in plaine words: how that, forasmuch as the crowne of this realme of England, and the iurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realme it selfe, at all times lately past hath been at such liberty, and inioied such prerogatiue, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdome ought to intrude himselfe, nor intermeddle therein: it was therefore obiected vnto the forenamed king Richard the second, for procuring the letters Apostolicall from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certaine statutes of his, and that his enimies might be prouoked against the breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the parliament, to tend against the crowne and regall dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England. Act. parl. An. 11. Reg. Henrici 4. Act. 27.

The popes iurisdiction excluded out of this realme.

Further more, in the second yere of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards in the second yere of Henry the fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation: that they be arrested by none other then by the Sheriffes or such like officers, neither that any hanocke be made of their goods. The king granted to take aduice therein.

Ex Regist. Archiep. Cantuar.

Stat. 2. Reg. Henrici 4. cap. 15.

Anno 8. Reg. Hen. 4. act. 126.

In the eighth yere moreouer of this kings raigne, it was like wise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shal practise, or sue in the court of Rome, any processe touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the paine of the statute of præmunire made in the thirteenth yere of Richard 2. wherevnto the king granted, that the statutes herefore prouided, should be obserued.

Anno 8. Reg. Hen. 4. act. 114.

Item, in the said parliament it was required, that the king might inioy halfe the profits of euery parsons benefice, who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the king answered; that the Ordinaries should doe their duties therein, or else hee would prouide further remedie to stay their pluralities.

Ibidem act. 37.

Item, in the said parliament it was required; that none doe sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but onely in the kings Courts.

¶ In the next yere following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put vp in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to expresse, as followeth.

Ex Rotulo Parliamentario. 9. Henrici 4.

The Commons doe beseech, that forasmuch as diuers promises of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular couetousnesse now newly imagined to destroy those that haue been long time incumbents in diuers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of promotions, collations, and other grants made to the same promisors by the Apostoll of the said benefices, doe purchse processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realme in deed against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, though such pursuits and crafty processes and sentences of priuation and inhabilitation, haue lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetuall destruction and mischiefe. And forasmuch as this mischiefe cannot be holpen without an especiall remedy bee had by parliament: Pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischiefe and danger that may so come into diuers his subiects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realme, and thereupon to ordaine by the aduice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented, bee receiued by any Ordinary into any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of priuation or inhabilitation, whereof the processe is not founded vpon citation made within the realme, and also that such incumbents may remaine in all their benefices, vntill it be proued by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations whereupon such priuations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realme: and that if such Ordinaries, or such presented, or others, doe pursue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, fautors and counsellers, doe incurre the paines contained in the statute made against prouisos in the thirteenth yere of the raigne of the late Richard king of England the second, by processes to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such prouisors in the 27. yere of the raigne of king Edward, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any roiall licences or grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against prouisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmely kept in all points.

The bishops of Rome haue euer practised to bring the kings of this realme into subiection.

That the kings counsell haue power by authority of parliament, in case that any man finde himselfe greeued in particular, that he may pursue: and that the said counsell by the aduice of the Iustices, doe right vnto the parties. This to indure vntill the next parliament, referring alwaies vnto the king his prerogatiue and liberty.

Anno 9. Regis Hen. 4. cal. 43.

Item, that no popes collector thenceforth should leuy any mony within the realme, for first fruits of any ecclesiasticall dignity, vnder paine of incurring the statute of prouisions.

Ex Chronic. D. Alban. Fabian. &c. & alij.

Besides, in the said parliament holden the eleuenth yere of this king, is to be noted; how the commons of the land put vp a bill vnto the king, to take the temporall lands out from spirituall mens hands or possession. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities, wherein they swelled by men of the church, might suffice to finde to the king fifteene earles, fifteene hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred houses of almose, to the relief of poore people, mo then at those daies were within England. And ouer all these foresaid charges, the king might put yerly in his cofers 20000. pound.

Prouided, that euery earle should haue of yerely rent three thousand mark, euery knight a hundred mark, foure plough lands: euery esquire forty mark by yer, with two plough lands, and euery house of almose a hundred marke, with ouer plus of two true seculars vnto euery house: and also with prouiso, that euery township should keep all poore people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their liuing; with condition, that



that if mo fell in a towne then the towne might maintaine, then the said annes houses to releue such townships.

A computation of church goods, to what such they doe mount.

And for to beare these charges, they alledged by their said bill, that the temporalties, being in the possession of spirituall men, amounted to iii. C. and xvii. M. marke by yere. Whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canturbury, with the abbies of Christs church, of S. Augustines, Shrewsbury, Coggeshale, and S. Osus, xv. M. marke by yere. In the see of Yorke and abbies there, xv. M. marke. In the see of Winchester, and abbies there, xv. M. marke. In the see of London, with abbies and other houses there, xv. M. marke. In the see of Lincolne, with the abbies of Peterbrow, Ramsey and other, xv. M. marke. In the see of Norwich, with the abbies of Bury and other, xv. M. marke. In the see of Ely, Spalding and other, xv. M. marke. In the see of Bathe, with the abby of Glinbourne and other, xv. M. marke. In the see of Worcester, with the abbies of Euesham, Abingdon and other, xv. M. marke. In the see of Chester, with the precincts of the same, with the see of S. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with their precincts, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Rauens or Reuans, of Fountaines, of Gernons, and diuers other to the number of fiue mo, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Leicester, Waltham, Golborne, Merton, Tiecetir, Olney and other, vnto the number of six mo, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Dowers, Batil, Lewys, Couentry, Dauentre, and Courtney, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Northampton, Boston, Bilsbow, Billingworth, Winchcombe, Hales, Parchillo, Frideswide, Notly, and Osmunsby, xv. M. marke.

The abbies of Rauens or Reuans, of Fountaines, of Gernons, and diuers other to the number of fiue mo, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Leicester, Waltham, Golborne, Merton, Tiecetir, Olney and other, vnto the number of six mo, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Dowers, Batil, Lewys, Couentry, Dauentre, and Courtney, xv. M. marke. The abbies of Northampton, Boston, Bilsbow, Billingworth, Winchcombe, Hales, Parchillo, Frideswide, Notly, and Osmunsby, xv. M. marke.

The abbies of Rauens or Reuans, of Fountaines, of Gernons, and diuers other to the number of fiue mo, xv. M. marke. And so the odde of xvii. M. mark, they appointed Hartford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Croukesbury, Dunstable, Shirborn, Taunton, and Biland.

And ouer this, they alledged by the said bill, that ouer and aboue the said sum of iii. C. and xvii. M. marke, diuers houses of religion in England, possessed as many temporalties as might suffice to finde yerly xv. M. priests and clerks, euery priest to be allowed for his stipend vii. marke by the yere.

To the which bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and aduisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labor was made.

Anno 1413

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as haue been incident in the life time of this king, followeth next the 13. yere of his raigne. In the which yere, the said king Henry the 4. after that he had sent a little before a certaine company of captaines & souldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France (among whom was the lord Cobham) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grieuously sicke. From thence he was conueied to London, where he began to call a parliament, but tarried not the end. In the meane time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a faire chamber at Westminster. And as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber: and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophecie, that he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so disposing himselfe toward his end, in the foresaid chamber he died: vpon what sickenesse, whether of leprosie, or of some other sharpe disease, I haue not to affirme. Ex vetust. Chron. Anglico, cuius initium: That all men called.

The king had a prophecy that he should make Jerusalem. Prophecies detestable.

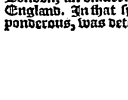
Ex vetust. chron. Anglico, cuius initium est, That all men called.

The like prophecy of pope Silluester 2.

The like prophecy was reade of pope Silluester 2. pag. 151. to whom being inquisitiue for the time and place where he should die, it was answered that he should die in Jerusalem. Who then seeing masse in a chapell (called likewise Jerusalem) perceiued his end there to be neere, and died. And thus king Henry the 4. succeeded to the lawfull king Richard 2. finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canturbury by the tombe of Thomas Becket, &c. An. 1413.

## King Henry the fifth.

King Henry 5.



AFter this Henry the fourth, raigned Henry the fifth his sonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other vertues and great victories gotten in France, I haue not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memorie of his worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and vnburden my labor herein: especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that vnneth any vacant leasure shal be left, to intermeddle with matters prophane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of April, called then passion Sunday, which was an preceding Sonny day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof: not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, an. 1413. At which time, Thomas Arundel the archbishop of Canturbury, collected in Pauls church at London, an vniuersall synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod among other weighty matters and ponderous, was determined; that the day of S. George, and

S. George and S. Dunstans day made double feast.

also of S. Dunstan should be double feast, called Duplex Festum, in holy kitchen, in holy church I would say.

And because the order and maner of those pope-holy feasts, either yet is not sufficiently knowne to some rude and grosse capacities, or may peraduenture grow out of vse, and to be straunge and vnknowne to our posterity hereafter: therefore to giue a little memorandum thereof (by the way for erudition of times hereafter to come) touching this impiticall science of the popes dœpe and secret diuinity: here is to be noted, that the feasts of the popes holy mother catholike church, be diuided into sundry members: Like as a plentifull tree in a fruitfull field, riseth vp and burgeoneth into manifold armes, and the armes againe doe multiply into diuers and sundry branches, out of the which moreouer, although no fruit doe come, yet both leaues and flowers do bud and blossome in most copious wise, right beautifull to behold: Euen so this Festum, containing a large matter of great variety of dates and feasts, groweth in it selfe and multiplieth, being thus diuided: First, into Festum duplex, and into Festum simplex, that is, into feast double, and to feast simple. Againe, this Festum duplex brancheth foure fold wise, to wit, into Festum principale duplex: into Maius duplex: into Minus duplex, and inferius duplex: that is, in principall double, in greater double, in lesser double, and inferior or lower double. Vnto these seuerall sorts of feasts what daies were peculiarly affigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to vnderstand, that as vnto the principall double feast only belonged eight daies in the yere; so the Maius duplex festum, had giuen vnto him by this conuocation, the day of S. George and of S. Dunstan, as is afore rehearsed: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, but by custome it was not to vsed. Item, to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, Principale duplex, and Maius duplex, did differ and were knowne from all other by foure notes; by seruice in the kitchen, and by seruice in the church, which was both double, by ringing in the steeple, which was with double peale: by copes in the quier, and by thurifeying or censing the altars. For in these two principall and greater double feasts, the seuenth, eighth, and ninth lesson must bee read with silken copes. Also at the first lesse in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurifired, that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the Minus duplex, and Inferius duplex had also their peculiar seruice to them belonging.

Festum duplex. Principale duplex, Maius duplex, Minus duplex. Inferius duplex.

Constitution against it counsel. Ex tab. festorum.

Secondly, the Simplex festum, which is the second arme springing of this diuision, is thus diuided: Either hauing a triple inuitatop, or a double, or else a single inuitatop. Of the which moreouer, some haue three lessons, some haue nine, &c.

Simplex festum in the popes church.

And thus much by occasion for popish feasts; not that I doe so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonor of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

### The trouble and persecution of the Lord Cobham.

The trouble of Syon Cobham. Ex Chron. Mellonc. Albanensis.

BVt to let this by-matter passe, againe to returne to the foresaid vniuersall synod assembled by Thomas Arundell at S. Pauls church in London, as is before remembred: the chiefe and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as recordeth the chronicle of S. Albons) was to represse the growing and spreading of the Gospell, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principall fauorer, receiuer, defender and maintainer of them, whom the bishop miscalled to be Lollards, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester and Hereford, setting them vp to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution prouincial, before remembred, pag. 483. holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the relics and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the receiued determination of the Romish church, &c.

Vide pag. 483.

In the meane time, as these were in talke amongst them, concerning the good lord Cobham, resorted vnto them the 12. inquisitors of heresie, (whom they had appointed at Orford the yere afore, to search out heretikes, with all Wicklifists bookes) who brought 200. and 46. conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said bookes. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

Walden. in fascic. Zizaniorum Wicklefi.

1. John Witnam, a maister in the new Colledge.
2. John Langedon, monke of Christ church in Canturbury.
3. William Vford, regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominicks.
5. Robert Gilbert, 9. Richard Fleming.
6. Richard Earthisdale, 10. Thomas Rotborne.
7. John Lucke, 11. Robert Ronbery.
8. Richard Snedisham, 12. Richard Grafdale.

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselues, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs coat without seame (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) vnlesse certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the said

The L. Cobham accused to the archbishop touching the Sacrament of the Aultar.

The Lord Cobham heresie.

Processe against him.

A spirituall processe.

The king sorie for him.

His gentle proffer.

The kings admonition to the L. Cobham.

The enmity of the lord Cobham against the king.

Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2.

Lord Cobham obedient to the king.

Articles against the Lord Cobham.

1. Machab. 2.

The lord Cobham's confession of the king.

Lord Cobham called in to the archbishop.

John Butler sent to Lord Cobham.

Commandement to the Lord Cobham.

The summons given to the Lord Cobham.

laid disciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, was coupled of by the generall pontons to be the chief principall. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thether the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of armes, notwithstanding their synodall constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in beliefe of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of unage worshipping, and of the ecclesiasticall power, then the holy church of Rome had taught many yeres before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, processe should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernitious heretike.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience then the other, thought it not best to haue the matter so rashly handled, but to some preparation made thereunto before. Considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in fauor at that time with the king, their counsell in vse to know first the kings mind to saue all things upright. This counsell was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundell with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightwaies unto the king, then remaining at Kenningston, and there laid forth most grieuous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard those blasphemy prelats, and farre otherwise then became his princely dignitie: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stocke and knighthood, they should per fauourable deale with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the churches vnity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take faure deliberation, his self would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king sent for the said Lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer: Most worthy prince, saith he, I am always prompt and willing to obey, so farre forth as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of euill doers, and for safegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I haue done euer) all that I haue, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill what soeuer you shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spiritualty, I owe them neither sute nor seruice, forsomuch as I know him by the scriptures to be the great antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open aduersary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place. Then the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with him, but left him so vtterly.

And as the archbishop resolued againe unto him for an answere, hee gaue him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their diuelish decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church. Then the said archbishop by the counsell of his other bishoppes and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare, to answere to such inuect Articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chiefe Summoner, with a very sharpe citation unto the castell of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence, and therefore hee returned home againe, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, which was then the doue keper of the kings priuy chamber: and with him he couenanted through promises and rewards, to haue this matter craftily brought to passe under the kings name. Thereupon, the said John Butler tolde the archbishops Sumner with him, and went unto the said lord Cobham, shewing him, that it was the kings pleasure that he should obey the citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said hee to them in few words, that hee in no case would consent to those most diuelish practises of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man priuate to cite him after that without peril of life, he decreed by and by to haue him cited by publike processe or open commandement. And to all the same possible, upon the wednesday before the nitiuity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatorie, to be set upon the great gates of the cathedrall church of Rochester (which was but three English miles from thence) charging him to appeare personally before him at Lebis the eleuenth day of the same month and yere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, so farre forth as hee knew unto the Lord Cobham, and so conueied aside. After that caused the archbishop new letters to be set up on the nativity day of our Lady, which also were rent downe and vtterly ordained.

Then forsomuch as he did not appeare at the day appointed at Lebis (where he sate in consistory, as cruell as euer was Caiphas, with his court of hypocrits about him) he iudged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deepe contumacie. After that, when he had been fully informed by his hired spies, and other glosing glauerers, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorne, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his moby madnes without iust cause, did he openly excommunicat him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but commanded him to be cited afresh, to appeare before him the saturday before the feast of S. Matthew the Apostle, with these cruell threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay power by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostata, schismatike, and heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme, and great aduersary of all holy church, for all these hatefull names did he giue him.

This most constant seruant of the Lord, and worthy knight sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the vnpeaceable fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiuing himselfe also compassed on euery side with deadly dangers; he take paper & pen in hand, and so wrote a christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his owne hand. Wherein he also answered to the foure chiefest articles that the archbishop had against him. That done, he take the copie with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to finde mercy and fauor at his hand.

None other was that confession of his, then the common beleefe or sum of the churches faith, called the Apostles Creed, of all christian men then vsed, with a briefe declaration vpon the same, as here under ensueth.

False accusations against the Lord Cobham.

Lord Cobham excommunicated.

Lord Cobham appeareth not.

Lord Cobham condemned.

Lord Cobham confesseth his faith before men.

The Apostles faith.

## The Christian beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

The creation of the christians.

I Beleeue in God the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Sonne our Lord, which was conceiued by the holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, suffered vnder Ponce Pilat, crucified, dead and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose againe from death, ascended vp to heauen, sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence shall come againe to iudge the quicke and the dead. I beleeue in the holy Ghost, the vniuersall holy church, the communion of Saints, the forgiuenesse of sins, the vprising of the flesh, and euerlasting life. Amen.

A declaration of his beliefe.

And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholike church, I stedfastly beleeue, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whose Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfesame God almighty. I beleeue also that the second person of this most blessed Trinity, in most conuenient time appointed thereunto afore, take flesh and blood of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the safegard and redemption of the vniuersall kind of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence.

1. Joh. 5. Gala. 4. Heb. 2. Luke 2.

Christ is the only head of his church.

Moreouer I beleeue, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that haue been, or shall be saued, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I thinke to be diuided into three sorts or companies:

The church diuided into three parts.

Whereof the first sort be now in heauen, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they here here conuersant, conformed alwayes their liues to the most holy lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and euils.

Contrary were her, ad parliamentū Lateranense.

The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliuerance of paine.

The third sort are here vpon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the diuell, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthinesse of the flesh.

The church militant deuided in three.

These latter congregation by the iust ordinance of God is also seuered into three diuers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aide the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all secluded from all worldlinesse, should conforme their liues vtterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Secondly should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in giuing wholesome examples of good liuing to the other two degrees of men. More ouer also, more louing, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, then any other sorts of people.

What the priests should be.

In knighthood are all they which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods lawes, and see that the gospell were purely taught, confouning their liues to the same, and excluding all false preachers: yea those ought rather to hazard their

Knighthood what it should do.



their liues, then to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemisheth the eternall Testament of God, or yet letteth the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schismes might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, then of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocriticall lies, for aduantage. They ought also to preserue Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and theeues, and to see the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the law of office to compell them to change their doings; and to see all things perseuered according to Gods perfect ordinance.

Who be they that make spirituall lawes.

What the commons people ought to do.

The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people: whose duetie is, to beare their good mindes and true obedience, to the foresaid ministers of God, their kings, ciuill gouernours and Priests. The right office of these, is iustly to occupie euerie man his faculte, be it marchandise, handicraft, or the tithe of the ground. And so one of them to bee as an helper to another, following alwaies in their steps the iust commandements of the Lord God.

The faith of the L. Cobham, concerning the Sacraments.

Sacrament of the aultar.

Transubstantiation.

Christ ascended into heauen.

Christ shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead.

The holy ghost.

The holy church.

The communion of Saints.

Remission of sins.

The resurrection of the flesh.

Life euerlasting.

Amen.

Sure and besides all this, I most faithfully beleeue that the Sacraments of Christs church are necessarie to all christian beleeuers: this alwaies seene to, that they be truely ministred according to Christes first institution and ordinance. And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsly accused of a mis beliefe in the sacrament of the aultar, to the hurtfull slander of many: I signifie here vnto all men, that this is my fauth concerning that. I beleeue in that sacrament to be contained very Christes bodie and bloud vnder the similitudes of bread and wine, yea the same bodie that was conceiued of the holy ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, done on the crosse, died, that was buried, arose the third day from the death: and is now glorified in heauen. I also beleeue, the vniuersall lawe of God to bee most true and perfect, and they which do not so followe it in their fauth and workes (at one time or another) can neuer be fauied: Whereas he that seriously it in fauth, accepted it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and perseuereth it in loue, shall take for it the felicitie of euerlasting vnsearcheable.

A signe of notes vnderstanded.

Finally, this is my fauth also, that God will aske no more of a christian beleeuer in this life, but onely to obey the precepts of that most blessed lawe. I fany Prelates of the church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, then this to be bled: hee contemneth Christ, exalting himselfe aboue God, and so becommeth an open Antichrist. All the premisses I beleeue particularlie, and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should beleeue; instantly desiring you my liege Lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine, may be willy examined by the most godly wise and learned men of your realme. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the verite, then let it be so allowed: and I thereupon hasten no more other then a true christian. If it bee found otherwise, then let it be vtterly condemned: pronded alwaies, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God: and I shall most reuerently at all times obey thereunto.

Obedience vnto the king.

Purgatory.

Pilgrimage.

Images.

This briefe confession of this fauth, the L. Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and so take it with him to the court, offering it with all meekenesse vnto the king to reade it ouer. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be deliuered vnto them that should be his iudges. Then desired he in the kings presence, that an hundred knightes and squires might be suffered to come in vpon his purgation, which hee knew would cleare him of all heresies. Moreouer hee offered himselfe after the lawe of armes, to fight foote or beath with any man liuing, christian or heathen, in the quarrell of his fauth, the king and the Lords of his counsell excepted. Finally with all gentlenesse hee protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should after the lawes of God be ministred vnto him, but that he would at all times with all meekenesse obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to bee summoned personally in his owne priuy chamber. Then said the L. Cobham to the king that he had appealed from the Archbishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore hee ought be fauth, in no case to be his iudge. And hauing his appeale there at hand readie written, hee shewed it with all reuerence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased then afore, and said angerly vnto him, that he should not pursue his appeale: but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he, the archbishop should bee his iudge. Thus was there nothing allowed that the Lord Cobham had afore required. But forsomuch as hee would not bee sworne in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take that penance the Archbishop would enioyne him: Hee was arrested againe at the Kings commandement, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him afore the kings chamber.

L. Cobham appealeth from the archb. to the pope.

Straight handling of the king.

L. Cobham laid prisoner to the Tower.

Then caused hee the foresaid confession of his fauth to bee copied againe, and the answere also (which hee had made to the foure articles propounded against him) to be written in maner of an Inventure in two sheets of paper: That when hee should come to his answer, he might giue the one copie vnto the archbishop, and reserue the other to himselfe. As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saterday before the feast of S. Matthew: Thomas Arundel the archbishop, sitting in Cayphas roome in the Chapterhouse of Paules, with Richard Clifford Bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke Bishop of Winchester: sir Robert Morley knight and lieftenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said L. Cobham, and there led him for the same vnto whom the archbishop said these wordes.

The confession and answere of the L. Cobham rehearsed.

## The first examination of the Lord Cobham.

Parliament was held at Leicester.

SIr John, in the last generall conuocation of the clergie of this our Province, yee were detected of certaine heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon yee were by forme of spirituall lawe cited, and would in no case appeare. In conclusion, upon your rebellions contumacie, ye were both priuately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding wee neither yet shewed our selues vnreadie to haue given your absolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye haue meekely asked it. Unto this the L. Cobham shewed, as though he had given no care, hauing his minde otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearsall of that fauth which hee held and intended alwaies to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then hee take out of his bosome a certaine writing inuented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giuing it vnto the archbishop as per had made thereof an end. Wherefor this is the copie.

The fauth of the L. Cobham concerning the articles.

I John Oldcastle knight, L. of Cobham, will that all Christian men twert and vnderstand: that I clepe almighty God into witnesse, that it hath been, now is, and euer will the help of God, that I be mine intent and my will, to leue stedfastly and fully all the Sacramentes that euer God ordained to be vsed in holy church: and moreouer to declare me in these foure points, I beleeue that the most worshipfull Sacrament of the aultar is Christes body in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heauen.

Also as for the sacrament of penance I beleeue, that it is needfull to euery man that shalbe saued to forsake sinne, and doe due penance for sinne before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may hee not bee saued: which penance I declare all men to doe.

Penance.

And as of Images, I vnderstand, that they be not of beleeue, but that they were ordained first they beleeue was zeale of Christ, by sufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd men, to repentent and bring to minde the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, and martyrdome and good liuing of other Saints: And that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust, in helpe of them, as hee should doe to GOD, or hath affection in one more then in an other, he doth in that the greatest sinne of mammetrie.

Also I suppose this fully, that euery man in this earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward paine: and that hee that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy commandementes of God in his liuing here (albeit that he be go on pilgrimages to all the world, and hee die so: hee shalbe damned: he that knoweth the holy commandements of God, and keepeth them to his end, hee shalbe saued though hee neuer in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now vse to Canterbury or to Rome, or to any other place.

The answere examined.

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he deliuered it to the Bishops as is said afore. Then counselled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops, and with diuers of the doctors, that was to be done in this matter: commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and information, hee said thus vnto him: Come hither sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholicke also, wee deny it not: but yee must confesse that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning thole articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore yee must yet declare vs your minde more plainely.

Cause ill picked where none was given.

And thus, whether that ye hold, affirme, and beleeue, that in the sacrament of the aultar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreouer, whether ye be bold, affirme and beleeue, that as concerning the sacrament of penance (where as a competent number of priests are) euery christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sinnes to a priest ordained by the church, or not.

The waste was hanged with red bayes.

After certaine other communication, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham. That none other wise would hee declare his minde, nor yet answere vnto his articles, then was

The christian answere of the L. Cobham to their questions.

expressly

A treasonous vnion to that matter.

crpreſſely in his writing there contained. Then ſaid the archb. againe vnto him: Sir Iohn, beware what yee bee. For if yee anſwere not clearely to thoſe thinges that are here obiected a-gainſt you eſpecially at the time appointed you only for that purpoſe) the law of holy church is, that compelled once by a iudge, we may openly proclaime you an heretick. Vnto whom hee gaue this anſwer: Doe as ye ſhall thinke beſt, for I am at a point. What ſoeuer hee or the other biſhops did after him after that, he had them reſort to his bill: for thereby would he ſtand to the verie death. Other anſwere would hee not giue that day, wherewith the biſhops and prelates were in a maner amazed and wonderfully diſquieted.

His anſwere not to their minds.

At the laſt the Archb. counſeled againe with his other Biſhops and Doctors, and in the end thereof declared vnto him, wi't the holy church of Rome (following the ſaying of S. Auguſtine, S. Hierome, S. Ambroſe, and of other holy Doctors) had determined in theſe matters, no manner of mention once made of Chriſt. Which determination (ſaith he) ought all chriſtian men both to beleeue and to follow.

Antichriſtes ſect-taining diuine God.

Then ſaid the Lord Cobham vnto him, that he would gladly both beleeue and obſerue whatſoeuer holy church of Chriſtes inſtitution had determined, or yet whatſoeuer God had willed him either to beleeue or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other prelates of that church had lawfull power to determine ſuch matter as ſtood not with his word throughly: that would he not (he ſaid) at the time affirme. With this the archb. bad him to take good aduiſement till the munday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then fully to anſwere, ſpecially vnto this point: whether there remained matterial bread in the ſacrament of the aultar, after the words of conſecration or not? He promiſed him alſo, to ſend vnto him in writing thoſe matters clearely determined, that he might then bee the more perfect in his anſwere making. And all this was nought: els, but to blinde the multitude with ſomewhat. The next day following, according to his promiſe, the archbiſhop ſent vnto him into the Tower, this ſelfiſh and blaſphemous writing, made by him and by his vnlearned clergy.

What could be in the prelates hart, ſeeing they had reſolued to perſecute it.

A doctrine of diuelles to blind the ſimple.

## The determination of the Archbiſhop, and Clergie.

*Ex magno prologo Thome Aquinatis.*

THe faith and determination of the holy Church touching the bliſſfull ſacrament of the aultar, is this: that after the Sacramentall words be once ſpoken by a prieſt in his maſſe, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Chriſtes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Chriſtes very bloud. And ſo there remaineth in the ſacrament of the aultar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the ſacramentall words were ſpoken: How beleeue ye this article?

The 1. article.

Chriſt ordained S. Peter the Apoſtle to be his vicar here in earth, whoſe ſee is the holy church of Rome: And he granted, that the ſame power which he gaue vnto Peter, ſhould ſucceed to all Peters ſucceſſors, which wee call now Popes of Rome: by whoſe power in Churches particular be ordained prelates, as Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Perſons, Curates, and other degrees more. Vnto whom chriſtian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How ſeele ye this article?

The 3. article.

Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a chriſtian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places: and there ſpecially to worſhip holy reliques and Images of ſaints Apoſtles, and Martyrs, Confeſſors, and all other Saints beſides, appoued by the church of Rome. How ſeele ye this article?

The 4. article.

And as the Lord Cobham had read ouer this moſt wretched writing, he marueiled greatly of their made ignorance. But that he conſidered againe, that God had giuen them ouer for their vnbeleefes ſake, into moſt deep errours and blindneſſe of ſoule. Againe, he perceiued hereby, that their vttermoſt malice was purpoſed againſt him, howſoeuer he ſhould anſwere. And therefore hee put his life into the hands of God, deſiring his onely ſpirit to aſſiſt him in his next anſwere. Then the ſaid 25. day of September was come (which was alſo the munday before Michaelmas in the 13. yeare of our Lord 1413.) Thomas Arundell the Archbiſhop of Canterbury commanded his iudiciall ſeate to be remoued from the chapter houſe of Paules to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at London. And as hee was there ſet with Richard Biſhop of London, Henry the Biſhop of Winchcſter, and Beuiet the biſhop of Bangor: he called in vnto him his counſell and his officers, with diuers other Doctors and Friers, of whom theſe are the names here following, maiſter Henry Ware, the Officiall of Canterbury: Philip Morgan, Doctor of both lawes: Howell Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon lawe: Iohn Kempe, doctor of the Canon lawe: William Carleton, doctor of the Canon lawe: Iohn Witnam, of the newe College in Oxforde: Iohn Whithead, doctor in Oxford alſo, Robert Wombewell, vicar of S. Laurence in the Iewry: Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Simons: Robert Chamberlaine, Prior of the Dominickes: Richard Dodington, Prior of S Auguſtines: Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmelites, all doctors of Diuinitie. Iohn Stevens alſo, and Iames Cole, both Notaries, appointed there purpoſely to write all that ſhould be either ſaid or done. All theſe with a great fort more of Prieſtes, Monkes, Canons, Friers, Parith Clarkes, Belringers, Pardoners, diſdained him, with innumerable mockes and ſcoffes, reckoning him to bee an horrible hereticke, and a man accurſed afore God.

The Lord Cobham reſorteth vnto Chriſt.

The Popes diuinitie.

The Pope is the 3. Antichriſt.

The firſt of the ſcripture.

The 4. article.

The ſeuenth chefe ſacrament and malice.

Three puttech his life in Gods hande.

Ex ſermone examinat.

The counſell of Caiaphas.

The Phariſees and Scribes.

Among the Archbiſhop called for a Maſſe booke, and cauſed all thoſe prelates and doctors to ſweare thereupon, that euerie man ſhould faithfully doe his office and ducties that day. And that neither for fauour nor feare, loue nor hate of the one partie nor the other: any thing ſhould there be witneſſed, ſpoken or done, but according to the trueth, as they would anſwer before God and all the world at the day of doome. Then were the two forſaid Notaries ſworne alſo, to write and to witneſſe the proces that there ſhould be vttered on both parties, and to ſet their mindes (if they otherwiſe knew) before they ſhould regiſter it. And all this diſſimulation was but to colour their miſchiefes, before the ignorant multitude.

Concilium ſacramentum.

For a falſe colour to cuer they.

All done to deceiue the ignorant.

Conſider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the true feare of God, for as they were then, ſo are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them, Sir Robert Pooley knight and lieftenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good L. Cobham, there leauing him among them as a lamb among Wolues, to his examination and anſwere.

Lord Cobham commeth again before them.

## An other examination of the Lord Cobham.

*Ex veriſsimis exemplari Londinenſium.*

THen ſaid the archb. vnto him: Lord Cobham ye be aduiſed (I am ſure) of the words and prores which wee had vnto you vpon Saterday laſt paſt in the chapter houſe of Paules: which proces were now too long to be rehearſed againe: I ſaid vnto you then, that you were accurſed for your contumacie and diſobedience to holy church, thinking that yee ſhould with meekneſſe haue deſired your abſolution.

The curſe of Antichriſt.

Then ſpake the L. Cobham with a chearfull countenance, and ſaid, God ſaid by his holie Prophet, Maledicam benedictionibus veſtris, which is as much to ſay as, I ſhall curſe where you bleſſe.

Malachi 2.

The archb. made then as though hee had continued forth his tale and not heard him, ſaying: Sir, at that time I gently profered to haue abſolued you if you would haue aſked it. And yet I doe the ſame if ye will humbly deſire it in due forme and manner, as holy church hath ordained.

A wouldy offer of guiltineſſe.

Then ſaid the Lord Cobham. Nay forſooth will I not, for I neuer yet treſpaſſed againſt you, and therefore I will not doe it. And with that he kneeled downe on the pauement, holding vp his hands towards heauen, and ſaid: I thinke me here vnto the my eternall liuing God, that in my fraile youth I offended the (O Lord) moſt greeuouſly in pride, wrath, & gluttony: in couetouſneſſe, and in letcherie. Many men haue I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible ſins, good Lord I aſke thee mercie. And therewith weepingly hee ſtode vp againe and ſaid with a mighty voice. Loe, good people, loe: For the breaking of Gods lawe and his great commandements, they neuer yet curſed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, moſt cruelly doe they handle both me and other men. And therefore, both they and their lawes, by the promiſe of God, ſhall vtterly be deſtroied.

L. Cobham confeſſeth him ſelfe vnto God.

Mans lawe is before Gods lawe poſtponed. Hiere. 51.

At this the archb. and his company were not a little blemiſhed. Notwithſtanding, hee tooke ſtomacke vnto him againe after certaine words had, in excuſe of their tyrannie, and examined the Lord Cobham of his chriſtian beliefe.

An hereſie after the papiſts making.

Thereunto the L. Cobham made this godly anſwere, I beleeue (ſaith he) fully and faithfully in the vniuerſall lawes of God. I beleeue that all is true which is contained in the holy ſacred ſcriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleeue, all that my Lord God would I ſhould beleeue. Then demanded the archbiſhop an anſwere of that bill which he and the clergy had ſent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the church concerning the foure articles thereof hee was accuſed, ſpecially for the ſacrament of the aultar, how hee beleeued therein.

1. Cor. 10.

The ſacrament is called bread.

The determination of the Church muſt ſtand, whatſoeuer Paul ſaith.

Paul chriſtian beleeue.

The iudgement of the Lord Cobham concerning the determination of the Church.

Thereunto the L. Cobham ſaid, that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he ſaid) concerning the ſacrament. That his Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt deare diſciples, the night before hee ſhould ſuffer tooke bread in his hand: And giuing thanks to his eternall father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Take it vnto you, and eate thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betraied for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembrance. This doe I throughly beleeue (ſaith he) for this faith am I taught in the Goſpell of Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Thereto the L. Cobham ſtyed, that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he ſaid) concerning the ſacrament. That his Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, ſitting at his laſt ſupper with his moſt deare diſciples, the night before hee ſhould ſuffer tooke bread in his hand: And giuing thanks to his eternall father, bleſſed it, brake it, and ſo gaue it vnto them, ſaying: Take it vnto you, and eate thereof all, this is my body which ſhall be betraied for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembrance. This doe I throughly beleeue (ſaith he) for this faith am I taught in the Goſpell of Mathew, in Marke, and in Luke, and alſo in the firſt Epiſtle of S. Paule to the Corinthians. chap. 11.

Matth 26. Marke 14. Luke 22. 1. Cor. 11.

Antichriſt altogether not this faith.

Then aſked the Archbiſhop, if he beleeued that it were bread after



after the conſecration of ſacramentall words ſpoken ouer it.

The Lord Cobham ſaid: I beleeue that in the ſacrament of the altar is Chriſtes very bodie in forme of bread, the ſame that was borne of the virgin Marie, done on the croſſe, dead, and buried, and that the third day aroſe from death to life, which now is glorified in heauen.

The ſacrament of the altar.

Then ſaid one of the Doctors of the law: After the ſacramentall words be vttered, there remaineth no bread, but onely the bodie of Chriſt.

John Whitehead gone from his opinion. All this would not helpe.

The Lord Cobham ſaid then to one maiſter John Whitehead: You ſaid once vnto me in the caſtle of Cowling, that the ſacred hoſt was not Chriſtes bodie. But I held then againſt you, and proued that therein was his bodie, though the ſeculars and friers could not therein agree, but held each one againſt other in that opinion. Theſe were my words then, if yee remember it.

A blaſphemous breed. Quarel pickers

Then thouted a ſort of them together and cried with great noiſe: We ſay all, that it is Gods bodie.

And diuers of them aſked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the conſecration or not?

Then loked the lord Cobham earneſtly vpon the archbiſhop, and ſaid: I beleeue ſurely that it is Chriſtes bodie in forme of bread. Sir beleeue not you thus?

And the archbiſhop ſaid, yes mary doe I.

Then aſked him the doctors, whether it were onely Chriſtes bodie after the conſecration of a prieſt, and no bread, or not?

The ſacrament of Chriſts body is both the body and bread. Neither will ſcripture nor reaſon ſerue. This opinion hath S. Auguſtine.

And he ſaid vnto them, it is both Chriſtes bodie and bread: I ſhall proue it as thus: For like as Chriſt dwelling here vpon the earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the inuiſible Godhead couered vnder that manhood, which was onely viſible and ſeene in him: So in the ſacrament of the altar, is Chriſtes very bodie and bread alſo, as I beleeue the bread is the thing that we ſee with our eies, the bodie of Chriſt (which is his fleſh and his bloud) is there vnder hid, and not ſeene, but in faith.

Gelaſius contra Eutychen.

And moreouer, to proue that it is both Chriſtes bodie and alſo bread after the conſecration, it is by plaine words expreſſed by one of your owne doctors writing againſt Eutyches, which ſaith: Like as the ſelfe ſame ſacraments doe paſſe by the operation of the holy Ghoſt, into a diuine nature, and yet notwithſtanding keepe the propertie ſtill of their former nature: ſo, that principall myſterie declareth to remaine one true, and perfect Chriſt, &c.

The Popes diuinitie.

Then ſmiled they each one vpon other, that the people ſhould iudge him taken in a great hereſie. And with a great brag diuers of them ſaid: It is a foule hereſie.

Then aſked the archbiſhop what bread it was: And the doctors alſo inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

Materiall.

The lord Cobham ſaid vnto them: The ſcriptures make no mention of this word materiall, and therefore my faith hath nothing to doe therewith. But this I ſay and beleeue, that it is Chriſtes bodie and bread. For Chriſt ſaid in the 6. of Johns Goſpell, Ego ſum panis viuus, qui de cœlo deſcendi: I which came downe from heauen, am the liuing and not the dead bread. Therefore I ſay now againe as I ſaid afore, as our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is very God, and very man, ſo in the moſt bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, is Chriſtes very body and bread.

John 6.

Then ſaid they all with one voice: It is an hereſie.

One of the biſhops ſtood vp by and by, and ſaid: What? it is an hereſie manifeſt, to ſay that it is bread after the Sacramentall words be once ſpoken, but Chriſtes body onely.

The lord Cobham ſaid: S. Paul the Apoſtle was (I am ſure) as wiſe as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians: The bread that we breake, faith he, is it not the partaking of the body of Chriſt? Lo, he called it bread and not Chriſtes body, but a meane where-by we receiue Chriſtes body.

Then ſaid they againe: Paul muſt be otherwiſe vnderſtood. For it is ſure an hereſie to ſay that it is bread after the conſecration, but only Chriſtes body.

The lord Cobham aſked, how they could make good that ſentence of theirs?

They anſwered him thus: For it is againſt the determination of holy church.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop vnto him: Sir John, we ſent you a writing concerning the faith of this bleſſed Sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctors.

Then he ſaid againe vnto him, I know none holier then is Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it ſtandeth not with the Scriptures, but manifeſtly againſt them. If it be the Churches, as yee ſay it is, it hath beene hers onely ſince ſhe receiued the great poiſon of worldly poſſeſſions, and not afore.

The Doctours confounded in the plaine ſection.

Then aſked they him, to ſtop his mouth therewith: If he beleeued not in the determination of the church?

And he ſaid vnto them: No ſoothly, for it is no God. In all our creede, this word (in) is but thrice mentioned concerning beleefe: In God the Father, in God the Sonne, in God the holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God. The birth, the death, the buriall, the reſurrection and aſcenſion of Chriſt, hath none (in) for beleefe, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the ſacraments, the forgiuenelle of ſinne, the latter reſurrection, nor yet the life euerlaſting, nor any other (in) then in the holy Ghoſt.

Then ſaid one of the Lawyers: Tuſh, that was but a word of office. But what is your beleefe concerning holy Church?

The lord Cobham anſwered: My beliefe is, (as I ſaid afore,) that all the Scriptures of the ſacred Bible are true. All that is grounded vpon them I beleeue throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleaſure that I ſhould ſo doe. But in your lozdly lawes and idle determinations, haue I no beliefe. For yee be no part of Chriſts holy church, as your open deeds doe ſhew: But yee are very Antichriſtes, obſtinately ſet againſt his holy law and will. The lawes that yee haue made, are nothing to his glozy, but onely for your vaine glozy and abominable couetouſneſſe.

The Lord Cobham beleeueth not in the pope.

An hereſie after the papiſtes.

Then ſaid they, this was an erreding hereſie (& that in a great ſume) not to beleeue the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbiſhop aſked him, what he thought of holy Church.

Holy Church defined.

He ſaid vnto him, my beliefe is, that the holy church is the number of them, which ſhall be ſaued, of whom Chriſt is the head. Of this church, one part is in heauen with Chriſt, another in purgatozie (you ſay:) and the third is here in earth. This latter part ſtandeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priedhood, and the communalty, as I ſaid afore plainely in the confeſſion of my beliefe.

Conſider him to be then in ſtrong handling.

Then ſaid the Archbiſhop vnto him: Can you tell me who is of this church?

The lord Cobham anſwered: Yea truely can I.

Then ſaid Doctor Walden the Prior of the Carmelits: It is doubt vnto you who is thereof. For Chriſt ſaith in Matthew, Nolite iudicare, preſume to iudge no man. If yee be here forbidden the iudgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the iudgement of your ſuperiour.

Walden contra Wiclifiſtas. liar. 2. Cap. 63.

How we may iudge or not iudge by the ſcriptures.

The lord Cobham made him this anſwere: Chriſt ſaith alſo in the ſelfe ſame chapter of Matthew, that like as the euill tree is knowne by his fruit, ſo is a falſe Prophet by his workes. Matth. 7.

Appeare they neuer ſo glozious: But that yee left behind yee. And in Iohn the ſixth text: Operibus credite, beleeue you the outward doings. And in an other place of Iohn: Iuſtum iudicium iudicate; when we know the thing to be true, we may ſo iudge it, and not offend. For Dauid ſaid alſo: Recte iudicate filij hominum: Iudge rightly alwaies yee children of men. And as for your ſuperioritie, here yee of Chriſt, yee ſhould be meeke miniſters, and no proud ſuperiours.

Matth 7.

John 1.

John 7.

Deut. 16.

Pſal. 56.

Diuerſitie of iudgements.

Then ſaid Doctor Walden vnto him, Yee make here no difference of iudgements: Yee put no diuerſitie betweene the euill iudgements which Chriſt hath forbidden, & the good iudgements, which he hath commanded vs to haue. Rath iudgement, and right iudgement, all is one with you. So ſwift iudges all waies are the learned ſcholars of Wicklifite.

Vnto whom the lord Cobham thus anſwered: It is well ſophiſtred of you ſoothly. Prepoſterouſne are your iudgements euermore. For as the Prophet Eſay ſaith, Yee iudge euill good, and good euill: and therfore the ſame Prophet concludeth, that your waies are not Gods waies, nor Gods waies your waies. And as for that vertuous man Wickliffe, whole iudgements yee ſo highly diſdaine, I ſhall ſay here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that deſpiſed doctrine of his, I neuer abſtained from ſinne. But ſince I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwiſe I truſt beene with me: ſo much grace could I neuer find in all your glozious inſtructions.

A perfit auctheare. Eſay 5. Eſay 55.

Wicklen in profeſſione d. Trinit. 7.

Then ſaid Doctor Walden againe yet vnto him: If there not well with me (ſo many vertuous men liuing, and ſo many learned men teaching the Scripture, being alſo ſo open, and the examples of fathers ſo plenteous,) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the dwell preach. S. Hieronme faith, that he which ſeeketh ſuch ſuſpected makers, ſhall not find the midday light, but the midday dwell.

A great abſurdite.

Hieron. in breuiar. in miſſa.

The lord Cobham ſaid: Your fathers the old Phariſies, aſcribed Chriſtes miracles to Belzebub, & his doctrine to the dwell. And you as their naturall children, haue ſtill the ſelfe ſame iudgement concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious liuing muſt needs be heretickes, & that muſt your doctors proue, when you haue no ſcripture to doe it. Then ſaid he to them all: to iudge you as you be, we neede no further goe then to your owne proper acts. Where doe yee find in all Gods law, that yee ſhould thus ſit in iudgement of any chriſtian man, or yet giue ſentence vpon any other man vnto death as yee doe here daily? no ground haue yee in all the Scriptures ſo lozdly to take it vpon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which ſat thus vpon Chriſt, and vpon his Apoſtles after his aſcenſion. Of them only haue yee taken it to iudge Chriſtes members as yee doe, and neither of Peter nor Iohn.

Doctours when the ſcripture faile, they begin to raile.

The clergie to ſit on life or death, hath no ground in the ſcriptures. Followers of Caiphas.

Then ſaid ſome of the Lawyers: Yes ſoothly ſir, for Chriſt iudged Iudas.

The Lord Cobham ſaid: No. Chriſt iudged him not, but he iudged himſelfe, and there vpon went forth, and ſo did hang himſelfe: But indede Chriſt ſaid: Woe vnto him, for that

tortious act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of Gods law.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that meanes?

The lord Cobham said: your possessions and Lordships. For then cried an Angell in the aire (as your owne Chronicles mention) Woe, woe, woe, this day is venime shed into the Church of God. Before that time, all the Bishops of Rome were Martyrs in a manor. And since that time, we read of very few. But indede since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned an other, one hath cursed another, and one hath slaine another, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meeke, and mercifull; the Bishop is proud, and a tyrant: Christ was pore and forgaue; the pope is rich and a malicious manslaier, as his daily acts doe prooue him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest commeth all the Disciples of him. Of them, Prelates, Priests, and Monkes, are the body, and these pild Friers are the taile which coureth his most filthy part.

Then said the Prior of the Friers Augustines, Alack sir, why doe you say so? that is vncharitably spoken.

And the lord Cobham said: Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet Esayas, long afore my time. The Prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the taile behind. For as you Friers and Monkes be (like Pharisies) divided in your outward apparell and blages, so make ye division among the people. And thus, you with such other, are the very naturall members of Antichrist.

Then said he vnto them all: Christ saith in his Gospell, Woe vnto you Scribes and Pharisies, hypocrites; for ye close up the kingdome of heaven before men, neither enter ye in your selues, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the waies thereunto with your owne traditions, and therefore are ye the children of Antichrist; ye will not permit Gods verite to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to have your wickednesse reproued. But by such flatterers as vphold you in your mischiefes, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

Then said the Archbishop: By our Lady sir, there shal none such preach within any dioces (and God wil) nor yet in my iurisdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh diuision, or yet dissension among the pore commons.

The lord Cobham said: Both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable men. Both Daniel and Christ prophecied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not beene yet since the worlds beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your daies and doings; for many haue ye slaine already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfill not his promise. Christ saith also, if those daies of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any elect be saued: therefore looke for it swiftly, for God will shorten your daies. Moreouer, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with provision for the pore, be grounded on Gods law, yet haue these other seas no manor of ground hereof, so farre as I haue read.

Then a Doctor of law, called maister John Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copy of the bull which they had afore sent him into the tower, by the Archbishops counsell, thinking thereby to make shorter worke with him. For they were amazed with his answeres (not all vnlike to them which disputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupie the time, their wits and sophistrie (as God would) so failed them that day.

My Lord Cobham (saith this Doctor) we must briefely know your minde concerning these foure points here following. The first of them is this: And then he read vpon the bill: The faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this: That after the sacramentall words be once spoken of a Priest in his masse, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body: and the materiall wine is turned into Christs blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thence forth no materiall bread nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken. Sir beleeue ye not this?

The lord Cobham said: This is not my beliefe. But my faith is (as I said to you afore) that in the worshipfull sacrament of the altar, is Christes very bodie in forme of bread.

Then said the Archbishop: Sir John, ye must say other wise.

The lord Cobham said: Nay, that I shall not, if God be vpon my side as I trust he is, but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is.

Then read the doctour againe.

The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that euery Christian man living here bodily vpon earth, ought to be shriuen of a Priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir what say you to this?

The lord Cobham answered and said: A diseased or sore wounded man, hath need to haue a sure wise Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same: yet necessarie were it therefore to be first shriuen vnto God with only knowech our diseases, and can helpe vs. I denie not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning: For the lawes of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vitious liuing that is my Curate, I ought rather to flie from him then to seeke vnto him: For sooner might I catch euill of him that is naught, then any goodnesse towards my soules healthy.

Then read the doctour againe.

The third point is this: Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whole sea is the church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gaue vnto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome. By whose speciall power in churches particular, be ordained prelates and Archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees moe, vnto whom Christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir beleeue ye not this?

To this he answered and said: He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure liuing, is next vnto him in succession: But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behauiour of poore Peter, that soueer pee prate of him. Neither care yee greatly for the humble maners of them that succeded him, till the time of Siluester, which for the more part were Sarpents, as I told you before. Yee can let all their good conditions goe by you, and not hurt your selues with them at all. All the world knoweth this wel enough by you, and yet yee can make boast of Peter.

With that, one of the other doctors asked him; Then what do ye say of the Pope?

The lord Cobham answered: As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging friers are the taile, for they couer the filthinesse of you both with their subtile sophistrie: Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conuersation.

Then read the doctor againe.

The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessours, and all other Saints besides, approued by the church of Rome. Sir what say ye to this?

Wherunto he answered: I owe them no seruice by any commandement of God, and therefore I minde not to seeke them for your courtousnesse. It were best ye swept them faire from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them vp for catching of scathe: or else to burie them faire in the ground as ye doe other aged people which are Gods images.

It is a wonderfull thing, that Saints now being dead, should become so courteous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all couetousnesse and begging. Yea, if this I say vnto you, I would all the world should marke it, that with your iewes and wols, your fained absolutions and pardons, ye draw vnto you the substance, wealth, and chiefe pleasures of all christian Realmes.

Why sir (said one of the clerkes) will ye not worship good images?

What worship should I giue vnto them? said the lord Cobham.

Then said Frier Palmer vnto him: Sir, will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died vpon?

Where is it, said the lord Cobham?

The Frier said: I put you the case sir, that it were here euen now before you.

The lord Cobham answered: This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himselfe knoweth not where the thing it selfe is. Yet once againe I aske you, what worship I should doe vnto it?

A clerke said vnto him: Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this: God forbid that I should iop, but only in the crosse of Iesu Christ.

Then said the Lord Cobham, & spread his armes abroad: This is a very crosse, yea, and as much better then your crosse of wood, in that it was created of God: Yet will not I seeke to haue it worshipped.

Then said the Bishop of London: Sir, yee wote well that he died on a materiall crosse.

The lord Cobham said: Yea, and I wote also that our saluation came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wote, that holy Saint Paul reioiced in none other crosse, but in Christs passion and death only, and in his owne sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfesame verite that he had suffered for afore.

Another clerke yet asked him: Will yee then doe none honour to the holy crosse?

He answered him: Yes, if it were mine owne. I would lay him vp honestly, and see vnto him that he should take no more

Confession of sinne to God onely.

Malachia.

The fifth article.

Who is next vnder Peter.

Succession not of place but of conditions, maketh Peters heire.

Antichrists head, bodie, and taile.

The fourth article. Pilgrimage.

What is to be done with Images.

Saints are become now couetous beggers.

Images not to be worshipped.

The crosse, whether it be to be worshipped.

Galat. 6.

The materiall crosse is not materiall to our faith. What it is to reioice in the crosse of Christ.



more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now a dales.

Slandered with the truth.

Then said the archbishop vnto him: Sir John, ye haue spoken here many wonderfull words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualtie, giuing a great euill example vnto the common sort here, to haue vs in the more disdaine. Much time haue we spent here about you, and all in vaine so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this point with you, for the day passeth away: We must otherwise submit your selfe to the ordinance of holie church, or else throw your selfe (no remedie) into most deepe danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else to late.

Euell men seeme to stand only vpon their opinion amongst the people.

The lord Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more haue you offended me, then euer I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude.

Then said the archbishop againe vnto him, Wee once againe require to remember your selfe well, and to haue none other manner opinion in these matters, then the vniuersall faith and belefe of the holie church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child returne againe to the vnitie of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet yee may haue remedie, whereas anon it will be to late.

A wofull office for a gentle minde.

The lord Cobham said erpresse before them all: I will none otherwise beleeue in these points, then that I haue told you here afore. Do with me what ye will.

Finallie, then the archbishop said; Well, then I see none other but we must needes do to the law: we must proceed forth to the sentence definitiue, and both iudge you, and condemne you for an heretike.

Bloodie ministers.

And with that, the archbishop stood vp, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergie and lattie hailing their bonets. And this was the tenor thereof.

## ¶ The definitiue sentence of his condemnation.

Suffered of God as a plague.

An horrible sin punished with blindnesse.

IN the name of God: So be it. We Thomas by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canturburie, Metropolitan, and primate of all England, and legat from the apostolike See of Rome, willeth this to be knowne vnto all men. In a certaine cause of heresie and vpon diuers articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before vs in our last conuocation of all our prouince of Canturburie, holden in the cathedrall church of Pauls at London: At the lawfull denouncement and request of our vniuersall clergie in the said conuocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witnesse) with all the fauour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be conuerted and liue: we tooke vpon vs to correct him, and fought all other waies possible to bring him againe to the churches vnitie, declaring vnto him what the holy and vniuersall church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him in the catholike faith farre wide, and so stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error, nor purge himselfe, nor yet repent him thereof: We yet pitying him of fatherlie compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soule, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if hee would repent and seeke to be reformed: but since that time we haue found him worse and worse. Considering therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driuen to the verie extremitie of the law, and with great heauinesse of heart, we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitiue, against him.

The wofull office of Christes vicar.

¶ Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggerlie Latine. Christi nomine inuocato, ipsumq; solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inacitata, and so forth. Which I haue also translated into English, that men may vnderstand it.

Ex registro præfat. Thomæ Arundell.

¶ Christ we take vnto witnesse, that nothing else we seeke in this our whole enterprise, but his only glorie. For as much as we haue found by diuers acts done, brought forth and exhibited by sundrie euidences, signes and tokens, and also by manie most manifest proofes, the said sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an euident heretike in his owne person, but also a mightie maintainer of other heretikes against the faith and religion of the holie and vniuersall church of Rome: namely about the two Sacraments (of the altar, and of penance) besides the popes power, and pilgrimages: And that hee as the child of iniquitie and darknesse, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend vnto the voice of his pastor: Neither will he be allured by strait admonishments, nor yet be brought in by fauourable words: The worthinesse of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his vnworthinesse against him considered on the otherside, his faults also aggrauated or made double through his damnable obstinacie (Wee being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnesse infect the multitude, by the sage counsell and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honorable brethren and lords, bishops heere present, Richard of London, Henrie of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men heere, both doctors of diuinitie, and of the lawes canon and ciuill, seculars and religious, with diuers other experimen assisting vs: we sententially and definitiuely by this present writing, iudge, declare and condemne the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, conuicted vpon the same, and refusing vterly to obey the church againe, committing him heere from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the secular iurisdiction, power and iudgement, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only his heretike heere present, but so many else besides, as shall hereafter in fauour of his error, either receiue him or defend him, counsell him or helpe him, or any other way maintaine him as verie fautors, receiuers, defenders, counsellers, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretikes.

As Satanas did Christ.

Christ is condemned in his faithfull ministers.

And that these premisses, may be the better knowne of all faithfull christian men: we commit it here vnto your charges, and giue you strait commandement thereupon by this writing also: That ye cause this condemnation and definitiue sentence of excommunication, concerning both this heretike and his fautors; to bee published throughout all diocesses, in cities, townes and villages by your curats and parish priests, at such times as they shall haue most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this fort: As the people are thus gathered deuoutly together, let the curat euerie where goe into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound, this excesse in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceiued of all men: and that vpon the feare of this declaration also, the people may fall from their euill opinions conceiued now of late by seditious preachers. Moreouer we will, that after wee haue deliuered vnto each one of you bishops which are heere present, a copie hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out againe into diuers copies, and to besent vnto the other bishops and prelats of our whole prouince, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnely published within their diocesses and cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signifie againe vnto vs seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour in euerie point performed: the day whereon ye receiued this processe, the time when it was of vs executed, and after what sort it was done in euerie condition, according to the tenour hereof, that we may know it to be iustly the same.

How sufficiently these things are done.

Secret de sepultures muse be such as Christ alone doth minister.

None office left vnbeene permitting to Antichrist.

Christ care is here to hold by three poyntes.

A copie of this writting sent Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie afterward from Maidstone the tenth day of October, within the same yeere of our Lord 1413. vnto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth: Thomas permissione diuina, &c.

The Walden. in fasciculo Zizaniorum Wicleui.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copie thereof, enclosed within his owne letters, vnto Robert Gnalhall a Carmelite frier, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam the 23. day of October in the same yeere, and the beginning thereof is this: Reuerende in Christo pater, &c.

Richard Clifford.

This Robert Gnalhall directed another copie thereof from London the 27. day of Nouember in the same yeere, inclosed in his owne commission also, vnto his archdeacon and deanes in Hereford and Shrewsburie. And this is the tenor of the beginning: Venerabilibus & discretis viris, &c. In like maner did the other bishops within their dioceses.

Robert Gnalhall.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremitie before the whole multitude; the lord Cobham said with a most cheerefull countenance: Though ye iudge my bodie (which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certaine and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more then could Satan vpon the soule of Iob. For that created that, will of his infinite mercie and promise saue it, I haue therein no maner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them euen to the verie death, by the grace of my eternall God.

Ex verosimo exemplari.

Iob 1.

And therewith he turned him vnto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a verie lowde voice: Good christian people, for Gods loue be well ware, of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindeling into hell with themselues. For Christ saith plainly vnto you: If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.

Matth. 10.

After this, he fell downe there vpon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding vp both his hands and his eies towards heauen and saying: Lord God eternall, I beseech thee of thy great mercies sake, to forgiue my persecuters, if it be thy blessed will. And then he was deliuered to sir Robert Morlie, and so led forth againe to the tower of London. And thus was there an end of that dayes worke.

He prayeth for his enemies.

Exemplari Londinense.

While the lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out publike bils to his friends. And they at his request wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set vp in diuers quarters of London, that the people should not beleeue the flanders and lies that his enemies the bishops seruants and priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter.

A testimoniall made by his friends.

FOr as much as sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, is vntrewlie conuicted and impeached, falsely reported and

and slandered among the common people by his aduersaries, that he should otherwise both thinke and speake of the Sacraments of the church, and specialie of the blessed Sacrament of the altar, then was written in the confession of his belefe, which was indented and taken to the clergie, and so set vp in diuers open places in the citie of London: knowne be it here to all the world, that he neuer since, varied in any point therefro, but this is plainlie his belefe, that all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saued, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he believeth, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is verilie and truly Christs bodie in forme of bread.

To stop lying mens mouthes.

A confession of his belefe. The forme of bread, but not in that bread he meaneth.

After this, the bishops and priests were in much great discredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partlie for that they had so cruellie handled the good lord Cobham: and partlie against, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelats feared this to grow to further inconuenience towards them both waies, wherefore they met in their heads together, and at the last consented to vse another practise somewhat contrarie to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by their sad seruants, friends, and babling sir Johns, that the said lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowlie submitted himselfe in all things vnto holy church, vtterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abiuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

The clergie in hate of the people.

A practise of false prelats.

Marke the craftie conueiance of Sathan.

This is the abiuration (say they) of sir John Oldcastle knight, sometime the lord Cobham.

## ✠ An abiuration counterfeited of the bishops.

Archbishop Arundels counterfeit abiuration.

IN Dei nomine: Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected and conuicted, of and vpon diuers articles sauouring both heresie and errour, before the reuerend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canturburie, and my lawfull and rightfull iudge in that behalfe, expreslie grant and confesse, that as concerning the effate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelats, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other obseruances besides of our mother holie church, as pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I say) before the said reuerend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being euill seduced by diuers seditious preachers, haue grieuouslie erred, and hereticallie persisted, blasphemouslie answered, and obstinatelie rebelled. And therefore I am by the said reuerend father, before the reuerend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfullie condemned for an hereticke.

Marke from whence this geare commeth.

First vnwholesome stuffe I trow.

Nieuertheless, yet I now remembring my selfe, and conceiting by this meane to auoid that temporall paine which I am worthie to suffer as an heretike, at the allegnation of my most excellent christian prince and liege lord, king Henrie the fifth, now by the grace of God most worthie king both of England and of France: minding also to preferre the wholesome determination, sentence and doctrine of the holie vniuersall church of Rome, before the vnwholesome opinions of my selfe, my teachers, & my followers, I freelie, willinglie, deliberat lie, and throughlie confesse, grant, and affirme, that the most holie fathers in Christ, Saint Peter the Apostle and his successors bishops of Rome, specialie now at this time, my most blessed lord pope Iohn, by the permission of God, the three and twentith pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters seat (and each of them in their successi on) hath full strength and power to be Christs vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the strength of his office (what thought he be a great sinner, and afore knowne of God to be damned) he hath full authoritie and power to rule and gouerne, bind and lose, saue and destroy, accurse and assoile all other christian men.

Mary good man indeede thanke him.

And agreablie vnto this, I confesse, grant, and affirme all other archbishops, bishops, and prelats in their prouinces, dioceses, and parishes (appointed by the said pope of Rome, to assist him in his doings or businesse) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his office; to haue had in times past, to haue now at this time, and that they ought to haue in time to come, authorities and power to rule and to gouerne, bind and lose, accurse and assoile the subiects or people of their aforesaid prouinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that these said subiects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, grant, and affirme that the said spirituall fathers, as our most holie father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, haue had, haue now, and ought to haue hereafter, authoritie and power for the effate, order and gouernance of their subiects or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes and constitutions, rect and to publish, enioin and, and compell their said subiects and people to the obseruation of them.

Who hath set the Bishops to worke.

Moreouer, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that all their foresaid lawes, decrees, statutes and constitutions made, published and commanded, according to the forme of spirituall law, all christian people, and euerie man in himselfe is frailly bound to obserue, and meekelie to obey, according to the diuerssitie of the foresaid powers. As the lawes, statutes, canons and constitutions of our most holie father the pope, incorporated in his Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Rescripts, Sextiles, and Extrauagants ouer all the world: and as the prouincial statutes of archbishops in their prouinces, the Synodall acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelats in their Colledges, and custs in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to obserue, and also most meekelie to obey. Ouer and besides all this, I John Oldcastle vtterlie forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and hereties, & all other errors and hereties like vnto them, lay my hand here vpon this booke of holie Euangelie of God, and sweare, that I shall neuer more from hencefoorth hold these aforesaid hereties, nor yet anie other like vnto them vntruelie. Neither shall I giue counsell, aid, helpe, nor fauour at anie time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirme, or maintaine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holie Euangelies.

No Scripture I can trye to stand by.

Intollerable places lay they.

Neuer made it such an oath.

And that I shall from hencefoorth faithfully obey and inuiolablie obserue all the holie lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, as are contained and determined in their holie Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reiercrips, Sertiles, Sums papall, & Extrauagants, statutes prouinciall, acts synodall, & other ordinarie regules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter diuerse to be determined or made. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possiblie applie. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reuerend father the lord archbishop of Canturburie hereafter to enioyne me for my sinnes, I will meekelie obey and faithfullie fulfill. Finallie, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter knowe suspected of hereste or errors, I shall effectuallie present, or cause to be presented vnto my said reuerend father, lord archbishop, or to them which haue his authozitie, so soone as I can conuenientlie do it, and se that they be corrected to my vttermost power.

And that I shall from hencefoorth faithfully obey and inuiolable obserue all the holie lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, as are contained and determined in their holie Decrees, Decretals, Clementines, Codes, Charts, Reiercrips, Sertiles, Sums papall, & Extrauagants, statutes prouinciall, acts synodall, & other ordinarie regules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter diuerse to be determined or made. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possiblie applie. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reuerend father the lord archbishop of Canturburie hereafter to enioyne me for my sinnes, I will meekelie obey and faithfullie fulfill. Finallie, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter knowe suspected of hereste or errors, I shall effectuallie present, or cause to be presented vnto my said reuerend father, lord archbishop, or to them which haue his authozitie, so soone as I can conuenientlie do it, and se that they be corrected to my vttermost power.

And thus he hath holden, and doth hold opinion, and teach as touching the Sacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of the worshipping of Saints, and of the keyes, contrarie to that which the vniuersall church of Rome doth teach and affirme.

And this maintaine they still. The pope-holy bishe of papists.

This charge giue they commonly.

Marke this babbling.

Wherefore, on the behalfe of the said prelats and clergie, we were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed against the said sir John Oldcastle vpon the premisses. Notwithstanding, for the reuerence of our lord the king, in whose fauour the said sir John at that present was, and no lesse also for honor of his knighthood: we with our fellow brethren, and suffragans then present, with a great part of the clergie of our prouince, comming personallie before the presence of our lord the king, being then at his Manor of Kenington, put vp against the said sir John, a complaint, and partlie reciting the defaults of the said sir John. But at the request of our lord the king, we defrring to reduce the said sir John to the vnitie of the church, without any reproch, we deferred all the execution of the premisses for a great time. But at the last, for so much as our said lord the king, after his great trauels taken about the reformation of him, did nothing at all profit, as our said lord the king vouchsafed to certifie vs both by word and writing: Wee immediatlie decreed to call forth the said sir John personally to answere before vs at a certaine time alreadie passed, in and vpon the premisses, and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the said sir John, then being at his castle of Cowling, vnto the which messenger we gaue commandement that he should in no case go into the castle, except he were licensed. But by the meane of one John Butler, porter of the kings chamber, he should require the said sir John, that he would either license the said messenger to come into the castle, or that he would cite him, or at the least that he would suffer himselfe to be cited without his castle. The which sir John openly answered vnto the said John Butler, declaring the premisses vnto him on the behalfe of our lord the king: that hee would by no meanes be cited, neither in anie case suffer his citation. Then we being certified of the premisses, lawfully proceeded further.

Sir John Oldcastle in fauour with the king.

For confutation of this diuerse.

First, hauing faithfull report made vnto vs, that he could not be apprehended by personall citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly set vp in the porches of the cathedrall church of Rochester next vnto him, little more then three English miles distant from the said castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be cited, and our edict aforesaid to bee publikely and openly set vpon the porches of the said church, that he should personally appeare before vs the eleuenth day of September last past to answere vnto the premisses, and certaine other things concerning hereste: The which day being come, wee sitting in the tribunall seat in our greater chapell within the castle of Leeds of our diocesse, the which we then inhabited, and where as we then kept residence with our court, and hauing taken an oth which is requisite in the premisses, and the information by vs heard and receiued, as the common report goeth: In the parts where as the said sir John dwelleth (fortifying himselfe in his said castle, defending his opinions manifoldlie, contemning the keyes of the church and the archbishops power:) We therefore caused the said sir John cited, as is aforesaid, to be openly with a loud voice called by the crier: and so being called, long looked for, and by no meanes appearing, we iudged him (as he was no lesse worthie) obstinate, and for his punishment of his said obstinacie, we did then and there excommunicat him. And for so much as by the order of the premisses, and other euident tokens of his doings, we vnderstand that the said sir John for the defence of his error doth fortifie himselfe, as is aforesaid, against the keyes of the church, by presence whereof, a vehement suspition of hereste and schisme riseth against him: We haue decreed, if he may be apprehended, against personally to cite him, or else, as before, by an edict, that he should appeare before vs the Saturday next after the feast of Saint Matthew the Apostle and Euangelist next comming, to shew some reasonable cause if he can, why we should not proceed against him, to more grieuous punishment, as an open heretieke, schismatike, and open enemie of the vniuersall church. And personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such a one, or that the aid of the secular power should not be solemnely required against him. And further to answere, do, and receiue as touching the premisses, whatsoeuer iustice shall require. The which time being come, that is to say, the Saturday next after the feast of Saint Matthew being the 24. day of September, sir Robert Morley knight, Lieftenant of the tower of London, appeared personally before vs, sitting in the chapter-house of the church of Saint Paul at London, with our reuerend fellow brethren and lords, Richard by the grace of God bishop of London, and Henrie bishop of Winchester, and brought with him sir John Oldcastle knight, and set him before vs (for a little before he was taken by the kings seruants, and cast into the Tower) vnto which sir John Oldcastle so personally present, we rehearsed all the order of the processe, as it is contained in the acts of the day before passed, with good and modest words and gentle meanes: That is to say, how he the said sir John was detected and accused in the conuocation of the prelats and clergie of our said prouince, as is aforesaid, vpon the articles before rehearsed, and how he was cited, and for his contumacie excommunicat. And when we were come to that point, we offered our selues readie to absolue him. Notwithstanding, the said sir John, not regarding our offer, said that he would willingly rehearse before vs, and my said fellow brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he hauing his desire, and obtaining licence, tooke out of his bosome a certaine Schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the same, and deliuered the same Schedule vnto vs, and the Schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was as in forme following.

Nothing thought right necessarie that the lord Cobham should humble out of the wan, or else not possible for papisticke flesh.

The lord Cobham cast into the Tower.

The tenure of the Storodike.

Popish absolution neglected.

## ✠ The catholike faith and confession of the lord Cobham.

I John Oldcastle knight, Lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest vnto all christians, and God to be taken to witnesse, that I neuer thought otherwise or would thinke otherwise (by Gods helpe) then with a stedfast and vndoubted faith to embrace all those his Sacraments which he hath inkituted for the vse of his church.

The Sacrament of the altar.

Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these foure points of my faith: First of all I beleeue the Sacrament of the altar to be the bodie of Christ vnder the forme of bread, the verie same bodie which was borne of his mother Marie, crucified for vs, dead and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his immortall father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternall glorie.

Of penance.

Then as touching the Sacrament of penance, this is my beliefe, that I do thinke the correction of a sinfull life to be most necessarie for all such as desire to be saued, and that they ought to take vpon them such repentance of their former life by true confession, vnfained contrition, and lawfull satisfaction, as the word of God doth prescribe vnto vs: otherwise, there will be no hope of saluation.

Of images.

Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, that I do iudge them no point of faith, but brought into the world after the faith of Christ by the sufferance of the church, and so growne in vse, that they might serue for a kalendar for the lay people and ignorant. By the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdome of Christ and other holy men: but if any man doe otherwise abuse this representation, and giue the reuerence vnto those images, which is due vnto the holy men whom they represent, or rather vnto him whom the holy men themselues owe all their honor, setting all their trust and hope in them which ought to be referred vnto God: or if they be so affected toward the dumbe images, that they be in any behalfe addict vnto them, either be more addicted vnto one Saint then another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatrie, grieuously offending against God the author of all honor.

The keyes of the church falsly wrested.

Of pilgrimages.

Last of all, I am thus perswaded, that there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we shall passe straight either to life or punishment: for whosoeuer doth to order his life that he stumble at the commandements of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vaine for him to looke for saluation, although he ran ouer all the corners of the world. Contrariwise, he which obserueth his commandements cannot perish, although in all his life time he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canturburie, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither as the common people are accustomed to walke.

The lord Cobham excommunicated.

This Schedule with the articles therein contained being read (as is aforesaid) by the said sir John, we with our fellow brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men had conference vpon the same, and at the last by the counsel and consent of them, we spake these words following vnto the said sir John there present. Behold sir John, there are many good and catholike things contained in this schedule. But pouhaue this time to answere vnto other matters which sauor of errors and hereses. Whereunto, by the contents of this schedule, it is

not fully answered, and therefore you must answere thereunto, and more plainelie expresse and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill. That is to say, whether you hold, beleeue and affirme, that in the Sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightlie done, there remaineth materiall bread or not.

Here whether these men preche truth, or els where they need not.

Item, whether you hold, beleeue and affirme, that it is necessarie in the Sacrament of penance for a man to confesse his sinnes vnto a priest appointed by the church.

The which articles in this maner deliuered vnto him, amongst manie other things he answered plainelie, that he would make no other declaration or answere thereunto then was contained in the said Schedule. Whereupon we fauoring the said sir John, with benigne and gentle meanes we spake vnto him in this manner. Sir John take hæd, for if you doe not plainly answere to these things, which are obiected against you within a lawfull time now granted you by the Iudges, we may declare you to be an heretike: but the said sir John persisted as before, and would make no other answere. Consequentlie notwithstanding, we together with our said fellow brethren, and others of our counsell tooke aduice and by their counsell declared vnto the said sir John Oldcastle, that the said holy church of Rome in this matter following the saying of blessed S. Augustine, Ieroome, Ambrose and other holie men, hath determined the which determinations euery catholike ought to obserue. Whereupon the said sir John answered, that he would beleeue and obserue whatsoeuer the holy church determined, and that soeuer God would he should obserue and beleeue. But that he would in no case affirme that our lord the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, or other prelats of the church haue anie power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we yet fauouring him, vnder hope of better aduisement, promised the said sir John, that we would giue him in writing certaine determinations vpon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answere, written in Latine, and for his better vnderstanding translated into English: whereupon we commanded, and hearelie desired him, that against monday next following, he should giue a plaine and full answere; the which determinations we caused to be translated the same day, and to be deliuered vnto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this maner.

There is no mention made of the word of God.

Workes clothed in sheepes skins.

The faith and determination of the holy church vpon the holy Sacrament of the altar is this: That after the consecration done in the Masse by the priest, the materiall bread shall be changed into the materiall bodie of Christ, and the materiall wine into the materiall blod of Christ; therefore after the consecration there remaineth no more any substance of bread and wine, which was there before. What doe you answere to this article?

The famine of the people by lacke.

Confession.

Also the holy church hath determined, that euery christian dwelling vpon earth, ought to confesse his sinnes vnto a priest ordained by the church, if he may come vnto him. How thinke you by this article?

The popes supremacie.

Christ ordained S. Peter his Vicar in earth, whose seat is in the church of Rome, giuing and granting the same authoritie which he gaue vnto Peter, also to his successours which are now called popes of Rome, in whose power it is to ordaine and institute prelats in particular churches, as archbishops, bishops, curats and other ecclesiasticall orders, vnto whom the christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the church of Rome. This is the determination of the holie church. What thinke you by this article?

Pilgrimage.

Besides this, the holy church hath determined, that it is necessarie for euery christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints, whomsoeuer the church of Rome hath allowed. What thinke you of this article?

Vpon which monday being the 25. day of the said moneth of September before vs and our fellow brethren aforesaid, hauing also taken vnto vs our reuerend brother, Benedict by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and by our common assent our counsellers and ministers, maister Henrie Ware official of our court of Canturburie, Philip Morgan Doctor of both lawes, Poinel taffin Doctor of the decretals, John Kemp, and William Carlton, doctors of law, John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlaine, Richard Dotington, and Thomas Walden, professors of Diuinitie: Also Iames Cole, and John Steuens our notaries appointed on this behalfe. They all and euerie one being sworne vpon the holy Gospell of God, laying their hands vpon the booke, that they should giue their faithfull counsell in, and vpon the matter aforesaid, and in euery such cause, and to the whole world. By and by appeared sir Robert Morley knight, Lieutenant of the tower of London, and brought with him the foresaid sir John Oldcastle, setting him before vs. Vnto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed. And as before we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and intreating him that he would desire and receiue in due forme the absolution of the church. Vnto whom the said sir John then and there plainly answered, that in this behalfe he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then afterward by gentle and soft meanes we desired and required him to make plaine answere vnto the articles which were laid against him. And first of all, as touching the Sacrament of the altar. To the which article, besides other things he answered and said thus: That as Christ being here on earth had in him both Godhead and manhood: notwithstanding, the Godhead was couered and inuisible vnder the humanitie, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise in the Sacrament of the altar there is the verie bodie and verie bread, bread which we do see, the bodie of Christ hidden vnder the same which we do not see. And plainly denied, that the faith as touching the said Sacrament determined by the Romish church and holy Doctors, and sent vnto him by vs in the said Schedule, to be the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrarie vnto the Scriptures, after the church was endowed, and that poison was powred into the church, and not afore. Also, as touching the Sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there, that if any man were in any grieuous sinne, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go vnto some holy and discreet priest to take counsell of him: But that he should confesse his sin to any proper priest, or to any other, although he might haue the vse of him, it is not necessarie to saluation, for so much as by onely contrition such sinne can be wiped away, and the sinner himselfe purged. As concerning the worshipping of the crosse, he said and affirmed, that the only bodie of Christ which did hang vpon the crosse is to be worshipped. For so much as that bodie alone was and is the crosse, which is to be worshipped.

The Sacrament both bodie and bread in diuers respects.

Is the will to sinne.

He did the Romishe deliuerer Christ vnto Pilate.

How confession is to be allowed.

And being demanded what honor he would do vnto the image of the crosse: Hee answered by expresse words that he would only do it that hereby that he would make it cleane and lay it by sale. As touching the power and authoritie of the keies, the archbishops, bishops and other prelats, he said that the pope is very Antichrist, for this, that he, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelats to be his members, and the friers to be his taile.

What honor is to be done to the crosse.

The pope is Antichrist, the bishops are his members, and friers his taile.

The which pope, archbishops and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, maners, and conuersation, and that he is the successor of Peter, which is best and purest in life and maners. Furthermore, the said sir John spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These men which iudge and would condemne me, will seduce you all and themselues, and will lead you into hell; therefore take hed of them. When he had spoken those words, we againe as oftentimes before with lamentable countenance, spake vnto the said sir John, exhorting him with as gentle words as were might, that he would returne to the vnitie of the church, to beleeue and hold that which the church of Rome doth beleeue and hold. Who expresly answered that he would not beleeue or hold otherwise then he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiuing, as it appeared by him, that we could not preuaile, at the last with a heauie heart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitiue sentence in this maner.

The holy ruler of the holy Catholike church.

¶ In the name of God, Amen: We Thomas by the permission of God archbishop and humble minister of the holy church of Canturburie, primat of all England, and legat of the apostolike see, in a certaine cause or matter of heresie vpon certaine articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, before vs in the last conuocation of our clergie of our prouince of Canturburie, holden in the church of S. Paul in London after diligent inquisition had thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said prouince notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergie aforesaid thereupon made vnto vs in the said conuocation, with all fauor possible that we might (God we take to witnesse) law fully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be conuerted and liue, we haue indeuoured by all waies and meanes we might or could to reforme him, and rather reduce him to the vnitie of the church, declaring vnto him what the holy vniuersall church of Rome doth teach, hold and determine in this behalfe. And albeit that we found him wandring astray from the Catholike faith, and so stubborne and stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error or cleare himselfe therof, so detest the same; Notwithstanding, we fauouring him with a fatherly affection, and hartily wishing and desiring his preseruation, prefixed him a certaine competent time to deliberate with himselfe, and if he would, to repent and reforme himselfe. And last of all, for so much as we perceiued him to be vnreasonable, obseruing chiefly those things which by the law are required in this behalfe, with great sorow and bitternes of heart, we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitiue sentence in this maner.

They call their selues humble which rule ouer kings, and exercise the tyranny of the world.

The vniuersall church, meaning by a figure the part for the whole.

The name of Christ being called vpon, setting him onlie before our eyes. For so much as by acts enacted, signes exhibited, euidences and diuers tokens, besides sundrie kind of proofes, we find the said sir John to be, and haue been an heretike, and a follower of heretikes in the faith, and obseruation of the sacred vniuersall church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the Eucharist and of penance. And that as the sonne of iniquitie and darknesse hee hath so hardened his heart, that hee will not vnderstand the voice of his shepheard, neither

They call light darknesse, and darknesse light.



neither wil be allured with his monitions, or couerted with any faire speech. Hauing first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said sir John, his deferts and faults aggrauated through his damnable obstinacie: Not willing that hee that is wicked, should become more wicked and infect other with his contagion, by the counsell and consent of the reuerend men of profound wisdome and discretion, our brethren the lords, Richard bishop of London, Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Benedict bishop of Bangor, and also of many other doctors of diuinitie, the decretals and ciuill law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we haue iudged and declared sententially, and definitiuely condemned the said sir John Oldcastle knight, lord Cobham, being conuict in and vpon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church, and in those things which the sacred vniuersall Church of Rome doth hold, teach, determine, and shew forth. And specially as one erring in the articles aboue written, leauing him from henceforth as an hereticke vnto the secular iudgement.

Sir Robert Morley. The lord Cobham remitted agayne to the tower.

Following Christs footsteps cleane contrarie.

Alanus Copus Anglus with his fiue Dialogues. Erasmus to get him a fame for Dinus Templo on fire. Alanus Copus Anglus, intemperately abuseth his pen.

Copus a hater against dead men.

Moreouer, we haue excommunicated, and by these writings doe pronounce and excommunicate him as an heretike, and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his error, shall receiue, defend, or giue him counsell, or fauour, or helpe him in this behalfe, as fauourers, defenders, and receiuers of heretikes. And to the intent that these premises may be knowne vnto all faithfull Christians, we charge and command you, that by your sentence definitiue you doe cause the Curates which are vnder you, with a loud and audible voice in their Churches, when as most people is present, in their mother tongue, through al your cities and diocesse to publish, and declare the said sir John Oldcastle as is before said, to be by vs condemned as an heretike, schismaticke, and one erring in the articles aboue said: and all other which from henceforth in fauour of his errors shall receiue or defend him, giuing him any counsell, comfort, or fauor in this behalfe, to bee excommunicate as receiuers, fauourers, and defenders of heretikes: As is more effectually contained in the proces. That by such meanes the erroneous opinions of the people, which peraduenture hath otherwise conceiued the matter) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off. The which thing also we will and commande bee written and signified by you, word for word, vnto al our fellow brethren: that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their cities and diocesse, the manner and forme of this our processe, and also the sentence by vs giuen, and all other singuler the contents in the same. And likewise cause it to bee published by their Curates which are vnder them as touching the day of the receit of these presents, and what you haue done in the premisses, how you and they haue executed this our commandement. We will that you and they duly and distinctly certifie vs the businesse being done, by you and their letters patents, according to this tenour. Dated in our manor of Maidstone, the 10. of October an. 1413. and in the 18. yeere of our translation.

Thus haue you here the iudicial processe of the bishops against this most noble christian knight, described by their owne letters and stile. After all this, the sentence of death being giuen, the lord Cobham was sent away, sir Robert Morley carrying him againe vnto the tower: where as after he had remained a certaine space, in the night season, (it is not knowne by what meanes) he escaped out and fled into Wales, where as he continued by the space of foure yeres.

## A defence of the Lord Cobham, against Nicolas Harpsfield, set out vnder the name of *Alanus Copus*.

AS I was entring into this storie of the lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former histories hitherto passed, hauing next to set vpon this present matter, luckilie, and as God would, in such opportunitie of season, as may seeme, God to worke himselfe for defence of his Saints; connecth to my hands a certaine booke of new found dialogues, compiled in Latine by Nicolas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an Englishman, a person to me vnknowne, and obscure hitherto vnto the world, but now to purchase himselfe a name with Erasmus, or with the Gnomes of Cranchim, commeth out not with his fiue eggs, but with his fire raising dialogues. In the which dialogues the said Alanus Copus Anglus (whether hee vnder the armor of other, or other vnder title of his name, I know not, nor passe not) vncourteously behauing himselfe, intemperately abusing his time, stodie, and pen, forgetting himselfe, neglecting all respect of honestie, and milde modestie, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor passing for shame, neither fauouring the liuing, nor sparing the dead, who being alriue as they neuer offended him, so now cannot answere for themselues being gone: thus prouoking both God and man against him, after an vnseemely sort, and with a foule mouth, and a stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead mens ashes, taking now the spoile of their good name, after their bodies lie slaine in the field. His gall and choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memozie after them to remaine vpon earth. In so much that for the hatred of them, he spurneth also against me, and sheth in my face, for that in my Acts and Monuments, describing the bishop of the church, I would say any thing in the fauor of them, whom the Romish Catholikes haue so vnmercifully put to death. The answer to whose booke although it would require a seuerall treatation by it selfe (as if Christ grant space and leisure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet because such opportunitie of the booke is offered to me at this present comming now to the matter of the lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton and other, with whom he first beginneth to quarrell, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, what soeuer he be, so much as truth shall giue me for their defence to say something. And here to cut off all the offalles of his railing talke and vnhonest rebukes, which I leaue to scolds and men of his profession against they list to bawle, let vs byrely and quietly consider the matter, for discussing of the truth. Wherein first I shall desire the Reader with equalitie and indifferencie to heare both the parties to speake, as well what the Martyrs hence gone and slaine could say for themselues, if they were present, as also what this man here both obiect against them now being gone. And so according to the same to iudge both vpon them as they deserue, and of me as they shall please.

Answere to Alanus Copus.

Indifferencie of the reader required.

Now to the scope of maister Copes matter, which is this: whether this for said sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham (first to begin with him) is rather to be commended for a Martyr, or to be reproued for a traitor. And whether that I in writting of him, and of Sir Roger Acton, with other moe in my former edition, haue dealt fraudulently, and corruptly in commending them in these Acts and Monuments or no? Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust the gentle maister Cope my friend, neither will, nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto touching the story of the lord Cobham, hath been premised: who yet all this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebell to his prince, as by the course of his history hitherto the reader may well vnderstand. First, in the time of king Henry the fourth, hee was sent ouer to France to the duke of Orliance; he did obey. Afterward king Henry the fift, comming to the crowne, he was of him likewise well liked and fauoured, vntill the time that Thomas Arundell with his clergy complaining to the king, made date betweene them. Then the lord Cobham being cited by the archbishop, at his citation would not appeare. But sent for by the king, he obeied and came. Being come, that lowly subiection he shewed there to the king, the 294. 1.2. declareth. After he yeelded an obedient confession of his faith: it would not be received. Then did he appeale to the b. shop of Rome, for the which the king tooke great displeasure with him and so was he reuealed by the king to the archbishop, and committed to the tower; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice: there like a constant martyr, and witnesse of the truth, hee stood to his confession, and that vnto the very sentence of death defined against him. If this be not perfect of a true Martyr, let Alanus Copus say what he will, or what he can: This I say, at least I doubt, whether the said Alanus Copus Anglus, put to the like triall himselfe, would venture so narrow a point of martyrdome for his religion, as this Christian knight did for his. Certes it hath not yet appeared.

The lord Cobham a true and obedient subiect to king Henry the 5.

The lord Cobham in the beginning fauoured of king Henry the 5.

The kings displeasure preconceiued against the lord Cobham by popish practises.

The lord Cobham obedient to the king.

The lord Cobham constant in his faith to the sentence of death.

Proceede, after this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said lord Cobham was then returned againe vnto the tower; which he with patience and meekenesse did also obey: from the which tower if hee afterward by the lords prouidence did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus, herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for taking that which was offered. What catholike in all Rome hauing his house ouer his head on fire, will not be glad to haue it, he might, the doore set open to flee the perill? or els why did Alanus Copus flie his countrie, hauing to little need, if this man, bleeding almost vnder the butchers axe, might not enioy so great an offer of so luckie deliuerance?

Thus hitherto I trust, the cause of the lord Cobham standeth firme and strong against all danger of iust reprehension. Who being (as he haue heard) so faithfull and obedient to God: so submisse to his king: so sound in his doctrine: so constant in his cause: so afflicted for the truth: so readie and prepared to death: as we haue sufficiently declared, not out of vncertaine and doubtfull chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: What lacketh now or what should let to the contrarie, but that he declaring himselfe such a martyr, that is, a witnes to the veritie (for the which also at last hee suffered the fire) may therefore worthily be crowned with the title of a martyr, which is in Greke as much as a witnesse bearer.

The lord Cobham worthily the name of a martyr.

The name of a martyr what it signifieth.

But here now stepped in dame *Inuidia*, with her colon scold Alecto, &c. who neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speake well, must needs find here a knot in a rush, and beginning now to quarrell interreth thus: But after (saith hee) that the lord Cobham was escaped out of the tower, his fellowes and confederates conuented themselues together, seditiously against the king, and against their countrie. A great crime no doubt maister Cope, if it be true; so if it be not true, the greater blame returneth vnto your selfe, so to enter this action

Calumnia.

tion of such a murder, vnlesse the ground whereupon he stand, be sure. First, that fellowes of the lord Cobham were these you meane of: Sir Roger Acton he say, maister Browne and I. Beuerly, with 36. other hanged and burned in the said field of S. Giles. A maruellous matter, that such a great multitude of 20000. specified in storie, should rise against the king, and yet but 3. persons only knowne and named. Then to proceede further, I would aske of maister Cope what was the end of this conspiracie, to rebell against the king, to destroy their countrie, and to subuert the Christian faith, for so purported the storie. As like true the one as the other. For euen as it is like, that they being Turkes, went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subuert their country where in they were bred: euen so like it is that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

Sir Roger Acton knight, maister John Browne esquire. Iohn Beuerley yeoman.

Yet further proceedeth this famous promoter in his accusation, and saith moreouer: that these forsaid fellowes and adherents of the lord Cobham, were in the field assembled and there incamped in a great number against the king: and how is this proued? by Robert Fabian. Which appeareth to be as true, as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth, in the same place where affirmeth that John Cledon, and Richard Turmin, were burnt in the same yere, being 1413. When indeed by the true Registers, they were not burnt before the yere of our Lord, 1415. But what will maister Cope say, if the originall copie of the inditement of these pretended conspirators do testifie, that they were not there assembled or present in the field as your accusation pretendeth: But they purposed (will you say) and intended to come. The purpose and intent of a mans mind is hard for you and me to iudge, where as no fact appeareth. But giue their intent was so to come: Yet might they not come to those thickets neere to the field of S. Giles, hauing Beuerley their preacher with them (as pee say your selfe) as well to play and to preach in that woddy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the Church of Christ, in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate woods, and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Queene Maries time was not the same colour of treason obiected against George Egle and other moe, for frequenting and vsing into backsides and fields, and suffered for that, whereof he was innocent and guiltlesse? Did not Adam Damplip die in like case of treason, for hauing a French crowne giuen him, at his departure out of Rome by Cardinal Pole? What cannot cankred Calumnia inuent, when she is disposed to calumniate? It was not the Cardinals crowne that made him a traitour, but it was the hatred of his preaching, that stirred vp the accuser.

Robert Fabian proued with an vntruth.

An vntruth in Alanus Copus.

Playing and preaching in back corners a common thing in time of persecution.

In France what assemblies haue there been in late yeres of good and innocent Christians, congregating together in backe fields and couerts in great troups to heare the preaching of Gods holy word, and to pray yea and not without their weapon also, for their own safegard, and not without a stout and minded any rebellion against their king? Wherefore in cases of Religion it may and doth happen many times that such congregations may meet without intent of any treason ment. But howsoeuer the intent and purpose was of these forsaid confederates of the L. Cobham, whither to come, or what to do (seeing this is plaine by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come vnto the place) how will maister Cope now iustifie his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the field of Saint Giles against the king? And marke here I beseech the (gentle Reader) how vntrue and vntidely the points of this tale are tied and bung together. I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie); where in these accusers in this matter seeme to me, to lacke some part of Simons art, in conueying their narration so vnartificially. First (say they) the king was come first with his garrison, vnto the field of S. Giles. And then after the king was there incamped, consorted vnto the fellowes of the lord Cobham (the captaine being away) came and were assembled in the said field where the king was, against the king: and yet not knowing of the king to the number of 25. thousand: and yet neuer a stroke in that field giuen. And furthermore of all this 25. thousand aforsaid, neuer a mans name knowne, but onely three, to wit, sir Roger Acton, sir John Browne, and John Beuerley a preacher. How this geare is clampered together let the Reader iudge, and beleeue as he seeth cause.

Another vntruth in Alanus Copus.

So vnlikely a tale.

But giue all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proued, yet by the popes dispensation (which in this earth is almost omnipotent be it granted: that after the king had taken S. Giles field before, the companions of the L. Cobham afterward comming and assembling in the thickets neere to the said field, to fight seditiously against the king, against their countrie, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of 25. thousand, where no stroke being giuen, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet neuer a mans name knowne of all this multitude, but only three: All this, I say, being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of Sr. Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present with this company in the field, or not? Not in person (saith Cope) but with his mind and with his counsell he was present, and addeth this reason, saying: And therefore he being brought againe, after his escape, was conuict both of treason and heresie, and therefore suffaining a double punishment was both hanged and burnt for the same, &c. And how is all this proued? By Robert Fabian, he saith: Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsell. His words be these: That certaine adherents of Sir John Oldcastle assembled in the field neere to S. Giles, in great number: of whom was sir Roger Acton, sir John Browne, and John Beuerley. The which with 36. mo in number were after conuict of heresie and treason, and for the same were hanged and burnt, within the said field of S. Giles, &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and condemnation of these men: but that the lord Cobham, was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsell, as Alanus Copus Anglus pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian but is added of his liberall conu copie, whereof he is so copious and plentifull, that he may keepe an open shop of such vnwritten vntruths, which he may afford very good cheap I think, being such a plentifull artificer.

Alanus Copus.

Alanus Copus taken with an other vntruth.

But here will be obiected against me the words of the statute made the second yere of king Henry the fift, whereupon this aduersarie triumphing with no little glozie, [illegible] thinketh himselfe to haue double vantage against me: first, in prouing these forsaid complices and adherents of the L. Cobham, to haue made insurrection against the king, and so to be traitors. Secondly, in conuicting that to be untrue, where as in my former booke of Acts and Monuments I doe report: how that after the death of sir Roger Acton, of Browne and Beuerley, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect: that all and singuler, such as were of Wicklieffes learning, if they would not giue ouer (as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the king) should suffer death in two maner of kinds, that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresie against God.

Ex Statut. Reg. Hen. 5. an. 2. cap. 7.

The former relation of Acts and Mons. pag. 175.

Whereupon, remaineth now in examining this obiection and answering to the same, that I purge both them of treason, and my selfe of vntruth, so far as truth and veritie in Gods cause shall assist me herein. Whcit in beginning first my historie of ecclesiastical matters, wherein I hauing nothing to do with debatement of causes iudicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed; neuer suspected that euer any would be so captious with me, or so neere nosed, as to presse me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing euery cause and matter so exactly, and straining (as pee would say) the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me. Perfor so much as I am thereunto constrained now by this aduersarie, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the second yere of this forsaid Henrie the fifth, after the death of the forsaid sir Roger Acton and his fellowes, at the Parliament holden at Leicester, an. 1415. That done, I will note vpon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appeare what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocencie, or for the accusation of this aduersarie. The tenor and purport of the statute here vnder ensueth.

## The words and contents of the statute made an. 2. Henrici 5. cap. 7.

The preface or preamble of the statute.

FOr so much as great (A) rumors, congregations, and insurrections here in England by diuers of the king his malefices lege people haue bin made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresie called Lollardie, as by other of their confederation, cerritations, and abetment: to the intent (B) to annull and subuert the christian faith and the law of God with in the same Realme, as also to (C) destroy our soueraigne lord the king himselfe, and (D) all manner of estates of the same his Realme, as well spirituall as temporall (E) and also all maner policy, and the lawes of the land: Finally the same our Lord the king, to the honour of God, in conseruation and fortification of the Christian faith, and also in saluation of his royall estate, and of the estate of all his Realme, willing to prouide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heresities and lollardies, then hath been had or vsed in that case heretofore, to that for the feare of the same lawes and punishment, such heresies and Lollardies may the rather cease in time to come.

(A) (B) (C) (D) (E)

Here it appeareth at whose sute and singular cation this Statute was set forward, as also the cause why.

By the aduice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons hath ordained and established: that especially the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Iustice of the one bench and of the other, Iustices of Assise, Iustices of peace, Sheriffes, Maiors, and Bailiffes of cities and townes, and all other officers, hauing the gouernment of people either now present or which for the time shall be, doe make an oth in taking of their charge and offices, to attend their vhole paine and diligence to put out, to doe to put out, cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors commonly called Lollardies within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power: and that they assist, fauor, and maintaine the ordinaries and their commissaries so often as they or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said ordinaries or their commissaries: So that the said officers and ministers, when they trauell or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the, finstance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries, by vertue of this statute: that the same ordinaries and commissaries be (G) pay for their costs reasonably. And that the seruices of the king (vnto whom the officers be first sworne) be preferred before all other statutes for the libertie of holy Church and the ministers of the same: And especially for the correction and punishment of heretickes and Lollards, made before these daies and not repealed, but being in their force. And also that all persons conuict of heresie, of whatsoeuer estate, condition or degree they be, by the said ordinaries or their commissaries left vnto the secular power according to the lawes of holy Church, shall lese and forfeite all their lands and tenements, which they haue in fee simple, in maner and forme as followeth: That is to say, that the king shall haue all the lands and tenements, which the said conuict haue in fee simple and which be immediatlie holden of him, as forfeited: And that the other lords of whom the lands and tenements of such conuicts be holden immediatly, after that the king is thereof seized and answered of the (H) yere, day, and wast: shall haue liuerie thereof out of the hands of the king of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been vsed in case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements, which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom any such impeach d of heresie be conuict, (I) which lands and tenements shall wholly remaine to the king as forfeit. And moreouer, that all the goods and cattels of such conuicted, be forfeit to our right soueraigne lord the king, so that no person conuict of heresie, and left vnto the secular power (according to the lawes of holie Church) doe forfeit his lands before that hee bee dead. And if any such person so conuicted bee enfeoffed, whether it be by fine, or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents, or seruices, in fee or otherwise in whatsoeuer maner, or haue any other possessions or cattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the vse of any other then only to the vse of such conuict: That the same lands, tenements, rents, or seruices, nor other such possessions, nor cattels shall not be forfeit vnto our soueraigne lord the king in no manner wise.

(F) (G) (H) (I)

And moreouer, that the iustices of the kings bench, the Iustices of peace, and iustices of Assise, haue full power to inquire of all such, which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who bee their maintainers, receiuers, fautors, and sustainers, common writers of such bookes, as well of their sermons as schooles, conuenticles, congregations and conferderacies, and that this clause bee put in the commissions of the Iustices of peace. And if any persons be inuited of any points aboue said, that the said Iustices haue power to award against them a Capias, and that the Sheriffe be bound to arrest the person or persons so inuited as soone as hee can find them, either by himselfe, or by his officers. And for so much as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or Lollardies, appertaine to the iudges of holie Church, and not vnto the secular Iudges; that such persons inuited (K) be deliuered vnto the Ordinaries of the places, or to their commissaries by Indentures betweene them to bee made, within ten daies after their arrest, or sooner if it may bee done, to be thereof acquitted, or conuict by the lawes of holy church in case such persons be not inuited of any other thing, the cognisance whereof appertaineth to the iudges and secular Iudges, in which case after they shall be acquited, or deliuered before the secular Iudges of such things as appertaineth to the secular iudges, they shall be sent in safe custodie vnto the said Ordinaries, or their commissaries, and to them to be deliuered by Indentures, as is aforsaid, to be acquitted or conuicted of the same heresies, errors and Lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the lawes of holy Church, and that within the terme abouesaid. Prouided, that the said inditements bee not taken in euidence (L) but only for information before the iudges spiritual, against such persons inuited: but that the Ordinaries begin their processe against such persons inuited, in the same manner, as though no such iudgement were hauing no regard to such inditements. And if any bee inuited of heresie, error, or Lollardie, and taken by the Sheriffe, or any other officer of the king, he may be let to maineprise within the said ten daies, by good suretie, for whom the said Sheriffes, or other officers will answere, so that the person so inuited bee readie to be deliuered vnto the said Ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the end of the tenth day aboue here recited, if hee may by any meanes for sickneſſe. And that euery Ordinarie haue sufficient commissaries or commissarie, abiding in euery Countie in place notable, so that if any such person inuited bee taken, that the said commissaries, or commissarie may bee warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the Sheriffe, or any of his officers to come vnto the kings gaile within the said Countie, there to receiue the same person so inuited by Indenture, as is aforesaid: And that in the Inquests in this case taken, the Sheriffes and other officers vnto whom it appertaineth, do impanell good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as haue at the least, euery one of them that shall bee so impannelled in such inquests, within the realme, a hundred shillings by the yere of lands, tenements, or of rent, vpon paine to lese to the kings vse r. pound. And that those which shall be impanelled vpon such inquests at sessions and gailes, haue euery one of them to the value of vi. shillings by the yere. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the Ordinaries, or the officers of the king, (M) either escape or deceiue prison before hee be thereof acquit before the Ordinarie: that then all his goods and cattels, which hee had at the day of such arrest, shall bee forfeit to the king: And his lands and tenements which he had the same day, be seised also into the kings hands, and that the king haue the profits thereof from the same day vntill he render himselfe to the said prison from whence hee escaped. And that the aforesaid iustices haue full power to enquire of all such escapes and breaking of prisons, and also of the lands, tenements, goods, and cattels of such persons inuited. Prouided, that if any such person inuited, doe not retourne into the said prison, and doth (not being conuict) that then it shall bee lawfull for his heires, to enter into the lands and tenements of his ancestor without any other sute made vnto the king for this cause. And that all those which haue liberties, or franchises royall in England, as the County of Chester, the Countie and libertie of Durham, and other like: And also all the lords which haue iurisdictions and franchises roiall in Wales where the kings writs doe not run, haue like power to execute and put in execution in all points, these articles by them or by their officers in like maner, as doe the Iustices and other the kings officers aboue declared.

(K) (L) (M)

## Notes touching the statutes prefixed.

Thus hauing recited the words of the statute, now let vs consider the reasons and obiections of this aduersarie, who grounding peraduenture vpon the preface or preamble of this foresaid statute; will proue thereby the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, with the reſt of their abettours, to haue been traitors to their king and their countrie. Whereunto I answere, first in generall, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may shew and declare the cause and occasion originall why the statute was made, yet the making of the statute impeacheth no necessarie probation of the preface allwaies to bee true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, gueth no force materiall thereunto, nor is any necessarie part of the body of the said statute: But onelie abhereth as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and sometime is cleane omitted and differeth much from the substance of the same. For as statutes in ciuill policie most commonlie doe tend to a publike end and are generall; so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are priuate: and doe stand onely but vpon particular facts, which either of will and displeasure may bee suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for feare may be beleeued, at least suspected, as many suspitions doe oft times rise in princes heads, through false surmises, and malitious complaints of certaine ciuill disposed about them, whereby many cruell lawes rising vpon a false ground, are promulgate to the ruine of much innocent blood. Example whereof we haue not onlie in this present statute, an. 2. Reg. Hen. 5. but also in the like statute, commonly called the Statute Ex officio vel de comburendo, made by this kings father and predecessor, an. 2. Henr. 4. cap. 5. In the preface of which blouddie statute, is contained another like complaint of the prelates and clergie, not so hainous, as alsa most shamefullie false and vntrue against the poore Lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appeare, beginning; Excellentissimo & Gratiosi. principi, &c. Wherein, most falsly they slander and misreport the true seruants of Christ to bee Lollards, heretickes, subuerters of the common-wealth, destroyers of the Christian faith, enemies to all good lawes, and to the Church of Christ. The words of which statute proceeding much after the like course as doth this present statute, may easilie bewray the vntruth and false surmise thereof, if thou pleale (gentle reader) to marke and conferre the words according as they are there to be read and seene, as followeth: Conuenticulas & confœderationes faciunt, scholas tenent & exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt & informant, & ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, & magnas dissensiones in populo faciunt, & alia diuersa enormia audiuntur horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei cathol. & ecclesiæ subuersionem, diuinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, iurium, & libertatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglic. And after a few words: Ad omnem iuris, & rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum &c. By the which is to thall bee acquainted with old histories and with the shall practises of Satan the old enemie of Christ, from the first beginning of the primitiue Church vnto this present time, shall see this to bee no newes, but a common and (as ye would say) a quotidian feuer among Christs children, to bee vexed with false accusations, and cruell slanders.

The preface or preamble of the statute.

Do comburendo.

Ex vtensilis instrumentis.

False accusation no newes in Christs church.

Nemesion the Egyptian, and true martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not bee prooued, he was condemned at the same iudgement for a Christian: and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the

Example of Nemesion martyr. pag. 56.



Notes vpon the former preface.

Prefaces before statutes not to be regarded in triall of truth.

Statut an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 15.

the commandement of the President double to the other felons: and at length was burned with the theeues, although he neuer was found there notelon: vide pag. 56.

Example of Cyprian, pag. 62.

Against Cyprian in like sort it was slanderously obiected by Galenus Maximus proconsull: Quòd diu sacrilega mente vixerit, & nepharie sibi conspirationis homines adiunxerit: That he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered vnto him men of wicked conspiracie, pag. 62.

Example of Iulius martyr.

So Iulius martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens? Cornelius bishop of Rome and martyr, was accused of Decius, quòd ad Cyprianum literas daret contra rempu. That hee wrote letters vnto Cyprian against the common wealth: vide pag. 59.

Lawes and statutes deuised vpon false suggestion against the Christians.

To consider the lawes and statutes made by tyrants and Emperors in the first persecutions of the primitive Church, against the innocent seruants of Christ, and to compare the same with the lawes and statutes in this latter persecution vnder antichrist: I am an shall find, that as they agreed all in like cruelte, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes deuised. For as then, the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sunne (because they prayed toward the east) for worshipping also the head of an asse, &c. vide pag. 48. 34. vpon the rumors wherof, diuers and sundry lawes and statutes were enacted, some engrauen in braille, some otherwise wrote against them: so in this foresaid statute, an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7. also an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. and in such other statutes or indictments made and conceiued against the Lollards: the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather vpon malice and hatred against their religion conceiued, then vpon any iust cause minisfred of their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitianus, for feare of Dauids seede, all the nephewes of Iude the lords brother in flesh, were accused to the emperor. pag. 33. And also the like feare and hatred stirred vp other Emperours, and the Senat of of Rome, to proceed with perfecuting lawes against the Christian flocke of Christ: Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21. thereupon, rose vp those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongfull accusations against the Christians: so that what crimes soeuer either malice could inuent, or rash suspition could minister, that was imputed against them vnde supra. pag. 34.

The persecuting lawmes in the primitiue church, & of the latter church compared.

Feare and hatred causes of persecution.

Vide supra. pag. 34.

Not vnlike also it may seeme, that the pope with his Prelates fearing and vndoubting lest the proceeding of the Gospell preached by these persons should ouerthrow the state of their maiesties did therefore by sinister accusations inflame the harts of princes against them, and vnder some coloured couert, to shadow their closed hatred, deuised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleerly serue their purpose.

This hitherto haue I said as in a generall summe, answering to the preamble of the foresaid statute, for the defence of Sir Iohn Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, and other, not as defining precisely what was or was not (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so with him I may also leaue the same at large.) But as one by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all coniectures hunting out in this matter, what is most like, we did but only lap my minde fine strepitu (as lawyers say) & sine figura iudicij.

The matter declared by the causes wherefore the L. Cobham & the Lord Roger Acton were taken & put vp.

Now consequentlie it followeth, that we descend to the speciall points and particulars of the foresaid preamble: to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarilie is to be iudged, either for proofe or disproofe, of this foresaid sir Iohn Oldcastle and his fellowes.

A

Rumors. Congregations. Insurrections.

(A) And first, where the proeme of this statute beginneth with rumors, congregations, and insurrections, &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forceable entrees or rebellion against the king, they would haue made anie rumors therof before the deed done: so is it more credible to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to bee but words of course, or of office, and to fauor rather of the rankenesse of the inditers pen, who disposed either per amplificationem rhetoricam to shew his cope, or else per malitiam papisticam, to aggrauate the crime, and to make mountaines of molehils, first of rumors in their congregations, and from congregations riseth vp to insurrections; whereas in all these rumors, congregations, and insurrections, yet neuer a blow was giuen, neuer a stroke was stricken, no blood spilt, no furniture nor instruments of warre, no signe of battell, yea no expresse signification either of any rebellious word, or malious fact described, neither in records, nor yet in any chronicle. Again, if these rumors were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, an vsurper of the crowne, the Prince of priests, &c. why then be none of these words expressed in their indictments, or left in Records? Doth so. Cope thinke for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, vnlesse some euident proofe be brought for him to bee so in deed. as he is called? Rumors (saith he) congregations and insurrections were made. Rumours are vncertaine; congregations haue been and may be among christian men in dangerous times for good purposes, and no treason against their princes meant. The terme of insurrections may be added for more grace by prattle, or furmise of the prelats and pert men, who to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might adde this rather of their owne gentlenesse, then of the others deseruing. Certaine it is and vndoubted, that the priests in those daies being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor vtterlie idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of such kind of practise among the popish clergie, haue not lacked neither before, nor since. Moreouer, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason: how chanceth then, that the whole bodie of the statute following after the said preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches therof both in manner of arest, of inditement, information, request, allowance of officers, cognisance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c. vpon cases of heresie and not of treason, as by particular tractation shal be (Christ willing) declared?

Insurrection of the L. Cobham against the king not likelie.

And for so much as these men be so grieuously accused of Alanus copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realme, if it had so much leasure to defend, as he hath pleasure to diffame: here might be demanded of him, to shape him some further ply (touching this mightie insurrection, where as they came in numbers twentie thousand as gainst the king) in what order of battell cast they marched, what captaines, vnder-captaines, and petie captaines they had to guide the wings, and to lead the armie: whether they were horsemen, or footmen. If they were horsemen (as is pretended) what meant they then to resort to the thickets nere to Saint Giles field, which was no meet place for horses to skirre: If they were footmen; how standeth that with the author, which reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreouer, is to be demanded, what ensignes or flagges, what shot, what powder, what armor, weapons, and other furniture of warr also what treasure of money to wage so manie, to the number of twentie thousand, what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessarie for the purpose they had? All these preparations so fine an enterprise is requisite and necessarie to be had. And peraduenture, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that in stead of armies and weapon, they were comming onlie with their bookes, and with Scuerlap their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact (as is before said) so haue I neither certainely to define vpon their case, nor yet master Cope to exclame against them, vnlesse peraduenture he taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them: that because it was the hote moneth of Januarie the 2. day after the Epiphanie, therefore it is like, that sir Iohn Oldcastle with twentie thousand Lollards camped together in the fields in all the heate of the weather, to destroy the king and all the nobles, and to make himselfe Regent of England. And why not as well the King, as Regent of England, seeing all the nobles should haue beene destroyed, and he onely left alone to reigne by himselfe?

(B) A number of the Lord Cobham that he intended to destroy christian faith.

It followeth more in the preamble of the foresaid statute, (B) to abroll, destroy, and subuert the christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church, &c. Hee that was the forger and inuenter of this report (as it appeareth to procede from the prelats) semeth no cunning Dædalus, nor halfe his crafts master in lying for the purpose. Better he might haue learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artificially to haue framed and conueied his narration. Which although in no case could sound like any truth, yet some colour of probabilitie should haue beene set vpon it, to giue it some countenance of a like tale. As if he had first declared the lord Cobham, to haue bin before in secret confederacie with the great Turke, or if hee had made him some termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herode of Iudea, or some antichrist out of Rome, or some grandpanch epicure of this world: and had theined, that he had receiued letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ and law of God; then had it appeared some what more credible, that the said sir Iohn Oldcastle with his fet of hercsie, went about to abroll, destroy, and subuert the christian faith, and law of God within the realme of England, &c.

But now, where will either he or master Cope find men so mad to beleeue, or so ingenious that can imagine this to bee true, that the lord Cobham (being a christian) and so faithfull a christian, would or did euer cogitate in his mind to destroy and abroll the faith of Christ in the realme of England? Whatsoeuer the report of this purtuant or preface saith, I repot me vnto the vnwitterent Reader, how standeth this with any face of truth: That he which before through the reading of Scripture lifted vp his eies to heauen, to earnestly conuerted to the law of God, who had also appointed himselfe such a faithfull seruant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he being examined and tried before the prelats: pag. 518. not onely ventred his life, but stood constant vnto the fiercence of death, defined against him: being a condemned and a dead man by law; Et qui quantum

Copian. lib. 4. Epist. 1.



tum ad eius deuotionem pertinet & timorē, passus sit, quicquid pati potuit, who had as much as to deuotion & feare appertained, suffered alreadie what he might or could suffer, as Cyprian said by Cornelius. That he (I say) which a little before in the month of September, stood so constant in defence of Christs faith, would now in the month of Januarie rise to destroy, annull, and subuert Christs faith, and the law of God, and holy church within the realme of England?

How can it be, not like only but possible to be true, that he which neuer denied the faith: which euer confessed the faith so constantly: which was for the same faith condemned: yea and at last also burned for the faith, would euer fight against the faith and law of God, to abroll and to subuert it? Let vs proceed yet further, and see when that he should haue so destroyed and abrolled the Christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he, or did he intend to bring into the realme of England? The Turkes faith? or the Iewes faith? or the popes faith? or what faith else I pray you? For hee that will be an enemie to the faith of Christ, and will throw himselfe fiend to one other faith beside, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) Lord Cobham neither planted to intercept in destroying the king.

(C) And therefore euen as it is true, that Sir Iohn Oldcastle with his confederats and abettours were vp in armes to subuert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the realme of England: so by the like truth it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also to destroy their Soueraigne Lord the king and his brethren. First, thankes bee to God, that neither the king, nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy his Soueraigne Lord the king. Whereunto I answere, with this interrogatorie, whether his intent was priuie to haue destroyed him, or by open force of armes? If priuilie, what needeth then such a great army of xx. thousand men to atchieue that secret feat? Rather I would thinke, that he needed more the helpe of such as were nere about the king: as some of the kings priuie chamber, or some of his secret counsell: whereof, neither Chronicle nor record doth intimate any mention. If his intent was openly to inuade the king: How must vnderstand (master Cope) that to withstand a king in his owne realme, many things are required, long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance, and alo of kindred, money, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

How vnlike it is that the lord Cobham did rise against the king.

Example that an hard matter it is to rise against the king.

Earle Godwin of Westsaxe, who had married Canutus daughter, being a man both ambitious, and as false a traitor, for all his fire lonnes, and great alliance; yet durst not set vp on king Edward to inuade him within his Realme, although he sought many occasions so to doe, yet neuer durst enterprise openlie, that which his ambition so greedilie presumed vnto: pag. 147.

The nobles against king Henry 3.

In the time of king Henrie the third, Simon Montford earle of Glocester, Gilbert Clare earle of Leicester, Humfry Bone earle of Herrence, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselues to haue great right on their sides; yet durst not for all their power openly assaile the king in his Realme, before great debatement and talke first had betweene: pag. 299.

The nobles against king Edward 2.

Likewise what murmuring and grudging was in the realme against king Edward the second, among the peeres and nobles, and also prelats (only Walter bishop of Couentrie excepte) first for Gauestone, then for the Spencers, at what time Thomas earle of Lancaster, Guido earle of Warwike, with the most part of all other earles and barons concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gauestone, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly nor without great feare durst stirre vp warre in the land, or disquiet or vexe the king, but first by all meanes of moderate counsell, and the like, thought rather to persuade, then to inuade the king: pag. 327.

The nobles against king Richard 2.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the raigne of king Richard 2. Thomas Woodstocke duke of Glocester the kings vncle, with the earles of Arundell, of Warwicke, and Darby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood vp in armes against the king: and yet notwithstanding all their power ioyned together, being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straightwaies to sle vpon the king, but by way of Parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceiued, and so did, without any war striking against the king: pag. 472.

The nobles against king Henry 4.

After king Richard 2. was deposed, and was in prison yet liuing, diuers noblemen were greatly inflamed against king Henry the fourth, as Sir Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Spencer earle of Glocester, the earles likewise of Kent, and of Salisburie, with Sir Iohn Cheiney and other mo, whereof diuers had been dukes before, and now deposed by king Henry 4. although they had conceiued in their hearts great grudges and malice against the said king Henry: yet had they neither heart nor power openly with mans force to assaile the king, but secretly were compelled to atchieue their conceiued intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish: Ex hist. D. Alban.

The insurrection of the lord Cobham against the king iudged by coniecture.

Thus, you may see, master Cope, or else master Parpisfield, what soeuer ye be, to gainsay and a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his owne land, and in his owne chamber of London, where hee is so sure and strong, what a matter of holy great chieuance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do lie, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so vncertaine, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any kings daies heretofore, any peeres or nobles of the Realme, were they neuer so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsell, yet either were able, or else well durst euer enterprise vpon the case so dangerous, notwithstanding were they neuer of themselues so farre from all feare of God, and true obedience. And shall we then thinke, or can we imagine (master Cope) that Sir Iohn Oldcastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of Gods word, being but a poore knight by his degree, hauing none of all the peeres and nobles in all the world to ioyne with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the moneth of December, could now in the moneth of Januarie, so suddenly, in such an hot season of the yere start vp an armie of xx. thousand fighting men to inuade the king, to kill two Dukes his brethren, to abroll Christian faith, to destroy Gods law, and to subuert holy Church? And why doth not he adde moreouer, to set alis all London on fire, and to turne all England into a hilly pole? Belike these men which giue out these figments of Sir Iohn Oldcastle, did thinke him to bee one of Deucalions flocke, who creating of stones ouer his shoulder, could by and by make men at his pleasure, or els that he had Cadmus teeth to sow, to make so many harnest men to start vp at once.

A rebellion to be of xx. thousand, and yet no counte to be knowne from whence they came, it is not like.

But let vs consider yet further of these rr. thousand souldiers so suddenly without wages, without victuall, or other prouision congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, countrie, or countries they came. In other kings daies, whensoeuer any rebellion is against the king mooued by the Commons; as when Jack Straw and Wat Tiler of Kent, and Esser rose in the time of king Richard the 2. When William Sandwell of Abingdon, Jacke Cade of Kent, in the time king Henry the 6. In the time of king Henry the 8. when the common wast of rebels in Lincolneshire, then in Yorkeshire. When in king Edward the 6. time Humfrey Arundell in Deuonshire, Captaine Pyte in Northfolke made flerce against the king, the countrie and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also diffamed. In this so traiterous commotion therefore let vs now learne, what men these were, and from what countrie or countries in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the Chronicles declare what countries they were. If they came out of none (as none is named) then let them come out of Vtopia, where belike this figment was first forged, and inuented. Wherefore seeing neither the countries from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these rr. thousand doe appeare what they were either in Chronicle or in record, but remaine altogether vnknowne, I leaue it (gentle Reader) to thy iudgement, to thinke thereupon, as thy wisdome shall leade thee.

Neuer was any rebellion of Commons in England, but the speciall countrie from whence they came was noted and knowne.

(D) Another false report of Sir Iohn Oldcastle, at the intended to kill at maner of estates in the realme.

(D) It followeth more in the foresaid preface: And to destroy all other manner of estates, of the same Realme of England, as well spirituall as temporall, &c. By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said Sir Iohn Oldcastle, was a wonderfull cruell tyrant and murderer, who being not yet satisfied with the bloud of the king, nor of the two Dukes his brethren, would also make hauocke and slaughter also, of all manner of estates in the realme of England. What, and leaue no manner of estate aliue? No, neither lord spirituall nor temporall, but all together should bee destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserable to bee destroyed? Although perease the mode of this man might haue been incensed and kindled against the king, and the lords spirituall, by whom hee had been condemned, as is afore said: yet why should all other maner of other estates both spirituall and temporall bee killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earle, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, bolo then is it like, that he hauing all the estates, peeres, nobles, and gentlemen of the realme against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only with sir Roger Acton, and master Browne left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should haue been spared out of this bloudy slaughter, whom he offered to produce vnto the king before, for his purgation, pag. 515. And finallie, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spirituall and temporall should haue been cut downe, what needed then that he should haue made himselfe a Regent, when he might as well haue made himselfe a king, or what else hee would, being left then prince alone?

(E) The preamble as it began with vntruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one vntruth vpon another: so now endeth with another misreport as vntrue as the rest, shewing and declaring, the intent of sir Iohn Oldcastle was alto destroy all manner of policie, and finallie the lawes of the land, &c. We reade of William Conquerer, otherwise named William

(E) An hard matter to destroy all policie and lawes of a land.

William Wallard: who being a puissant duke in his countrie, when that the crowne of England was allotted to him, and he comming ouer with all his peeres, nobles, and barons of his whole land, into this Realme, and had with great difficultie obtained victorie against king Harold: yet to alter and destroy the policie and the lawes of the land, it passed his power. Insomuch that it had not been permitted vnto him to haue proceeded so farre as he did, vnlesse he had first sworne to the nobles of this land, to retaine still the lawes of king Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forswore himselfe, breaking his oth in altering and changing many of the foresaid lawes, yet wild he, nild hee, could not so destroy them all (for the which, much warre and great commotions endured long after in the Realme) but that hee was constrained, and also contented to allow and admit a great part of the said lawes of king Edward. pag. 154. And if he being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normands and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all maner of policie and lawes of this land, which he had conquered: how much lesse then is it to be supposed, that Sir John Oldcastle being but a priuat subiect, and a poore knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earles and barons, who to saue his own life, had more to do, then he could well compasse, would either take in hand, or conceiue in his head any such exploit, after the subuersion of Christian faith, and law of God, after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spirituall as temporall, in the Realme of England, after the desolation of holy Church, to destroy also all manner of policie, and finally, the lawes of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seeme to master Cope, or to some other late Chronclers of the like credulitie, I cannot tell: Certainly to me, and as I think to all indifferent readers, it appeareth as true, as is the verse of the Satyre, wherewith it may well be compared:

Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.

Obiection. But here will be said again perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuants, of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggrauate, and to giue a shew of a thing, which they would haue to seeme more odible to the people, is not so precisely to bee stand on or enquisitely to bee stood vpon, as for the ground of a necessarie ease of truth.

Answere. This is it (M. Cope) that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a non sequitur, containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course (and rather monsters out of course) and many times rising vpon false information, are not always in themselues materiall, or necessarie probations in all points to be followed: as appeareth both by this statute, and also by the statute of this kings father, an. 2. Hen. 5. chap. 15. beginning, Excellentissimo, &c. And yet notwithstanding out of these same preambles, and forefronts of statutes, and other inditements, which commonly rising vpon matter of information, run onely vpon words of course, of office, and not vpon simple truth, a great part of our Chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, hauing no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumors, or else such words as they see in such fabling prefaces, or indictements expressed. Whereby it commeth to passe, that the younger Chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of errour. And you also (master Cope) following the steps of the same, doe seeme likewise to erre together with them, for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

*For the small faith that Hen. 4. c. 15. Circumspecte and Cumque de plurimis articles of the plaintes to be beleeued.*

*Alanus Copus beguiled by the Chronicles.*

Now let vs consider and discusse in like maner, first the coherence, then the particular contents of the said statute. As touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall finde almost a Chimera of it. In which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselues. Wherein he that was the drawer, or first informer thereof, seemeth to haue forgot his verse and art Poeticall:

*Horat. art. Poet.*

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primum ne medio, medium ne discrepet imo.

For whereas the preface of the statute standeth onely vpon matter of treason, conceiued by false suggestion and wrong information; the bodie of the said statute which should follow vpon the same, runneth only vpo matter of heresie pertaining to the ordinaries, as by euery branch thereof may appeare.

(F) For first where he saith, at the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries, &c. Hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason, nor felonie. For that euery man of dutie is bound, and by the lawes of the realme may arrest and apprehend a traitour, or a felon, if he can: where otherwise by this statute an officer is not bound to arrest him which offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felonie.

*(F) The bodie of the statute is not agreeable to the head.*

(G) Secondly, where it followeth, that the same ordinaries and commissaries bee payed for their costs, &c. This allowance of the officers charges in this sort, prooueth this offence neither treason nor felonie.

(H) Thirdly, where the statute willeth the king to bee answered of the perc, pap, and wall, &c. by this also is proued the offence not to be treason. Onelie in cases of treason, the whole inheritance (I trow, master Cope, speaking as no great skilfull lawyer) is forfait to the prince.

(H)

(I) The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, whereas such lands and tenements which bee holden of the ordinaries are willed wholly to remaine to the king as forfait, &c. Whereby it is manifest, that the prelates (for their matter of Lollardie onely) were the occasioners and procurers of this statute: and therefore were barred of the benefit of any forfeit rising thereby, as good reason was, they should. And thus it is notorious, that the preface running specially and principally vpon treason, and the statute running altogether vpon points of heresie, doe not well cohere nor ioyne together.

(I)

(K) Fiftly, in that such persons indited, shall bee deliuered vnto the ordinaries of the places, &c. it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no maner of treason: forsomuch as ordinaries cannot bee iudges in cases of treason, or felonie, by the lawes of our realme. Bracton, in fine 1. libri.

(K)

(L) Sixtly, by the indictements prouided not to be taken in euidence, but only for information, before the iudges spiritual, &c. it is likewise to be noted; to what end these indictements were taken, to wit, only to informe the ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason.

(L)

(M) Lastly, where it followeth toward the end of the statute touching escape or breaking of prison, &c. by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute driueth, that is, to the speciall escape of the Lord Cobham out of the tower, to this end, to haue his lands and possessions forfeit vnto the king. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham in this statute considered, is taken by Master Justice Stanford in lib. primo of the pleas of the crowne cap. 33. to be an escape of one arrested for heresie, where hee speaketh of the case of the lord Cobham.

(M) *Iustice Stanford of the pleas of the crowne, lib. 1. cap. 33.*

Moreouer, as touching the parts of this foresaid statute, how will you ioyne these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, that the lands of such persons conuict, shall be forfait to the king, not before they be dead: And afterward in the latter end, that their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest, to the king. But herein (saueth no such great doubt nor matter to be weighed. This is without all doubt, and notoriously false, euidently, and most manifestly may appeare, by all the arguments and whole purport of the statute: that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole bodie of the said statute was made, framed, and procured onely by and through the instigation, information, and excitation of the prelates, and the popish clergie, not so much for any treason committed against the king: but onely for feare and hatred of Lollardie, tending against their law, which they most dreaded and abhorred, then euer any treason against the prince. And then to set the king and all the states against them, whereby the more readily to worke their dispatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policie, as prettily to ioyne treason together with their Lollardy. Wherein the poore men being once intangled, could no waies escape destruction. Papæ concilium callidum.

*The first preuention of the statute.*

*Practise of popish fatres to couple treason with heresie.*

This M. Cope, haue I said, and say againe, not as one absolutely determining vpon the matter. At the doing whereof as I was not present my selfe, so with your olun Hall, I may and do leaue it at large, but as the reading the reader by all coniectures and arguments of probabilitie and of the circumstances, to consider with themselues, what is further to bee thought in these old accustomed practises and proceedings of these prelates. Protesting moreouer (M. Cope) in this matter to you, that those Chroniclers which you so much ground vpon, I take them in this matter, neither as witnesses sufficient, nor as iudges competent. Tho as they were not themselues present at the deed done, no more then I, but onely following uncertaine rumors, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certaine triall of that which they do affirme, may therein both be deceiued themselues, and also deceiue you, and other which depend vpon them.

*Alanus Copus beguiled by the Chronicles.*

*Examples of diuers falsly accused for treasons.*

And hitherto concerning this statute enough. Out of which statute you see (M. Cope) that neither your Chroniclers, nor you can take any great aduantage, to proue any treason in the lord Cobham or in his fellowes, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premisses.

It remaineth further, that forasmuch as you in your sixth dialogue with your author Edward Hall, do alleage the records Et publica iudicij Acta, to affame these men for traitors (although what records they be, you bring forth neuer a word) I therefore in their defence doe answere for them, which cannot now answere for themselues. And because you to accuse them doe mention a certaine record, and yet doe not shew vs what record it is, and peraduenture cannot, if ye would: I haue taken the paines therfore, for the loue of them whom you so hate, to search out such Records, whereby any occasion can be raised against them. And first will declare the commission granted, then the indictement commenced against them.

*Alanus Copus pag. 833. lin. 4.*

The which commission, and indictement, albeit in countenance



stance of words will seeme to minister much suspition against them, to the simple Reader, before he be better acquainted with these subtill dealings and practises of Prelates: yet trusting vpon the godnesse of the cause, which I see here so falsly and sleightly to be handled, I nothing feare nor doubt, to produce the same out of the records in Latine as they stand: to the intent that when the craftie handling of the aduersaries shall be disclosed, the true simplicitie of the innocent, to the true hearted Reader, shall the more better appeare. The words first of the Commission heere follow vnder written: which when thou shalt heare, let them not trouble thy mind, gentle Reader, I beseech thee, before thou vnderstand further, what packing and subtill conueyance shall be couered and hid vnder the same.

*In Rotulopatent. de anno primo Henrici quinti.*

The words of commission against the lord Cobham. (A)

R. Delectis & fidelibus suis Willielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop. Willielmo Croiomere maiori Ciuitatis suæ London. Hugoni Huls, Ioanni Preston, & Ioanni Mertin salutem. Sciatis quòd cum nos plenius (A) informemur, ac notorie & manifeste dignoscatur quòd quam plures subditi nostri Lollardi vulgarie nuncupati, ac alij mortem nostram contra ligeanciæ suæ debitum proditorie imaginauerunt, ac quam plura alia, tam in fidei catholicæ, quàm status dominorum & magnatum regni nostri Angl. tam spiritualium quam temporalium destructionem proposuerunt, ac diuersas congregationes, & alia conuenticula illicita pro nephando proposito suo in hac parte per eos implend. fecerunt in nostri exheredationem ac Regni nostri destructionem manifestam: Nos huiusmodi Lollardos ac alios prædictos, iuxta eorum demerita in hac parte 30 castigare & puniri volentes, ac de fidelitate & circumspectione vestra plenius confidentes: assignauimus vos quatuor, quatuor, & tres vestrum, quorum vos præfati maior & Hugo, duos esse volumus Iustic. nostros, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate prædicta & suburbijs eiusdem, ac de Comitate Middlesex tam infra libertates, quam extra, per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus per huiusmodi Lollardos in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnibus proditionibus & insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. prædictis, per quoscunque, & qualitercunque factis siue perpetratis, et ad eosdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni nostri Angl. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. ad hoc prouideritis diligentes super premissis fac. inquisitiones & premissa omnia & singula audiatis & terminetis in forma prædicta facturi, &c. Saluis, &c. Mandauimus enim vicecomitibus nostris Lond. & Midd. quod ad certos, &c. quos, &c. quorum, &c. eius saire fac. venire faciatis coram vobis, &c. quorum, &c. tot, &c. de Balliua sua, tam infr. liberates, quam extra, per quos, &c. & inquiri. In cuius, &c. T. R. apud Westm. (B) x. die Ianuarij. Per ipsum Regem.

(A)

(B)

(B) By these high and tragicall words in this commission sent downe against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes: it may peraduenture seeme to the ignorant and simple Reader, some hainous crime of treason to rest in them, to conspiring against God, the church, the king and their countrey. But that cannot the fetching practise of the Romish prelates bring about, but they must needes haue a colour, why they should 60 soze maruell not (good Reader) at this, nor iudge thou according to the words which thou hearest. But suspend thy iudgement a while, till the matter be more opened vnto thee. Examples of like handling be not so rare, but thou maist some iudge by other times the like also of these. George Egle, of whom mention was made before, did but preach in time of queene Marie, and yet commission was directed against him, as in case of raising by a commotion against the queene. Adam Damlip in Calice did but preach, and the rereuing of one penie crotone two yeres before at Rome was enough to make him a traytor. In the time of king Henrie the eight one Tingleton chaplaine to queene Anne, the queenes Paiscelles mother that now is, did but preach the Gospell, moued by zeale (as I haue credible witnesse of his owne scholar that heard him speake it being with him) and yet by vertue of commission it was obiected to him: for raising vp commotion against the king, yea and also for killing of Pakington, and suffered for the same as a traytor. So here, what matter 02 maruell is it, if the king incensed, 02 rather circumuented by the wrong information of the prelates (whom he beleeued) gaue out his commission, against things neuer wrought nor thought?

*Examples of like handling.*

Wherefore I exhort thee (christian Reader) as I said before, iudge not by and by the truth, by the words of the commission: but iudge the words rather of the commission by the truth. Set ther measure thou the line by the stone: but the stone rather by the line. At least yet deferre thy sentence, till both the Commission and the indictement being laid together, thou maist afterward see and perceiue more, what is to be iudged in the case.

In the meane season marke well these words of the king in his commission, (A) Cum nos plenius informemur, &c. By the which words it is easie to be vnderstood, that the king himselfe had no certaine knowledge thereof, but only by information of others (of bishops no doubt and prelats) and thereupon gaue forth his commission afo: said. And then how will this stand with our chroniclers and other epitomes and summaries, whom master Cope doth alleage? for if it be certaine that Robert Fabian said, that the king himselfe being in the field tolde certaine of them, as sir Roger Acton, master Brouine, and John Beuerley, and your owne Edward Hall, also and your Epitome agreeth to the same, and saith moreouer that they were brought before the kings presence: Thomas Couper also whom you alleage, addeth further and saith, that the king there by strength did take them:

*Our English chronicles restrained by the words of the Commission.*

I pray you (master Cope) what needed the king to write this by information, when as he both himselfe was present at the fact, was the taker of them, and a witnesse of the deed? The which and if it be true, that the king heard this but by way of information, how will you then defend your Chronicles & your Epitomes? But herein I will neither greatly sticke with you, nor contend with them: Desiring the Reader this only to braue in mind, the date of this present commission when it was giuen, (B) which foundeth to be the tenth day of Januarie, and afterward to compare the same with the date of the indictement here vnder following, which I will (the Lord willing) also hereunto ayner, leauing nothing out: yea rather ministring to the aduersarie all maner of helpes, what soeuer they can seeke 02 require for their more aduantage in this matter, to be desired. So sure and confident I am in the innocent cause of these good men, nor fearing what soeuer blind malice can cauill against them.

(B)

## The inditement of the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton and others, with notes following *vpon the same.*

PArliamenta corone coram domino rege apud Westm. de termino sancti Hillarij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti, post conque. primo Rot. vij. inter parliamenta regis. Alias coram Gulielmo Roos de Hamlak, Henrico le Scrop, Gulielmo Crowmere maiore ciuitatis London. Hugone Huls & socijs Iustic. domini regis, ad inquirend. per sacram. proborum & legal. hominum de ciuitate domini regis London. & suburbijs eiusdem, ac de Com. Midd. tam infra libertates, quam extra, de omnibus & singulis proditionibus & insurrectionibus, per quã plures subditos domini regis Lollardos vulgarit. nuncupatos, & alios in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. prædictis, factis & perpetratis, nec non de omnibus proditionibus, insurrectionibus, rebellionibus, & felonijs in ciuitate, suburbijs, & com. pred. per quoscunq; & qualitercunq; factis siue perpetratis, & ad eosdem proditiones, insurrectiones, rebelliones, & felonias audiend. & terminand. secundum legem & consuetudinem regni domini regis Angliæ, per literas ipsius domini Regis patentes, assign. apud west. die Mercurij (A) proximo post festum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum primo, (B) per sacram. eij. tunc existit prefentatum: quod Ioannes Oldcastle de Cowling in com. Kanc. chr. & alij Lollardi vulgar. nuncupat. qui contra fidem catholicam diuersas opiniones hæreticas, & alios errores manifestos legi catholicæ repugnantes à diu temerarie tenuerunt, opiniones & errores predictos manutenere, at in facto minime perimplere valentes, quandiu regia potestas & tam status regal. domini nostri regis, quam status & officium prelaciæ dignitatis infra regnum Angl. in prosperitate perfeuerarent, falso et proditorie machinando, tam statum regni, quam statum et officium prelatorum, necnon ordines religiosorum infra dictum regnum Angl. penitus adnullare: Ac dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, prelatos, & alios magnates ciusdem regni interficere, nec non viros religiosos, relict. cult. diuinis & religiosis obseruantijs ad occupationes mundanas prouocare, & tam ecclesias cathedrales, quam alias ecclesias et domos religiosas de reliquis & alijs bonis ecclesiasticis totaliter spoliare ac funditus ad terram prosternere, et dictum Ioannem Oldcastel (C) Regentem eiusdem regni constituere, et quam plura regiminа secundum eorum voluntatẽ infra regnum predictum (D) contra fidem catholicam et leges dicti regni attemptare, et si gens fine capite, in finalem destructionem tam fidei catholicæ et cleri, quam status et maiestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare, falso et proditorie ordinauerunt et proposuerunt, quod ipso insimul cum quamplurib⁹ rebellibus domini regis (E) ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum de diuersis partibus regni Angl. modò guerrino ariuat. (F) priuatim insurgent. et die Mercurij proximo (G) post festum Epiphaniæ domini anno regni regis prædicti prædicto apud villam et parochiam sancti Egidij (H) extra Barram veteris Templi London. in quodam magno campo ibidem vnanimit. conuenirent clanssimul obuiarent pro nephando proposito suo in premissis perimplend. quo quidem die Mercurij apud villam & parochiam predictas predicti I. Oldcastle et alij in huiusmodi proposito proditorio perfeuerantes, prædictum dominum nostrum regem, fratres suos, videlicet, (H) Thomam ducem Clarentiæ, Ioannem de Lancastre, & Humfredum de Lancastre, necnon prelatos & magnates predictos interficere, nec non ipsum dominum nostrum regem et heredes suos de regno suo predicto exheredare, et premissa omnia & singula, necnon quam plura alia mala et intolerabilia facere et perimplere falso et proditorie proposuerunt et imaginauerunt, (I) et ibidem versus campum predictum modo

(A)

(B)

(C)

(D)

(E)

(F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

garentio ad tari, proditorie & malo de insurrectionis contra ligeancias suas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictum dominum nostrum Regem, nisi per ipsum manu forti gratiose impediti fuissent. Quod quidem indictamentū Dominus Rex nunc, certis de causis coram eo venire fecit terminandum. Per quod preceptum fuit vic. quod non omitteret, &c. quin caperet prefatum Iohannem Oldcastle, si &c. Et saluo, &c. Ita quod haberet corpus eius coram Domino Rege, apud Westmonasterium ad hunc diem; scilicet die Mercurij proximo post octauas sancti Hillarij isto eodem termino ad respondendum domino Regi de premissis, &c. Ad quos diem et locum, coram domino Rege vic. return. quod predictus Iohannes Oldcastle non fuit inuentus in ballia sua, &c. per quod preceptum fuit, vic. quod exigi faceret eum de com. in com. quousque vtlagetur si non, &c. Et si &c. tunc eum caperet, et saluo, &c. Ita quod haberent corpus eius coram Domino Rege in octauas Sancti Ioannis Baptiste ex tunc proximum sequen. vbicunque, &c. ad respondendum domino regi de proditionibus, et felonijs superius sibi impositis. Ad quas octauas sancti Ioannis Baptiste, an. regni R. Henrici quinti post conquestum secundo. Ioanne Sutton, & Io. Michell vic. Midd. coram domino Rege returnauerunt quod ad com. Mid. centum apud Braynford die Iouis proximo ante festum S. Barnabæ Apostoli, an. reg. R. Hen. quint. post conquestum secundo. Et ad quatuor com. ex tunc ex proximo precedentes predictus Ioannes Oldcastle exactus fuit, & non comparuit. Et quia ad nullum eorundem com. comparuit. Ideo preconibus coronatoribus com. predicti vtlagatus fuit, per quod inquiratur de terra & catallis suis.

## Notes or considerations vpon the inditement and commission aboue prefixed.

(A) The first note concerning the date and day both of the commission and of the verdict of Iurors comming on one day.

(A) Die Mercurij proximo post festum Epiphaniæ, &c. ☜ First here is to be noted and considered (good Reader) the day and date of giuing out the commission, and then of the verdict presented by the Iurers, which was both in one day, that is, on the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, in the first yeer of the reigne of king Henrie the fifth, which was the tenth day of the month of Januarie (as the date of the commission saith) an. 1413. after the vse of England, or after the Romish vse, anno 1414. So that after the vse ours we count whether it be anno 1413. or else an. 1414. the Dominicall letter beginning at the first day of Januarie to chynge, must needs be C. for the yeere, and so accordarily make Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, to be the tenth day of the said month of Januarie. Thus then this present Wednesday, which was the tenth day of the moneth, being well noted and borne in mind, on the which day both the commission was directed, and also the verdict presented, let vs now proceed further in the foresaid inditement. Itfolloweth.

(B) The ground here of the Iurers fetle out.

(B) Per sacramentum xij. iuratorum extitit præsentatum, &c. ☜ If there had bin true dealing in this, the Iurers should haue been named. But it is not like, that there was euer any such inditement found by any Iurers, and therefore they did well, not to name the Iurers, lest they would haue denied this inditement to be their act. It followeth more in proccesse of the inditement.

(C) The thirde argument, by making a Regent the king being yet in France.

(C) Et dictum Ioan. Oldcastle Regentem Eiusdem regni constituere, &c. ☜ If there were no other argument, this were sufficient to dispraue the manifest vntruth of this surmised inditement. When as the king was not yet gone to France, nor determined to go, how could they conspire then to make a Regent? For the king went in July following, viz. the second yeere of his raigne, leauing behind him the queene his mother in law, for Regent; whereby it may be gathered, that this matter was vntruly contred and stollen into the records with an antedate, or else at the least, there appeareth manifest vntruth, that they should conspire to make a Regent, when a Regent was not thought vpon, vnlesse it were alreadie runne into the heads of the clergie, who shortly after fearing their temporalities (as Carten saith) perswaded the king to make warre in France. This word Regent therefore proceedeth of the secret spirit of the clergie, and maketh the whole matter very suspitious, to be grounded altogether vpon the malice of the clergie, and their vntrue surmises. It followeth moreouer.

(D) The fifth argument by contrarietie.

(D) Quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem, &c. ☜ How doth this stand with that goeth before, that they conspired to make a Regent, creept you will say that to make a Regent, is to be a people without an heade? It followeth:

(E) The first argument by the vse of Cornewallie.

(E) Cum quamplurimus rebellibus dicti regis ignotis ad numerum viginti millium hominum, &c. ☜ A strange matter that they should know of the conspiracie of twentie thousand, and yet hardly of so more names of the rebels, but the lord Cobham only, or one or two mo. And all the rest were ignoti.

(F) The fift argument, by the vse of Cornewall.

(F) Prætatim insurgentes, &c. ☜ This smelleth of the clergies olwne penning, without any great aduice of learned counsell: for otherwise such as had been herein skilfull, would neuer haue put in præsertim insurgentes.

(G) The conclusion, gathered vpon the whole date and matter.

(G) Die Mercurij proximo post festum Epiphaniæ Domini anno R. R. prædicto, &c. This Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, was the tenth day of the month of Januarie, and the same day when both the conspiracie was put in execution, and the same day when the commission was giuen out to enquire, also when the fact was by inquirie presented. Whereby it may seeme a strange thing that so great a conspiracie knowen beforehand, was not suppressed nor inquired of by any commission but only by a commission bearing date of the same day, vpon which day by the purport of the inditement, the conspiracie should haue been put in execution, by open rebellion, as it is aforesaid.

(H) The ninth argument by circumstance and wresting naming the Dukes.

(H) Prædictum D. nostrum Regem fratres suos, videl. Thomam Ducem Clarentiæ, Ioannem de Lancastre, et Humfredum de Lancastre, &c. ☜ If the kings learned counsell had dealt in this inditement, as in case of treason they should haue done, if it had been a matter of truth, they would neuer haue handled it so slenderly, and wrongly, as to name the dukes of Bedford, and of Glocester; John of Lancaster, and Humfrey of Lancaster, who were made dukes in the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of king Henrie the fourth their father, as appeareth by Caxtones chronicle.

(I) The tenth note or argument by the absence of the partie.

(I) Et ibidem versus campum prædictum, modo guerrino arriati proditorie modo insurrectionis, contra ligeantias suas equitauerunt ad debellandum dictum D. nostrum regem, &c. ☜ This is fullified by plaine euidence of histories. And Cope himself confesseth no lesse. For he so saith: confesseth, pag. 837. lin. 12. That sir John Oldcastle was not there in person, but onlie, that his consent and good will was there.

The eleuenth note or argument.

Againe, seeing this equitation or riding toward Saint Giles field was vpon the Wednesday next after the feast of Epiphanie (as in this inditement and proccesse of outlawrie is aboue testified) which was the tenth day of Januarie, and commission also the same day was charged, and the iurie moreouer impanelled the same day, and yet no Iurer named: Item, the verdict the same day presented; how all these can concur together, and all in one day, let the Reader after he haue well considered the matter, vse his iudgement therein, not only whether it be like, but also whether it be possible.

The twelfth note or argument. The lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, &c. pro eodem triplex.

Duer and beside all this it is to be noted, that if this matter had been truly and duely handled, as touching the treason, then had it not been needful to haue brought sir John Oldcastle into the Parliament house, before the lords to haue had his iudgement. For by the outlawrie (if it had been true) he was attainted, and without any more ado should haue had iudgement in the kings Bench as a traytour. But the chiefe Iustice knowing the handling of the matter, durst not beside enterprise so farre. Wherefore it was deuised, that he should certifie the record into the parliament, which he did together with the bishops sentence filed to the record, which was verie strange.

All things not true, that be found in stories.

And thereupon the lords gaue such a iudgement, as was not due for a traytour. For that they gaue no iudgement, that he should be drawen, hanged, and let downe aliue, and then bowelled and quartered, which is the iudgement of a traytour. And albeit the parliament might haue attainted him without anie more adoe: And by the same act of attainder haue obtained a special iudgement, as they should thinke good: yet when he was before attainted by the outlawrie, they could not lawfullie varie from the common iudgement of treason. At least how could or should the iudgement of Sir Roger Acton, maister Beawme, and Iohn Beuerley, who were iudged in the Guildhall before and without the parliament, varie from the said common iudgement of Traytours, if they had treason committed, and been conuicted of such high treason?

The thirteenth note of argument.

Adde this moreouer to the foresaid notes: that if sir John Oldcastle after his escape out of prison, had been culpable and so attainted of that high treason, whereby his lands had been immediatly forfeit vnto the king by the præcelle of his outlawrie: That needed the king then in the second yeere of his raigne, in the parliament after holden at Leicester, haue made that prouiso to haue his land forfeit to him by vertue of parliament, vpon his escape on the day of his arrest: when as the lands and cattel of his had been forfeit before, by the proccesse of the outlawrie, as is before specified?

Words without probation are not sufficient to proue matters.

Thus you see (maister Cope) how little aduantage you can weeft out of this commission and enditement against the lord Cobham and his fellowes, to proue them traytours. And admit the said lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the Act: yet it bindeth not in such sort (as if in deed he were no traytour) that any may not by search of the truth vtter and set forth sincerely and iustly the very true cause, whereby his death hapt and followed.

Testimonie to the allegations of Fabian, Polydore, and Hall.

☜ Thus then hauing sufficiently cleared the lord Cobham and his partners, from all that you can obiect vnto them out of records and statutes: let vs now come to your English chronicles, wherewith you seeme to presse me, and to oppresse them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Hall, Polydor Virgilius, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other briefe Epitomes and Summaries, &c. Concerning which authors, as I haue not to saie, but to their commendation in this place: so if that you had assigned the same, to the commendation rather then to the reproch of other, I would better haue commended your nature, and beleeued your cause. But now like a spidercatcher sucking out of euery one, what



what is the worst, to make vp your lepstall, you heape vp a dunghill of dirtie Dialogues containing nothing in them but malitious railing, birulent slanders, manifest vntruthes, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemies, able almost to corrupt and infect the aire. Such is the maladie and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to barke, before it hath learned well to write. Which pen of yours notwithstanding I doe not here reproch nor contemne, as neither doe I greatly feare the same. God of his mercie keepe the sword out of the Papists hand, it is not the pen of the Papists I greatly passe vpon, though twentie copes, and so many surpleses, were set against the booke of Monuments, were I so disposed (maister Cope) to dallie, or as the Greekes doe say κωμῳδεῖν, and to repay againe as I am prouoked. But in despitefull railing, and in this satyricall sort of barking I giue you ouer, and suffer you therein to passe not onely your selfe, but also Cerberus himselfe if ye will, the great bandog of Pluto. Mildnesse and humanitie rather beseemeth and is the grace of the Latine phrase. If ye could bit vpon the braine thereof, it would win you much more honestie, with all honest men. But the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to doe, and to forgiue you that you haue done.

Perfect commendation in writers.

In the meane time seeing this your prattling penne must needs be walking, yet this you might haue learned of these your owne authors whom you alleage, more ciuillie to haue tempered your fume, in exclaiming against them, whose cause is to you not perfitly knowne. And now briefly to answere to these your foresaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in these chronicle-writers to be considered: First the grounds which they follow: secondly in what place they serue.

Two things to be obserued in story-writers.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these Chroniclers, we must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed, was present at the deed, nor witnesse of the fact, so haue they nothing of themselues herein certainly to affirme, but either must follow publicke rumor, and heare say for their author, or else one of them must borrow of another. Whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient. For as publike rumor is neuer certaine: so one author may soone deceiue another.

The ground of histories to be considered.

By reason whereof it commeth oft to passe, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so against all is not the gospell that they doe write. Wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly euery one that writeth stories, or else to see what grounds they haue whom we doe follow.

Now to demand (maister Cope) of you, what authoritie or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, hath Polydore Virgil, Edward Hall, and other of your authors, to proue these men to be traitors? What authoritie doe they auouch? what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court doe they shew? or what demonstration doe they make? And doe you thinke it sufficient, because these men do onely affirme it, without any further probation, with your dorgen ten, therefore we are bound to beleeue it? Take me not so (M. Cope) that I doe here diminish any thing or derogate from the credite of those writers you alleage, whose labors haue deserued well, and serue to great vtilitie: but conuming now to triall of a matter lying in controuersie betweene vs, we are now forced to seeke out the fountaine and bottome of the truth, where it is not enough to say, so it is, but the cause is to be shewed, why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall, should all together (as they doe not) agree in the treason of sir John Oldcastle and of the rest: yet neither is this any sufficient surety to proue them traitors. Considering that writers of stories for most part following either blind report: or else one taking of another, sle commonly all to sound together after one time, tanquam Dodonæi lebetes, so that as one saith, all say, and if one erre, all doe erre. Wherefore you see M. Cope, how it is not sufficient nor sure to sticke onely to the names and authorities of Chronographers, vnlesse the ground be found substantiall whereupon they stand themselues. Which yet in none of these whom you haue produced, doth appeare.

All things not true, that be found in stories.

Witnesses against the lord Cobham agree not together.

Chroniclers how far, and to what effect they serue.

Secondly, in alleaging and writing of chronicles is to be considered, to what place and effect they serue. If we would shew out of them the order and course of times, what yeeres were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their christmas, what conduites were made, what Maiors and Shrifes were in London, what battailes were fought, what triumphes and great seasts were holden, when kings began their raigne, and when they ended, &c. In such vulgar and popular affaires, the narration of the chronicler seemeth to good purpose, and may haue his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much, whether it be true or false, or whether any liketh to beleeue them. But whereas a thing is denied, and in cases of iudgement, and in controuerties doubtfull, which are to be decided and boulted out by euidence of iust demonstration: I take them neither for Iudges of the lawe, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselues sufficient necessarily to be sticked vnto. Albeit I deny not but histories are taken many times, and so termed for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquitie, &c. yet not such witnesses, as whose testimonie beareth alwaies a necessary truth and bindeth belefe.

Disorder not rashly to be receiued.

The two witnesses which came against Susanna, being seruants both of ancient yeeres, bare a great countenance of a most eudent testimonie, whereby they almost both deceiued the people, and oppressed the innocent: had not young Daniel by the holy spirit of God, taken them aside, and seuerallie examining them one from the other, found them to be false liers both; leauing to vs thereby a lesson of wholsome circumspection, not rathly to beleeue euery one that commeth: and also teaching vs how to trie them out. Wherefore (M. Cope) following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your recordes whom ye infer against these men, we will in like manner examine them, seuerallie one from another, and so bolt their testimony agreeth: first beginning with your Robert Fabian. Which Robert Fabian being neither in the same age, nor at the barre being, can of himselfe giue no credite herein, without due proofe, and euidence conuenient.

The testimonie of Fabian against the lord Cobham examined.

How then doth Robert Fabian proue this matter of treason true? what probation doth he bring? what authoritie doth he alleage? And doth Robert Fabian thinke, if he were not disposed to conceiue of the lord Cobham, and those men a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to beleeue him onely at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so doe, but onely because he so saith and pleased him so to write? And if ye thinke (M. Cope) the word onely of this witnesse sufficient to make authoritie speaking against the lord Cobham, and proning nothing which followed so many yeeres after him: Why may not I as well and much rather take the word and testimonie of Richard Beluard a Northfolke man and of the towne of Crisan, who liuing both in his time, and possible knowing the partie, and punished also for the like trueth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, to giue this testimonie among other his articles, for the foresaid lord Cobham, that is, that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholike man and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c. Ex Regist. Episc. Norwic.

The testimonie of Richard Beluard for the lord Cobham.

Ex Regist. Episc. Norwic.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretike will hold with another: why may not I with the like exception replie to you again, and say as well, one papist hold with another, and both coniure together, to make and say the worst against a true Protestant.

Further, yet to examine this foresaid Fabian, witnesse against sir John Oldcastle, as Daniel examined the witnesse against Susanna: I will not here aske vnder what tree these adherents of sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subuersion of the land, but in what time, in what yeere and moneth this conspiracy was wrought? Fabian witnesseth that it was in the moneth of Januarie. Contrariwise Edw. Hall and other our aduersenters following him, doe affirme that they were condemned in the Guildhall the 17. of December, and that their execution vpon the same was in Januarie following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the moneth of December, or else before, and so Fabianus mentitus est in caput suum, vt cum Daniele dicam: or if it were in the moneth of Januarie, as Fabian saith, then to Hall and his followers beclued, testifying the fact to be done in the moneth of December.

Fabian conflicted of a manifest vntruth in his story of the lord Cobham. Fabian. cent. 7. in vita Henr. 5. pag. 350.

And yet to obiect moreouer against the said Fabian, for so much as he is such a rash witnes against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors: it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of maister Cope, in what yeare this treason was conspired? If it were in the same yeare (as he confesseth himselfe) in which yeer John Cleidon the Skinner, and Richard Tarmine Baker were burned, then was it neither in y moneth of Januarie, nor in the first yeare of king Henry the fifth. For in the Register of Canterbury it appeareth plaine, that Iohn Cleydon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundel archbishop, nor yet in the first nor second yeere of king Henry the 5. but was condemned in the second yeer of the translation of Henry Chichely, archbishop of Canturbury, the 17. day of August, which was the yeer of our Lord, 1415. So that if this conspiracy was in the same yeer (after the witnesse of Fabian) in which yeer John Cleidon was burned: then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnelles, nor with himselfe, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witnesse of M. Fabian.

Ex Regist. Archiepisc. Cant.

The testimonie of Polydore examined.

Let vs next proceed to Polydore Virgil, whose partiall and vntrue handling of our bishops in other places of his books, both offer vnto vs sufficient receptio not to admit his credit in this. And yet because we will rather examine him, then exclude him, let vs heare a little what he saith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbring the same vpon my fiue fingers.

5. Untruths of Polydore noted in one story.

Firt erring with the life of king Henry 4. hee saith that hee reigned 14 yeres and 6. moneths and 2. daies, Angl. hist. lib. 22. which is an vntruth, worthy to be punished with a whole yeres banishment: (to speake after the maner Apuleius) when as truth is, he reigned by the testimony of the story of saint Albans, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English chronicle, and of Scalamundi, but 13. and 6. moneths, lacking, as some say, 5. dales, Hall saith he reigned but 12. yeers.

1. Untruth.

Cecil. The

2 Article.

The second untruth of Polydore is this, whereas he speaking of this section of sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, attempteth the same to be done after the burning of John Hus, an. 8 of Pierome of Prage, which was fauth he. An. 1415. in which yeare fauth he) Thomas Arundell died. His words be these: In eodem concilio damnata et Joh. Wicklifi hæresis, ac Joan. Hus, & Hieronymus Pragensis in ea vibe combusti sunt. Quod si religionis conscij, qui etiam tunc in Anglia erant patres, tanquam furijs agitati primum coniurationes in omnes sacerdotes, deinde in regem, &c. In which words her not only erreth, falsly affigning the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of Joh. Hus, and of Pierome, but also misseth as much in the order & computation of the yers. For neither was sir Roger Acton with his forsaid fellowes alive at the time of the councell; neither doth bee agree therein with any of our English writers, creept onely with Hall, who also erreth therin as wide as he.

3. Hall untruth.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he adeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the sede sir John Oldcastle being there present himselfe, was taken and prisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said Tower by night: wherin is contained a double untruth. For neither was sir John Oldcastle there present himselfe, if we beleeue Fabian and Cope, Dial. 6. pag. 833. lin. 11. neither yet did he eure escape out of the Tower after that comprisonment, if ever any such conspiracie was.

Cope pag. 832. lin. 11.

4. Untruth.

This vntruth not the last untruth in Polydore is this, that hee saith, Tho. Arundell to have died in the same yeare, noting the yeare to be Anno 1415. whereas by the true registers he died Anno 1413.

Another vntruth in Polydor noted.

To this untruth an other also may be ioyned, where he erring in the computation of the yeare of the said Tho. Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, reporteth him to sit 22. yeares. Which was there archbishop but onely 18. yeares, as is to bee seene in the records of Cant. The words of Polydor be these: Thomas Arundellius Cantuariensis amissis omnium iam tunc fere rerum & religionum vita excessit, lib. 22. Ang. hist. Albeit in this I doe not greatly contend with Polydore, and peraduenture the aduersarie will find some ease thrit for this matter.

The confidence of Hall, a gainst the L. Cobham reprooued.

But let us now passe from Polydore, not (as they say) out of the hall into the kitchin, but out of the kitchin into the hall, examining and perpending what saith Edward Hall an other writer in this matter: vpon whom maister Cope bindeth so fast, that he supposeth his sinot is never able to be loosed. And moreouer so reioyeth me deliuue under his feet in the dirt (as a man would thinke him some birdbandrers sonne) so that the spors receiue, he saith, will neuer be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer. Notwithstanding I trust M. Cope that your birde pen with verie cockish brags hath not so bedarkned and beshitten me, as not yet conuicted me to be such a deputer of falsehod, but I hope to spunge it out. At least way, with a little sprouges of the popes holy water, I truft to come to a dealbabor, well enough.

But certes M. Cope, your maistership must first understand, that if ye thinke so to depresse, and dispraue me of vntruth in my history, you must go more groundly to worke, and bring against me other authors then Edward Hall. You must consider (M. Cope if you will be a controller in histo-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carpe and cauill where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of bookes and authors not onely of our time, but of all ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church; it is not sufficient to sie what Fabian, or what Hall saith, but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned over, letters also and ancient instruments ought to bee perused, and authors with the same compared: finally, the writers among themselues one to be conferred with another. And so with indgement to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicitie pure from all addition and partialitie to be uttered.

This did Aventinus, thus did Sleidanus write. These helps also the eldest and best historiaans feared to haue, both Titus Liuius, Salustius, Quintus Curtius, and such like, as by their letters and records inferred may well appeare. The same helps likewise both in your Fabian and in your Edward Hall were to be required, but especially in you M. Cope your selfe, which take vpon you so cochishly (rather then wisely) to bee a controller and master moderator of other mens matters. In which matters (to say the truth) you have no great skill, and selfe experience, neither have you either such plenty of authors in the for that purpose, nor yet euer trauelled to search out the originals and grounds of that whereof ye write. But onely contented with such as commeth next to hand, or peraduenture receiuing such almose as some of your poore friends bestow vpon you, thinke it sufficient if you can alledge Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

Cope a carper of others where of he hath no skill.

Now what purpose and affection herein doth leade you, or rather doth driue you to the carping and barking against the history of these good men, that he peace giue and bad their punishment, all men may see it to bee no simple discretie of a mind indifferent, but the zeale onely of your sect of poperie, or rather of furie, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now out of the fiery kitchin, to come to the hall againe, let us see what matter hath in the testimonie of Edward Hall, to proue these men to be traitors. And here for so much (master Cope) as you seeme neither sufficiently acquainted with this your own master and author master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little paines for you, in this behalfe, to certifie you concerning the storie of this author, whereof perase you your selfe are ignorant.

E. Hall with the storie of Edward Hall.

The truth whereof is this, that as the said Edward Hall, your great master and testis, was about the compiling of his storie, certaine there were which resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his pedigree and dinear, some were grauers, the names of whom were John Bets, and Tyrrall, which be now both dead. And other there were of the same sodalitie, who be yet aliue, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton, both the Printer of the said booke, and also (as is thought) a great helper of the penning of the same. It so befell that as Hall was entring into the storie of sir John Oldcastle, of sir Roger Acton, and their fellowes, the booke of John Vale touching the storie of the lord Cobham, was the same time newly come ouer. Which booke was priuilie conueyed by one of his seruants into the studie of Hall, so that in turning ouer his bookes, it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that booke contained, he turned to the authors in the forsaid booke alleaged, whereupon within two nights after, moued by what cause I know not: but so it was, that he taking his pen, raced and cancelled all that he had written before, against sir John Oldcastle and his fellowes, and was now ready to goe to the print, containing nere to the quantitie of three pages. And lest (M. Cope) you, or any other should thinke me to speake beside my booke, be it therefore knowne both to you and to all other, by these presents, that the very selfe same first copie of Hall raced and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be viewed and seene, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out came to this effect. Wherein he following the narration of Polydore, began with like words, to declare how the Sacramentaries here in England, after the death of John Hulle, and Hieronyme of Prage, being pricked, as he saith, with a demoniacall fiery, first conspired against the priests, and after against the King, hauing to their Captaines sir John Oldcastle the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton knight, with many mo lwods to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore and other such like Chroniclers doe write against him. All which matter notwithstanding, the said Hall with his pen at the sight of John Vales booke, did vtterly extinct and abolish. Adding in the place thereof the words of maister Vales booke, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said lord Cobham, before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, taken out of the letter of the said archbishop, as is in his owne storie to be seene in vita Hen. 5. pag. 2. lin. 30.

Hall raced out his owne letter written against the L. Cobham.

Hall, in vita Hen. 5. pag. 2. b. lin. 30.

And thus Edward Hall your author, creeping and calling backe all that he had deuised before against the lord Cobham (whereof I haue his owne hand to shew), and witnesse sufficiall vpon the same) in his printed booke recordeth of him no more, but only the weth the proceese betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and him for matters of religion. And so ending with sir John Oldcastle, proceedeth further to the assemblie of sir Roger Acton (whom he falsely calleth Robert Acton) John Browne, and Beuerley, the narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that hee neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with truth it selfe. For where he recordeth the lord Cobham out of that assemblie, he recordeth therein from Polydore and other: And where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracie, to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of December: that is manifestly false, if the records before alleaged be true. And where he reporteth this assemblie to be after the burning of John Hulle, and of Hierome of Prage, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the truth. Moreouer, so doubtfull he is and ambiguous in declaration of this storie, that no great certaintie can be gathered of him.

Hall in the story of the lord Cobham, and sir Roger Acton, agreeth not with other stories. Contrarie to Hall noted.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himselfe, that he saw it not, and therefore leaueth it at large. And as concerning the causes of their death, he leaueth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth M. Cope) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but onely recordeth the surmises and minds of diuers men diuersly. Some thinking it was for conuicting the lord Cobham out of the tower, some that it was for treason and heresie: and here commeth in the mention onely of a record, but what record it is neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it: other some againe affirming (as he saith) that it was for fained causes furnished by the spiritualtie, more of displeasure then truth. And thus your author Hall, hauing recited the varietie of mens opinions, determineth himselfe no certaine thing thereof, but as one indifferent, neither bound to the conceites of all men, nor to the writings of all men, referreth the whole iudgement of the matter free vnto the Reader. And so concluding his narration, forsomuch as he was neither a witnesse of the fact, nor present at the deede, he ouerpasseth the storie thereof.

Hall doubtfull in the deaths of sir R. Acton, &c.

And



And what witnes then will you, or can you (master Cope) take of Edward Hall, which neuerth himselfe to be a witnesse? Will you compell him to say that he saw not? and to witnesse that he cannot? Wherefore like as Susanna, in the storie of Daniel was quit by right iudgement in the case of aduiterie, because her accusers and testes being examined asunder, were found to varie and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees: So why may not in like case of treason, sir Roger Acton, sir John Oldcastle, Browne with the rest, claime the same priuiledge? seeing among the testes and witnes produced against them, such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, yeere, day, nor month.

Repugnance noted in the witnesse against the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton.

1. Repugnance in the place.

2. Repugnance in the person. Ale. Cope pag. 833. lin. 12.

3. Repugnance in the yeere.

4. Repugnance in the moth.

5. Repugnance in the day.

1 First where Fabian and his fellowes say: that they were assembled together in a great companie, in the field nere to S. Giles, the forged indictement aboue alleaged, saith, they were but riding toward the field.

2 Secondly, where the forsaid indictement and Polydore, giue the lord Cobham to be present personally in that assemblie, Hall, and Alanus Copus Anglus, do exclude his personall presence from thence: and so doth Fabian also seeme to agree, speaking only of the adherents of sir John Oldcastle.

3 Thirdly, where Hall and Polydorus report this assemblie to be after the burning of John Hus, and of Hierome at the councell of Constance, which was An. 1415. that cannot be, but if there were any such conspiracie in the first yeere of Henrie the fifth, it must needs be an. 1413. And here by the way, why doe certaine of your Epitome writers, speaking of the lord Cobham committed first to the tower for heresie, referr the said imprisonment to the yeere 1412. whereas, by their owne count, reckoning the yeere from the Annunciation, it must needs be an. 1413. being done in harueff time?

4 Fourthly, where Hall with his followers affirme that sir Roger Acton, Brownand Beuerley were condemned the twelfth day of December, the record is euident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working the tenth day of Januarie.

5 Fifthly, whereas the forsaid record of the inditement giueth the Wednesday next after the Epiphanie, which was the tenth day of Januarie that present yeere, both the fact to be committed the same day, the Commission also to be granted and deliuered to the Commissioners the same day: the said Commissioners to sit in Commission the same day: the sheriffs of Middlesex to returne a iury out of the body of Middlesex the same day: and the Iurors to find the inditement the same day, and yet no iurer in the inditement named the same day:

Item, the lord Cobham the same day to be found conspiring to make himselfe Regent, when as the king, that day and yeere, was not yet passed into France: how all these can concurre and hang together, and all in one day; I suppose it will cost you two dates, before you, with all your learned counsell will studie it out. And when you in your vnlawfull assemblies haue conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will yee make it (as I thinke) three dates, before you honestly dispatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye thinke, that you haue impeached me in such a foule note of lying, neuer to be clawed off vp le the would standeth, yet shall the posterite to come iudge betweene you and me, whether shall appeare more honest and true, my defence for that worthie lord, then your vncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, mused with no other cause, but onlie with the pœuish spirit of poperie, which can abide nothing, but that fauoureth of your owne set. For else how manie loud lying legends, yea what legion of lies are daily bred and received in the popish church? What doltish dreames? what fained miracles? what blasphemous tales and friuole fables, and idle inuentions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine and crosse of Christ? And could you hold your pen from all these, and find nothing else to set your idleuesse on worke, but onlie to write against the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne, Duley, Cobbrige, with a few other, whom with much ado, at length you haue sought out, not so much for anie true zeale to rebuke iniquitie, as craftilie seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the booke of Acts and Monuments? Which seemeth belike to make you scratch there, where it itcheth not. And if I should after the like dealing take in hand your popish postiles, and with like diligence excuse euerie popish Martyr and Saint there canonized: thinke you maister Cope, I could not make you out halfe a dosen as ranke traitours and rebels to their kings and princes, as euer were ante of theefe of your pieking out: What pope almost hath there been these last 500. peeres, which hath not been a traitour to his emperour and prince, and to his countrie: either openlie rebelling against them, or priuilie conspiring their destruction, or possible setting their feet vpon their necks, or spurning their crownes off from their heads, or making the some to fight against the father: how manie haue they deposed, and set vp other in their seats: how manie emperours and kings haue they wrongfullie cursed: what Consuls of Rome haue they resisted, deposed, and put to death: What warres haue they raised vp against their owne countrie of Rome: What the continuall holding of the citie of Rome, from his lawfull emperour, what is it but a continuall point of treason?

Papists cannot see great beames in their owne eyes, which yet small motes in other.

Popes traytors to their emperours and princes.

What will you answere me (master Cope) to the pope, which conspired to let fall downe a stone vpon the emperours head, tweling at his praiers? pag. 160.

The popes saints and confessors many were traytors.

And though this treacherie being as big as a millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eie, that it could not be espied: yet what will you say by the monke of Swinsted, that poisoned king John, who was both absolued by his abbat before his treason committed, and after his treason had a perpetuall psalme sung for him, to helpe him out of purgatorie?

And what thinke ye in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more then became him, to set the French king, and the king of England together by the eares? Of Anselme likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realme to complaine of their princes and soueraignes? the like may be said also of John Peckham. John Stratford archbishop of the same see, notoriously resisted the kings commandement, being sent for by king Edward the third, to come to the parliament at Poske, through the default of whose comming, the present opportunitie of getting of Scotland was the same time lost.

Thomas Becket a traytor.

Richard Scrope archbishop of Poske, was openlie in armes to rebell and fight against king Henrie the fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death. And yet notwithstanding commission was sent down from the pope that he after, to excommunicat them which put him to death, his treason notwithstanding. Reade the storie sincerelie of pope Benedict the twelfth, and of pope Clement the sixth. And see how the traiterous rebellion of these two popes against Ludouicus their rightfull emperour can be defended: which emperour at last was also empoisoned, and that not without the praise of pope Clement, as both Hieronymus Marius credibile witnesse.

Rich. Scrope archbishop of Poske traytor, and yet counted a holy man.

Popes commonly traytors.

In the raigne of king Edward the second, mention was made before of Thomas earle of Lancaster. Who with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realme, rose in armour against their prince, and therefore at length were put to death as traitors. And yet notwithstanding this treason committed (master Cope) if you be so ignorant in our stories, that you know it not, set your setters on to search, and you shall find it true, that certaine noble men went by to Rome, for the canonizing of the said Thomas of Lancaster to be made a Saint, and obtained the same. In so much that in a certaine old Calendar, the name of the said S. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seene.

Tho. Lancaster a traitor, and yet made a saint by the pope.

In the former booke of the Acts and Monuments aboue, about the pag. 353. & 354. mention was made of Edmund of Abbendon archb. of Canturb whom although I do not dispraue, but rather commend in my historie, for his bold and sage counsell giuen vnto king Henrie the third: and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause: yet notwithstanding the same Edmund afterward about his latter end, went by with a rebelling mind to complaine of his king vnto the pope, and in his iourney died, before his returne: who afterward for the same, was canonized by the pope, & so sineth among the Saints in the popes Calendar.

Edmund archbishop of Canturburie rebelled against his prince, and yet made a saint by the pope.

Lastly to passe ouer those other to these dates and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterward comming in with Henrie Bolinbroke duke of Hereford, in open armes and with maine force rose against his naturall and lawfull king: thinke you (master Cope) this is not as great a point of treason, as that which was done in Thickets fields: and though he be not placed among the postuous Saints, yet I thinke nothing contrarie, but in your heart you will not greatly sticke to say, Sancte Thomas ora pro nobis.

Thomas Arundell a traytor against his king, and yet a great prelate counted in the popes clergy.

All these things well considered, tell me (M. Cope) I pray you, is treason such a strange and unknowne thing in your popes catholike church, that your burning zeale of obedience to kings and princes, cannot reade the storie of the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many traitors in your owne Calendars neither seene, nor once spoken of? And if the traiterous conspiracie and rebellion of so manie your Calendar saints committed against emperours, kings and princes, cannot sir your zeale, nor moue your pen: How if the treason of pope Gregorie the ninth raising war against his owne citie of Rome, and caussing thirty thousand citizens in one battel to be slaine, pag. 256. deserued not to be cpied, and accused as much as this treason of the lord Cobham: yet what will you answer you and vnhonest to me (master Cope) as touching the horrible treason of pope Gregorie the seuenth, committed not against emperour nor king, nor any mortall man, but against the Lord himselfe, euen against your God of your owne making, being therein as you say no substance of bread, but the verie personall bodie, flesh, blood, and bone of Christ himselfe; which bodie notwithstanding the forsaid pope Gregorie the seuenth tooke and cast with his wicked hands into the burning fire, because he would not answere him to a certaine bould demand: Ben. Card. pag. 160. Soothly, if sir John Oldcastle had taken the bodie of king Henrie 5. and throwne him into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certaine as this is, I would neuer haue bestowed any word

Pope Gregorie the seuenth a traytor against the Lords owne bodie.

Vide supra, pag. 160.

See. iij. in

in his defence. And could this, and so many other hainous treasons passe though your fingers, M. Cope, and no other to sticke in your pen but the lord Cobham?

Finally and simple to conclude with you (M. Cope) and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions and pranckes of your religion, or hath been almost these five hundred yeares, but a certaine perpetuall kind of treason, to thrust downe your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and iurisdiction, and to advance your owne maiesties and dominations, as hath been sufficiently aboue proued and lieth before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the lord Peter de Cugnerijs: vide pag. 324. Wherefore if the assemblie of these forenamed persons, either within or without S. Giles field be such a great mote of treason in your eyes, first take vpon the great blockes and mittones of your owne traytors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then after powre out your wallet of your trifeling dialogues or tetalogues if ye list against vs, and spare vs not.

Vid. Acta. pag. 324.

Not that I so thinke this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish calendars and legends be found full of traytors, Multitudo enim peccatorum non parit errori patrocinium: But this I think, that the same cause which made them to suffer as traytors, hath made you also to raile against them for traytors, that is, mere hatred only against their religion, rather then any true affection you have to your princes and governors. Wo if they had been as feruent in your poperie, and had suffered so much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not, but they as holy children of Rome had been ring into your Romish calendar with a festum duplex, or at least with a festum simplex of nine lessons, also with a vigil peraduenture before them.

Religion commonly maketh traytors among the papists.

Now because they were of the contrarie profession, and enemies to your Magna Diana Ephesiorum, you play with them as the Ephesian caruers did with Saint Paul and his mate. He thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and bodie, but also cannot abide them to have any roze harbour in their owne friends houses, among our Acts and Monuments to be remembred. In the which Acts and Monuments, and if gentle master Irenæus, with his fellow Critobulus in your clerisie Dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbred for martyrs: per spraze a good word for them (M. Cope) they may stand for testes or witnesse bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Answere to the first part of Copes accusation, concerning his untrue charge of falsifying our Acts and Monuments.

Now to the other part of his accusation: wherein this Alanus Copus Anglus in his [illegible], or firebol dialogues contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to proue me in my historie to be a lier, forger, impudent, a misreporter of truth, a deprauer of stories, a deuicer of the worlde, and what else not: those virulent words and contumelious termes, how well they become his popish person, I know not. Certes for my part I neuer deserued this at his hands iustlingly, that I do know. M. Cope is a man whom yet I never saw, and lesse offended, nor euer heard of him before. And if he had not in the front of his booke intituled himselfe to be an Englishman, by his writing I would have iudged him rather some wilde Irishman, lately crept out of S. Patrikes purgatorie, so wildely he writeth, so fumishly he fareth.

For the whole processe of Queene Maries time, I have not purposed to write, but only of such as suffered in the first yeare of her reigne, which was the yeare of our Lord 1553. and the first of my booke.

But I cease here, and temper my selfe, considering not what M. Cope deserueth to be said vnto, nor how farre the pen there could runne if it had his scope, but considering what the traduction rather of such a serious cause requireth. And therefore forsomuch as I am vrged (M. Cope) in this matter, where you charge my historie of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruthes, falsehoes, impudent forgeries, depauate, malicious, fraudulent corruptions, and fained fables; briefly and in one word to answere you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their aduersarie, with ō, but with ō ſ: Would God (M. Cope) that in all the whole booke of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the latterend of the same, were neuer a true storie, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables. Would God the cruelties of your catholikes had suffered all them to line, of whose death ye say now that I do lie. Although I denie not but in that booke of Acts and Monuments contained such diuersitie of matter, some thing might ouerslippe: yet have I beſtowed my paine diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

If you (master Cope) or any other can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely or truly, with all my heart, I shall reioyce with you and the Comon in wealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning, dexteritie, finenesse or other indowments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you, nor any other. I grant that in a labassed stone, such as you seeme to require, containing such infinite varietie of matter, as this doth, much more time would be required: but suchtime as I had, that I did bestow, that for labeciously as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here par the I heare what you will say: I should have taken more leasure and done it better. I grant and confesse my fault, such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day (master Cope) fining and minsing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing my selfe all the day at the glasse of Cicero: Yet notwithstanding doing what I can, and doing my good will, me thinkes I should not be reprehended, at least not so much be railed on at master Copes hand. Who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other mens labours (which is an easie thing to do) it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himselfe vpon the matter, and so should have proued what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do vtterly excuse my selfe, yea rather am readie to accuse my selfe, but yet notwithstanding thinke my selfe vngently dealt withall at master Copes hand: Who being mine owne countriman, an Englishman as he saith, also of the same Vniuersitie, yea Colledge and schole that I was of: knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of Germanie, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had: And the same edition afterward translated out of Latine into English by others, whiles I in the meane time was occupied about other registers. And now the said Cope hearing moreouer and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of diuers things therein to be reformed: if he had knowen any fault needfull to be corrected, he might gently by letters haue admonished me thereof: gentlenesse would so haue required it, time would well haue suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but might haue haue written a letter to me, then a booke against me. Neither was I so ingratefull and inhumane, but would haue thanked him for his monition: neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, would haue corrected willingly where any fault had been committed.

But here your nature (master Cope) both right well appeare. First in the said booke of Acts and Monuments, where manie other good things be contained, not vntruthfull nor vnprofitable peraduenture for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might haue deserued your thankes, all that you dissemble and passe ouer, only excepting those matters which make for cauillation. Thus the blacke spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh this poyson. And what booke is so pleasant or fruitfull, though it were the popes olme Postues, yea his olme Decretals, yea his olme berie Psalterbooke, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to cauill, as you bring to the reading of my historie, but I could find out twice as many mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos malos, fabulas, fucos, as you haue done in these Acts and Monuments: And yet you haue done prettie well.

Vngentlenesse noted in Cope.

The nature of the spider.

Besides all this, yet better to marke the goodnesse of your gentle nature: We it so I had been in some piece of my story deceiued, as I do not iustifie my selfe in all points therein: yet you vnderstanding that I was about the correction of my booke againe, might either haue taken the best, and left the worst: or else gently haue taken the paines to haue aduertised me of such notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might haue deferred your dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my booke, to see first what would in the latter edition be altered. But belike your gall was full, your hasse could not tarie, your benim must needs burst out:

*Et finon aliquā nocuisses mortuus esses.*

Copus Sycophanta.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so far from all humanitie, dealing with me so extreamely, if I thus prouoked with your extremitie againe, should now after this your curstly nature shape you a name accordingly, and in stead of Cope godfather pou to be a perpetuall sycophant, and you much blame me: and both not your sycophantical booke well deserue it: or thinke you I could not repay you againe with like extremitie as you bring, and dresse your notwise or rather louse Dialogues, in their right colours, if I were so disposed: But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you: God make you a good man. Peraduenture he may hereafter call you. And rather had I to win you, then to sling you. Leaving therefore the consideration of your ingratefull doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your booke, answering briefly vnto the same. Briefly, I say, because the greatnesse of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitfull matter, giueth me little leasure at this present to stand about brawling words.

*Copus pag. 161. in penultima.*

*Copus almost called Copius.*

The Calendar of the Acts and Monuments defended.

First he taketh highly to be grieued with me, for my calendar prefixed before the booke of Monuments. Wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himselfe. As touching which calendar I haue sufficiently and expressely declared before so much, as might quickly satisfie this scruple of master Cope, if he either would haue taken the paines, or else had had the leasure to reade the words contained in the Latine preface before the booke prefixed, which are thus:

*Ex prooemio ad lectorem.*

Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris nomen & annum designante, ad priuatum lectoris seruiret vsum. &c. In which words preuenting before the cauilling obiection of the aduersarie, I forewarned the Reader aforehand, touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed; for no other purpose, but to serue the vse only of the reader,



reader, in stead of a table, shewing the yeere and moneth of euery martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt I pray you is in this calendar prefixed before the book of Monuments, more then in the table of master Copes booke, set after his Dialogues? But master Cope had no leisure to peruse this place: it made not for his humour.

Obiection for martyrs in the calendar.

Answere.

But this grieueth him in the Calendar, and that very sore: For that I place in this Calendar, sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, Browne, Beurlie, and other for martyrs, and displace for them, other holy ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothe, Clarus, Lucianus, Seuerinus, &c. Answere: If master Cope cannot abide the lord Cobham, sir Roger Acton, Browne and Beurlee, which were hanged (as he saith for treason) to haue the name of martyrs, then let them beare the name of witnesse bearers, or testes of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimonie of their faith. Seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me by which they are called.

Vnderth noted in Ala. Copus.

And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldring out the old and ancient holy saints aforenamed out of this calendar, and placing other new come saints in their roomes: this is not the first vntruth that master Cope hath made in his dialogues, nor yet the least. Vnto whom I might therfore fitly answere against him with his owne familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which hee doth so much affectate: Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus Anglus, vnde me mendacij coarguit, inde sibi ipsi fempiternam ac ineluibilem turpissimi mendacij, ac singularis impudentiæ notam inurat. For why haue not I as iust cause to say this to him, as he to mee? For sothuch as in the first beginning and preface of the said booke of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressely doe reserue all men before, first that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to shew the day and moneth of their suffering. My words be extant and euident, which are these: Neque verò ideo inter diuos à me referuntur isti, quòd inferuntur in calendarium, &c. And declaring afterward how the said calendar doth stand but in stead of a table, my words doe follow thus: Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi vt pro Indice duntaxat suum cuiusque Martyris mensem & annum designante, Lectori ad manum seruiat, &c.

*Copus pag. 130. lin. 18.*

*Inprafatione ad lect. lectorem, &c.*

The nature of the Copier.

Againe, neither did I receine these men into that calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, with other ancient holy Saints should be removed out, as you doe falsly and vntruely affirme, but because the course of that story reaching but 500. yeeres, did not comprehend those former times of such ancient Martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these latter dates: therefore requisite it was that in the table such should be placed chiefly, of whom the whole booke did then principally and onely entreat, to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their martyrdome. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new calendar, which were neuer inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there haue standing, nereffie so required these in no case to be omitted, and yet no iniurie meant to the other to be excluded out of their olwne calendars, whereto properly they did pertaine. As for this calendar or this table, because they were not pertinent vnto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessarie they should be included. And yet neither did I (M. Cope) without due and solemne protestation omit the same in my foresaid catalogue, to preuent and stop all cauilling mouthes: As by speciall words in the said preface of my booke vnto the reader doth appeare, following in this wise: Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, meminerit, non in templis à me collocari, sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari, &c. And where is now (master Cope) this your reiecting, expelling, remouing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating and thrusting out of Anatholius, Sanct Dorothe, and other holy saints out of Catalogues, fasts, and calendars? Or what man is that, or where dwelleth hee, Qui veros Christi martyres è cœlo ad tartara deturbat? That is, Which tumbleth downe true martyrs fro heauen into hel: Which if we mean by me: In one word I answere, ye falsly belie me M. Copus, I had almost called you master Capus, so like a capon yee speake. Neither haue you nor any other euer heard me so say. Neither haue I euer heard of any so mad to play so the giants with their mountaines to clime the heauens, to tumble downe Gods true and holy martyrs out of heauen, downe into hell, vnlesse it were your selfe (as yet yee are, yee may be better) and such other of your gilde and popish fraternitie, which make of Gods true saints, stinking dunghils, (for so ye terme them in your bookes) and not only thrust into heauen your Pseudosanctos, saints of your olwne making, whom God by his word doth not allow: but also depusse downe from heauen, and make dunghils of Gods welbeloued seruants, his faithful people, and blessed martyrs, which haue died for the word of God. And what marueil then, if in your blasphemous books, ye cast down from heauen to hell, the pore saints of Christ, when in effect you deiect also the blood and crosse of the son of God, Christ Iesus himselfe, setting vp in his office and place, in Per Thomæ sanguinem, quem pro te impendit, hic nos Christe scandere, quò Thoma ascendit. Say, master Cope, your conscience indifferently, set all popish partialitie apart, where as the scripture teacheth vs simply: Quòd citra sanguinem nulla fit remissio. i. Without blood there is no remission: whether yee thinke, by this blood of the new Testament is meant the blood of Christ alone, or the blood of other mos besides? If the blood of one must stand alone, why doe yee then with the giants build vp your mountaines, and make a ladder of Beckets popish blood, for men to scale the heauens? Or in so doing, how can you, but either with the Protestants wipe out of your calendar, Thomæ sanguinem, or else demolish from heauen Sanguinem Christi, with the Papists?

Becket's blood set vp, to the iniury of Christs blood.

Papists present to set vp Christs cresse in earth: but enemies to Christs crosse in heauen.

A double contempt in Copus.

And here by the way, I cannot but muse, why you are so deuout in setting vp the crosse of Christ in your Church, which are such enemies to the true crosse of Christ to stand in heauen. Loke vpon this (M. Cope) and tell me, vtra pars verius veros Christi martyres è cœlo in tartara detrudat? And therefore as you falsly bely me in this, so detruding and tumbling out of heauen Anatholius, Iulianus, Clarus, Lucianus, Agatha, Dorothea and other, against whom I neuer yet spake any reproching word, but rather in this my volume haue set forth their commendation: so is it vntrue likewise, where you affirme, that in this my calendar I make an [illegible], or canonisation of false martyrs. I told you before when yee were in England, I tell you again, being now in your transmigration, in words as plaine as I could: Hanc ego Apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius nonus. Where not these words of my protestation massell enough? were they not sufficient to satisfie a reasonable Momus? And to make the matter more plaine, did I not adde moreouer as followeth: Porrò neque eò spectat hoc calendarium, vt nouam aliquam festorum dierum legem prescribam ecclesiæ, &c. And not contented with this, fore seeing before such swangling spirits to come, as now I sis in you: I shewed also the cause why I needed not so to do. My words were these: Festorum dierum iam plus satis erat in mundo, &c. And yet further, because no cauiller should take hold here of any iniurie done to the holy saints, either old or new in the church, therefore in expresse words I removed away all suspition of any iniurie, preuenting the obiection of the aduersary in these words: Habeat & Ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes, tum veterances, modò probatos, modò interim ijdem ne adoretur, modò quàm sint vetusti, tam etiam verè sancti sint, &c.

Copus monnes Copus pag. 820.

These places of my booke, if yee did see, why do you dissemble them? If yee had not so much leisure to read them; how had you so much leisure to write against any mans book, not knowing what is in the book contained? and how stands it then with truth, that so like a Mome ye crie out so in your booke, against these new made martyrs, qui non possunt nisi per aliorum iniuriam crescere? &c. And againe, where you exclaime against me, and say that I shuft out the ancient martyrs out from their seat and possession, and placed in their roomes, &c.

Also where you continuing yet still in your common place of lying (out of which you cannot digreste) doe charge me further, that I doe appoint out holy dates and working dates by colours of red and blache, in my foresaid calendar to be obserued: these leaud notes of yours, if they had been picked out of my calendar by you, without mine owne speciall declaration before made to the contrary, they might seeme to haue some bluth of credit. Now what will the reader say, or what may he iudge, considering and conferring this your cauilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetuall Syre. I had almost called you by your right name master Cope. But God make you (as I said) a good man. Reading further in your book I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud lying Hyperbolismum: where as you comparing my making of saints, with the popes making, can find (as yee say) in the pope no such impudent arrogancie in presuming, as yee find in me, &c. If the pope had not abused his arrogant iurisdiction in canonising and deifying his saints, more then I haue done: the yeere should not bee cumbred with so many idle holy daies, nor the calendars with so many rastall saints, some of them as good, as euer were they that put Christ to death.

Copus pag. 819. lin. 7.

Copus pag. 819. lin. 25.

Copus pag. 821. lin. 7.

But what will you find (Master Cope) any man to believe this your hyperbolicall comparison to be true, which seeth and knoweth the infinit and vnmeasurable excesse of the popes arrogancie, not only in thrusting such a rabble of blind saints of his olwne creating: but also in prescribing the same to bee received vniuersally in the whole world, and not to bee received only, but also to bee inuocated for gifts and graces: also to be worshipped for aduocates and mediatours, wherin riseth a double abomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints: the other for his blasphemous iniurie and derogation to Christ, in repulling him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediatours of his olwne making. And now to consider what Saints these were, or what were the causes of their Sainting: what saint almost among all the Popes Saints shall you find (master

Double abomination in the popes calendar.

The great fauourable of Rome, a whole day by 5 houres.

master Cope) made within these fiue hundred yeres, but commande hee was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbat, or some blind frier, some monke, or nun, some superstitious regulare, or some builder of monasteries, or some giuer and benefactor to the popish clergie, or maintainer against the rightes and liberties of the popish Church? What poore lay man or lay woman, were their liues neuer so Christian, their faith and confession neuer so pure, their death neuer so agonising for the witnesse of Christ, and truth of his word, shall find any place or fauour in al the popes *martyrologe*, that is in the popes calendar, either in red colour, or else in blacke?

The great god-maker of Rome.

But here (master Cope) if ye had the wit, so much to defend as ye haue to ouerthwart, you might take me with the maner, and replie against me for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker of Rome: that he maketh no martyrs and saints of these foresaid poore lay men, and lay women, then euer hee did of any other. For he burneth them, hee hangeth them, hee drowneth them, imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, then any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar. For the one hee doth rubricate, only with his red letters, the other he doth rubricate with their diuine blood. And therefore to answer you (M. Cope) to your comparison made betweene the pope and me, for making of holy martyrs and saints: Briefly I say, and repeat me to all the world, that herein is no comparison. For if we speake of true martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if we speake of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And furthermore, to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar, with them which shine shrined in the popes calendar, taking the same proportion of time as I doe, within these last 500. yeres, why may not I haue as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, which lost their liues and were slaine, principally for the cause of Christ and of his word: as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasties in his calendar, who in their doings, doctrine and life, as they seemed rather to serue the deuil, then Christ the lord: so in their death appeared no such cause, why they should be sanctified in the church beyond all other? Let not the church of Christ (M. Cope) be deluded with hypocriticall names, nor fained apparitions, and fabulous miracles, neither bee you deceiued your selfe, but let vs reason sincerely to the word of God. That it was in saint Francis (vnto whom his superstitious life, & presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan, to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ) why he should be made a saint, and not an enemie rather of Christ?

The canonisation of S. Gilbert of Sempringham.

What was likewise in frier Dominicke, who before Francis ten yeres together persecuted the poore Waldenses to death and destruction: why should he stand a saint and a piller of the Church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the popish church: what in Athelmus, and in Anselmus, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in the monks in their stead? The like also did Dunstanus, who was rubricated with a duplex festum. Elizabeth who was the wife of the marquesse of Thuring, when she had with much peraduenture got out her husband to fight against the Turke, and was there slaine, she afterward enclosed her self, and was made a Nun. And doe ye thinke these causes to be sufficient why they should bee made saints, worshipped in Churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearsall of all this rifraffe, and almost infinit. One example may suffice for many. S. Gilbert of Sempringham, was the sonne of Jocelin a knight, who for his deformity of his body was set to learning, and afterward made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines, in the time of king John.

This Gilbert after he had erected 12. monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterward laboured for vnto the pope to be made a saint: Who hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert archbishop of Canturbury, in the behalf of the foresaid Gilbert, willing and commanding per apostolica scripta, that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnised through all the province of Canterb. Vt meritis nimirum eius & precibus apud misericordissimum iudicem misericordiam consequamur, &c.

Ex Vit. & vita S. Gilbertisancti fragmen.

Whereupon Hubert the archbishop directeth downe his writings to all the bishops within his prouince, the contents of which his writings doe follow. Hubertus Dei gratia Cant. Archiepiscop. totius Angliæ primas, dilectis in Christo frat. Epifco. per prouinciam Cant. Sal. grat. & benedictionem. D. Papa sicut ex literis ipsius manifestè perpenditur, de conuersatione, meritis, & moribus b. Gilberti magistri ordinis de Sempringham, & miraculis à Deo per eum factis per testes & testimonia sufficienter instructus, de consilio fratrum Cardin. ipsum mag. Catalogo sanctorum decreuit asscribi, solemnitatem eius constituit & mandauit per Cant. prouinciam solemniter celebrari. Insuper & corpus eius cum requisiti fuerimus præcepit ad honorem Dei & gloriam eleuari. Vestra igitur Vniuersitas huic mandato cum deuotione congaudeat, & secundum formam in ipso mandato præscriptam, prædicti confessoris domini depositionem annuam factis cum reuerentia & solemniter obseruari: vt apud Dominum & ab illo vestra debeat & possit deuotio commendari, nec non & ipsius sancti supplex intercessio vobis proficiat ad salutem. Valete.

The pope trieth not the matter of canonising of saints.

The summe of the which writing of the archbishop tendeth to this effect: That forsomuch as the pope hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, master of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witnesse and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him by the aduice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert should be canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnitie should be celebrate solemnelie throughout all the prouince of Canturbury. And also his bodie to be taken vp and shrined to the honour and glorie of God: He therefore at the popes commandement writing vnto them, willeth all the suffraganes within his prouince of Canturburie, perely to solemnize and cause to be solemnized reuerently the deposition of the said saint Gilbert confessor: to the intent that their deuotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And also, that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their saluation.

Is this good doctrine M. Cope, in the popes canonization?

Furthermore, for the more full canonising (canonising I had almost said) of this new made saint, the said pope Innocent writing to Hubert aforesaid, alleageth withall a collect of his owne making, which is this: Pleram in nobis æternæ salutor tuæ virtutis operare medelam, vt qui præclara beati Gilberti confessoris tui merita veneramur, ipsius adiuti suffragijs à cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur: Qui viuis & regnas, &c. That is: Worke in vs O eternall Sauiour full remedie of thy vertue, that we which worship the worthie merits of blessed Gilbert thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be deliuered from all languors and diseases of our soules; who liuest and raignest, &c.

The blasphemous collect of the pope making for Saint Gilbert.

The consecration of this one saint (who perhaps was not the worst) I bought here to commemorate, to the intent that the reader preasuring by this one the canonisation of all the rest, may iudge the better vpon this comparison of master Cope, whether of vs both bendicate more impudent authoritie, the pope in his calendar, or I in mine: or to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent, the pope in his calendar, or else master Cope in his dialogues more doltish.

Copus pag. 119. lin. 7.

But briefly to make an end of this matter with you; to renounce or to authorise any saints, for man it is presumptuous: to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous: to set up any mediatours but Christ onlie, it is blasphemous. And whatsoeuer the pope doth or hath done in his calendar, my purpose in my calendar, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnise any new. In my booke of Acts and Monuments entreating of matters passed in the Church, these latter fiue hundred yeres, I did regulate out a calendar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but onlie for a table of them which within the same time did suffer for the testimonie of the word, whom I did and doe take to bee god and godly men. If any haue other iudgement of them, I binde no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come (which shall iudge both them and you. In the meane season it shall be best for you (master Cope) in my iudgement to keepe a good tongue to your head, and to quiet your railing mind. A hard thing it is to iudge before the Lord. Mans iudgement may faile and is vncertaine, the iudgement of God is alwaies sure. Well it is therefore either to be sure by the word and iudgement of God before, what you doe say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperat railing, can come no good, neither to them whom ye raile vpon: nor to your selfe which raileth: nor to the church of God that heareth you raile. For them you cannot hurt, they are gone. To your selfe, and though your matters be true, yet little honestie it will bring, to bee counted a railer: and if it bee vncertaine, your state is dangerous, and if it bee false, most miserable: And as to the Church, what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I doe not greatlie see. And if the zeale of the bishop of Romes Church haue so much swallowed you vp, that ye cannot but stampe and stare at traytours when ye see them put in calendars: (first master Cope) be ye sure first that they bee traitours (wisdome would) whom you call traitors. And if ye can so proue them (as ye haue not yet) then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus tell me, why both not this flagrant zeale of yours as hot as Purgatorie burne out, and flame as well against your owne traitors, hanging so many in your owne Calendar and Church at home?

The name of martyrs in the Calendar defended. What is a martyr.

Dole saints of Christ.

Martyrs in the calendar coloured with red.

The painter coloureth with red. The pope coloureth with blood.

Cope counseled to cease his railing.

No good commeth of railing.

And if there be such a catholike zeale in you, that hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chase, why then is not this your Catholike zeale equallie indifferent? Why take ye not so fell on the one side against sir John Oldcastle, sir Roger Acton, M. Browne, &c. A man would thinke you plaied Hercules furens in Orchestra. On the other side againe ye are Oleo tranquillior. What indifferencie (master Cope) call you this? Or that zeale make you this to be? Albeit, your zeale, I iudge not, as I know it not. Swift iudgement shall not become me, which goe about to correct the same in you. But this I exhort you, to beware (master Cope) that by your olme fruits and doings eudent, ye doe not bewray this zeale in you to be Non secundum scientiam, nor such a zeale as fighteth

The zeale of master Cope examined.



fighteth Pro domo Dei, sed pro domo Pontificis. As I said, I iudge you not. You haue your iudge to whom ye stand or fall: My counsell is, that ye doe not so zeale the bishop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your olwne soule. Be remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good Ludere cum Lætis; worse it is Iludere: worst of all it is Debacchari in immerentes: Because that Deus ipse vltionum Dominus, many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written: Opprobria opprobrantium tibi cecidernnt in me. i. The rebukes of thy rebukers fell vpon me. And seldome haue I seene any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of Gods saints and seruants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselues.

Vntruth in the popish epistles Decretal.

And admit this (as granted vnto you master Cope) that these men had been traitors, which yet are not able to proue. Well, they had their punishment therefore, the world can go no further, and what would you haue more? who and if they repented, why may they not haue as good part in Christs kingdome as your selfe? God forsomuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I can it pertaine to the profit of the church, why might I not insert it with other church stories in my book? Let the church take that which belongeth to the Church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and goe no further. And if ye thinke it much, that I would exemplifie these whom you call traitors in the booke of Martyrs: first ye must vnderstand, that I wrote no such booke bearing the title of the booke of martyrs: I wrote a booke called the Acts and Monuments, of things passed in the Church, &c. Wherein many other matters be contained beside the martyrs of Christ. But this peraduenture moueth your choler, that in the Calendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not in my Calendar call them by the name of martyrs, which were faithfull witnesses of Christs truth and Testament, for the which they were also chiefly brought vnto that end? Or why may I not call them holy Saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed blood? And what if I should also call the theefe and murderer hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a holy Saint and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord, what can master Cope say against it?

Vntruth in the popes Legends and Masse bookes.

And as for colouring the names of certain martyrs in the said calendar in red or Scarlet letters (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the Painter or Printer) yet if that be it that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great saint-maker of Rome, who hath added thereunto much more then euer did I? For he did red and die them with their olwne blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my Calendar enough.

Vntruth in the popes miracles and reliques.

Proceeding now out of the calendar vnto the booke, where he chargeth mee with so many lies, impudencies, banities, deprauations, and vntruths, it remaineth likewise I cleare my selfe, answering first to those lies and vntruths, which to the skore of sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle doe appertaine. And after to other particulars, as in order of my booke doe follow. And first where he laieth against me whole heapes, and cartloades, I cannot tell, how many of lies and falsities: I here briefly answer master Cope against (or what English Harpesfield else soeuer lieth couered vnder this English Cope) that if a lie be (after the definition of Saint Augustine) whatsoeuer thing is pronounced with the intent to deceiue another: then I protest to you master Cope, and to all the world, there is neuer a lie in all my booke. What the intent and custome is of the papists to doe, I cannot tell: for mine olwne, I will say, although many other vices I haue, yet from this one I haue alwaies of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceiue any man or child, so nere as I could, much lesse the Church of God, whom I with all my heart doe reuerence, and with feare obey. And therefore among diuers causes, that haue withdrawne my mind from the papists faction, almost there is none greater then this, because I see them so little giuen to truth, so farre from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretended hypocrisie and dissimulation, so little regarding the church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much haue in their mouthes: so, as vnder the title therof they may hold vp their olwne estate. Otherwise so little reuerence they pelld to the true and honorable Church of Jesus the son of God, that what vnworthy and rascall ministers they take into it they passe not, what lies and fables, what false miracles and abhord forgeries they inuent to delude it, they care not. I speake not of all.

The lies and vntruthes which I am charged withall.

Some there bee of that set vnstained in conscience, and more religious, and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceiued. But such commonlie haue been and be the chiefe guides and leaders of the papists church, that little true care and small zeale hath appeared in them, toward the Church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therin, so that their commodities might not decrease. Thus out of this fountaine haue gushed out so many prodigious lies in

Church Legends, in Saints liues, in manifold fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged reliques, as in peeces of the holy croise, in the blood of Hales, in our Ladies milke, in the nailes of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errours, corrupt doctrines, absurd inuentions, repugnant to the truth of the word. Item in their bastard bokes, forged Epistles, their Apocrypha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here commeth in their forged canons, their tolking and cogging in ancient councels and decrees, as in *decret. pse. Isidori*, in Canons of the Apostles if those canons were the Apostles) Excepta Romana sede, foisted into the decrees by Gratianus, also the cogging in a false canon to the councell of Nice for the maintenance of the sea of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth Synod of Carthage.

Where commeth in also the epistles of Clement, and other sundrie epistles Decretall, which as they are no doubt falslie inferred by other, so are they the well-head of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the Church of Christ. To speake moreouer of the liturgies of Saint Iames, of Cyprian, of Rome and other, of the first masse said by Saint Peter at Rome, and that Saint Peter sate 25. yeres bishop of Rome. To speake also of the workes of Augustine, Ambrose, Hierome, and Gregorie, what Dorso or famous writer hath there been in the Church, vnder whose name some counterfaited bookes haue not falslie been fathered, and yet stand still authorised vnder their patronage, to the great detriment of the Church? What should I speake of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionysius Areopagita: The Dialogues of Gregorie, which falslie to this day haue been ascribed to Gregorie the first, where indeed they were first written in Greke, by Gregorie the third, and afterward translated out of Greke into Latine by pope Zacharie? vide supra, pag. 116. Likewise that worthy and Imperiall sermon intituled, Eusebij Pamphili Sermo ad Concentum sanctorum, hath to this day wrongfullie borne the name of Eusebius. Whereas in very truth it was made by the good Emperour Constantinus himselfe, in his owne proper tole tile in Latine, and afterward translated out of Latine into Greke by Eusebius, as he him selfe confesseth in his booke De vita Constant. lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitfull it is, that it mattereth not much vnder whose name it bee read, yet worthie to be read vnder the name of none so much, as of the emperor Constantine himselfe, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Vntruth in the popes Dialogues. Gregorius Turonensis. Eusebius. Sermo ad Concentum sanctorum. Constantine the emperour.

Briefly, except it be the bokes only of the new Testament, and of the old, what is almost in the popes Church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glosse adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? So that in their doctrine flanketh little truth, in their legends, postues, and masse bokes, lesse truth, in their miracles and reliques least truth of all. Neither yet doe their sacraments remaine cleare and void of manifest lies and corruption. And specially here commeth in the matter I see, which bringeth in much sweete honie into popes hiues, the matter I meane of all lies, where the pope leauing not one crum of bread, nor drop of wine in the reuerend communion, vntrulie, and idolatrously taketh away all substance of bread from it, turning the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christs olwne bodie: which substance of bread, if the pope take from the sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it: for breaking and the bodie of Christ, can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is pronounced by the word of God to be a manifest lie: so think not much (good reader hereat) as though I passed the bounds of modestie in calling it the arch lie, or master lie of all lies. Because vpon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errors in the popes church, as handmaids doe wait and depend.

The arch lie.

A matter I see.

But forsomuch as I stand here not to charge other men so much, as to defend my selfe, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time to stir this stinking puddle of these vnlawfull and intended lies and vntruths, which in the popes religion and in papists bokes be innumerable, I will now returne to those vntruths and impudent lies which master Cope hath hunted out in my historie of Acts and Monuments, first beginning with those vntruths which he carpeth in the storie of the foresaid sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, Browne and the rest.

And first, where he laieth to my charge, that I call them martyrs, which were traytors and seditious rebels against the king, and their countrie: to this I haue answered sufficientlie before.

Now here then must the Reader needs slay a little at M. Copes request, to see my vanitie and impudencie yet more fullie and amplie reproued in refuting a certaine place in my Latine storie, concerning the kings statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleaged, be these, pag. 107. Quocirca Rex indicto Leicestriæ concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) præposito edicto immanem denunciat pœnam his, qui cunque de incepto hoc doctrinæ genus sectarentur, vsque adeo in eos seuerus, vt non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac perduelle gemino

mino eos supplicio, suspendio simul & incendio afficiendos statuerit,&c. Et mox: Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes aduersus Wickleuianos. Wieleuiani id temporis dicebantur,quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent,&c.

Thus these words out of my foresaid Latine booke alleaged, master Cope perswadeth himselfe, to haue great aduantage against me,to prowe me a notorious lier, in three sundrie points. First,in that, whereas I say that the king did bold his Parliament at Leycester, adding this by the way of parenthesis (quod forte fis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum,&c.) here hee concludeth thereby, simpliciter and precisely, that the lord Cobham and sir Roger Acton with his fellowes, were traytors, &c. Whereby a man may sone thape a cauiller, by the shadow of master Cope. For whereas my Dialysis out of the text speaketh doubtfully, and uncertainely, by this word (forte fis) meaning indeed, the king to be in feare of the Spirituelliers, that hee durst not hold his Parliament at London, but went to Leycester: he arguetb precisely therefore, that the lord Cobham,sir Richard Acto, and his fellowes went about to kill the king. Secondly, where I affirme that the king in that Parliament made a grieuous law against all such as did bold the doctrine of Wickliffe, that they should bee taken hereafter,not for heretikes,but also for fellons,or rebels,or traitors, and therefore should sustaine a double punishment, both to be hanged,and also to be burned,&c. Here commeth in master Bonius, with his Cope on his backe, and prowing me to be a liar, denieth plainely that the king made any such statute: vide pag. 835. line 6. where his words be these: Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus,& deinceps geminatas pœnas suspendij & incendij luerent, vt negatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.

First here would be asked of master Cope,that he calleth patriæ hostes,& proditores? If hee call these traitors, then let bs see whether they that followed the sect of Wickliffe, were made traitors and heretikes by the kings law, or not. And first let bs heare what saith Polydore Virgil, his owne witnes in this behalfe, whose words in his 27. booke, pag. 441. bee these: Quare publice edixit, vt si vlpiam cleinceps reperirentur,qui eam sequerentur sectam,patriæ hostes haberentur,quo sine omni lenitate feuerius ac ocyus de illis supplicium sumeretur,&c. That is, therefore it was by publike statute decreed, that whosoeuer were found hereafter to follow the sect of Wickliffe, should be accounted for traitors, whereby in thout all lenitie, they should bee punished more seuerely and quickly,&c.

Thus haue you (master Cope) the plaine testimonie of Polydore with me. And because we shall further see your selfe more impudent in carping, then I am in bepeaking of histories, you shall vnderstand moreouer and heare, what Thomas Walden, one of your olme catholike brotherhod, and who was also himselfe altue, and a doer in the same Parliament, being the prouincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter writing to pope Martin, whose very words in Latine here follow, written in his prologue to the said Martin, in this wise: Nec mora longa processit, quin statutum publicum per omne regni concilium in publico emanauit edicto, quod omnes Wicleuistæ sicut dei proditores essent,sic proditores regis,proscriptis bonis censerentur & regni, duplici pœnæ dandi, incendio propter deum, suspendio propter regem, &c. That is: And it was not long after, but a publike law and statute came out, by the comn in assent of the generall parliament of the whole realme, that all Wickleuists, as they were traitors to God, so also should bee counted traitors to the king and to the realme, hauing their goods lost and confiscat vnto the king. And therefore should suffer double punishment, as to be burnt for God, and to be hanged for the king,&c. And thus haue you (M. Cope) not only my sentence, but also the very words of my storie confirmed by this author: because he shall not thinke me to speake so lightly or impudently without my book. And moreouer to confirme the said sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in an other place of the foresaid author: Cons. lib. 1. De doctrina fidei Ecclesiæ Cathol. cap.46. vbi ita de Henrico 5. qui adhuc agit in sceptris, & de eorum perfidia per catholicos bene dictos, legem statui fecit, vt vbicunque per regnum Wickleuista probatus, vt reus puniretur de crimine læsæ maiestatis,&c. That is: And yet when the noble K. Henrie the fifth, who as yet doth liue and raigne, began first to raigne, began to set forth a law, by his learned catholikes which were about him, against the falsenesse of these men, so that whosoeuer was proued to be a Wickleuist, through the whole Realme, should bee punished for a traytor, &c. What words can you haue master Cope more plaine then these? or what authozitie can you require of more credit, which lined in the same time, and both did see and heare of the same things beeing also writting to pope Martine, was by the said pope Martine allowed, approued, and solemnlie commended, as appeareth by the popes epistle to him, wherin the pope declareth how he caused his bokes. Per solennes viros videri, & examinari: That is, by solemne persons to be seene and examined,&c. So that you must nes grant either this to be true, that Walden writeth, or else that the pope (tanquam papa) in allowing his writings, may erre and be deceiued. Chuse ye (master Cope) of these two options whether you will take.

And if yee thinke this my assertion yet not sufficiently proued with these authozities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adioyne the testimonie of another writer named Roger Wall, who writing De Gestis Henric. 5. and speaking of the said statute of this parliament soueething more plainely then the rest, hath these words: In hoc etiam Parliamento nobilitas regia hostes Christi sibi reputans proditores, volens dare intelligere vniuersis,quod ipse absque cuiuscunque fluctuationis dubio, quam diu auras hauriret vitales, verus & perfectus Christianæ fidei æmulator exilteret: statuit & decreuit, vt quotquot ipsius sectæ,quæ dicitur Lollardorum,inuenirentur æmuli & fautores eo facto rei proditorij criminis in maiestatem regiam haberentur,&c. In English: Also in this parliament, the noble king reputing Christs enemie to be traitors to himselfe, to the intent that all men should know without all doubt, that so long as he liued,he would be a true and perfect follower of Christian faith: did enact and decree, that whosoeuer should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called the Lollards sect, Ipso facto, should be counted and reputed guiltie of treason against the kings maiestie,&c.

By these hitherto alleaged, if Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferent iudge: Vtrum in hac re regis nugator Foxus, an Copus calumniator. And yet moreouer to make the matter more certaine, marke the clamation of the said Roger Walle, added to the end of these words aboue recited, whereby we haue to vnderstand more clearely both what were the proceedings of the king in the said Parliament, and also what was the blind affection of monks and priests at that time toward their king and prince (which was then called princeps sacerdotum) in condemning and destroying the poze Lollards. The words of the monke be these: O verus amicus, qui amico illatam iniuriam sibi inferri confimiliter arbitratur, præiudicium illi intentum reputat asse suum, & ad eius onera conferenda,auxiliationis humeros supponere non veretur, &c. That is: O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that iniurie no lesse done to himselfe which is done to his friend: and that præiudice which is intended against him, reputeth to bee his owne; and to beare together the burdens of his friend sticketh not to lay to his owne shoulders, for the raising and helping of him,&c.

How can it now be denied (master Cope) in reading these authors, and seeing their testimonies, but that Lolladerie in this Parliament was made both treason and heresie, and had therefore a double iudgement of punishment annexed, to bee hanged for the one, and to bee burned for the other, according as in my former Latine storie I recorded, and yet I trust, I trifled not?

But you will say again (as yee doe) that there is no mention made for heresie to bee made treason, nor of any double punishment to bee inflicted for the same. In the booke of the statute (I grant) there is no expresse mention in words of heresie to be made treason, expressly signified in rigor of words: but inclusiuelie it is so inferred, that it cannot be denied. For first, where lands, goods and cattell of the said Lollards were lost and forfeit to the king, what doth this import else, but treason or felonie?

And where the lord Cobham (for whose cause specially this statute seemed to be made) did sustaine afterward both hanging and burning by the vigor of the same statute, what is here contained, but a double penaltie? Againe, where in the beginning of the statute mention is made of rumors and congregations, and after vpon the same followeth the seruices of the K. til cerunto the officers be first sworne should be first preferred for libertie of holy church, and punishment of heretikes, made before these daies? not repealed, vt supra, pag. 524. what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollards, to be forceable entrées, riots, great ridings, vnlawfull assemblies, affraiers of the people, armour, routs, and insurrections, and so forth them to the former statutes not repealed, that is, to the statute, an. 13. Hen. 4. chap. 7. where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king. Or else to the statute, an. 15. Richard 2. chap. 2. where the penaltie is made fine and ransome: Or else to the statute, an. 5. Richard 2. chapter 6. where such assemblies bee made plaine treason, in fine statuti.

And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained, so for heresie likewise the same statute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the lawes, properly to heresie appertaining, and to the statute an. 2. Henr. 4. chapter 15. where the penaltie is burning. Also to the statute an 5. Rich. 2. chapter 5.

5. So that in this present statute here mention is contained, as yee see, although not in expresse words, yet inclusiuely (by referring to other statutes not repealed) both Lolladerie which is punished with burning, and forcible entrees which is punished at the kings pleasure. And thus much concerning the second vntruth, which master Cope vntruely noted in me.

3. The third vntruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reproueth me, that I say, there was no other cause of deuising this sharpe law and punishment against these men, but only for hauing the Scripture bookes.

Answere

And therefore here is noted in the margent Foxi dolus malus, but let master Cope take he. d. he deceiue not himselfe and other. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latine storie where I so say. Only my words bee these, added in the latter end of the place aboue recited: Wieleuiani verò dicebantur quicunque id temporis scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent,&c. That is: They were called Wickleuists, whosoeuer at that time read scripture in English, or vulgar tongue, &c. I say not, that for the scriptures being read in the English tongue, therfore the law was enacted, but so in master Cope disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writing, or reading of any bokes in English, or in any other tongue contrary to the catholike (that is, the Romish) faith, or to the determination of the holy Church (that is, of Rome) reade I beseech thee the bloudie statute made anno 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. aboue specified pag. 482. Also read the constitution prouincial of Thomas Arundell aboue mentioned, pag. 484. col. 1. line 59. Where it was decreed, that the text of holy scripture should not bee had, or read in the vulgar tongue from the time of master John Wickliffe, for euer after, vnlesse the said translation be approued first by the ordinarie, or by prouincial councell, vnder paine and punishment of heresie. Now let the Reader iudge whether the reading of Scriptures bookes in the English tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliffe, or from the time of Wickliffe downeward, be counted heresie, or not. As for the appointing of the ordinarie, or of the prouincial councell added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh nose for a plea, or pretence, then for any iust exception, or any true intention. For what man hauing those scriptures translated in English, would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such bokes? or what ordinarie would or did euer since Arundels time approue any such translation, presented vnto them? Or else why did the good martyrs of Amersam suffer death, in the beginning of king Henry the eight, for hauing and reading certaine bokes of Scripture, which were (as is said) only foure epistles of saint Paul, with certaine other prayers? And the other which heard them but only read, did beare faggots: and the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots vnto their fathers; at which time Longland being then bishop of Lincolne, and preaching to them at the stake, said: that whatsoeuer they were, that did but mouse his lips in reading those chapters, were damned for euer: as when we come to that time, by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amplie and notoriously appeare. And where then is this Dolus malus Foxi, nargined against me, for erastie dealing in my storie?

Moreouer, where master Cope proceeding farther in this matter, asketh me: how was the lord Cobham obedient to the king, when as for the feare of him, the king durst not then keep his Parliament at London? To whom I answer again, asking likewise of master Cope, how was the king then afraid to hold his Parliament at London for the lord Cobham, when the lord Cobham at that time was in Wales? And here maister Cope thinking to haue me at a narrow streait, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him, how it could be otherwise, but the lord Cobham must nedes haue fautors? And who should these fautors be (saith he) but sir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes? The which mightie question of master Cope, I answer againe: how could sir Roger Acton, Browne and their fellowes bee then fautors of the lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold his Parliament at London, when as the said Roger Acton, Browne, and the rest were put to death, a whole yeere almost before the Parliament at Leycester began?

And now as I haue hitherto briefly, and truly answered your askings (master Cope); let me be so bold with you again, to propound to you likewise another question, for so much as you haue put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. How out of the same statutes riseth a double scruple, or question, worthie to be solued. The case is this, That forasmuch as so many good martyrs and saints of God hitherto in this realme of England, haue been burned from the time of king Henrie the fourth, Henry the fifth, Henrie the firth, Henrie the eighth, to the time, and in the time of Quéene Mary: my question is, that you, with all your learned counsell about you will tell me, by what law, or statute of the realme were these men brent? I know the ancient custome hath been, that heretikes conuicted by a prouinciall councell, were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will yée prowe me, these heretikes were either conuict by such prouinciall councell, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them, whom he haue committed to them? If yée alleage the fire articles made in the raigne of king Henrie the eighth: those articles neither did come before the time of king Henry the eighth, neither yet were they reuiued after his time. If yée alleage the statute made anno 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. In that statute (I answer) its contained no matter of burning, but onely of arrest to bee done at the certifications of the prelats, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if yée alleage the statute made an. 2. Hen. 4. ch. 15. and reuiued in the raigne of Quéene Mary, mentioned before pag. 482. To that statute I answer, that although the pretensed statute appeareth in forme of



words in the printed bokes to giue vnto the temporall officers authozitie to bring them to the stake, and to burne them, whom the bishop deliuereth: yet is it not to be proued, either by you, or any other, that statute to bee law, or warrant sufficient to burne any person or persons committed to the secular power by the clergie. And that I prowe thus; for although the same statute of king Henrie the fourth in the bokes printed, appeare to haue law and authozitie sufficient, by the full assent of the king, of the lords, and of the comnions: yet being occasioned by master Cope to search further in the statutes, I haue found that in the rolles and first originals of that Parliament, there is no such mention either of any petition or else of any assent of the commons annered, or contained in that statute, according as in the printed bokes vsuall in the lawyers hands to crafcike and falsike is foisted in, as by the plaine words therof may well appeare.

For where the said statute, an. 2. Hen. 4. chap. 15. being thus intituled in the rolles: Petitio cleri contra hæreticos, and allowed vnto in this forme: hath these words:

### Stat. an. 2. Henri. 4. cap. 15. Intituled in the Rolle thus: Petitio Cleri contra hæreticos, and allowed vnto in this forme.

QVas quidem petitiones prælatorum & cleri superius expressas do noster Rex, de consensu magnatum & aliorum procerum regni sui, in præsenti Parliamento existentium concessit, & in omnibus & singulis iuxta formam & effectum eorundem ordinauit & statuit de cætero firmiter obseruari, and so forth according to the petition: and more words, are there not in the statute roll. Wherefore where as the statute bokes printed hath thus: Super quibus quidem nonnullus & excessibus superius recitatis (videlicet, in the petition of the prelats and clergie) prælati & clerus supradicti ac etiam communitates dicti Regni in eodem parliamento existen. dicto Domino Regi supplicarunt,&c. Qui quidem Dominus Rex, &c. ex assensu magnatum & aliorum procerum eiusdem Regni, &c. concessit, ordinauit, &c. These words, &c etiã communitates dicti Regni, &c. are put in further then the roll doth warrant, and seemeth to be the practise of the clergie, to make that as an act of Parliament, and to séme to haue the force of a law, which was neuer assented vnto by the commons.

And thus you see how this forsaid statute, printed both in English and in Latine among the prouincial councels of Oxford (by the vertue whereof so many good men haue been burned so long in England) both vtterly ouerthrowe it selfe, for that it swerueth from the record both in forme and in matter, and lacketh the assent of the commons. Which doubt I thought at this present to propound vnto you (master Cope) for that you haue so vrged me to the searching out of the statutes, by your declaiming against the lord Cobham.

Moreouer vnto this statute aforsaid, ioyne also withall an other statute made in the prattie daies, an. 5. Rich. 2. In the which yeere, where as a statute was concluded in the Parliament an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. against certaine preachers specified in the same statute, which going about in certaine habits from place to place, did draw the people to sermons: And commissions were made and directed in the said Parliament to the therifes, to arrest all such preachers, and to impison the same, at the certifications of the prelates. Here is then to be noted, that the same statute, an. 5. Rich. 2. chap. 5. was reuoked by the king in the parliament, an. 6. Rich. 2. vpon the words of the commons being these, videl. Forasmuch as the same statute was neuer assented, ne granted by the comnons, but that which therein was done, was done without their assent, and now ought to be vndone, for that it was neuer their meaning to be iustified and to bind themselues and their successors to the prelates to more, then their ancestors had done before them. Ex Rot. Parliam. And yet this forsaid reuocation notwithstanding in Quéene Maries time, they inquired vpon that statute.

In searching of these statutes, as you haue occasioned me to find out these scruples: so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forasmuch as I see, and heare many now a dates so boldly to beare themselues vpon this statute, and thus king so to execute themselues do say, they haue done nothing but the law, the law: to the intent that these men seeing now how inexcusable they be both before God and man, hauing no law to beare them out, may the sooner repent their bloudie and vnlawfull tyrannie, exercised so long against Gods true seruants, yet in time before that the iust law of God shall find out their vniust dealings, which partly he beginneth already to do, and more no doubt will doe hereafter.

In the meane time this my petition I put vp to the comnons, and to all other which shall hereafter put vp any petition to the Parliament: that they being admonished by this a bule, will shew themselues hereafter more wise and circumspect: both what they agree vnto in parliaments, and also what connech out in their name. And as these good comnons in this time of king Henry 4. would not consent nor agree to this bloudie statute, nor to any other like: For so we read that the commons in that bloudie time of king Hen. 4. when another like cruell bill was put vp by the prelates in an. 8. Henry 4. against



3. Dicunt. 3. Obiection.

Cope raueth without cause.

Stat. an. 2. Hen. 4. cap 7. 2. Obiection.

Copus pag. 835. lin. 5.

The effect of Lolderie made heresie and treason by king Henrie 5. Polyd. Virg. lib. 22.

Walden in suo prim. Doctrinali, ad Mart. papam in prologo.

Walden tomo 1. De doctrina fidei Ecclesiæ. cap. 46. fol. 102.

Quid si Walden papa hæreticus, aut alia the pope erred.

Roger Walsh. de gestis Hen. 5. fol. 10.

Reading of scripture bookes contrary to the Romish faith made heresie. Stat. an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. Vide sup. pa. 483 The text of the scripture not to be translated into the vulgar tongue vnder paine of heresie. Conf. prouinc. Tho. Arund. Vid. sup. p. 484.

King Henry 4. fitly called Princeps sacerdotum. Roy. Walsh. ibid.

Children of Amersham cast to set faggots vpon their fathers.

Copus pag. 835. lin 20.

Copus pag. 836. lin 13.

Copus pag. 835. lin. 8. Obiection. Antwer.

Stat. an. 2. Hen. 5. cap. 7.

Vide stat. an. 5. Hen. 4. cap. 15. Vide stat. an. 13. Rich. 2. cap. 3. Vide stat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 6.

Statute of the 6 articles in the time of king Henry 8. Statut. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5. Statut. de comburendo an. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 15. Vide sup. p. 406

3. Obiection. Answere

Hen. 4 de comburendo, granted yet sufficient to burne any man.

Ex constitutionibus prouincialibus Othonis Cardinalis legatis.

Vide stat. an. 5. Rich. 2. cap. 5.

Ioan. Antho.

The persecutors in burning Gods people haue bene against the law.

A necessarie admonition to the commons of England.

against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also ouerthrow the other: so in like manner it is to bee wished, that the commons in this our time, or such other that shall haue to doe in parliaments hereafter following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruell billes of the popes prelacie, being put vp, that neither their consent doe passe rashly: nor that their names in any condition bee so abused: Considering with themselues that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterward be called backe: And a little inconuenience once admitted, may grow afterward to mischiefes that cannot be stopped. And sometime it may so happen, that though rash consent of voices, the end of things being not well aduised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many daies may cause the whole realme to rue. But I trust men are bitten enough with such blacke parliaments to beware of afterclaps. The lord Jesus onely protector of his Church, stop all craftie deuices of subtill enemies, and with his wisedome direct our parliaments, as may be most to the aduantage of his word, and comfort of his people, Amen, Amen.

And thus much hauing said for the defence of the lord Cobham, of sir Roger Acton knight, master John Browne Esquier, John Beuerlie preacher, and of other their fellowes against Alanus Copus Anglus, here I make an end with this present Interim, till further leisure serue me hereafter (Christ willing) to pay him the whole interest which I owe vnto him. Adding this in the meane time, and by the way: that if master Cope had been a Momus any thing reasonable, hee had no great cause so to wrangle with mee in this matter, who as I did commend the lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundell the archbishop: so touching the matter of this conspiracie, I do not affirme or define any thing thereof in my former historie so precisely, that he could well take any vantage of against me, who in writing of this conspiracie laid against sir Roger Acton, and sir John Oldcastle, doe but distinctiue-ly or doubtfully speake thereof, not concluding certainely this conspiracie either to be true, or not true, but only pawting the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall in their histories doe affirme: which say that this conspiracie began after the burning of John Husse and Hieronie of Prage: Which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion. My words are plaine, and are these: pag. 174. coll. 1. 2. Wherefore it is euident that there was either no conspiracie at all against the king: or else that it was at some other time, or done by other captaines, &c.

These be my words with other mee, pag. col. and line aboue noted. In the which proposition disiunctiue, if either part bee true, it is enough for me. His part it was to refell both, which he hath not done. But onely standing fast vpon the one part, disannulleth the other. And this is Alanus Copus Anglus, who by that he so all comes from Rome, whither he is now gone as I heare say) I trust he will returne a better Logician home again to his Anglians.

But to the truth of our matter, as I said before, so I say again, what soeuer this worthie, noble, vertuous knight, Sir Roger Acton was otherwise, this is certaine, that hee was alwaies of contrary mind and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people, for the which cause he had great enuie and hatred at their hands, and could as little beare it: neither doe I greatly dissent from them, which do suspect or iudge that the lord Cobham, by his friendly helpe escaped out of the Tower, and that peraduenture was the cause why hee was apprehended and brought to trouble, and in the end came to his death. Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselues some conuenticles. (which conuenticles was made treason by the statute aforesaid) either in those thickets or in some place else, for the hearing of Gods word, and for publike prayer: and therefore had they this Beuerlie their preacher with them.

But to conclude, whatsoeuer this sir Roger Acton was, this is the truth, which I may boldlie record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned and put to death or martyrdome 3. yeares and more before the lord Cobham died. Likewise malice John Wolmie, and John Beuerlie the preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death (as some say) in the field of saint Giles, with other moe, to the number of 36. if the stories bee true. Which was in the moneth of Januarie, an. 1413. after the computation of our English stories, counting the yere from the annunciation, but after the Latine writers counting from Christs natiuitie, an. 1414. according as this picture is specified.

These men, as is said, suffered before the lord Cobham about three yeares, of whole death diuers doe write diuerslie. Some say they were hanged and burnt in S. Giles field: of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be which say that some of them were hanged and burnt. Polydorus speaking onlie of their burning maketh no mention of hanging. Another certaine English chronicle I haue in my hands borrowed of one M. Bowyer, who somwhat differing from the rest recordeth thus of sir Roger Acton, that his iudgement before the iustice was thus, to be drawne through London to Tiborn, and there to bee hanged, and so hee was naked, saue certaine parts of him couered with a cloth, &c. And when certaine daies were past (saith the author) a trumpeter of the kings called Thomas Cliffe gat grant of the king to take him solwne, and to burie him, and so he did, &c. And thus haue you the storie of sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I refer it to the iudgement of him which shall iudge both the quicke and dead, & seculum per ignem. To whom also I commit you M. Cope: God shield your tournie well to Rome, whither I heare say you are going, and make you a good man.

Sir Roger Acton commeth to the bishop of Rome.

Taxtes concerning all those sir Roger Acton with the rest, were put to death for treasons and Lollards.

M. Cope gone to Rome.

After the decease or martyrdom of these aboue mentioned, who were executed in the month of Januarie, an. 1414. in the next moneth following, and in the same yere, the 20. day of Februarie, God take away the great enemie of his word, and rebell to his king Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie. Whose death following after the execution of these good men aboue recited, by the marueilous strokes of God so suddenly, may seeme somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to liue, striking him with death incontinently vpon the same. But as I did the other before, so this also I doe referre, to the secret iudgement of the Lord, who once shall iudge all secrets openly.

The death of Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury. Ex hist. S. Alba.

God's workes and punishments to be noted.

In the meane time this may seeme strange, that the same Thomas Arundell, who a little before sitting vpon iudgement against the lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death vpon him, did himselfe feele the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed vpon him before the other. Who would haue thought that the lord Cobham being so cast and condemned definitiuely by the archbishops sentence, but that hee should haue died long before the archbishop? But such be the works of Gods almightie hand, who so turneth the wheele that this condemned lord surmised his condemner 3. or 4. yeares.

Thomas Arundell giueth sentence against the lord Cobham: and God giueth sentence against Thom. Arundel.

The condemned man ouercometh his condemner.

In the death of this archb. first Ployder Virgil is deceiued, who in his 22. book, pag. 441. affirmed his death to be an. 1415. and in the second yere of king Henry 5. also after the beginning of the Councell of Constance, who in deed neuer reached the beginning thereof, nor euer saw the second yere of that king, vnlesse ye count the first day for a yere) but died before an. 1414. Feb. 20. Ex hist. S. Albani & multis. Furthermore concerning the death of this Arundell, and the maner thereof, who had been so heauie a troubler of Christs saints in his time, because the thing seemeth worthie of noting, to behold the punishment of God vpon his enemies, this is the report, as I haue found it alleaged out of Thomas Gascoin in Dictionario Theologico: Whose plaine words be these: An. 1414. Tho. Arundel Cant. Archiepiscop. sic linguam perculsus erat, vt nec deglutire, nec loqui per aliquot dies ante mortē suam potuerit, diuitis epulonis exemplo, & sic tantum obijt. Atque multi tunc fieri putabāt, quia verbū alligasset, ne suo tempore prædicaretur. That is, Thomas Arundel archb. of Cant. was so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speake for a certaine space before his death, much like after the example of the rich glutton, and so died vpon the same. And this was thought of many to come vpon him, for that hee so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his daies, &c. Which if it be true, as it doth well here appeare, these and such other horrible examples of Gods wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupie their tongues and braines so bustlie to stop the course of Gods word, striuing but against the streame; against the force wherof, neither they are able to resist, and many times in resisting are ouerturned themselues & drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundell, who continued archbishop in the see of Cant. the space of 18. yeares.

Polydor. Virgil erreth.

Anno 1414 Diuersitie in authors.

Thom. Gascoinus in Dictionario theologico.

An example of Gods working hand against the enemies of his word.

The marueilous hand of God vpon Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canturbury.

Iohn Chichelie archbishop of Cant.

After this Arundell, succeeded next in the said see of Cant. Henry Chichelie, made archb. An. 1414. and sate 25. yeares. This Henry following like vnto the steps of his predecessour, shewed himselfe no small aduersarie against the fauourers of the truth. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction in the church. For as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiplie and spread abrode daily more and more, so on the contrarie side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and encreased against the people of God, by reason wherof diuers did suffer, and were burned, some for feare fled the countrie, many were brought to examination, and by infirmitie constrained to abiure. Of whom hereafter (Christ willing) particularly in order of their times we will entreat.

As true pietie, and sincere preaching of Christs word began at this time to decay: So idle monkerie and vaine superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same yeare the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one of the one side of Thames ofriers obseruants, the other on the other side Thames called Shene and Sion, dedicated to Charter house monks, with certaine Bridgit nuns or recluses, to the nūber of 60. dwelling within the same precinct, so that the whole number of these with priests, monks, deacons, and nunnes, should equall the number of 12. apostles and 72. disciples. The order of these was according to the description of S. Paul the apostle, Col. 1. Eate not, taste not, touch not, &c. to eate no flesh, to weare no linnen, to touch no money, &c.

Sion & Bethlem builded.

About Michaelmas, the same yeer the king began his parliament at Leicester, aboue mentioned. In the which parliament the commons put vp their bill againe, which they had put vp before. An. 11. Hen. 4. that temporalties disorderly wasted by men of the church, might be conuerted and employed to the vse of the king, of his earles and knights, and to the releefe of the poore people, as is before recited, page 513. In feare of which bill, lest the king would giue thereunto any comfortable audience (as testifieth Rob. Fabian and other writers) certaine of the prelats and other headmen of the church put the king in mind to claime his right in France. Whereupon Henry Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie made a long and solemne oration before the king to perswade him to the same, offering to the king in the behalfe of the clergy great and notable sums. By reason whereof (saith Fabian) the bill was againe put off, and the king set his mind for the recouery of the same: so that soone after hee sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and receiued from him againe answere of derision, with a pipe of tennis balles (as some record) sent from the Dolphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the kings mind was incensed the more toward that voiage. Who then furnishing himselfe with strength and armour, with powder and shot, and gunstones to play with in France, and with other artillery for that purpose conuenient, so set ouer into France, where hee got Hareflew with diuers other townes and castles in Normandie and Picardy, and at Agincourt had a great victorie ouer the French armie, they being counted but 7. thousand, by picking sharpe stakes before them, &c. After that hee wanne Caen, Toule, Rouan with other townes moe, as Peldune, or Peltune, and married with Katharine the French kings daughter. And yet notwithstanding the third time hee made his voyage againe into France, where at length at Bloys he fell sicke and died: concerning al which voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hal, and other Chronographers, referring therefore the reader vnto them, I will returne my storie to other matters of the church more effectuall.

Fabian with other.

A craftie practise of the prelats.

The king stirred vp to warre by the bishops.

## The entrie of the storie of the Bohemians.

Declared a little before how by the occasion of Queen Anne, which was a Bohemian and maried to king Richard 2. the Bohemians comming thereby to the knowledge of Wicklifes bookes here in England, began first to taste and sauour Christs Gospell, till at length by the preaching of John Hus, they encreased more and more in knowledge. Insomuch that pope Alexander the 5. hearing thereof, began at last to stirre coales, & directeth his bull to the archbishop of Swinco, requiring him to looke to the matter, and to prouide that no person in churches, schooles or other places should maintaine that doctrine, citing also John Hus to appeare before him. To whom the said John answering againe, declared that mandate or bull of the pope bitterly to repugne against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be preiudicial to the libertie of the Gospell, in binding the word of God not to haue free recourse. And therefore from this mandate of the pope he appealed to the same pope better aduised. But while he was prosecuting his appeale, pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid, pag. 510. Ex Cochlæo. in hist. Hussit.

Vide supra pag. 428.

The Bohemians erecting the Gospell.

The Pagiant the Bohemians. John Hus cited of the pope.

John Hus appealeth from the pope to the pope.

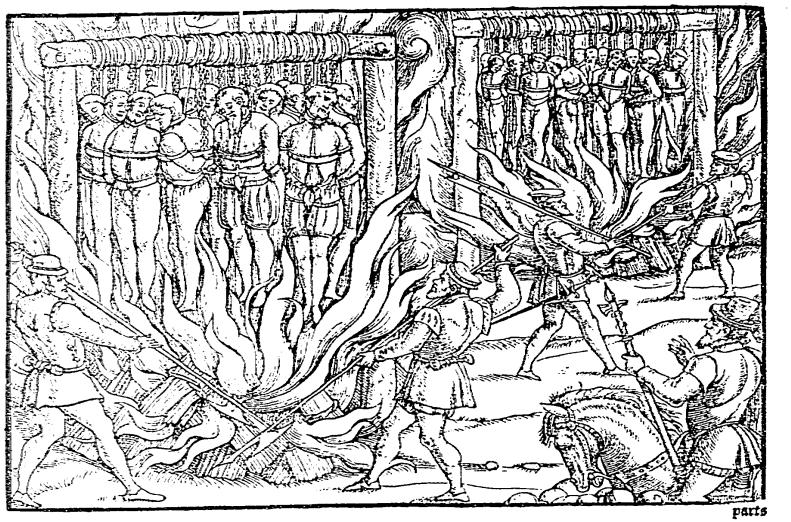
Pope John 23

After whom succeeded pope John the three and twentith, who also playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all meanes possible how to prepossesse and keepe vnder the Bohemians, first beginning to worke his malice vpon the foresaid John Hus their preacher. Who at the same time preaching at Prage in the temple of Bethleem, because hee seemed rather willing to teach the Gospell of Christ, then the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certaine to the foresaid pope John the three and twentith for an heretick. The bishop committed the whole matter vnto cardinall de Columna, who when he had heard the accusation, he appointed a day to John Hus, that he should appeare in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus king of the Romans and of Bohemie, at the request specially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobilitie of Boheme, as also at the earnest sute and desire of the towne and Vniuersitie of Prage: He sent his embassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearely deliuer John Hus from that sentence and iudgement; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdome of Boheme to bee infected with any heretical or false doctrine, that he should send his embassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any errour or fault in them. And that all this should be done at the only costs and charges of the king of Bohemie, and to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the bishops legats with all his power and authoritie, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the meane season also John Husse before his date appointed, sent his lawfull and meeke procurators vnto the court of Rome, and with most firme and strong reasons, did proue his innocencie; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should haue easily obtained that he should not haue beene compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appeare the day appointed. But when as the Cardinall de Columna, (vnto whose will and iudgement the whole matter was committed) would

John Hus accused to pope John.



## The picture of the hanging and burning of diuers persons counted for Lollardes, in the first yeere of the raigne of king Henry the fifth.



parts

John Hus recommended by cardinall de Columna.

not admit no defence or excuse: John Huss his procuratours appeale vnto the high bishop: yet notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much preuaile with cardinall de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Hus as an obstinate heretike, because he came not at his day appointed vnto Rome.

Notwithstanding forsomuch as his procurators had appealed vnto the high bishop, they had other iudges appointed vnto them, as cardinall Aquicinians and cardinall Genetines with certaine others. The which iudges after they had pondered and deferred the matter by the space of one yeare and a halfe, at last they returned to the sentence and iudgement of cardinall de Columna, and confirming the same, commanded John Hus his procurators that they should leaue off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer. Whereupon when his procurators would not cease their instant sute, certaine of them were cast into prison, and grieuously punished, the other leauing their iudges vndone, returned into Bohemie.

Parum homus, Parum malum, Medium.

The Bohemians not withstanding little cared for all this, but continuing still as they were more in knowledge, so the lesse they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God, and the Gospell of Christ to be preached, saying that by their indulgences and other practises of the court of Rome, and of the bishops consistorie, they sought their owne profit, and not of Iesus Christ: that they plucked from the sheepe of Christ the woll and milke, and did not feed them, neither with the word of God nor with good exampies. Teaching moreouer and affirming, that the comun indulgences of the pope and prelats are not to be obeyed, but so farre as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ, and of his apostles, and that lay men ought to iudge the workes of prelats as Paul iudged the workes of Peter in correcting him: Gal. 2. Furthermore, they had amongst them certaine notes and obseruations, whereby they might discerne how far and wherein they might obey their prelats: they decided also and scorned the popes iurisdiction, because of the schisme that was then in the church, when there were three popes together one striuing against another for the papacy.

The Bohemians agaynst the pope and his Bulles. Euseb. lib. 8. cap. vltim.

A Doubt of John Hus proponded.

Quer and besides this, at the same time John Hus did propound publikely, and by the notaries caused to be written 3. doubtfull questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this. Fro almuch, saith he, as it is good for men being in doubt to aske counsell, wherby al debitation remoued, they may be able the more firmely to adhere to the truth, three doubts here arise to be solued. The first doubt is, whether we ought to beleeue in the pope. The second, whether it be possible for any man to be saued, which confesseth not with his mouth vnto a mortall priest. The third doubt is, whether any of the Doctors do hold or say that some of Pharaos host being drowned in the red sea, & of 9 Sodomites being subuerted, be saued.

Credert in Deū. Credere Deo. Credere Deum. Psal. 115. vers. 4. & 118. vers. 42. Against this confession.

As concerning the first, he did hold negatiuely, alledging the saying of Bede vpon this place of the apostle: To him that beleeueth vpon him which iustifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousnes: Rom. 4. Vpon this place saith Bede: Aliud est credere in deum, aliud credere deo, aliud credere deum, &c. The second doubt, saith hee, the master of the sentences doth answere, lib. 4. dist. 17. cap. 11. in these words: What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward paine, sins be forgiuen through contrition and humilitie of the heart, &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of S. Hierom vpon the prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. Knoth you (saith Hieronie) that God therefore punished them for their sinnes here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually, and therefore because they were here punished, they shall not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to bee granted. These 3. questions he let John Hus bid bring in to declare how the Doctors do not agree in all things neither with the church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

Counsell of the prelats of Rome against the Gospellers.

It followeth moreouer after the death of the archbishop Swinco aboue mentioned, that one named Conradus was placed by the pope there to bee chiefe generall, which Conradus conferring with the diuines and Doctors of the Vniuersitie of Prage, required their aduices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissention and discords betwixt the clergie and the people. Wherupon a certaine councell was deuised to be holden after this forsaid maner as followeth.

1 First, that all Doctors and masters of the Vniuersitie of Prage should be assembled in the court of the archbishop and in his presence, that euery doctor and master should sweare, not to hold or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe before condemned.

2 Item, concerning the 7. Sacraments of the Church the heeres and censures of the church, the maners, rites, ceremonies, customes, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of reliques and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that euery one shall sweare that hee doth hold, beleeue and maintaine, and will maintaine, as doth the church of Rome and no otherwise, of the which church of Rome the pope is the head, and the colledge of cardinals is the body: who are the true and manifest successors of blessed S. Peter prince of the apostles, and of the colledge of the other apostles of Christ.

3 Item that euery one shall sweare, that in euery catholicke matter belonging to the church, that he will stand to the determination of the apostolicall see, and that hee will obey the prelats in all maner of things wheresoeuer, the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden: or that which is mere ill, is not commanded: but is meane and indifferent betweene both. Which meane or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place or person, may be either good or euill.

4 Item, that euery one shall sweare and confesse by his oth, that the opinions of Wickliffe and others, touching the 7. Sacraments of the church and other things aboue ratified, being contrarie to the said church of Rome, be false.

5 Item that an oth be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend or maintaine any of the 45. articles of John Wickliffe aforesaid, or in any other matter catholicke, and especially of the 7. Sacraments and other articles aboue specified, but only as doth the church of Rome and no otherwise.

6 Item, that euery ordinarie in his diocesse shall cause the said premisses contained in the 1. 2. 3. 4. articles aforesaid, to bee published in his synods, and by his preachers to bee declared to the people in the kingdome of Bohemie.

7 Item, that if any clerke, student, or lay man shall withstand any of the premisses, that the ordinarie haue authoritie if he be conuicted thereof, to correct him according to the old lawes and canons, and that no man shall defend such one by any meanes, for none but the ordinarie hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdome and Vniuersitie of Prage.

8 Item, that the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous and offensiue to others fame, bee not sung neither in streets, tauernes, nor any other place.

9 Item, that master John Hus shall not preach so long as he shall haue no absolution of the court, neither shall binder the preaching in Prage by his presence: that by this, his obedience to the apostolicall see may be knowne.

10 Item, that this councell doth appeare to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissention that is in the kingdome of Boheme.

11 Item, if master John Hus, with his complices will performe this, which is contained in the 4. former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would with vs and haue vs, whensoeuer neede shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwise if they will not so do, here in giuing this testimony shall lie greatly vnto our lord the king and to the whole world. And moreouer, wee will be content to write to them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saued. This counsell and deuice being considered amongst the head of the Vniuersitie of Prage, the foresaid administrator, named Conradus, presented vnto the king and to the barons of the realme, and also to the Senate of Prage. Whereof as soone as word came to John Hus and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in maner and form of a councell as followeth.

For the loue of God and the true preaching of his Gospel, for the health of the people, and to auoide the sinister and false infamie of the kingdome of Boheme, and of the Marquethie of Morauia, and of the citie and Vniuersitie of Prage, and for the reforming of peace and vnitie betweene the clergie and the scholars of the Vniuersitie:

1 First let the right and full decreement of the princes and of the kings counsell, be holden and stand in force, which betweene the lord archbishop Swinco on the one partie, and betweene the rector and master John Hus on the other partie, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts receiued and allowed in the court of our foresaid lord the king.

Steuen Palecz hath a great enuy to I. Hus.

2 Item, that the kingdome of Boheme remaine in his former rites, liberties, and common customes, so as other kingdomes and lands do enioy, that is, in all appzobations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother vniuersall church.

John Hus banished out of Prage.

3 Item, that master John Hus, against whom the foresaid lord Swinco, could obiect no crime before the councell, that the said John Hus may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whosoeuer will obiect to him either heresie or error, let him obiect, binding himselfe to suffer the like paine, if he do not proue it.

4 Item, if no man will set himselfe on the contrarie part against him, then let the commandement be made by our soueraigne lord the king through all his cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and townes, that master John Hus, is ready to render account of his faith, and therefore if any will obiect vnto him any heresie or errour, let him write his name in the chancerie of the lord archbishop, and to bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

5 Item, if none such shalbe found to obiect, or which will write his name, then let them bee called for, which caused to bee noised and rumoured in the popes court, that in the kingdome of Boheme



Boheme in the citie of Prage, and in the Marquesdome of Morauia, many there be whose hearts be inserted with heresie and errour, that they may proue who they be: and if they be not able to proue it, let them be punished.

6 Item, that commandement be directed to Doctors of Diuinitie and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedrall churches, and that it berequired of them all and of euery one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be an heretike or erroneous, and if they denie to know any such, then let them make recognition thereof, before the publike notary, conteining the same with their seales.

7 Item, these things thus done and promised, then that our soueraigne lord the king, and also that the archbishop will giue commandement vnder paine, that no man shall call one another heretike or erroneous, vnlesse he will stand to the probation of that heresie or error, as it becommeth him.

8 Item, after these things obtained, that our soueraign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then leuie a subsidie, or collect of the clergie, and direct an honest ambassie to the popes court; with the which ambassadors, let them also goe vpon their owne proper charges or expences for their purgation, which haue caused this kingdome sadly and grieuously to be infamed in the apostolicall court.

9 Item, in the meane season for the presence of master John Hus no Interdict ought to bee made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church, &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation betweene the two parts, the one obiecting, the other answering in articles, as is aforesaid; in the meane time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus king of Naples, who had besieged the popes townes and territories, that pope Iohn railing vp warre against the said Ladislaus, gaue full remission of sinnes to all them which would warre of his side to defend the church. Then this bull of the popes indulgence was come to Prage, and there published, the king Wencellaus, who then fauoured that pope, gaue commandement that no man should attempt any thing against the said popes indulgences. But Hus with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manfully to speake against them: of the which company were 3. certaine artificers, who hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speake against them, and called the pope Antichrist, which would let vp the crosse to fight against his euenchristened. Wherfore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward. But the people layning themselues together in armes, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let lose. The magistrates with gentle words and faire promises satisfied the people, so that euery man returning home to his owne house, the tumult was asswaged. But the captiues being in prison, notwithstanding were there beheaded, whose names were John, Martine, and Stalcon. The death and martyrdome of these three being knowne vnto the people, they take the bodies of them that were slaine, and with great solemnity brought them vnto the church of Bethlem. At whose funerall diuers priests fauouring that side, did sing on this wise: These be the saints which for the Testament of God gaue their bodies, and their bodies were for his sake vnrighteously interred in the church of Bethlem. John Hus preaching at the same funerall, much commending them for their constancie, & blessing God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, which had bid the way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, & had reueal. it to the simple lay people and inferior priests, which chose rather to please God then men.

The pope maketh warre.

John. Martine. Stalcon. Martyrs.

Thus this city of Prage was diuided. The prelates with the greatest part of the clergie, and moll of the barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Steuen Palecz, being the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergie and students of the vniuersitie went with John Hus. Wencellaus the king fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moued by the doctors, prelats, and counsell of his barons, thought best to remoue John Hus out of the city, who had beene excommunicated before by the pope: And further, to cease this dissention risen in the church, committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergie. They consulting together among themselues, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the summe of 18. articles for the maintenance of the pope and the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliffe and John Hus. The names of the Doctors of diuinity were these: Steuen Palecz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Ioannes Helie, Andreas Broda, Iohannes Hildesen, Matheus Monachus, Hermannus Heremita, Georgius Bora, Simon Wenda, &c. John Hus thus departing out of Prage, went to his countrie, where he being protected by the lord of the soile, continued there preaching; to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was hee so expelled out of Prage, but that sometimes hee resorted to his church at Bethlem, and there also preached vnto the people.

Moreouer, against the said decree of the Doctors, John Hus with his company replied againe, and answered to their articles, with contrary articles againe, as followeth.

## The obiections of Iohn Hus and of his part, against the decree of the Doctors.

FIrst, the foundation of the Doctors whereupon they found all their writings and counsels is false: which foundation is this, whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsitie of the Sacraments.

2 The Doctors hereby do defame the kingdome of Boheme, and do raise vp new discords.

3 Let them shew therefore those persons of the clergie, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verifie their report, binding themselues to suffer the like paine, if they be not able to proue it.

4 False it is that they say, the pope and the cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, neither that any other successors of Peter and of the apostles, can be found vpon the earth besides them. Whereas no man knoweth whether he be worthie of hatred or of fauor. And all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

5 Not the pope, but Christ onely is the head: and not the cardinals, but all Christs faithfull people be the body of the catholicke church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testifie and affirme.

6 And as touching the pope, if he bee a reprobate, it is plaine that hee is no head, no not member also of the holy church of God, but of the diuell, and of his synagogue.

7 The clergie of the Gospellers agreeing with the saying at saint Austen which they alledge, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirme laudable: that the condemnation and prohibition of the 45. articles is vnlawfull, and vniust, and rashly done: for that not onely because the Doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely, touching faith (as these articles doe) haue no authority at all, as appeareth, De baptismo et eius effectu, cap. Maiores. Et in Can. 17. dist. cap. Hinc fedi, &c.

8 The second cause of the discord which they alledge, also is most falce: seeing the faith of whole Christendome concerning the church of Rome, is diuided into 3. parts by the reason of 3. popes, which now together do reigne: and the 4. part is neutrall. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope, and of the cardinals, but so farre forth as they do agree with the holy Scripture of the old & new Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers, did first spring, as is euident, De accusationibus cap. qualiter, &c.

9 For the 4. article they hold not into a certaine dolage, and more necessary to themselues. By reason that they notably haue reprehended the Gospellers, who in all their doings receiue the holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way of truth and life) for their iudge and measure: and afterward they themselues do alledge the Scripture, Deut. 17. where al iudges both popes and cardinals are taught to iudge and discerne betweene leper and leper, and in euery ecclesiasticall cause, onely after the rule of Gods law. And so are they contrary vnto their second article, wherein they say: that in euery catholike matter we must run to the pope: which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

10 Consequently, like idiots they doe most falsly alledge for their purpose the canon, vnder the name and authority of Hierome, written 24. q. 1. Hæc est fides papa, &c. where they do apply the words of Hieronie most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to S. Austen, calling him a most blessed pope.

24. q. 1. Hæc est fides. Austen called pope.

11 By which place of Hierome, it is manifest that the first article of those Doctors is false. Forasmuch as by these words appeareth that other besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and feate of Peter, and are successors of the apostles as was Austen and other holy Popes mo.

12 Whereof it followeth moreouer, that the church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principall see of his whole church. For Christ which was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bonony, some at Perusium, some at Auinion.

Pope Ioane a woman.

13 Item, the foresaid prelats are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthie to bee punished: Which affirme and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why? it is knowne that many popes haue erred, and one pope was also a woman. To whom not onely it was not lawfull to giue obedience, but also vnlawfull to communicate with them. As all Rubricos, and infinite canons do declare.

14 Item, their 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. articles do stand and are grounded vpon vntrue and false persuasions. And therefore are to be reiected and detested like the other before: Seeing they doe induce not to peace and verity, but to dissention and falsitie.

15 It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissention among the clergie, riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the Gospell, which reprehendeth such Simoniaks, and such heretickes in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abrode into all the

world. Who deserue to be remoued and extirpate not only of the clergy gospellers but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simonye, lecherie, and auarice (which is vsually) be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdome of Boheme, and not the other, which they falsly ascribe to the gospellers of Prage. These three vices being remoued, peace & vnity would soone be reformed in the clergy.

16. Moreouer, their last article is too grosse, and not onely is without all law, but also without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly doe argue thus: that the processes made against M. John Hus ought to bee obeyed, because so much the common sort of the clergie of Prage, hath receiued them. By the same reason they may argue also, that wee must obey the deuill, for our first parents Adam and Eue obeyed him. Also our fore-auncestors before vs were Pagans, wherefore we must obey them, and play also the Pagans.

17. But let this friuolous opinion go: this is certaine truth, that the said processes made against M. John Hus, by law are none. Forsomuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church, as appeareth Cap. Sacro de Sententia excom. and a thousand other lawes besides.

18. Finally, whosoeuer wittingly and obstinately doe defend & execute (the said processes made) or adherents vnto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretickes, as hath been afore written and exhibited to the lord general bishop of Constance. And more shall be declared and proued, if audience may be giuen openly before all the Doctors.

Ex Aenea Sylui. & Cochleo.

¶ Vnto these obiections of J. Hus and his part, the catholike Doctors against did answere in a long tedious processe: The scope whereof principally tended to defend the principality of the pope, and to maintaine his obedience aboue all other potentates in the world: affirming & contending, that although Christ is the head alone of the whole multitude of them that are sleeping in purgatorie, and which are labouring in the church militant, and which are reigning in heauen: yet this letteth not, but the pope is head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithfull, which here in this world line vnder his office. Like as Christ is king of all kings, and yet Charles may bee the king of France: so say they, Christ may bee the vniuersall head, and yet the pope may bee head vnder him of the whole church. And thus concluded they that the pope is the head, and that the college of cardinals is the body of the Romish church; which church of Rome is placed in the ecclesiasticall office here ouer the earth, to know and define vpon euery ecclesiasticall and catholike matter: to correct errors, and to purge them, and to haue care vpon all such vniuersall matters, and cure vpon all vniuersall churches, and vpon the vniuersall flocke of faithfull christians. Forasmuch as in the regiment of the church though the vniuersall world, there must needs remain in such office alwaies some such minister and true successor of Peter, prince of the apostles and of the college of the other apostles of Christ: neither can there be found or giuen vpon earth any other successors but only the pope which is the head, and the college of cardinals, which is the body of the foresaid church of Rome. And although the whole vniuersall multitude of the faithfull do make the body of Christ, yet the same body of Christ is not placed here in office to exercise such authority vpon earth. Because that the vniuersall multitude was neuer yet, nor euer can be congregate together.

And therfore necessary it is, that some such true and manifest successors and iudges be appointed, to whom recourse must be had, in all such catholike and ecclesiastical matters determinable. For like as in earthly regiments, euery cause of discord is brought before his magistrate, and hath his place assigned where to bee decided: so like reason would require, that in principall matters and controuersies of faith, some such presidents and places be limited for the purpose to haue such doubts resolued. And this being granted, then the Doctors proceed, and here must needs conclude, (say they) that there cannot be giuen in all the world any other place, but only the church of Rome: the head whereof is the pope, and the body is the college of cardinals. For like as Christ departing out of this world in his corporall presence, left his body here with vs vnder the Sacrament in all other forms, whereby he remaineth with vs (according to his promise, Mat. vlt.) vnto the consummation of the world: euen so while Christ walked here on earth in his bodily presence, he was pope himselfe and chiefe bishop, and so head of the church here militant in earth corporally conioyned with the same, as the head is to his body. But after that he departed out of the world because his body, which is the church militant vpon the earth, should not be headlesse, therefore he left Peter and his successors to his church, for an head in his place, vnto the consummation of the world, saying to him: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my church &c. Mat. 16. And againe he saith: Feede my sheepe: Ioan vlt. That is to say, be thou Peter the head ouer thy brethren.

Thus then M. John Hus being driuen out of Prage (as is afore touched) by the motion of these Doctors, and moreouer being so excommunicate, that no masse nor other mass bee said there where he was present: the people became mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelats & other popish priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be Simoniacks, couetous, whoremasters, adulterers, proud, sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame. And much craued reformation to be had of the clergie.

The king seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickednesse of the clergie, vnder pretence to reforme the church, began to require greater exactions vpon such priests and men of the clergie, as were knowne & accused to be wicked liuers. Wherupon they on the other part, that fauoured John Hus, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoeuer they knew to bee of the catholick faction, or enemies to J. Hus. By reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distresse, and such as were not faulty, into great feare. Insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out with the protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this meanes M. Hus began to take some more liberty vnto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlem, and none to controll him: by the same incenses the people also receiued some comfort, and the king much gained money by that reason.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute J. Hus, were inwrapped themselues in great tribulation, and afflicted on euery side, as well of lay men, as of learned men of the clergie. Insomuch that women also and children were against them. And by the same reason, wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were ouerthrowne themselues. For the doctors which before condemned this doctrine in J. Hus, for intolerable heresie, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporall lords might take away temporall liuings from the clergy sinning habitualiter, that is, lying & continuing still in the custom of iniquity: now when the K. and the lords temporall began to mearse them and bereaue them of their temporalties for their transgressions, the said doctors did keepe silence and durst speake neuer a word. Against, where the foresaid doctors before could not abide in John Hus, that tithes were to be counted for pure almes, now coming to the Guild-hal, were faine to entreat for their temporall goods, not to be taken from them, pleading the same temporalties to bee meere almes & deuotion of good men, giuen vnto the church. Ex Cochl.

And thus now did they themselues grant the thing, which before they did condemne. The more that the popes clergie was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Hus, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their owne wicked deseruings, for the which cause Steuen Paletz, & Andreas de Broda, being the chiefe champions of that faction, though they could not remedie the cause, yet to ease their minds, wrote sharpe and cruell letters to maister Hus. And to helpe the matter forward, the pope also here must helpe at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wenceslaus king of Boheme, which was brother to Sigismund emperor, for the suppressing of John Hus and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last yeere of his popedome, An. 1414. The tenor of whose letters to king Wenceslaus in this sort proceedeth.

The letter of pope Iohn to king Wenceslaus.

IOhn bishop seruant of Gods seruants, to his welbeloued son in Christ Wenceslaus, king of Romanes and of Boheme, greeting and apostolicall benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, which (though vnworthy) represent the roome of Christ here in earth, this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we doe heare of the brotherly entreatie of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms doe encrease, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honor, & our welbeloued son in the Lord, Sigismund your brother germaine and cosin, for the noble king of the Romanes, &c. And furthermore it followeth in these words: And as we haue cause to ioy at the premisses: so likewise againe the heauie rumors which are here, doe trouble and dampe our minds: For we heare, that in diuers places vnder your dominion, there be certaine which doe follow and leane to the errors of that archeretick Wickliffe, whose bookes haue been long since condemned in the generall Romane councell, and to be erroneous, hereticall, and swarming from the catholicke faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons cleauing to the opinions of the hereticks (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excesse, to couer their naughtines and stubbornes in despising the commandements of the apostolicall see) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keyes and ecclesiastical censure, to the subuersion of the apostolicall dignity, setting at nought the decrees of the holy fathers, and cosens. Wherefore we do exhort your worship for the mercy of our God, as hartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire & hope you will, to effectuallie, to shew forth your regall power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholike faith, in such you go about to defend, and for the conseruation of your kingly name, state and honor, for the prosperous & safe gouernment of your kingdom and dominions, as it becommeth a catholick prince, whereby this blot



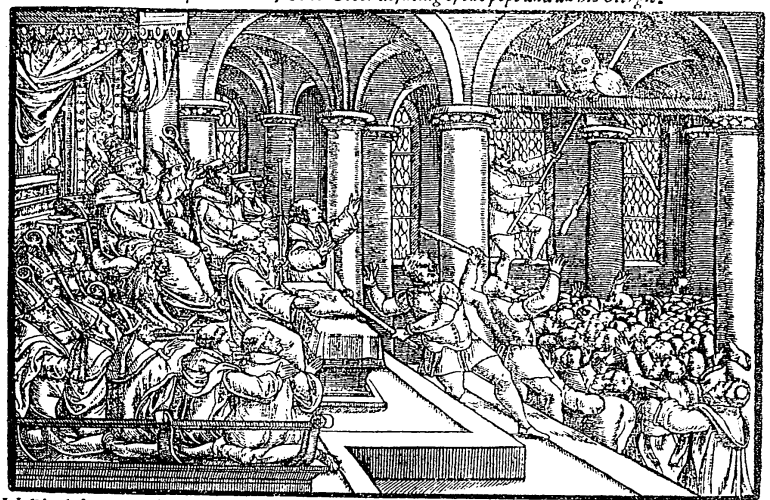
blot of heresie (which doth so lamentablie and miserably spring and creepe in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortall men, to the destruction of their soules, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholike faith and truth) may be rooted out, &c. Giuen at Bononia in the Ides of June, in the fifth yeere of our popedome, &c.

In this epistle of pope John aboue prefired, forsomuch as mention is made of a certaine councel before holden at Rome (which was foure yeres before) against the articles and bookes of John Wickliffe: it shall not be impertinent no; out of purpose to repeate a certaine merry historie, and worthy otherwise to be noted at, written by Nicolas Clemangis of a certaine spirit, which ruled the popish councels: his words are these.

The storie of an Owle appearing at the councell of pope Iohn. Ex Nic. Clemangis.

The same pope called a councel at Rome about foure yeres before, at the earnest sute of diuers men. And a masse of the holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said councell, (according to the accustomed manner) the councell being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chaire prepared for him for that purpose: Behold an vgly and dreadfull Owle, or as the common prouerbe is, the euill signe of some mischance of death to follow, comming out of the backe house of him, flew to and fro, with her euill fauoured voice, and standing vpon the middle beame of the church, cast her staring eyes vpon the pope sitting. The whole companie began to maruell, to see the night Crow, which is wont to abide no light, how shee should in the mid day come in the face of such a multitude, and indged (not without cause) that it was an ill fauoured token. For behold, said they, (whispering one in an others eare) the spirit appeareth in the shape of an Owle. And as they stood beholding one an other, and admiring the pope, scarcely could keepe their countenance from laughter. John himselfe, vpon whom the Owle stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat and to fret and fume with himselfe, and not finding by what other meanes he might salue the matter, being so confused, dissoluing the councell, rose vp and departed. After that there followed another session: in the which the Owle againe, after the maner aforesaid, although, as I beleeue, not called, was present, looking stedfastly vpon the bishop; whom poe

## The description of the Popes Councell holden at Rome, in which appeared a monstrous Owle, to the vtter defacing of the pope and all his Clergie.



beholding to be come againe, was more ashamed then hee was before (and iustly) saying he could no longer abide the light of her, and commanded that shee should be driuen away with batts and thountings: but shee being afraid neither with their noise, neither of any thing else, would not away, vntill that with the strokes of the sticks, which were throwne at her, shee fell downe dead before them all. This I learned of a faithfull friend, who at the same time came to Rome: the which thing I fearcely crediting for the rarenesse of the matter, he affirmed by his oth, that it was most certaine and true: adding moreouer, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that councell called for such a purpose, and by little and little the councell was dissolued, nothing done there, as he saith. Although it hath not been alwaies seene that such spirituall Owles haue been present with popes and their councels, and gouerned them: yet their euill doctrine declareth no lesse. Reade, gentle Reader, the booke of Clemangis, and thou shalt not thinke thy labour euill bestowed. For hee hath both learnedly, truely, freely, and godly bewailed the filthines of Antichrist, and his ministers, their wickednesse, impiety and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the church, &c. And thus much for pope John.

The Councell of Constance.

The order of Constance.

HEre by the way is to be noted and vnderstood, that during all this time of pope John, there were 3. popes raigning together, neither was yet the schisme ceased, which long time had continued, the space (as I said) of 29. yeeres. By the reason whereof a generall councell was ordained and holden at Constance in the same yeere, Anno 1414. being called by Sigismund the emperour, and pope John the three and thirtith, for the pacifying of the foresaid schisme, which was then betweene three popes, striuing for the popedome: The first whereof was John, whom the Italians set vp: The second was Gregorie, whom the Frenchmen set vp: The third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismaticall ambitious conflict, euery one defended his pope, to the great disturbance of christian nations. This councell endured foure yeres long, wherein all their matters were decided moll by foure nations, to say, the English, Germaine, French, and Italian nation. Out of which foure nations were appointed and chosen foure Presidents to iudge and determine the matters of the councell. The names of which Presidents were these: John the Patriarke of Antioch for France, Anthonie archbishop of Aquen for Italy, Nicolas archbishop of Genesuensis for Germanie, and Nicolas bishop of Bathe for England: by whom many great and profitable things to the glorie of God, and publike profit, might haue been concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could haue bidden the sait of the Gospell, and if they had loued the truth: But as Gregorius Nazianzenus writeth, there lightly come seld generall councels, but they end more with disturbance, then tranquillitie. So it happened in this councell: for whereas John the 23. in the first Session exhorteth them by these words taken out of the 8. of Zacharie: Veritatem diligite: that is to say: Loue the truth; further, monishing them, and specially the Diuines, euery man to do his endeauour for the bnitie of the church, and to speake their mind freely: but how soone this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared thozily after by the despiting of the pro-



Three popes together labouring for the popedome.

The prelates assembled in this councell were numbred together with their seruants, 1040. Bibliis sum Theyney. &c. Gregorius in Epistola quadam.

phets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appeare hereafter in the processe of this storie. First this John did resigne his papacie, the emperor giuing him thankes kissed his feet.

Afterward the said John repenting him that he had so done, sought meanes to flee; wherevnto Fredericke Duke of Austrich did assist him; for he changing his garments, fled by night with a small companie. And when hee was not come vnto Schaffe house to goe into Italy, the emperor pursuing, tooke him, and proclaimed Fredericke traitour, and for that cause tooke away certaine cities from him. At the last the matter was appealed vnder this condition, that Fredericke should require grace of the emperor, and resigne all his possessions vnto him. Thereupon the emperour receiued him againe into fauor, and restored him to his dukedome. This pope being thus deposed, was committed vnto the county Palatine, and by him caried to the castle of Hanbetine, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three yeres. Afterward hee was againe by pope Martine admitted to the number of cardinals.

This pope John was deposed by the decree of the councell, more then 40 most grieuous and hainous crimes being obiected and proued against him: as that hee had hired Marcilus Perniensis a physition, to poyson Alexander his predecessour. Further, that he was an heretike, a simoniake, a liar, an hypocrite, a murtherer, an inchanter, a blasphemer, an aduterer, and a Sodomite; and finally what crime is it, that he was not inferred withall?

And now to returne vnto the councell, first we will declare the order of their Sessions, with things therein concluded, in general: then we will (Christ willing) adioyne the speciall tractation of such matters, as pertaine to the storie of the Bohemians, and Iohn Hus, and Hieronie of Prage, who in the same vngodly councell were condemned and burned.

This councel the time of Constance, which was summoned by the emperour Sigismund, and pope Iohn 23. about the nativitie of our Lord Iesus, An. 1414. began the same yere to be assembled about the latter end of the yere. Which first beginning as the manner is, with a masse of the holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custome their Hymne, Veni sancte spiritus, there was at the same time a certaine bill set vp in the church by some well disposed man, as it seemed, wherein was contained these words following: Alijs rebus occupati nunc adesse vobis non possumus; That is to say: We are otherwise occupied at this time, we cannot intend to come to you. Here is also to bee remembred the worthie saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talke was mouthed as touching the reformation of the spiritualtie, and some said, quòd oportet incipere à Minoritis, that is, the reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites; the emperour answering againe: Non à Minoritis, sed à Maioritis, that is, not with ye Minorites, but with the Maiorites. Meaning, the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals and bishops, and other superior states of the church; and so to descend after to the inferiors. This much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the Sessions as wee promised. The which councell continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of foure yeres, and had in it 45. Sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which all together were too long to be recited in this place: as the deposition of three seuerall popes, which were before spoken of, the hearing of certain legats. Yet I mind to make some briefe recapitulation of the most principall matters there done in the Sessions orderly ensuing.

In the first Session chiefelie was concluded, first that this councell was lawfully congregate.

2 Item, that the going abroad of the pope should bee no let or stay, but the councell might proceed.

¶ Wherein note (gentle Reader) that the authority of the generall councell is aboue the pope, contrarie to their owne doctrine.

3 Item, this councell should not be dissolued before the church were reformed, as well in the superiors, as inferiors.

In the 4. Session amongst other things, this was first concluded: That a Synode congregate in the holy Ghost, making a generall councell, representing the whole catholike church here militant, hath power of Christ immediatly, to the which power euery person, of what state or dignitie soeuer he be, yea being the pope himselfe, ought to be obedient in all such things as concerne the generall reformation of the church, aswell in the heads, as in the subiects.

Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome and the officers of the same court, from the city of Constance. And that all his censures, doings and vndertakings after the time of his departure, what soeuer he should enterprise to doe to the preiudice of this councell, should be of no effect.

In the 5. Session the same articles were repeated and concluded againe.

In the 6. Session procuration and citation was sent out against the pope.

Item, commissioners were appointed out of the foure nations for the hearing of Iohn Hus, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his storie following.

Item, the memorie of Iohn Wicklike was condemned, and the sentence giuen in the councell holden at Rome vpon the condemnation and burning of Wicklifes bookes, was there confirmed.

Item, in the same Session, citation was sent out against Hieronie of Prage, the tenor whereof followeth after in the storie of the said Hieronie. Citation graunted against Hieronie of Prage.

Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

In the 7. session nothing was handled, but that the tenour of the citation against pope Iohn was recited. 7

In the 8. Session, the sentence and condemnation of Iohn Wicklike, and his 45. articles was recited, and sentence giuen against his memorie and bones to bee burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the historie of Iohn Wicklike before passed, fol. 413. 8 Sentence giuen for the burning of Wicklifes bones.

In the 9. Session, the matter and cause of pope Iohn was againe intreated, and commissioners appointed to enquire vpon his cause, and iudges for the same. 9

In the 10. Session, suspension was giuen out and read against the said pope. 10

In the 11. and 12. Sessions, notaries were assigned and definitiue sentence giuen against the said pope: where also was decreed that none of them that contended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope. 11 12

In the 13. Session was decreed, Quod nullus presbyter sub pœna excommunications communicet populo sub vtraque specie panis & vini: That is, that no priest vnder paine of excommunication shal communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds of bread and wine. 13

In the 14. Session, came in the resignation of pope George the 12. which was one of the 3. before mentioned, desiring for the papacy, with certaine other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which gaue ouer the papacy. 14

Then ensueth the 15. Session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts vnder paine of excommunication, and the great curse, that no person or persons high or low, of what estate or degree soeuer they be, emperour, king, cardinall, or other, should disturbe the said session with any maner of noise, either by hand, foote or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against Iohn Hus, was read and published, which after in the storie of Iohn Hus, followeth to be set more at large. 15 The solemne publishing of the sentence of condemnation against Iohn Hus.

In the 16. Session, ambassadors were assigned by the councell to go into Arragon to Benedictus the 13. to intreate with him for the resignation of his papacie, as the other two had done before. 16

Item, power was giuen to iudges, to cite vnder paine of deprivation, all such as priuily departed away from the councell: in the which session also the sentence against Iohn Husse was confirmed and ratified. 17

In the 17. Session, the emperour tooke vpon him a iourney to the king of Arragon, to entreate with pope Benedictus. An excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to empeach the emperours iourney about that matter, &c. The emperors iourney into Arragon.

Item, prayers and processions were determined to be made by the councell, euery Sunday for the same cause, with an hundred daies of pardon giuen to them that would be present thereat; and that all prelats should be present at euery of these said masses and processions in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to euery priest that said one masse, for the same 100. daies of pardon. And to all other that once a day should say one Pater noster, and one Aue, for the safety of the emperour, fortie daies of pardon. Pardons wrot here vpon cheape.

In the 18. Session, certaine iudges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the councel had no leisure to heare. 18

It was there also decreed, that such letters and bulles as were written in the name of that councell, should bee receiued with no lesse credit and authoritie, then the buls proceeding from the see apostolicall, and that the falsifiers of the same should incurre no lesse penalitie, then the falsifiers of the other. Legates also and ambassadors were sent into Italie.

In the 19. Session, which was the same yeer in the moneth of September, Hieronie of Prage, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresie, and cast into prison by the said councell, and constrained to abiure. The which his abiuration hereafter followeth to be seene in his historie. 19

Item, it was decreed: Quod non obstantibus saluis conductibus Imperatoris, Regum, &c. possit per iudicem competentem de heretica prauitate inquiri, &c. That is, notwithstanding the safe-conduct giuen by the emperor and kings, &c. inquirie may be made against a man for heresie by a sufficient iudge, and processe to be made according to the law. Concilium fe-difragum.

The causes of heresies were committed to certaine iudges and deputies.

Item, the Chart called Carolina, and diuers other Charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the church of Rome, being brought forth were approued and confirmed. And how these Charts of Constantines donation, is not here mention-ed.

In the 20. Session, letters and instruments were made and set vpon church doores, to require and admonish Duke Fredericke to restore againe vnto George bishop of Auistrich, such lands, rents, and reuenewes as hee detained and withheld Diuers the church-lands



withheld, vnder paine of interdittement, suspending and excommunication.

During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon fro pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where as certaine articles and conditions betweene the pope and the councell were brought forth and agreed vpon, to the number of twelue.

In the yere of our Lord 1416. was the 21 session, beginning after their manner with a masse of the holy Ghost, with processions, and such other rites; in the time of which masse, Iames bishop of Lomby made a sermon, taking for his theme these words, Exprobrauit Deus incredulitatem eorum & duritiam: That is, the Lord rebuked their misbeliefe and hardnesse, &c. This sermon being ended, Ierome of Prage which had abiured, as is said, the yere before, being present thereat, stood vp vpon a certaine beach or forme, replying against the foresaid Iames and his sermon, alleadging and preaching diuers and sundry things, whereupon the Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitiue, which hee had in writing against the said Ierome; which sentence being read and approued by the councell (the tenth whereof insueth in his history) the said Ierome was deliuered vnto the secular power, and burned. 21 Anno 1416 Ierome of Prage replied against the sermon of the bishop of Lomby.

The 22. and 23. sessions containe no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsius king of Aragon: and granting them voices in the Councell. 22.23

In the 24. session, citation was giuen out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsius king of Aragon. 24

The 25. session containeth nothing but a certaine Commendam giuen to the church of Olemucensis. 25

The 26. session there was nothing else handled, but the vniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Nauarre into the Councell, and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices. 26

After this, followed the 27. and 28. sessions, which were in the yere 1417. Wherein was intreated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt duke Fredericke and the bishop of Trident, and processe giuen out against the said duke, accusing him of sacrilege, and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the Councell, concerning the disturbation and detaining of the city of Trident, and other possessions from bishop George, as is afore specified. 27.28 Anno 1417 The solemne publishing of the sentence of condemnation against Iohn Hus.

In the 29. and 30. sessions, protestors and notaries were giuen out in the cause against pope Benedict, and order decreed vpon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Aragon from the same pope, was recited and approued by the Councell. 29.30

In the 31. session, certaine instruments and speciall letters monitory were directed from the Councell to a certaine earle of Italy named Comes virtutum, for laying violent hands vpon Albert bishop of Asse, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earle, vnder paine of interdiction & excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also, another decree was set forth for the releasing against the liberties of the church of Baron. 31

In the 32. and 33. sessions, the accusation of pope Benedict was renewed, and his obstinacie accused, and witnesse brought in; at which thing doing, the emperor Sigismund was present. 32.33 Pope Benedict accused.

In the 34. session, the cause of the foresaid pope was heard, and processe giuen out against him. 34

In the 35. Session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and vnited to the Councell, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the othes made to the foresaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience. 35

In the 36. session, a certaine citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation, and the sentence against him, and instruments made vpon the same. And where as this pope had thundred out his curses, deprivations and excommunications against them; the said synod did annihilate all his doings. 36 The pope excused by the councell.

In the 37. session did renew againe the accusation of the foresaid pope, and the sentence definitiue against him was published. 37

In the 38. session certaine decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of king Henrie, sonne of Alphonsius king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the reuocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Aragon. 38

Thus pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addicted themselues to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the 39. session, to giue out decrees concerning generall Councels, and prouision for the auoiding of such like schismes hereafter. Decreeing euery tenth yere to haue a generall Councell, after the two Councels that should follow immediatly after this; of the which, the one should be kept within fiue yeres then next following; and the second within seuen yeres after that. 39 Decrees for generall councels.

Item, in the same session was drawne out a forme touching such things as the pope should professe and bind himselfe to obserue at the time of his election, of the which forme the order and tenor is this.

I. N. elected for pope, professe with heart and mouth vnto almighty God, whose church I take vpon me to gouerne by his helpe, and to blessed Saint Peter the prince of the Apostles, so long as I shall endure in this fraile and brittle life, firmely to beleeue and hold the holy catholike faith after the traditions of the Apostles, of generall Councels, and of other holy fathers, and namely of the eight generall Councels, Nicene the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesine the third, Chalcedone the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seuenth of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the generall Councels of Lateran, Lions, and Vienne, willing to obserue the same faith inuiolate euen to the vttermost, and to preach and defend the same, euen to the spending of my life and bloud, and also by all meanes possible to prosecute and obserue the rite of the sacraments canonically deliuered to the catholike Church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandement being written out by the notary of the archees of the holy Church of Rome, I haue subscribed with mine owne hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and deuout conscience, I offer it vnto the Almighty God vpon such an altar, &c. In the presence of such witnesse, &c. Peuen, &c. The profession which the pope is bound to.

It was also decided in this session, that no prelats should be translated against their wils.

The third of the same month and the same yere, followed the 40. session, wherein certaine decrees were constitute and read, as touching reformations to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the Councell, before this synod should breake vp. 40

Item, that they should so proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of the Cardinals which were with pope Benedict in Spaine. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was 41. the constitution of Clement the firth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclaue about the chusing of the pope; and vpon the same, othes were ministred vnto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to obserue and keepe all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election. 41

First, that they should enter into the conclaue within ten daies after the fortith session, which was this present day after sunne set. The order and manner of the conclaue in chusing the pope.

Secondly, that euery cardinall should haue but two scrutors attending vpon him at the most, either of the laity or clergie, as they would themselues.

Thirdly, that they should remaine together in the said conclaue, without any wall betwixt them, or any other couer, saue only bare curtaines, if any were disposed to sleepe.

Fourthly, that the conclaue should so be shut vp, and the entrie to the priuy chamber to be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any to haue recourse vnto them to talke with them priuily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except by the consent of them all certain should be called about matters concerning the election.

Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

Sixthly, that a competent window should be assigned vnto them to receiue in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

Seuenthly, that no day after their first ingresse into the conclaue, beside bread, wine, and water, they should haue any more dishes but one of one onely kind, either of flesh or fish, egges, pottage, made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort, beside salades, cheese, fruit, and confectues, where of there shall be no principall messe made but for sauce and taste.

Eightly, that not one should be compelled to goe into the conclaue: but if they did all refuse to goe in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

Ninthly, that such as would goe out, might; but if they would all goe out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to goe in againe, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmitie, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

Tenthly, that such as went out by reason of infirmity, for to bee absent, and returne before the election be determined, may be admitted againe into the conclaue in the same state wherein they shall finde the election to stand.

Further and besides, the keepers of the conclaue should also be sworne to see all these premisses obserued and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors about the order here taken.

And if the king be there himselfe, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receiue the same oth of the cardinals.

Vpon this, such as should be elected to bee the cardinals, were chosen. These were wife cardinals, they would

Furthermore, for as much as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be giuen and granted vnto

not goe into the conclaue, lest they should be shut vp, & their goods safe enough.

bitts such as could catch them: whereupon vnder the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals, and others which were in the conclaue, fally fauning them to be elected which were not to be elected. To stop the greedy rauening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the Patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishoppes, bishoppes, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors entring into the conclaue vpon munday, on thursday after they had hatched out a pope, being Saint Martins euen, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin thus being elected, was straightway brought in by the Emperor and the Councell into the church of Constance, and there inthronized for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. The twenty one day of the said moneth, this foresaid Martin, according to their accustomed pompe, was honorably brought in to bee crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, vnto the monasterie of Saint Austin: the Emperor on foote, leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the Marquesse of Badenburge prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand, the pope himselfe riding in the middest vpon his palfrey.

Pope Martin hatcheth.

The emperor leadeth the popes horse by the bridle on the right hand. The prince electors leadeth the popes horse on the left hand.

And thus being brought into the monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about against from thence to the high church of Constance, was there crowned with all magnificence.

Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and lord vanity of this Councell maze great then wise, bid not end thus: for in the next session, which was the forty two, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the councell, discharging the bond of the emperor and the county Palatine, touching the safe custody of pope Iohn, who was by bond committed vnto them to be kept in safety.

42

In the 43. session, certaine other decrees and statutes were made by pope Martin in the said synod: annullating and repruning all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schisme from the time of Gregory the eleuenth. As in matters concerning exemptions, vnions, fruits and profits of the church, benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and other burdens of the church. Also concerning the apparell of the clergy, and such other things.

43

Apparell of the clergy.

In the 44. session, the sage fathers of this councell were occupied about the determining in what place the next councell shou'd be kept in. The forty fiue session brake vp and dissolued this synod.

44

Now to finish our tedious rehearsall of this synod: The cardinall Ambald by the commandement of the pope and the councell, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words, Dominus in pace, which is, Lords depart in peace: whereunto the flanders by answered, Amen.

45

Thus the councell being dissolued, frier Iohn bishoppe of Catthan, by the consent and commandement of the pope and the councell, went vp into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theame: Vos autem triſtitiam habetis: iterum autem videbo vos, & gaudebit cor vestrum: You are now in sadnesse, I will see you againe, and then your hearts shall reioyce. The which collation being ended, another cardinall named Anthony, was sent vp by the pope and the councell, with this proclamation. First, to definite the synod, and to giue euery man leaue to depart home. Also to declare the popes indulgence vnto them, vpo by the authority of God almighty, had granted to them all and euery one present at that councell, full absolution once in their life; so that euery one within two moneths after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in forme of writing. Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the houre of death, and that was vnderstood as well of the houshold, as of the maisters themselues. But vnder this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast vp the space of one whole yere euery friday, for the absolution in their life time. And for the absolution at the houre of death, to fast the same Friday another yere, except they had some lawfull impediment to the contrary, so that after the second yere, they should fast vnto their liues end, or else to doe some other good worke. The which being in this maner proclaimed, the synod brake vp, and euery man departed home.

Smell here reader, this made well for the popes pulse.

Ex Paralipomenon Abbatis Vsp.

The number of priests in the councell of Constance.

The number of the foreiners resorting to this councell both spirituall and temporall, was 60500. whereof the number of archbishops and bishops, was 346.

Abbats and doctors 564.

Secular men { Princes, Dukes, Earles, Knights, Esquires, } 16000.

Besides common women belonging to the same councell 450.

Common women in the councell of Constance. 60500. strangers at the councell of Constance.

Barbers 600. minstrels, cookes and Iesters 320.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the towne of Constance betweene Easter and Whitsontide, were numbred to be 60500. strangers and forreiners at that councell.

Here is to be noted that in this councell of Constance, nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the popes authority is vnder the councell, and that the councell ought to iudge the pope.

The generall councell aboue the pope.

And as touching the communion in both kinds, although the councell did not denie, but that it was vsed by Christ and his Apostles: yet notwithstanding by the same councell it was decreed to the contrary.

Communion in both kinds denied by this councell.

Hitherto we haue comprehended the order and discourse of this councell, with the acts and sessions concerning the same: which councell, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the schisme betweene the three popes; yet notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for Iohn Hus, as appeared by their preparation before the councell. For before the councell began, the emperor Sigismund aforesaid, sent certaine gentlemen Bohemians, which were of his owne houshold, giuing them in charge to bring Iohn Hus, bachelar of Diuinitie, vnto the said councell, and that vnder his safe-conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that Iohn Hus should purge and cleare himselfe of the blame which they had laid against him: and for the more better assurance, the emperor did not onely promise him safe-conduct, that he might come freely vnto Constance, but also to returne againe into Boheme, without frand or interruption: he promised also to receiue him vnder his protection, and vnder safegard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the said safe-conducts double written, both in Latin and Almaine, the forme whereof doth hereafter ensue.

The safe-conduct giuen to master Iohn Hus.

¶ Sigismund by the grace of God king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmarke, Croatia, &c. To all princes as well ecclesiasticall as secular, dukes, marquesses, and earles, barons, captaines, borowmasters, iudges and gouernours, officers of townes, bourgages and villages, and vnto all rulers of the communalty, and generally to all the subiects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace, and all goodnesse.

We charge and command you all, that you haue respect vnto Iohn Hus, the which is departed out of Boheme, to come vnto the generall councell, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the towne of Constance. The which Iohn Hus we haue received vnder our protection and safegard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receiue him when he shall come towards you, and that you intreat and handle him gently, shewing him fauor and good will, and shew him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardnesse, ease, and assurance of his iourney, as well by land as by water.

Moreouer, we will that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall passe throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, gouernances, lordships, liberties, cities, townes, bourgages, castels and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of impostion or dane mony, peage, tribute, or any other manner of tolle what-soeuer it be. We will also that you suffer him to passe, rest, tary, and to sojourne at liberty, without doing vnto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you doe prouide a faithfull company to conduct him withall, for the honor and reuerence which you owe vnto our Imperiall Maiesty. Yeuen at Spire the 18. of October, in the yeere of our Lord God 1414.

¶ By this it may appeare, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the councell by the bishops, but before the councell by the emperor: when it was of ought to be the principall ordainer and diretor of the councell vnder God. Now whether the bishops in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the emperors mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth Ad materiam iuris, non facti, being a matter rather of law then of fact, I will defer to reason this cause with master Cope, to such time as may be more conuenient to the full tractation thereof. Ale. Cogn. pri. 939.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and passe, let vs consider part of the reasons of the said Cope, how friuolous and false they be, and easie to be refelled. That (saith he) if he preached by the way comming vp: First, that it is false, vide infra page. That (saith he) if he stood obstinate in his heresie: What if hee sought to escape away after his comming vp? To this the lords of Boheme doe answere, that this safe-conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not onely before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for an heretike, but also before hee was heard of the councell what he was. Vide infr. page. Answere to Alex. Copus.

Further, where Cope saith, that the generall councell was aboue the emperor, and hath power in case of heresie to breake publike leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe-conduct stood not only vpon the emperor, but also vpon the consent of the pope himselfe. Vide infr. page.

And admit that to be true, that the councell had power to make this decree, to breake promise with heretikes: yet this cannot bee denied, but that Iohn Hus was condemned and iudged

iudged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proued by what scripture the councels haue power to depose the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe-conducts, and outward safety, then will I answere him more fully herein. But to the purpole againe of the story.

John Hus seeing so many faire promises, and the assurance which the emperor had giuen vnto him, sent answer vnto the emperor, that he would come vnto the councell. But before he departed out of the realme of Boheme, and specially out of the towne of Prage, hee did write certaine bils long enough afore, as well in Latine as in the Bohemian language, and Almaine, and caused them to be set and fastned vpon the gates of the cathedrall churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbies, signifying vnto them all, that he would goe to the generall councell at Constance; wherefore if any man haue any suspition of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the lord Conrade, or bishoppe of Prage, or if hee had rather, at the generall councell, for there hee would render and giue vp vnto euery one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations set vp were these, the copie whereof heere followeth. John Hus taketh the emperors safe conduct.

### ¶ The letters of Iohn Hus set vp in common places of the citie of Prage.

Letters of Iohn Hus to Prage.

MAster Iohn Hus, Bachelar of Diuinity, will appeare before the most reuerend father the lord Conrade, archbishop of Prage, and legat of the apostolike seat, in the next conuocation of all the prelats and clergy of the kingdome of Boheme, being ready alwaies to satisfie all men which shall require him to giue a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth. And to heare and see all such as will lay vnto his charge either any stubbornnes of error or heresie, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by Gods law and mans. And if so be that they could not law fully proue any stubbornnes of error or heresie against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should haue had, vnto whom all together he will answer at the next general councell at Constance, before the archbishop and the prelats, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, shew forth his innocency in the name of Christ. Dated the Sunday next after the feast of Saint Bartholomew.

### The Intimations following, were drawne out of the Bohemian tongue.

Another intimation of Iohn Hus set vp for his going to Constance.

IMaster Iohn Husinetz, doe signifie vnto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answere to all things whereof I am falsly accused, in the next conuocation of Bachelars; and chiefly to this point, that in many places they doe report me an heretike, not hauing respect vnto iustice or to laws, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore, since that you which doe neuer cease to slander and backbite me with your words, doe vnderstand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth, declare and shew forth what false doctrine or other things ye haue heard me teach contrary to the catholike faith; and if that I shall be found faulty in neuer so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I doe these that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace, and suffer punishment as an heretike. And if there be no man that will reuile against me, or accuse me in this point, come againe I say vnto you, that I am ready to appeare at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the Diuines, euen before the face of the pope. Therefore whosoeuer knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and shew it forth boldly, if he haue any thing to say against me, and for my part I will not be slacke, if I may vnderstand or know it, to answere as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I haue receiued of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men therefore which loue the truth, say now whether by these my words I doe thinke or goe about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, bee it knowne and manifest vnto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault the same day. The offer of Iohn Hus to his enemies.

### ❋ This Epistle which followeth, was set vpon the gates of the kings palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

Setting vp Iohn Hus at the kings gates.

VNto the Kings maiesty; the Queene, and to all such as are of his counsell, and to all other rulers and magistrates, which now are in the kings court, I Iohn Hus doe signifie and publish, that I haue vnderstood, not by any vaine rumor or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the kings maiesty, the contents whereof is this; That the kings maiesty should bring to passe, that the heretikes which were now lately sprung vp in his kingdome and dominions, should not take any firme or strong root. For so much as without any desert, as I trust by Gods grace, the same or more is sprung and blowne abroad: it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the kings maiesty, neither the noble kingdome of Boheme, should be driuen to beare or suffer any reproch or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I haue sent my letters to and fro, which I haue with great labour and diligence, caused to be openly set vp, to this intent, that I might thereby cause the archbisshoppe to be carefull and diligent about the matter, signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Boheme, which did know me to bee a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, that he should professe his name in the archbishoppe his court, and there to shew forth and declare what he thought. And forasmuch as there would none bee found or come forth, which would accuse me, the archbisshop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the kings maiesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the Queene, and their counsellers, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would giue me a faithfull testimoniall of this matter. Forsomuch as I haue oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me. I doe it moreouer to be knowne vnto all Boheme, and to all nations, that I will bee present euen at the first time before the councell of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president: and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoeuer hath any suspition of me, that I haue either taught or defended any thing contrary vnto the faith of Christ, let him come thither also, let him declare there before or in the presence of the pope, and all the doctors of Diuinity, what erroneous or false doctrine I haue at any time followed or holden. More, if hee shall conuince me of any error, or proue that I haue taught any thing contrary vnto the christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoeuer punishment shall bee due for an heretike. But I hope and trust euen from the bottome of my heart, that God will not giue the victory to vnfaithfull and vnbeleeuing men, the which doe willingly kicke and spurne against the truth.

The same time Iohn Hus sent his procurers to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained by the Apostolike Sea Inquisitor of heresie of the citie and dioceese of Prage, requiring him, that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishoppe before the said procurers, and the publike Notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with Iohn Hus, and that he neuer knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithfull man; and this his testimony of Iohn Hus, hee approoued by his letters, the copie whereof is heere vnder written.

### ❋ The bishop of Nazareth his testimoniall.

The testimony of the good bishop of Nazareth.

WEe Nicolas by the grace of God Bishop of Nazareth, and Inquisitor, specially deputed by the Apostolike seat, for heresies both of the citie and dioceese of Prage, by these presents we doe it to be knowne vnto all men, that wee in times past haue often communed and talked with that honourable man, master Iohn Hus, Bachelar of Diuinity, of the famous Vniuersitie of Prage, and haue had diuers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and diuers other matters, and in all his sayings, doings, and behauiour, we haue prooued and found him to bee a faithfull and a catholike man, finding no manner of euill, finister, or by any meanes erroneous doings in him vnto this present. We do witnesse and protest moreouer, how the said Iohn Hus, of late, in the cathedrall church of Prage, and in other both collegiate and parish churches, and in the Colledges of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus king of Romans and of Boheme: also in the gates of the reuerend father the lord Conrade, archbisshoppe of Prage, legat of the Apostilike see, and chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Prage, and of other princes and barons, then being in the citie of Prage, hath set vppe his letters written both in Latine, and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the foresaid master Iohn Hus would appeare before the reuerend father the lord Conrade, the foresaid archbishoppe of Prage, and all the prelates and clergie of the kingdome of Boheme, that shall bee congregated and called together by the said archbisshoppe, at the day appointed in the said citie of Prage, ready alwaies to satisfie euery man that shall desire and require him to shew a reason of his faith and hope that hee holdeth, and to see and heare all and euery one which could prooue any obstinacie of error or heresie law fully against him, vnder the paine to receiue the like punishment: vnto whom all together hee would by Gods help, answere in the councell of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishoppe and vs, with all other prelats, and there in Christs name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy The bishop of Nazareth witnesseth with Iohn Hus.

holy fathers, to declare and shew forth his innocency. After the which letters, as is aforesaid, by the said master Iohn Hus openly set vp, there did no man appeare before vs, the which would accuse the said master Iohn Hus of any error, either of any heresie. For the euident witnes of all which things, we haue commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seale. Dated in Prage xxx. of August, an. M. iiij. C. xiiij.

Vpon which matter also, a publike instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seale of the publike Notary, named Michael Pruthatitz. The copy of which instrument here vnder followeth.

## ¶ An Instrument of Recognition, or protestation of the Lord inquisitor of Heresies.

IN the name of God, Amen. In the yeere of his natiuity, 1414. the thirtith of August, in the fifth yeere of the bishopricke of the most holy Father in Christ, Iohn, by the grace of God Pope, the three and twentith of that name, in the vppermost parlor of the house of the famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirgliez, master of the mint, of the most famous prince and lord, the lord Wencesslaus, king of the Romans and of Boheme, in the greater citie of Prage, about the abby of Saint Iames the Apostle, in the presence of me the publike Notary here vnder written, and certaine witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose. There was personally present master Iohn Iessenitz, master of Art, procurer in the name of the honourable man, master Iohn Hus, Bachelar, formed in Diuinity of the Vniuersitie of Prage. Hee most humbly and earnestly required the reuerend father in Christ and Lord, Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth, Inquisitor of Heresies for the citie and diocesse of Prage, specially appointed by the apostolike See, being there also present, saying: Reuerend father, doe you know any error or heresie in master Iohn Hussenetz, otherwise called Hus? The which said Lord Nicolas, not compelled or constrained, but of his owne will and accord, freely and openly did there recognise, saying these or the like words in the Bohemian tongue:

I haue often and many times been conuersant with master Iohn Hus, and haue eaten and drunke with him: also I haue been often present at his sermons, and diuers of his collations which he hath made vpon diuers places of the scripture, and I neuer found or perceiued in him any error or heresie, but in all his words and deeds I haue found him alwaies a true and a catholike man, neither haue I found any thing that doth sauor of any error or heresie.

Againe, the said master Iohn his procurer, in the behalfe as aboue, required and asked the said lord Nicolas, Bishop and Inquisitor, whether any man haue accused the said master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him, being inquisitor for heresie, and hath conuicted him of heresie. He answered, that since the time he knew Iohn Hus, and that he was made inquisitor for heresie in the citie and diocesse of Prage, as is afore said) neuer any man accused, either conuicted the said master Iohn Hus of any heresie before him vnto this present time. Adding moreouer, that he the said master Iohn Hus did openly set vp his letters patents this present yeare aforesaid, in the said moneth of Aug. vpon the porches of the cathedrall church of Prage, and other collegiate and parish churches of the citie of Prage, and vpon the gates of our said lord, our lord the king, and the archbishop of Prage, containing in them this effect, how that he would appeare before Conrade archbishop of Prage, and all the prelats and clergy of the kingdome of Boheme, which should be congregated and called together at a certaine day of the month aforesaid, ready alwaies to satisfie all men as touching the faith and hope which he held, and to see and heare all or singuler that would lay any obstinacy of error or heresie vnto him, that they should determine themselues there, to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of Gods law and mans law, vnto whom altogether hee would answere in his owne right before the said archbishop of Prage, and the said lord Nicolas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelats, euen in the next generall councell of Constance, and there according vnto the canons and decrees of the holy Fathers, declare and shew foorth his vprightnesse and innocency, vpon all and singuler which proceedings, master Iohn de Iessenitz procurer, and in the procurers name or behalfe as afore, required and desired, that he might haue one or many publike instruments made vnto him by me the publike Notary here vnder written. These things were done the yeere, indiction, day, moneth, houre, place, and bishopricke, as is afore said, in the presence of these noble & famous men, the L. William de Zwirgelitz. Baron of the kingdome of Boheme, Peter his sonne, the lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise Baron, Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vssone de Miekoniz, Burgraue of the castell of Liechtenburg, Cythorius de Bodanetz, Esquier, and William de Dupore, Knight of the said diocesse of Prage, with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required vnto the premisses. And I Michael, sometimes the sonne of Nicolas de Prachatitz, of the diocesse of Prage, and by the imperiall authority, publike Notary, was present, with the witnesses aforenamed, at the affaires aforesaid, at the request, demand, answere, and petition, and all and singuler the doings within written, and did see and heare all these things to be done in the foresaid manner and forme. But being busied with other matters, I haue caused this to be faithfully drawne and written, and subscribing the same with mine owne hand, haue published and reduced it into this forme, and haue signed it with my seale and name, accustomed, being called and required to beare witnes of all and singuler the premisses.

After this, as all the barons of Boheme were assembled in the abby of Saint Iames, about the affaires of the realme, where as the archbishoppe of Prage was also present; there the said Iohn Hus presented Supplications: by the which hee most humbly desired the barons, that they would shew him this fauor towards the said archbishop, that if the said archbishoppe did suspect him of any error or heresie, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceiued no such thing in him, that hee would then giue him a testimoniall thereof, through the which he being as it were armed, hee might the more freely goe vnto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly before all the assembly of Barons, that he knew not that the said Iohn Hus was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence; and this was his onely counsell, that the said Iohn Hus should purge himselfe of the excommunication hee had incurred: This report, which the archbishoppe had giuen of Iohn Hus, both appeare by the letters which there were the barons of Boheme sent vnto the emperor Sigismund by the said Hus, in the towne of Constance. Conrade the archbishop cleareth Iohn Hus.

Finally, all the prelats and clergy assembled together in the towne of Prage, in the archbishoppe his court, where as appeared personally the worshipfull master Iohn Iessenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalfe of the honourable man master Iohn Hus, requiring that either the said master Iohn Hus, or that he in the name and behalfe of him, might be suffered to come into the said archbishops court, to the presence of the archbishop, and the prelats which were there congregated together, for so much as master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie all men which shall require him to shew any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and heare all and singuler which were there gathered together, that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelats, or any of them, which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresie vnto him, that they should there write in their names, and according both vnto Gods law and mans, and the canon law, prepare themselues to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully proue any obstinacy of error or heresie against him: vnto whom altogether he would, by Gods helpe, answere before the said archbishop and the prelats in the next generall councell holden at Constance, and stand vnto the law, and according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, shew forth and declare his innocency in the name of Christ: Vnto the which master Iohn of Iessenitz doctor, one called Vlricus Siwabe of Suluenitz, Marshall of the said archbishoppe, comming forth of the said court, did vtterly deny vnto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingresse and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishoppe aforesaid, and of the prelats there gathered together. Pretending that the archbishoppe, with the prelats aforesaid, were occupied about the kings affaires, requiring the said master doctor, that hee would tarie in some place without the said Court, that when the archbishoppe and the prelats had finished the kings affaires, hee might then returne, and haue liberty to come into the court there. The said master Iohn Hus, and the doctor of law tarried a while, intreating to be admitted into the archbishoppes court: but seeing hee could preuaile nothing, he made there a solene protestation of his request, that both he, and also master Iohn Hus and his part, could not be suffered to come into the archbishops court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelats. Requiring of the sayd Notary, publike instruments to be made of the same, which also was done. John Hus testimony of his faith, and could not be admitted.

And these were the things which were done, before Iohn Hus tooke his iourney to the generall councell of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat, as touching his iourney thitherwards.

About the 1 des of October, 1414. Iohn Hus being accompanied with two noble Gentlemen, that is to wit, Wenceslat of Duba, and Iohn of Clum, he parted from Prage, and take his iourny towards Constance. And in euery place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in euery good towne or citie of name, the tenor whereof insueth. John Hus setteth his iourny to Constance.

Michael de Causis.

¶ The



## ¶ The copy of the letters which Iohn Hus set vp in the common places of the cities which he passed thorow, going to the Councell.

The letters which Iohn Hus set vp in cities as he passed to Constance.

MAster Iohn Hus goeth now vnto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and euen at this present doth hold, and by Gods help will defend and keepe euen vnto death. Therfore euen as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdome of Boheme by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to haue satisfied and giuen an account of his faith vnto euery man, which should obiect or lay any thing against him in the generall conuocation holden in the archbishop of Prages court: So likewise he doth manifest and signifie, that if there be any man in this noble and imperiall citie, the which will impute or lay any error or heresie vnto him, that hee should prepare himselfe to come vnto the councell, for so much as the said master Iohn Hus is ready to satisfie euery man at the said councell, which shall lay any thing vnto his charge as touching his faith.

The enemies of Hus procure against him.

Iohn Hus was receiued by the way going vp to the councell.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was parted out of Boheme, and entred into Almaine, a great number of people did come vnto him, and he, was very gently receiued and entertained of his hoste through all the townes of Germany, and specially of the citizens and burgesses, and ofttentimes of the curats. Insomuch as the said Hus did confesse in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Boheme. And it it happened that there were any brute or noise before of his comming, the streets were alwaies full of people, which were desirous to see Iohn Hus and gratifie him: and amongst all other, specially at Nurrenberge, whereas certaine merchants which went before, certified the citizens of his comming. In the same citie there were many curats which came vnto him, desiring that they might talke with him in secret apart: vnto whom hee answered, that he loued much rather to pronounce and shew forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, then in hugger mugger, for he would keepe nothing close nor hidden. So after dinner, vntill it was night, he spake before the priests and senators, and diuers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reuerence, one only doctor except, which was a Charterhouse monk, and the curat of saint Sebauld, who did improue all that he had said.

Nurrenberge.

Charterhouse monke against Iohn Hus.

The twentith day after that he departed out of the town of Prage, which was the third day of November, he came vnto Constance, and lodged at an honest mattons house, being a widow named Faith, in Saint Galles streete.

John Guffes doth call himself named Faith.

The morrow after, the gentleman master Iohn de Clum, and master Henry Latzenboge, went to speake with the pope, and certified him that Iohn Hus was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the generall Councell, vnder the emperor his safe-conduct; desiring him also that hee on his part would grant the said Iohn Hus liberty to remaine in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Vnto whom the pope answered; that albeit that Iohn Hus had killed his brother, yet would he goe about as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done vnto him during his abode in the towne of Constance.

The pope confirmeth to the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

In this meane time, the greatest aduersarie that Iohn Hus had, named master Steuen Paletz, the which was also a Bohemian borne, was come vnto Constance. But his companion master Stanislaus Znoma, was not yet passed the borders of Boheme, when he was stricken with an impostume, whereof he died. As soone as the said Paletz was come to Constance, hee did associate vnto him one Michael de Causis, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the said Iohn Hus. And this may not bee forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conuersant and acquainted with the said Iohn Hus from his youth vpward: but after that, there was a bull brought vnto Prage from pope Iohn the 23. against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said Iohn Hus withstood it openly, for so much as he saw that it was wicked and naught.

Stanislaus Znoma, Hussites monus, going to Constance, died by the way.

Steuen Palets, and Michael de Causis, obiect errors to Hus. Hus bull against Ladislaus king of Apulia.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certaine banquet in the presence of the said Iohn Hus, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right: yet notwithstanding for so much as he was obliged and bound vnto the pope, by meanes of certaine benefices receiued at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against Iohn Hus. And this was the cause of the discord and falling out betweene them. As for Michael de Causis, the companion of master Paletz, he was sometime the curat of new Prage: but he not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed and imagined out a new deuice how to attaine vnto it, for he made a semblance that he had found out a new inuention or meane, whereby the mines of gold in Siloy, which were perished and lost, might be renewed & set on worke againe. By this meanes he did so much with the king Wencesslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his hands, to doe that withall which he had promised.

This honest man, after he had laboured and trauelled certaine daies about it, and perceiuing that he brought nothing to passe, and that by that meanes he was vtterly in despaire of his purpose, he conueied himselfe priuily out of the realme of Boheme with the rest of the money, and withdrew himselfe as a worthy bird for such a nest into the court of Rome. Such a man of such conditions was easily corrupt with money, and that by the aduersaries of the said Hus, and promised them to doe what he could for them, the which he did shortly after. The two lolly roisters, Steuen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certaine articles against the said Hus, saying, that they had gathered them out of his owne writings, and specially out of his treatise which he had written of the Church. They trotted vp and downe, hither and thither, taking great paines to shew the said articles vnto the cardinals, bishops, monks, and lusty others of that sort, doing them also to vnderstand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said Iohn Hus had committed and done against the holy constitutions and other ordinances of the pope and the church: which it needs were, they said they would propound before the Councell. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals, and all the priests, that all they with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The 26. day after the said Hus was come to Constance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writting, and familiar talke with his friends, the cardinals throughout the instigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishop of Augusta, and of Trident, and with them the Burrowmaster of the town of Constance, and a certaine knight, to the place where Iohn Hus lodged about dinner time, which should make report vnto him, that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to admertise him that hee should come to render some knowledge or witnesse of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready for to heare him.

Michael de Causis.

Vnto whom Iohn Hus answered: I am not come for no such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I neuer desired no such thing, but that I would willingly appeare before the whole assembly of the Councell, and there answer for my defence openly, without any feare or doubt, vnto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding, said he, for all much as you require me so to doe, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals. And if it happen that they cuill intreat or handle me, yet neuertheless I trust in my Lord Iesus, that he will be comfort and strengthen me, that I shall deffie much rather to die for his glorys sake, then to denie the veritie and truth which I haue learned by his holy scriptures. Wherefore it came to passe, that the bishops being instant vpon him, and not shewing any outward semblance, that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had priuily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses: Iohn Hus tooke his horse which he had at his lodging, and went vnto the court of the pope and the cardinals. Iohn Hus desired to plead his cause before the whole councell.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speake to him in this sort: We haue heard many reports of you, the which if they be true, are in no case to be suffered. For men say that you haue taught great and manifest errors, all contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you haue solued your errors abroad through all the realme of Boheme, by a long space of time: wherefore wee haue ceused you to be called hither before vs, that we might vnderstand and know how the matter standeth. Iohn Hus is come before the pope and the cardinals. The words of the pope and the cardinals to Iohn Hus.

Vnto whom Iohn Hus answered in few words: Reuerend fathers, you shall vnderstand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I would rather chuse to die, then I should be found culpable of one only error, much lesse of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come vnto the generall Councell, which is here appointed, to shew my self ready euen with all my heart to receiue correction, if any man can proue any errors in me. The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them very well, and vpon that they went their way, leauing the said Iohn Hus, with master Iohn de Clum, vnder the gard and keeping of the armed men. The answer of Iohn Hus to the pope and the cardinals.

In the meane season, they did subborne and furnish out a certaine Diuine, a Frier Franciscane, a subtill and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, for to question with the said Iohn Hus, which was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing nere, in his monkish gesture, said: Reuerend master, I a simple and rude idiot am come vnto you for to learne, for I haue heard many strange and contrary things against the catholike faith, to be ascribed vnto you, the which doe diuersly moue my mind, being vtterly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I doe desire you, euen for the loue which you beare vnto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach mee most simple and miserable man, some certaintie and truth. And first, men say that you hold opinion after the consecration and pronuntiation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth onely materiall bread. Iohn Hus answered: that it was falsly attributed and imputed vnto him. Then said he: I pray you, is not this A Frier Minor pitteth two questions to Iohn Hus. Dolus malus Cardinalium. Et saterly Iudas.

yeut opinion: No verily, said John Hus, I doe not so thinke of it. When the monke asked this question the third time, master John de Clum being somewhat moued with him, said: Why art thou so importunate vpon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing vnto me but once, I would haue beleued him. And thou, albeit he hath affirmed this his minde so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him. Then said the monke: Gentle master, I pray you pardon me a poore idiot and simple frier; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learne. This frier put forth another question vnto him, protesting his simplicitie and ignorance, what manner of brittle of the Sobbead and manhood was in the person of Christ? When John Hus had heard this question, he turning himselfe vnto master John de Clum, in the Bohemian language said: Truly this frier is not simple as he doth pretend, for hee hath propounded vnto me a very hard question. And afterward turning himselfe to the frier, hee said vnto him: Brother, you say that you are simple, but as I haue heard of you, I perceiue very well, that you are double and craftie, and not simple. It is not so verily, said the frier. Well, said John Hus, I will cause you well to vnderstand that it is so. For as touching the simplicitie of a man, it is required in things that concerne ciuilitie and manners, that the spirit, the vnderstanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together; and I doe not perceiue that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certaine semblance of simplicitie, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds shew plainly and euidently a great subtilitie and craft in you, with a great quicknesse and liuelinesse of wit, in that you haue propounded vnto me so hard and difficult a question.

Notwithstanding I will not feare to shew you my mind in this question. And when he had made an end, the monke gaue him great thanks for his gentlenesse, and so departed. After that, the popes garrison which were about the said John Hus, told him, that this frier was called in maner Diuace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtill diuine in all Lumbardy. Oh, said Hus, that I had knowne that afore, I would haue handled him after another sort and fashion; but I would to God they were all such, then through the helpe and aid of the holy Scriptures, I would feare none of them. In this maner the said Hus, and master John de Clum, were left vnder the keeping of these men of armes, vntill foure of the clocke at after noone. After which time, the cardinals assembled againe in the popes court, to deuise and take counsell what they should doe with John Hus. Then Stephan Paletz, and Sichel de Caulis, with diuers other of their adherents, made earnest sute that he should not be let goe at libertie againe, and hauing the fauor of the Iudges on their part, they bragged vp and downe in a manner, as they had bin mad men, and mocked the said John Hus, saying: Now we will hold thee well enough, thou art vnder our power and iurisdiction, and shalt not depart vntill such time as thou hast paid the vttermost farthing.

A little afore night, they sent the Prouost of the Romane court vnto master John de Clum, to shew him that he might returne to his lodging: but as for John Hus, they had otherwise promised for him. When master John de Clum heard these newes, he was wonderfully displeased, for inough as through their crafts, subtilties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares, whereupon he went vnto the pope, declaring vnto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made vnto him and master Henry Latzembog, and that he would not so lightly falsifie and breake his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandement, and said further to master Clum apart: That reason is it that you should impute this deed vnto mee, seeing that you know well enough that I my selfe am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops.

In mine opinion, for so much as pope Iohn feared that, which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignitie, he thought to win the fauor of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man vnto them. So the said master Clum returned very pensiuelly and sore: he complained very sore both priuily and openly, of the iniury and outrage that the pope had done, but all preuailed nothing. After this, the said John Hus was led by the officers to the chapter house of the great church of Constance, where hee was kept prisoner by the space of eight daies: from thence he was carried vnto the Iacobines, hard by the riuer of Rhine, and was shut vp in the prison of the abby, the which was hard by the Sogards.

After he had bin enclosed there a certaine time, he fell sore sicke of an ague, by meanes of the ayrish of the place, and became so weake, that they despaired of his life. And for feare lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to doe, the pope sent vnto him certaine of his Physitions for to cure and helpe him. In the midst of his sicknesse, his accusers made importunate sute to the principals of the councell, that the said John Hus might be condemned, and presented vnto the pope these articles hereunder written.

Master John de Clum is driuen by John Hus.

A swift in a fayned shamer.

Didace a crafty frier.

Hus put a man to confesse vnder the seale of confession.

John Husses accusers cruelly vse him with the bonds taken.

The pope breaketh promise.

The pope to please the cardinals and bishops, and Iohn Hus.

The imprisonment and sickenes of John Hus.

## ¶ Articles presented against John Hus.

FIrst, hee doth erre about the sacraments of the church, and specially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, for so much as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministred openly vnto the people vnder both kindes, that is to say, the body and bloud. This article is cuident, for so much as his disciples at this instant in Prage, doe minister the same in both kinds. Moreouer, it is affirmed by diuers, that he hath taught both in the schooles and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced vpon the altar, there remaineth still materiall bread in the sacrament. This article shall be knowne by his examination.

Articles against John Hus.

The suppers of the Lord.

Secondly, hee doth erre as touching the ministers of the Church, for so much as hee saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortall sinne. This article shall likewise bee knowne by his examination. Notwithstanding all that which is here contained, may bee gathered by his writings De ecclesia; the which if hee denie, let there then bee some Diuines and doctors appointed, to peruse and take ouer his said writings of the church. Moreouer, he saith, that other men beside priests may minister the sacraments. This article is cuident, for so much as his disciples doe the same at Prage, the which of themselues doe violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselues, when the holy communion is denied vnto them. By this and other things also, it is sufficiently euident, that hee hath taught that euery man being without mortall sinne, hath the power of orders or priesthood, for so much as such one is as hane taken orders, ought to minister the sacraments vnto themselues. And because hee proceedeth from small matters vnto great and weighter, it doth consequently appeare and follow, that those ought be in state of grace, can bind and loose.

Of the sacraments ministred vnder both kindes.

Of the administration of the sacraments.

Thirdly, he doth erre as touching the church, and specially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signified by the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy vnderneath them; but faith, that this signification was deuised out from the scholemen, and in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest by his said treatise vpon the Church.

Of the church.

Moreouer, he doth erre concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to haue any temporall possessions. And that the temporall Lord may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is cuident, for so much as through his doctrine and inticements, many churches in the kingdome of Bohemie, and in the citie of Prage, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantinus and other secular princes erred by inriching and indowing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

Ecclesiasticall reuenewes.

Fourthly, he erreth as touching the church, in that he saith, that all priests are of like power, and therefore affirmeth, that the reseruations of the popes casualities, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were inuented onelie for couetousnesse. This article doth somewhat appeare by those afore going, but by his examination shall be more euident.

The bishops power.

Fifthly, he erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church being in sinne, hath no power of the keies, when as the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sinne; the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appeare in his treatise vpon the Church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

The power of the keies of the church.

Sixthly, hee erreth touching the church, for as much as through contempt he doth not feare excommunication. This doth notoriously appeare by his owne doings, that he did contemne and despise the Apostolike and ordinary censure, and in all the Apostolike excommunications and iniunctions, he hath borne himselfe vpon the diuine commandements, and in contempt of the keies, to the setting out of his hypocrisie, he hath said masse all the waies betweene this and the citie of Prage, and thereby hath prophanat the processe and authority of the church.

Excommunication.

Seuenthly, hee erreth againe as touching the church, because he kéepeth not the institutions and innouations thereof, but holdeth opinion that euery man hath authority to inuell and appoint any man to the cure of soules. This is cuident by his owne doings, for so much as many in the kingdome of Bohemie, by their defenders and fauorers, or rather by himselfe, were appointed and put into parish churches, the which they haue long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the Apostolike sea, neither yet by the ordinarie of the citie of Prage.

Innouations.

Eighthly, hee erreth as touching the church, in that hee holdeth opinion, that a man being once ordained a priest or a deacon, cannot bee forbidden or kept backe from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his owne doings, for so much as hee himselfe could neuer be letted from

Office of preaching.





preaching, neither by the apostolike sée, neither yet by the archbishop of Prage.

Lupus agnum accusat quod carnibus non pascatur.

And to the intent that the said John Husse, who is clothed in sheepes clothing, and inwardly a rauening Wolfe, may be the better knowne by his fruits, for the better information of you most reuerend fathers; I say, that from the first time that he tooke in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, hee vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe to bee withstanded and gainesaid, by the Germaines, which were in the Vniuersitie of Prage, forsomuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one only voice: hee went about and brought to passe, and that by the secular power, that the Germaines should haue but one voice, and hee and his parte three voices: the which thing when the Germaines once perceiued, rather then they would lose or forsake any part of their right, which they had in voices, or bee in danger in their persons, the which would then haue ensued vpon it, to saue themselues, they vnanimely with one consent agreed together to depart out of Prage, and by this meanes this solemne and famous Vniuersitie of Prage was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in diuers sciences. Behold this his first fruits which diuided that so famous Vniuersitie, forsomuch as grapes are not gathered of thornes, neither figges of brambles.

A heaping together of many grieuous crimes.

The departure of the Germaines from the Vniuersitie of Prage.

Moreouer, when there were questions moued amongst the diuines of the Vniuersitie of Prage vpon the 45. articles of John Wickliffe, and that they had called a conuocation, and all the diuines of Bohemie (for the Germaines were alreadie departed) they concluded that euery one of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or else erroneous. Hee alone held the contrarie opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach in the common schooles of Prage, whereof enough followeth, that he doth affirme those articles of Wickliffe, the which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first inuented and set forth by the members of Antichrist.

The 45. articles of Catticlue.

Moreouer, hee being complained of to the archbishop of Prage, that hee preached and set forth certaine articles which were heretical, false and seditious, hee was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, and proceeded against him, according to the canonicall sanctions, the which processe is confirmed by the apostolike sée, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without: the which John Hus and his adherents haue diuers & manifold waies violated and prophaned. And wholeouer did speake against him, they were enjoined of their benefices, and others placed in, which haue ruled, and yet doe rule the said churches, and the flockes pertaining to the same, not hauing any cure or charge of the soules committed vnto them, neither by the apostolike sée, neither yet by the ordinarie of the place.

The office of preaching forbidden by the archbishop.

Also as many, as well priests as lay men in the citie of Prage and kingdome of Bohemie, which haue spoken against the doctrine of Hus, and the prophanation of the processe aforesaid, or at the least not alloweing the same, haue suffred manifold hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day doe suffer. But yet at this present it is dilluminded vntill the end of the processe against John Hus. Wherfore if he be now let goe againe, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realme of Bohemie, houle shall be against houle, and this mischiefe will creepe, yea suddainely spring vp throughout all Germany, and innumerable soules shall be infected, so that there shall bee such perdition of the clergie and faithfull, as hath not beene since the time of the emperour Constantine to this present day: for hee easelie not to mone and stir vp the laity, against the clergie and faithfull christians. And when any of the clergie would go to him away, to call him from his herésie, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he doe not teach no heresies: then saith he, and teacheth that the clergie doth that of enuie and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults: that is to say, their simony and pride, and couetousnesse.

Insurrections feared in Bohem against the clergie.

Moreouer, hee stirreth vp the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and Vniuersities, and generally against the whole clergie. Going about by this meanes, he preacheth and teacheth that prelats and other men of the church ought not to haue any temporall goods or possessions, but onely to liue vpon almes. And by this meanes hee hath done incéadie bery much hurt, and annoyed diuers and many prelates, clerkes and churches in the kingdome of Bohemie, and citie of Prage, forsomuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, hee teacheth also that it is lawfull for the lay people without sin to withhold and kéepe backe the tithes and oblations, or to giue the church goods to any other minister: all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but specially the laity, who followeth euery man his owne will.

The power of the keies of the church.

He hath generally tolde for himselfe all those heretickes which doe but verie finally regard the ecclesiasticall censures, and hath the authority of the Romane church, yea doe bitterly detest and abhorre the same: the which thing will more and more



Caiphas prophesied.

Master Nalgerlefth, for the holy Ghost had not as yet come to rest councell.

The bookes which Iohn Hus wrote in prison.

Pope Iohn fled out of Constance.

Nobilement of Bohemie labor for John Hus.

John Hus sicke of an ague in prison.

John Hus defended of his aduocate.

were made as mocking flockes, and derided of all men, yea euen of the dames and base people. Wherefore they tooke counsell and concluded together to present their request in writing vnto the whole councell, or at the least vnto the foure nations of Almaine, Italy, France, and England: this request was presented the 14. day of May, An. 1415. the tenor here consueth.

## ¶ The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Boheme delivered vp to the councell for the deliverance of Iohn Hus, the 14. day of May. Anno 1415.

MOst reuerend fathers and lords: The nobles and lords of Boheme and Pole here present, by this their present writings doe shew and declare vnto your fatherly reuerences, how that the most noble king and lord, the lord Sigismund, king of Romains, alwaies Augustus, king of Hungarie, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c. hearing of the great dissention that was in the kingdome of Boheme, as here, king and lord succesor, willing and intending to foresee and prouide for his diuine honour, he sent these noble men, master Wenceslate de Dubs, and Iohn de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure master Iohn Hus vnder the king his name and safe-conduct. So that he would come to the sacred generall councell of Constance, vnder the safe-conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred Empire, openly giuen and granted vnto the said master Iohn Hus, that he might purge himselfe and the kingdome of Boheme from the slander that was raised vpon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to euery man that would lay any thing to his charge. The which the said nobles with the forenamed master Iohn Hus haue performed and done, according to the kings commandement.

The safe-conduct of the emperor shall be shewed.

When as the said master Iohn Hus, was freely of his owne accord come vnto Constance vnder the said safe-conduct, and grieuously imprisoned before hee was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past at the councell holden at Pavian 1410. peare of our Lord, the heresiches which were condemned, were suffered to remaine there at liberty, and to depart home freely: notwithstanding this master Iohn Hussie, neither being conuicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, when as neither king or any prince elector, either any embassadour of any Vniuersitie was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and haue respect vnto his honour: And that the said master Iohn Hus might bee openly heard, forsomuch as he would render and shew a reason of his faith: and if hee were found or conuicted obstinately to affirme or maintaine any thing against the truth of holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same according to the sentence and determination of the councell: yet could he neuer obtaine this. But the said master Iohn Hussie, notwithstanding all this, is most grieuously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thirst and slender diet, that it is to bee feared lest that his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

The extremity Iohn Hus suffered in prison.

And although the lords of Boheme here present are greatly slandered, because they seeing the said master Iohn Hus so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the kings safe-conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forsomuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdome of Boheme, which from the first originall and beginning, since it receiued the catholike faith, it neuer departed or went away from the obedience of the holy church of Rome: yet notwithstanding they haue suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any meanes occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred councell might arise or spring thereof.

Thy refore most reuerend fathers and lords: The nobles and lords before named, doe lowly and most earnestly desire and require your reuerences here present, that hauing for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preseruation and increase of the worthie fame and renowne both of the foresaid kingdome of Boheme, and your owne also, that you will make a short end about the affaires of master Iohn Hus: forsomuch as by the meanes of his straite handling he is in great danger by any longer delay, euen as they do in it specially trust vpon the most vpright conscience and diligences of you fatherly reuerences. But forasmuch as most reuerend fathers and lords, it is now come to the knowledge and vnderstanding of the nobles and lords of Boheme here present, how that certaine backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdome of Boheme aforesaid, haue declared and told vnto your reuerences, how that the Sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is caried vp and downe through Boheme in vessels not consecrate or hallowed, and that cobblers do now heare confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord vnto others: The nobles therfore of Boheme here present require and desire you, that you will giue no credit vnto false promoters and tale tellers, for that as most wicked and naughtie slanderers and backbiters of that kingdome aforesaid, they do report and tell vntruthes: requiring also your reuerences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdome aforesaid, may be named and knowne. And the lord the king together with your reuerences, shal well perceiue and see that the lordes of Boheme will goe about in such maner to resell and put away the false and friuolous slanders of those naughtie persons, that they shall be ashamed to appeare hereafter before the lord the king and your reuerences.

The confutation of certaine slanders.

As soone as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Luthonis rising vp, said: Most reuerend fathers, I well perceiue and vnderstand that the last part of this writing both touch me, my familiars and friends, as though the kingdome of Boheme were slandered by vs. Wherefore I desire to haue time and space of deliberation, that I may purge my selfe from this crime that is laid against me. The principall of the councell appointed him the 17. day of May, at the which day the lords of Boheme should be present againe, to heare both the answere of the councell, and also the excuse of the bishop of Luthonis: the which thing indeed was afterward performed: for the 17. day of May, which was the fourth day before Whitsontide, they met there againe: where first of all a certaine bishop in the name of the whole councell answered by word to the nobles of Boheme the contents of whose answere may easily be known by the second supplication, which the Bohemians put vp to the councell. What first I haue here in these few words following shewed how the bishop of Luthonis defended himselfe against that which is before written.

The bishop of Luthonis.

## ✻ The answere of the Bishop of Luthonis, to the last part of the supplication, which the nobles of Boheme presented vnto the councell.

MOst reuerend fathers and noble lords, as Peter de Pladoneywitz bachelor of art, in the name of certaine of the nobles of the kingdome of Boheme in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certaine slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdome haue brought to the eares of your reuerences, that the most precious blood of Christ is caried vp and downe in Boheme in bottels, and that Coblers doe heare confessions, and minister the body of Christ vnto others; whereupon most reuerend fathers and lords, albeit that I together with the other prelats, doctors, masters, and other vnnumerable catholikes of the said kingdome, the which doe desire as much as in them lieth to defend the faith of Christ, haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliffites, which now (alas for sorow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdome, as it is well knowne: Notwithstanding, here in this time of conuention, not for any shame or reproofe, but for the honour of the kingdome aforesaid, I haue prepounded, and declared a certaine new sect, which is now lately sprung vp in the said kingdome, the followers whereof doe minister and communicate the sacraments in many cities, townes and places of the said kingdome, vnder both kinds both of bread and wine, and doe constantly teach the common people both men and women that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergie which doe repugne or say nay vnto it, are to bee counted church robbers, as for the writings of their allertions being directed and presented hither shall openly appeare.

The answere and accusation of the bishop of Luthonis against Iohn Hus.

Moreouer, by the report and fame which goeth here abrode, and by the writings which were sent ouer vnto me, I haue prepounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is caried about in vessels not consecrated, approuing the foresaid erroneous assertion of the Wickliffists, that affirme it necessarie for saluation, that the people should communicate vnder both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessarie, as the body of Christ is caried in the pire or bore, so the blood of Christ should be caried in bottles, or other necessarie vessels from place to place, and specially about the ministration of the sicke. Also I declared not of my selfe, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certaine woman a follower of that sect, the which taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priests hands, did communicate vnto her selfe, and affirmed that all men ought to doe so, if the priests should denie them the communion. And the same woman amongst many other errours, of the which she was conuicted, did affirme that a good lay woman might better consecrate and giue absolution, then an euill priest: affirming that an euill priest can neither consecrate nor absolue. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistance in this matter, haue brought this at any time into your eares, that Coblers in the said kingdome doe heare confession, or minister the Sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alledged by the said Peter, in the behalfe of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, wee did feare if meanes were not found to recounter or stoppe the



the offences before named, that this would immediately follow vpon it. Wherefore most reuerend fathers, lest that the kingdome might bee defamed any more by such pestiferous seats, and that the christian faith might happen to be endangered; with all reuerence and charity I doe desire you, euen by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Iesus Christ, that this most sacred councell would prouide some speedie remedie for this kingdome, as touching the premisses.

Moreouer, whether the they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enuiers of the kingdome of Boheme, the which do let the errours aforesaid, and many others more, which are sowen by the Wickleuists in the said kingdome, and also elsewhere, which alls both do labour and haue laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of those errours out of the kingdome aforesaid, and as catholicke men, for the zeale of their faith haue manfully put forth themselues against the maintainers of the said errours, or such as doe maintaine, and defend the teachers of those errours: this answere I haue here presented before your reuerences, alwaies wholly submitting my selfe and assistance vnto your iudgement, and to the definition of this most sacred councell of Constance.

## ¶ The answere of the nobles of Boheme.

The bishop of Luthonius answere confuted.

THe day before Whitsontide, the nobles of Boheme did confute this their answere made two daies before in the councell to their former writing, as here followeth: Most reuerend fathers and lords, forsomuch as vpon thursday it was answered in the behalfe of your reuerences to the requests of the nobles and lords of Boheme, that the said lords were misinformed of diuers points contained in the declaration of their said bill: therefore the foresaid lords haue now determined and decreed to declare their former propounded requests more at large vnto your reuerences, not minding hereby to argue or reprooue your fatherly wisdomes and circumspections, but that your reuerences (their desires being partly on this behalfe fulfilled) might the more effectually and distinctly discerne and iudge as touching this matter.

And first of all, whereas the lords alledged and said, how that master Iohn Hus was come hither vnto Constance, freely of his owne good will, vnder the safe-conduct of the lord the king, and the protection of the sacred empire: it is answered on the behalfe of your reuerences, how that the said lords are misinformed, as touching the safe-conduct, and that you haue vnderstood by such as are worthie credit, that the friends and fauourers of the said master Iohn Hus, did first procure and get his safe-conduct fifteene daies after his imprisonment.

The bishops do quarrell about the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

The lords of Boheme, and specially the lord Iohn de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answere, that not onely the fifteenth day after, but euen the very same day that Iohn Hus was apprehended and taken, when as our reuerend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of master Iohn de Clum, whether master Iohn Hus had any safe-conduct from the king his son: he answered, Sholl holy father and cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe-conduct; and when he was asked the question against the second time, he answered in like maner.

The safe-conduct of Iohn Hus obteined and shewed before the imprisonment of Iohn Hus.

Yet notwithstanding none of them required to haue the safe-conduct shewed vnto them: and against the third day following, the lord Iohn de Clum complained vnto our lord the pope, how notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our soueraigne lord the king, he obtained and kept master Iohn Hus as prisoner, depriuing the said safe-conduct vnto many. And for a further truth herein, hee referreth himselfe vnto the testimonies and witnesses of diuers earles, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the city of Constance, the which all together at this present did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said Iohn de Clum is readie to bind himselfe vnder what penaltie shall be required, euidently to proue and confirme that which he hath promised, whosoeuer say to the contrary.

The bishops of the councell falsly informed touching the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

Moreouer, the lords of Boheme refer themselues vnto the knowledge of certaine princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noble men, which were present before the kings maiestie, where when as the said safe-conduct was granted and giuen out by the speciall commandement of our said lord the king.

Hereby your fatherly reuerences may vnderstand and perceiue that the said lords of Boheme, are not euill informed as touching the said safe-conduct: but rather they which by such reports haue falsified and vntruely informed your reuerences. And first of all they haue offended against the lord our king, and his chancellors. Secondarily, against the lords and nobles of Boheme, as though we had priuilie and by stealth, purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid make humblie requite and desire your reuerences, that you will not so lightly beleeue such as be not worthie of credit, but rather hearing the contrary part, to labour and discusse that the truth may the more euidently appeare.

Secondly, whereas the lords aforesaid, alledging how master Iohn Hus, comming vnto Constance, of his owne free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned. Iohn Hus imprisoned before he was either condemned or heard.

Alexander the fifth.

The answere touching the citation of I. Hus to the court of Rome.

Iohn Hus by procurers cuill intreated at Rome.

Iohn Hus falsly reported to haue openly preached at Constance.

Iohn Hus falsly charged to vse cunning to the councell.

Iohn Husheb many well wishers in Bohemia.

pour reuerences haue made answere thereunto, that hee the said master Iohn Hus, in the time of Alexander the fifth, was infamed and slandered vpon certaine heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appeare in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his procurers.

And forsomuch as hee refused obstinately to appeare, hee was excommunicated: in the which excommunication he continued (as you affirme) by the space of fiue yeares, for the which he was iudged, and counted not onely a simple and plaine heretick, but an heresiarch, that is to say, an inuenter and sower of new and strange heresies, and that hee comming toward Constance, did preach by the way openly. To this the lords aforesaid doe answere, that as touching his slander and citation, they can affirme nothing, but by report. But as touching that hee did not personally appeare, they say they haue heard both himselfe and diuers other credible persons say, yea euen the most famous prince Wenceslaus king of Boheme, and almost all the whole nobility is witnesse, that hee would willingly haue appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if hee might safely haue come thither, and that deadly enmitie had not letted: and moreouer, his procurers which hee sent vnto the court of Rome, alleaging reasonable causes for his non appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others were euill intreated.

As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they haue heard him often say, that he hath not refused against the same by contumacie, or stubbornesse, but vnder euident appellation, and thereupon referreth himselfe vnto the acts of his causes, which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained, the which your reuerences may euidently perceiue and see in this our present publike transumpt, which we haue offered vnto you vpon certaine points aforesaid.

As concerning his preaching, wherewithall his enemies doe report and charge, that master Iohn Hus did preach openly in the city of Constance: the lords aforesaid, and specially the lord Iohn de Clum here present, doe answere, that he hath continually lodged with the said master Iohn Hus here in Constance; and that whosoeuer they be, that haue beene so bold, or dare bee so bold to say and affirme that master Iohn Hus has preached (as is premised) or that which leseth, since the time of his comming vnto this city, euen vnto the very day and time of his captiuitie and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, the which lord Iohn de Clum, will and is content to bind himselfe with any such, as shall affirme the same, vnder what penalty soeuer it be, of money or otherwise, that which hee hath falsly reported vnto your reuerences, he shall neuer be able iustly and truely to affirme and proue.

Thirdly, whereas your reuerences do say, that you do not vnderstand or know, what the lords do meane, by the heresies condemned, at the councell holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding of the pope, whose ambassadors came thither for vnity or concord, the which were suffered and gently entreated, as their lords were most enclined vnto vnity and peace, or else that they did vnderstand or meane the particular heresies, which were there condemned: adioyning thereunto, that the heretickes also comming vnto the councell, vnder the pretence of that vnity, should bee gently handled and entreated, &c. Reuerend fathers & lords, whether they bee counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said master Iohn Hus may vse such libertie as they vsed, forsomuch as he came willingly vnto this most sacred councell, not for any other purpose, but onely publikely to recognise his faith. And in what point soeuer he shall seeme to bane from the word of God, and the vnion of the holy mother the church, that in that point he will willingly be vnited and reconciled againe thereunto, and not only himselfe, but also his fauourers and adherents hee would moue and prouoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdome of Boheme. Also hee is come hither, that he might purge and cleare the noble kingdome of Boheme, from the sinister and euill slander which was raised vpon it.

Last of all most reuerend fathers and lords, forsomuch as your reuerences haue most fauourablie answered vnto the principall request made by the lords aforesaid, that the processe of master Iohn Hus through Gods helpe should bee determined and ended with all expedition and gentlenesse: the lords aforesaid do render most hearty thankes vnto your reuerences, and whensoeuer their desire by Gods helpe shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only heare, but also before the whole kingdome of Boheme, and in all other places whersoeuer they come, render most immortall thankes vnto your reuerences for euer.

¶ This declaration of the nobles of Boheme aboue prefixed, may serue not only to the confutation of the bishop Luthonius this Bohemian, but also against the cauillations of Alanus Copus Anglus, Dial. 6. pag. 929. touching the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus, whereof sufficiently before hath beene said: vide supra, pag. 548.

When as the noble men of Boheme by long time could receiue no answere of those supplications which they had alreadie put vp, they determined the last daie of Map following vp an other supplication being put vp vnto the principals of the councell, to entreat that Iohn Hus might be deliuered out of prison, and defend his owne cause openly: they also put vp the testimonall of the bishop of Nazareth, as touching Iohn Hus. The copie whereof is expressed in the beginning of this historie, as vp by worde.

Articles seized out of Hus's backe by his enemies.

Vide supra. pag. 549.

## ¶ Another supplication of the nobles of Boheme.

An other supplication of the Bohemians for Iohn Hus.

MOst reuerend Fathers and Lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put vp vnto your reuerences on the behalfe of the Lords and Nobles of Boheme, and the nation of Pole, wherein they most humblie desired your reuerences to consider how the informations which were put vp vnto your reuerences, by the enemies of M. Iohn Hus, were insufficient; and with reuerence be it spoken, in manie points vntrue, as in the safe-conduct graunted by the Kings maiestie, and also in other articles, as more plainelie appeareth in the Schedule, which was then offered vnto you vpon the which said Schedule and other things at that present being put vp, they could not as yet receiue any answere. Wherefore the Lords aforesaid, most humblie require your fatherlie reuerences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to giue some answere to the Lords aforesaid thereupon, and specialliie hauing respect vnto the great iniuries and griefes which are done vnto the said M. Iohn Hus, the which may be vnderstood and knowne by the Schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifullie consider and foresee, that all those griefes and euils so farre different from all brotherlie loue and charitie are done vnto him by his enemies euen for very malice & hatred.

The Lords could not haue no answere of their supplication.

To the intent therefore that the rancour and malice may be confounded and ouerthrowne, and the plaine and euident truth appeare, it may please your fatherly reuerences to vnderstand, that it is notified and knowne vnto the Barons, Nobles, Citizens, Clergie and Laitie of the kingdome of Boheme, that M. Iohn Hus in all his acts and doings as well Scholasticall as Ecclesiasticall, and specialliie in all his publike and open sermons, he hath made and hath accustomed to make these maner of protestations, the which without any thing to the contrarie, he hath alwaies endeuoured to haue them strong and firme, as by this his protestation here following, which he made about the determination of a certaine question, it may most euidentlie and plainelie appeare vnto euerie man which would behold and looke vpon the same: the forme and tenour whereof here followeth, and is such.

## ¶ The protestation of Iohn Hus.

The protestation of I. Hus.

FOr so much as aboue all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holie Church, and that I my selfe may be a faithfull member of our Lord Iesu Christ, which is the head and husband of the holie Church which he hath redeemed: therefore as heretofore oftentimes I haue done, euen so now againe I make this protestation, that I neuer obstinatlie said, or hereafter will say any thing that shall be contrarie vnto the truth and veritie: and moreouer, that I haue alwaies holden, do hold, and firmelie desire for to hold the verie true and infallible truth and veritie; so that before that I would defend and maintaine anie error contrarie thereunto, I would rather choose by the hope and helpe of the Lord to suffer extreme punishment, euen vnto death: yea and through the helpe of God I am readie, euen to offer this my miserable life vnto death for the law of Christ, the which I doe beleeue euery part and parcell thereof to be giuen and promulgate for the saluation of mankind, by the counsell and determination of the most holie Trinitie, and the Saints of God, &c.

Vid. in print. edit. pag. 207.

By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said M. Iohn Hus, being well obserued and noted, it may be easilie gathered and known that his whole intent & purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will haue spoken or written anie thing in his bookes, treatiles, doctrines, or publike sermons, or else to haue affirmed anie articles, the which willinglie and wittinglie he did vnderstand or know to be erroneous, offensiue, seditious, heretical, or offending the godlie eare; albeit that these and such like things are falselie imputed vnto him by his enemies. But it hath alwaies beene his chiefe intent and purpose, and so is, that euerie point, conclusion or article contained in his bookes or articles, to haue put & affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the Gospell, the holie Doctors and writers vpon the holie Scriptures, and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in anie point he should be found to varie or go astraie, or that he were not well vnderstood of others, by like information to be informed, vnderstood, corrected and amended, and that he will by no meanes sustaine or defend any maner of article against the holie Church of Rome, or the Catholicke faith.

Wherefore most reuered fathers, the premisses notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreame hatred which they beare vnto him, haue picked and taken out by piece meale certaine articles out of the bookes of M. Iohn Hus, reiecting and not looking vpon the allegations and reasons, neither hauing anie relation vnto the distinction of their equiuocations, haue compounded and made thereof certaine falle and fained articles against him, to this end, that all charitie and loue being set apart, they might the better ouerthrow him, and bring him vnto death, contrarie vnto the safe-conduct vpon good and iust occasion openly assigned, and giuen vnto the said master Iohn Hus, by the most noble Prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romanes and of Hungarie, for his iust defence, against all the friuolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not onelie of the said master Iohn Hus, but also of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing in the said kingdome of Boheme, or elsewhere: the auoiding of which most perilous vprores, the said King of Romans doth greatlie desire and wish, as the right heire and successour of the said kingdome.

VVhereupon the Barons and Nobles aforesaid, most humblie desire and require, the premisses being considered, and respect had vnto the great infamie and slander which may happen by the premisses vnto the said kingdome and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands, and take some order and meane, that master Iohn Hus may be distinctlie heard by some famous men, diuines alreadie deputed, or otherwise to be appointed vpon all and singuler such articles as shall be laid vnto him, to declare his owne minde and intent, and also the minde of the doctours alleaged for his purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equiuocations: in the which the trauers out of the most part of his articles haue also made equiuocations, that so according vnto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and haue a long time bene his mortall enemies, that at the friuolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserablie detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned vnheard. For so much as by the said declarations your fatherlie reuerences might be the more better informed of the truth, he himselfe is readie alwaies to submit himselfe vnder the determination of this most sacred Councell. For your reuerences, by the craftie and fained perswasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that master Iohn Hus hath bene vncurablie obstinate by a long time in most perilous articles, the which your reuerences may now plainelie perceiue to be vntrue: and for the more euidence herein to be shewed, there is presented vnto your reuerences an instrument of publike recognition of the most reuerend father in Christ the Lord Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth and Inquisitour of heresies, specially appointed by the Apostolike see in the dioces of Prage, the which by your reuerences is more diligentlie to be hearkened vnto.

The Counsell euill informed against I. Hus.

VVherefore it may please your fatherlie reuerences to command the said M. Iohn Hus neither conuicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chaines, in the which he is now most grieuouslie deteined and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reuerend Lords Bishops, or Commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present Councell: that the said M. Iohn Hus may somewhat be relieued, and recouer againe his health, and be the more diligentlie and commodiouslie examined by the Commissioners: and for the more assurance, the Barons and Nobles aforesaid of the kingdome of Boheme, will prouide most sure & good sureties, the which will not breake their fidelitie and faith for anie thing in the world. VVhich also shall promise in his behalfe, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, vntill such time as the matter be fully determined by the said Commissioners. In the execution of the which premises, we haue determined to prouide and foresee vnto the fame and honour of the said kingdome of Bohemie, & also to the safe-conduct of the most worthie Prince, the king of Romans, lest that the enemies and detractours of the honour and fame of the kingdome aforesaid, might not a little slander and reproouse the said Lords, pretending and shewing forth hereafter, that they had made vnreasonable or vnlawfull requests: for the withstanding of which mischiefe we require your fathelie reuerences, that you will decree, and most gratiouslie consent, that this our petition & supplication may be drawne out againe by your Notarie, and reduced into a publicke forme and order.

The noble men required that Iohn Hus not being conuicted nor condemned, should be deliuered out of prison.

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the foure nations, the Patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all vnto euerie article of the said supplication; but it was done in fewe words.

A petition for master Iohn Hus's deliuerance out of prison.

The malitious crew of the councell of the popish band.

First, as touching the protestation of Iohn Hus, whether it be true or false, it shalbe made euident in the processe of his cause. Moreouer, whereas they saie that the aduersaries of Iohn Hus haue peruerselie drawne certaine things out of his bookes, that also the matter it selfe shall declare in the end. Whereas if it shalbe found and decreed that Iohn Hus is vntruelie & vntrulie accused, that then it shall come to passe that his aduersaries shall incurre perpetuall ignominie and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any meanes be, that the deputies of the Councell with a safe conscience may receiue or take them in this

The answere of the Councell to the supplication.

The craftie counsell of the Papists stopped by the emperor.



No credit to be kept with an heretike.

this mans cause, vnto whom there is no faith or credit to be giuen. Vnlesse it thus much they will doe, vpon the fifth day of Iune next Iohn Hus shal be brought againe vnto Constance, and there haue free libertie to speake his mind before the councell, and that they would lauingly and gentlie heare him: but the matter in the end fell out farre contrary to this promise.

Supplication to the emperor Sigismund.

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenour vnto the Emperour: Vnto the most high and mightie prince, the lord Sigismund king of the Romanes, alwaies Augustus, king of Hungarie, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithfull and true seruice in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince, and gracious lord, we signifie vnto your worthinesse, that wee all together with one mind, consent and accord, haue deliuered vp vnto the reuerend fathers and Lords, the deputies of the foure nations, and to the whole sacred councell of Constance, this our supplication here vnder written, as reasonable, iust, and worthie of consideration, the tenour whereof here followeth word by word, and is this.

¶ The copie of the supplication, which was presented by the barons to the deputies of the councell, is before written, vnto which to this followeth was annexed.

The barons supplication to the king for Iohn Hus.

WHerefore wee most humblie require and desire your princely Maiestie, that both for the leaue of iustice, and also of the fame and renoune of that most famous kingdome of Boheme, whereof we acknowledge you vndoubtedly the true lord and heire successour, and also foreseeing vnto the libertie of your safe-conduct, that you will with your fauourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and iust supplications, which wee haue put vp to the Lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reuerend fathers and lords, that they will effectually heare vs, in this our most iust petition, which we haue offered vp to them, as is aforesaid: lest that the enemie of the renowne and honour of the famous kingdome of Boheme, and such as our slanderers also hereafter may detract and slander vs, that we should make vnreasonable and vnlawfull requests vnto the said reuerend fathers and lords; and therefore we required and desired of them that it would please them to decree by setting to their publike hand and seale to authorise our said publication. Likewise we doe most hartily require your highnesse, that you would vouchsafe in like maner to giue vs your testimony of the premises.

The king forced by the importunitie of the cardinals to breake promise.

But that answere the emperor made hereunto, we could neuer vnderstand: know; but by the processe of the matter a man may easilie iudge, that this good emperour was brought and led euen vnto this point, though the obstinate mischefe of the cardinals and bishops, to breake and falsifie his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby hee was driuen thereunto, that no defence could or might be giuen either by safe-conduct, or by any other meane vnto him, which was suspected or iudged to bee an heretike. But by the epistles and letters of Iohn Hus, a man may easilie iudge what the kings mind was. Now we will procede in the historie.

The fifth day of Iune, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the prelats, all that were almost in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the couent of the Franciscans in Constance, and there it was commanded, that before Iohn Hus should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles, which they had slanderously gathered out of his bookes: the which articles with Iohn Hulles answere, we will hereafter repeate. By chance there was then present a certaine Notary, named Peter Mladonowitz, the which long great time and amitie vnto the said Hus, who as soone as he perceiued that the bishops and cardinals were alreadie determined and appointed to condemne the said articles in the absence of Iohn Hus, hee went with all speede vnto master Wencelate de Duba, and Iohn of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made repoat thereof to the emperor. Who vnderstanding their intent, sent Lewes the county Palatine of Heydelberge, and the lord Fredericke, Burgraue of Nuremberge, to signifie vnto them, which ruled the councell, that nothing should be resolued or done in the case of Iohn Hus, before that it were first heard with equitie, and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Hus, which were either false or hereticall, and he would doe so much, that the said articles should bee examined, by good and learned men. Then according to the emperors will, the iudgement of the principals of the councell was suspended, vntill such time as Iohn Hus were present.

Iohn Hus in no case must be bailed.

In the meane season these gentlemen, master of Duba and of Clum, did giue vnto the two princes which the Emperour had sent, certaine small treatises which the said Hus had made, out of the which they had drawne certaine articles to present vnto them which rule the councell, vnder this condition, that they would render them againe, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this meanes the aduersaries of Iohn Hus might the more easilie bee reproued, the which of a naughtie and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said

Iohn Hus forced to read his bookes openly before the bishops and priests.

bookes of Iohn Hus. The bookes were deliuered vnto the cardinals and bishops; and that done, Iohn Hus was brought forth, and the princes which were sent by the emperour, departed backe againe. After they shewed the bookes vnto Iohn Hus, and he confessed openly before the whole assemblie that he had made them, and that he was readie, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

The like was done in the house of master Nicolas Bazilla where he was driuen at length to answere against the godly articles.

Now hearken a little to the holy procedings of these reuerend fathers, for here happened a strange and vnmindfull matter. With much adoe they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses vpon the same against him, but as he was about to open his mouth to answere, all this mad heard or flocke began so to crie out vpon him, that he had not leisure to speake one onely word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well haue called it a brute or noise of wild beasts, and not of men, much lesse was it to be iudged a congregation of men gathered together, to iudge and determine so graue and waighthie matters. And it it happened that the noise and crie did neuer so little cease, that he might answere anie thing at all, out of the holy Scriptures or ecclesiasticall Doctors, by and by he should heare these goodly replies vpon him: That maketh nothing to the purpose.

An outrageous councell.

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and other some spitefully mocked him: so that hee seeing himselfe ouerwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speake, he determined finally with himselfe to hold his peace and keepe silence. From that time forward al the whole rout of his aduersaries thought that they had won the battell of him, and cried out all together, now he is dumbe, now he is dumbe: This is a certaine signe and token, that he both consent and agree vnto their errors. Finally, the matter came to this point, that certaine of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to procede no further, but that all thomb to be referred and put off vntill an other time. Though their aduise, the prelats and others departed from the councell so that present, and appointed to mete there against the morrow after to procede in iudgement.

A great eclipse of the Sunne.

The next day, which was the seuenth of June, on which day the sunne was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about seuen of the clocke, this same flocke assembled againe in the cloister of the friers Minors, and by their appointment Iohn Hus was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the gentlemen, Master of Duba, and Clum, and the Bohemie named Peter, which were great friends of the said Hus, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they read these woords following: Iohn Hus hath taught the people diuers and many errours both in the chapell of Bethleem, and also in many other places of the citie of Prage, of the which errours some of them hee hath drawen out of Wicklifes bookes, and the rest hee hath forged and inuented of his owne head, and doth maintaine the same very obstinatly and stiffely.

They went forth with woords and fauour, as it had bene to take a theefe.

Peter's Iohn follow Christ into the bishops house.

Firſt, that after the consecration and pronunciation of the woords in the Supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread; and this is proued by the witnesse of Iohn Protiuiate, parish Priest of saint Clements in Prage, Iohn Pecklow preacher at saint Giles in Prage, Wenslie preacher in the castle of Prage, Andrew Wods, Chanon of Prage, and diuers other priests. Vnto this Iohn Hus taking a solemne oth, answered, that he neuer spake any such woord, but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prage forbad him to vse any more that terme or woord bread, hee could not allow the bishops commandement: for so much as Christ in the 6. chapter of Iohn doth oftentimes name himselfe the bread of angels, which came downe from heauen, to giue life vnto the whole world. But as touching material bread, hee neuer spake any thing at all. Then the cardinall of Cambray taking a certaine bill in his hand, which he said hee receiued the day before, said vnto Iohn Hus, Will you put any vnlearned things a parte rei. i. as touching the thing. When Iohn Hus answered, that he would, because saint Anselme, and diuers others had so done, the cardinall did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

Master made against I. Hus.

False witnesse against I. Hus.

The answere of Iohn Hus.

Naming of bread to shin by the archbishop.

The cardinall sophistically reasoneth with I. Hus.

It followeth then, said he, that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread, and that I doe thus proue: that the consecration being done, whiles the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remaine the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remaine, this is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then doth it follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the vniuersall ceaseth any more to be. Iohn Hus answered, truely it ceaseth to be in this singular material bread, by meanes of this transubstantiation, when as it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ: but notwithstanding in other singularities, it is made subiect.

The disputation of the Englishman.

Then a certaine Englishman by that argument would proue out of the first position, that there remained material bread. Then said Iohn Hus, that is a childish argument, which

every day in the schooles knowen, and thereupon gaue a definition. Then an other Englishman would proue, that there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Hus answered: Although, said he, that the bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to bee by meanes of the alteration of his substance into the bodie of Christ. Here an other Englishman stepping forth, said: John Hus semeth vnto me to vse the same kind of craftie speech which Wicklieffe vsed, for hee granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully perswaded that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament after the consecration. The which when John Hus had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but onely sincerely and wrightly, according to his conscience, the Englishman proceeded to demand of him againe, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the Sacrament of the altar. Whereunto John Hus answered: verily, I do thinke that the body of Christ is really and totally in the Sacrament of the altar, the which was borne of the virgine Mary, suffered, died, and rose againe, and sitteth on the right hand of God the father almightie. When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching vniuersalities, the Englishman which before would proue that materiall bread remained in the Sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talke, said: to what purpose is this disputation vpon vniuersalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith: for as far as I can perceiue or heare, this man holdeth a good opinion, as touching the Sacrament of the altar.

An Englishman.

John Hus answered with the like in the Sacrament.

Then an other Englishman, named Stokes, said: I haue seene at Prage (said he) a certaine treatise, the which was ascribed vnto this man John Hus, wherein it was plainely set forth, that after the consecration, there remained materiall bread in the Sacrament. Verily, said John Hus, sauing your reuerence, that is not true.

Stokes an Englishman.

False witnesse.

Then they returned againe vnto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who euery man for himselfe affirmed with an oth that which hee had said. Amongst whom John Postwyay, parish priest of saint Clements in Prage, when he should come to confirme his testimony, added more, that John Hus should say, that saint Gregorie was but a rimer, when he did alledge his authoritie against him. Unto whom John Hus answered, that in this point they did him great iniurie, forsomuch as he alwaies esteemed and reputed saint Gregory, for a most holy Doctor of the church.

John Hus belike meaneth for calling S. Gregorie a rimer.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinall of Florence turned himselfe toward John Hus, and said: Master, you know well enough that it is written that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things is firme and stable: and here you see now almost twentie witnesse against you, men of authoritie and worthy of credit, amongst the which some haue heard you teach these things themselues, the other by report & common bute or voice, do testifie of your doctrine, & all together generally bring firme reasons and proofes of their witnesse, vnto the which we are forced and constrained to giue credit; and for my part, I see not how you can maintaine and defend your cause against so many notable and well learned men. Unto whom John Hus answered in this maner: I take God and my conscience to witnesse, that I neuer taught any thing, neither was it euer in my mind or fantasie to teach in such sort or maner, as these men here haue not feared to witnesse against me that which they neuer heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that, I do much more effeeme, yea and without comparison regard the witnesse of my Lord God, before the witnes and iudgement of all mine aduersaries vpon whom I do in no point stay my selfe. Then said the Cardinall against vnto him, it is not lawfull for vs to iudge according to your conscience, for we cannot thinke, but that wee must needs stay our selues vpon the firme and euident witnesse of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred that these men do witnes this against you, as you do alledge; for they alledge and bring forth such reasons of their witnesse, that there is no man that can perceiue any hatred in them, or that wee can in any case be in doubt thereof. And as touching matter betweene Palez, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawen out certaine points or articles out of your bookes for to betray them afterwards: it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine aduice he hath vsed and shewed a great fidelitie and amitie toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more then they are in your owne bookes. I vnderstand also that you haue like opinion of diuers other notable men, and specially you haue said, that you do suspect M. Chancellor of Paris, then whom there is no more excellent and christian man in all the whole world.

Twentie witnesses generally bring firme reasons against John Hus, but the testimonie of all Boheme would not serue on his part.

The cardinall of Florence.

The cardinall of Cambray.

Then was there read a certaine article of accusation, in the which it was alledged that John Hus had taught, and obstinately defended certaine erroneous articles of Wicklieffes in Boheme. Whereunto Hus answered, that he neuer taught any errours of John Wicklieffes, or of any other mans. Wherefore if it be so that Wicklieffe hath holded any errours in England, let the Englishmen looke to that themselues. But to confirme their article, there was alledged that John Hus did withhold and the condemnation of Wicklieffs articles, the which was first condemned at Rome: and afterward also, when the archbishop Swinco, with other learned men, held a conuocation at Prage for the same matter, when as they should haue beene there condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholike faith or doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous, or offensiue: he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and specially for these articles, that Silvester the pope and Constantine did erre in bestowing those great gifts and rewards vpon the church. Also, that the pope or priest being in mortall sinne, cannot consecrate nor baptise. This article, said hee, I haue thus determined, as if I should say, that bee doth vniuersallie consecrate or baptise, when as he is in deadly sinne, and that he is an vniuersall minister of the Sacraments of God. Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wicklieffe was written by the very same words in the treatise which John Hus made against Stephen Palez. Verily, said John Hus, I feare not to submit my selfe, euen vnder the danger of death, if you shall not find it so as I haue said. When the booke was brought forth, they found it written as John Husse had said. Hee added also moreouer, that hee durst not agree vnto them which had condemned Wicklieffes articles, for this article: the tenthes were pure almes.

Certaine articles of Wicklieffe that John Hus stood in.

Here the Cardinall of Florence abiected vnto him his argument, as touching the almes: it is required that it should be giuen freely without bond or duty: But tenthes are not giuen freely without bond or duty: therefore are they no almes. John Hus denying the Maior of this Syllogisme, brought this reason against him. For asmuch as rich men are bounden vnder the paine of eternall damnation, vnto the fulfilling of the 6. workes of mercy, which Christ repeateth in the 25. chap. of Matthew, and these workes are pure almes: Ergo, almes is also giuen by bond and duety. Then an archbishop of England stepping vp, said, if we all be bound vnto those 6. workes of mercy, it doth follow that poore men, which haue nothing at all to giue, should be damned. I answere, said Hus, vnto your antecedent, that I spake diuersly of rich men, and of those which had where withall to do those workes: they, I say, were bound to giue almes vnder paine of damnation.

Whether tenthes be pure almes.

Almes stand of duetie.

Hee answered moreouer vnto the Minor of the first argument, that tenthes were at first giuen freely, and afterward made a bond and duety: and when as hee would haue declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. Hee declared also diuers other causes, why he could not with safe conscience consent vnto the condemnation of Wicklieffes articles. But howsoeuer the matter went, he did affirme and say, that hee did neuer obstinately maintaine any articles of Wicklieffe, but onely that he did not allow and consent that Wicklieffes articles should bee condemned before that sufficient reasons were alledged out of the holy Scripture for their condemnation: and of the same mind, saith John Hus, are a great many other Doctors & maisters of the Universitie of Prage. For whereas Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wicklieffes bookes to be gathered together in the whole citie of Prage, and to bee brought vnto him, I my selfe brought also certaine bookes of Wicklieffes, which I gaue vnto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any errour or heresie in them, that he would note and marke them, and I my selfe would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he beheld in me no errour nor heresie in them, burned my bookes, together with those that were brought vnto him, notwithstanding that hee had no such commandement from pope Alexander the fifth of that name. But notwithstanding by a certaine policie he obtained a bull from the said pope by meanes of Jarollaus bishop of Sarepte, of the order of Franciscans, that al Wicklieffes bookes for the manifold errours contained in them (whereof there was none named) should be taken out of all mens hands.

John Hus denieth that Wicklieffes bookes are condemned.

John Hus his mind touching the condemnation of Wicklieffes articles.

Wicklieffes bookes burned in Prage by the archbishop Swinco.

The archbishop vsing the authority of this bull, thought he should bring to passe that the king of Boheme and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wicklieffes bookes; but therein he was deceiued. Yet nuerthelesse, hee calling together certaine diuines, gaue them in commission to sit vpon Wicklieffes bookes, and to procede against them by a definitiue sentence in the canon law. These men by a generall sentence iudged all those bookes worthie to be burned. The which when the Doctors, maisters and schollers of the Universitie heard report of, they all together with one consent and accord (none excepted but onely they, which before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in iudgement) determined to make supplication vnto the king to stay the matter. The king granting their request, sent by and by certaine vnto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that hee would decree any thing as touching Wicklieffes bookes contrarie vnto the kings will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that hee had determined to burne them the next day after, yet for feare of the king, the matter was passed ouer.

A narration concerning Wicklieffes bookes.

The Universitie of Prage maketh supplication to the king for saueing of Wicklieffes bookes.

In the meane time pope Alexander the fifth being dead, the archbishop fearing lest the bull which hee had receiued of



Wicklieffes bookes burned in Kings against the kings will.

A decree that no man should teach any more in chapels.

of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, priuilie calling vnto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being garded with a number of armed souldiers, he consumed and burned all Wicklieffes bookes. Beside this great iniury, the archbishoppe by meanes of his bull aforesaid, committed another no lesse tolerable. For he gaue out commandement, that no man after that time vnder paine of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeale vnto the pope, who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining vndetermined, I appealed likewise vnto his successor John 23. Before whom, when as by the space of two yeeres, I could not be admitted by my aduocates to defend my cause, I appealed vnto the high Judge Christ. When John Hus had spoken these words, it was demanded of him, whether he had received absolution of the pope or no? He answered, No. Then againe, whether it were lawful for him to appeale vnto Christ or no? Whereunto John Hus answered: Verily I doe affirme here afore you all, that there is no more iust or effectuall appeale, then that appeale which is made vnto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeale, is no other thing then in a cause of griefe or wrong done by an inferior Judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher Judges hand. Who is then an higher Judge then Christ? Who, I say, can know or iudge the matter more iustly, or with more equitie? then as in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceiued: or who can better helpe the miserable and oppressed then he? While John Hus with a deuout and sober countenance was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole councell.

John Hus appealed to the pope, and from the pope to Christ.

A question of the councell whether it be lawfull to appeale to Christ or no.

The popish church disclosed by Christ.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation in this maner: that John Hus for to confirme the heresie which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wicklieffes bookes, said openly these words: that at what time a great number of monks and friers, and other learned men were gathered together in England in a certaine church, to dispute against John Wicklieffe, and could by no meanes bee ouerthrowen, or giue him the foile, suddenly the church doore was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wicklieffes enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added moreouer, that he wished his soule to be in the same place where John Wicklieffes soule was. Whereunto John Hus answered, that a dozen yeeres before that any bookes of Diuinitie of John Wicklieffes were in Boheme, hee did set certaine words of Philosophie of his, the which he said, did marueilously delight and please him. And when he vnderstood the good and godly life of the said Wicklieffe, he spake these words: I trust, said he, that Wicklieffe is saued: and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet with a good hope I wish, that my soule were in the same place where John Wicklieffes is. Then againe did all the company fall and laugh at him.

John Hus accused for iudging that Wicklieffes soule is saued.

It is also in his accusation, that John Hus did counsell the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly in diuers places certaine inhibitions, that euery man being armed with his sword about him, should incite and prouoke, and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbor an other. John Hus answered, that all these things were falsly laid vnto his charge by his aduersaries, for hee at all times when he preached, did diligently admonish and warne the people, that they should all arme themselues to defend the truth of the Gospell, according to the saying of the Apostle, with the helmet and sword of saluation, and that he neuer spake of any materiall sword, but of that which is the sword of God. And as touching inhibitions or Moses sword, hee neuer had nothing to doe with all.

Sedition laid to his charge.

John Hus his mind touching the condemnation of Wicklieffes articles.

It is moreouer affirmed in his accusation and witnes, that many offences are sprung vp by the doctrine of Hus. For first of all, he sowed discord betweene the ecclesiasticall and the politike state: whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling and robbery of the clergy and bishops. And moreouer, that hee through his dissension, dissolued the Vniuersitie of Prage. Hereunto John Hus briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his meanes or default. For the first dissension that was betweene the ecclesiasticall & politike state, sprang and grew vpon this cause, that pope Gregory the 12. of that name, promised at his election, that at all times at the will & pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from, and giue ouer his seat againe: for vnder that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Wincelaus king of Boheme, who was then also king of the Romans, made Lewes duke of Bauaria emperor.

John Hus accused for mouing certaine tumults against the clergie and diuision in the Vniuersity of Prage.

A Pope of popes.

A few yeeres after it happened, that when as pope Gregorie would not refuse and giue ouer his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals sent letters to the king of Boheme, requiring him, that together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience vnto pope Gregory, and so it should come to passe, that by the authority of a new bishop, he should recouer againe his imperiall dignitie. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals, as touching a neutralitie; that is to say, that hee would neither take part with pope Gregory, neither yet with Benedict the twelfth, bishop of Auinion, which was then named pope, as it doth appeare by chronicles. In this cause then, forsomuch as the archbishop Swinco with the clergy, were against the king, and abstaining from the diuine seruice many of them departed out of the citie, and the archbishop himselfe breaking downe the tombe of the lord Wincelate, contrary and against the kings will, did also take Wicklieffes bokes and burned them: Hereupon the king without any gainsaying, suffered that certaine gods of theirs, which of their owne wils were fled away, should be spoiled, because they should not consent or accord with the bishop. Whereupon it is easie to be vnderstood and knowne, that John Hus was falsly accused for that matter. Holweit a certaine man, one Nasi, riling vp, said; The clergy (said he) did not abstaine from the diuine seruice, because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance. And the cardinall of Cambray, who was one of the Judges, said: Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind.

The Bishop of Swinco and other of the clergy left the citie of Prage.

This doctor saith Hus was counseller to king Wincelaus.

When as I came from Rome, the same yere that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certaine prelats of Boheme. Whom when I demanded what newes they had brought out of Boheme, they answered, that there was happened a wonderfull cruell and hainous fact, for all the clergie were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill intreated and handled. Then John Hus alledging the same cause which he did before, went forward into the second part of the article which was obiected against him, denying also that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the Vniuersitie of Prage. But when as the king of Boheme, according to the foundation of Charles the fourth his father, granted three voices vnto the Bohemes, and the fourth vnto the Germanes; whereat the Germans grudging, that they should be exempted from their voices, of their owne accord departed and went their waies, binding themselues with a great oth, and vnder a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should returne againe vnto Prage. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confesse, that I did approue and allow the doings of the king, vnto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commoditie and profit of my country. And because you shall not thinke that I haue spoken any vntruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, which was deacon of the facultées, who had swome to depart with the rest of the Germans: he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily cleere me of this suspition.

A declaration how the Germans departed from the Vniuersitie of Prage.

The penalties of money was ordained there.

But when as Albert would haue spoken, hee could not be heard. But the forsaid Nasi, of whom before is made mention after he had asked leaue to speak, said: This matter do I vnderstand well enough, for I was in the kings court when these things were done in Boheme, when as I saw the maisters of the three nations of the Germans, Wanarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whom the Polonians were also numbred, most humbly come vnto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them. Then the king promised them, that he would foresee and prouide for their requests. But John Hus and Jerome of Prage, with diuers others, perswaded the king that hee should not so doe. Whereat the king at the first being not a little moued, gaue him a sore checke, that he and Hierome of Prage did so much intermedle themselues, and moued such open controuerlies, insomuch that he threatned them, that except they would forsee & take heed, he would bring it to passe that the matter should be determined and decided by fire. Wherefore most reuerend fathers, you shall vnderstand that the king of Boheme did neuer fauor with his heart these men, whose vnhappinesse well is such, that they feared not euen of late, to intreat vnto euill, being so much in the kings fauor and credit. After him stepped forth Palez, saying: Verily most reuerend fathers, not onely the learned men of other nations, but also of Boheme it selfe, are through the counsell of John Hus and his adherents, banished out of Boheme, of the which number, some remaine in exile in Sprania. Hereunto John Hus answered: How can this be true, said he, sithence I was not at Prage at that time, when as these men you speake of departed and went away from thence? These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Hus.

The Universitie of Prage left the kingdome of Boheme.

Palez speaketh against John Hus.

This done, the said John Hus was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reigen, vnder whom Hierome of Prage was also prisoner. But before that he was led away, the cardinall of Cambray calling him backe againe in the presence of the emperor, said: John Hus, I haue heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your owne mind to come into Constance, neither the emperor himselfe, neither the king of Boheme could haue compelled you to doe it. Unto whom John Hus answered: Under your licence most reuerend father, I neuer vsed any such kinde of talke or words. But this I did say, that three yeeres in Boheme a great number of gentlemen and noble men, which did fauor and loue mee, the which also might easilie haue kept mee in some sure and secret place, that I should not haue beene constrained to come into this towne of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither

John Hus committed vnto custody of Hierome of Prage.

The Emperour & the Bishops.

neither of the king of Bohemie. With that the cardinall of Cambray, enter for very anger began to change his colour, and despitcously saide: Do you not see the brightnesse of the manhere? And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Hus had spoken, saide; that John Hus had spoken very well: for as for my part, saide he, which in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realme of Bohemie, yet alwaies if I would haue taken it in hand, I could haue defended him easily by the space of one yeere, euen against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they haue done it which are of more force & puissance then I am? and haue stronger castels and places then I haue? After that the lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinall of Cambray saide, Let vs leaue this talke. And I tell you John Hus, and counsell you that you submit your selfe vnto the sentence and mind of the councell, as you doe promise in the prison: and if you will doe so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honor.

The emperor himselfe began to tell him the same tale, saying: Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of vs our letters of safe-conduct; notwithstanding I can well prooue by the witnesse of many princes and noble men, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of vs by my lord de Dube and de Clum, before you were carted out of Prage, vnder whose gard we haue sent for you, to the end that none should doe you any outrage or hurt, but that you should haue full liberte to speake freely before all the Councell, and to answere as touching your faith and doctrine; and as for me, my lords the cardinals and bishops haue so dealt with you, that we doe very well perceiue their good will towards you, for the which wee haue great cause to thanke them. And forsomuch as diuers haue told vs, that we may not ought not of right to defend any man which is an heretike, or suspect of heresie: therefore now wee giue you euen the same counsell which the cardinall of Cambray hath giuen you already, that you bee not obstinate to maintaine any opinion, but that you bee submit your selfe vnder such obedience as you owe vnto the authoritie of the holy Councell, in all things that shall be laide against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. The which thing if you doe according to our counsell, we will giue order that for the loue of vs, of our brother and the whole realme of Bohemie, the councell shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easie and tollerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you doe contrariwise refuse to doe, the presidents of the councell, shall haue sufficient wherewithall to proceed against you. And for our part be ye well assured, that we will soner prepare and make the fire with our owne handes to burne you withall, then we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintaine or vse this sickenesse of opinions, which you haue hi therto maintained and vsed. Therefore our aduice and counsell is, that you submit your selfe wholly vnto the iudgement of the councell. Vnto whom John Hus answered in this sort: O most noble emperor, I render vnto your highnesse most immortall thanks for your letters of safe-conduct. Vpon this, lord John de Clum did breake him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himselfe of the blame of obstinacie.

The emperour speaketh to John Hus.

The cardinall of Cambray speaketh to the emperour.

Then said John Hus: O most gentle Lord, I doe take God to my witnesse, that I was neuer minded to maintaine any opinion euer obstinately, and that for this same intent and purpose, I did come hither of mine owne good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine then mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt. After he had spoken and said these things, hee was sent away with Sergeants.

The morrow after, which was the eight day of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now againe at the Couent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also John Hus his friends, lord de Dube, and lord de Clum, and Peter the Notary. Thither was John Hus also brought: and in his presence there were read about thirtie nine articles, the which they said, were drawne out of his bookes. Hus acknowledged all those that were faithfully and trulie collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged by his aduersaries, and specially by Steuen Palecz, the principall author of this mischiefe: for they could finde no such thing in the bookes out of the which they said they had drawne and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easilie perceiue by the number of articles.

The articles of John Hus.

These be the same articles in a manner which were shewed before in the prison to John Hus, and are rehearsed here in an other order. Howbeit there were more articles added vnto them, and otherwhile corrected and inlarged. But now we will shew them one with another, and declare what the said Hus did answere both openly before them all, as also in the prison: for he left his answeres in the prison briefly written with his owne hand in these words.

I John Hus, vnworthy minister of Jesus Christ, maister of Art, and Bachelar of Diuinity, doe confesse that I haue written a certaine final treatise intituled, Of the church, the copie whereof was shewed me by the notaries of the three presidents of the councell, that is to say, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castle, and the bishop of Liboufle: the which deputies or presidents in respect of the said treatise, deliuered vnto me certaine articles, saying, that they were drawne out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

The author of John Hus confessing his booke to be the church.

The first article. There is but one holy vniuersall or catholike church, which is the vniuersall companie of all the predestinate. I doe confesse that this proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of S. Augustine vpon S. Iohn.

The second article. S. Paul was neuer any member of the diuell, albeit that he committed, and did certaine acts like vnto the acts of the malignant church. And likewise S. Peter which fell into an horrible sin of periury and denial of his master, it was by the permission of God that he might the more firmely and stedfastly rise againe and be confirmed. I answer, according to S. Augustine, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sinne and offend.

S. Paul was neuer any member of the diuell.

Hereby it appeareth, that there is two manner of separations from the holy church. The first is, not to perdition, as all the elect are diuided from the church. The second is to perdition, by the which certaine heretikes are through their deadly sinne, diuided from the church. Yet notwithstanding by the grace of God, they may returne againe vnto the flocke, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himselfe saying; I haue other sheepe which are not of this fold: John 11.

Two manner of separations from the church.

The third article. No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, for so much as the charitie of predestination, which is the bond and chaine of the same, doth neuer fall. This proposition is thus placed in my booke: As the reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, for so much as no part or member of the same doth finallie fall away, because that the charitie of predestination, which is the bond and chaine of the same, doth neuer fall away. This is proued by the 13. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, and to the Romans, the 8. chapter. All things turne to god to them which loue God. Also I am certaine that neither death nor life can separate vs from the charity and loue of God, as it is more at large in the booke.

The members of the church neuer fall finally away.

The church is taken sometime for the congregation of the elect and faithfull, and so is the article taken in the Creed.

The fourth article. The predestinate, although he be not in the state of grace, according to present iustice, yet is he actually a member of the vniuersall church. This is an error, if it be vnderstood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the booke, about the beginning of the fifth chapter, where it is declared, that there be diuers maners and sorts of being in the church; for there are some in the church, according to a militant faith, and other some according to predestination, as christians predestinate now in sinne, but shall returne againe vnto grace.

The predestinate is also a member of the vniuersall church, although not in present iustice.

The church builded vpon Peter, how.

The fifth article. There is no degree of honor, or dignitie, neither any humane election, or any sensible signe, that can make any man a member of the vniuersall church. I answere, this article is after this manner in my booke: And such subtilities are vnderstood and knowne by considering that it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church, and that predestination doth make a man a member of the vniuersall church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present, & of glorp to come: and not any degree of dignitie, neither election of man, neither any sensible signe. For the traitor Iudas Iscariotb, notwithstanding Christs election, and the temporall graces which were giuen him for his office of Apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true Apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolfe couered in a sheepes skinne, as S. Augustine saith.

To be in the church, and a member of the church.

Predestination.

The sixth article. A reprobate man is neuer no member of the holy church. I answere, it is in my booke with sufficient long probation out of the 26. Psalme, and out of the fifth chapter to the Ephesians, & also by S. Bernards saying, The church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and euidently his body, then the body which he deliuered for vs to death. I haue also written in the 5. chapter of my booke, that the holy church is the barne of the Lord, in the which are both good and euill, predestinate and reprobate; the good being as the good corne or graine, and the euill as the chaffe: and thereunto is added the exposition of S. Augustine.

Both good and bad in the church.

The seuenth article. Judas was neuer no true Disciple of Jesus Christ. I answere, and I doe confesse the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed afore, and by S. Augustine in his booke of penance, where he doth expound the meaning of Saint John, in his first Epistle and second chapter, where he said: They came out from amongst vs, but they were none of vs. He knew from the beginning all them which should beleeue, and him also which should betray him, and said: And therefore I say vnto you, that none commeth vnto me, except it be giuen him of my father. From that time many of the Disciples parted from him, and were not those also called the Disciples, according to the words of the Gospell? And yet notwithstanding they were no true Disciples, because they did not



not remaine and continue in the word of the Sonne of God, according as it is said: If you remaine in my word, you be my disciples. Forsomuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sonnes of God: although they seeme so, vnto him they are not so, vnto whom it is knowne what they shall be: that is to say, of good, euill. Thus much writeth S. Augustine: It is also euident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by meanes of his couetousnesse: for Christ himselfe said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Forsomuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lords will, and follow him, he was a theefe, as it is said John the 12. and a diuell, John the 6. whereby it is euident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but fained disciple. Whereupon S. Augustine writing vpon John, declaring how the shep heare the voice of Christ, saith; What maner of hearers, thinke we, his sheepe were? Truly Judas heard him and was a wolfe, yet followed he the shepheard: but being clothed in a sheps skinne, he lay in wait for the shepheard.

The eighth Article. The congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according vnto present iustice, is the holy vniuersall church, and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinckle, neither spot in it, but is holy and vndefiled, the which the sonne of God doth call his owne. The answere: The words of the booke out of the which this Article was drawne, are these: Thirdly, the church is vnderstood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithfull, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present iustice or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which Saint Paul maketh mention in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians: Christ so loued his church, that he deliuered and offered himselfe for the same, &c. I pray you then, is there any faithfull man the which doth doubt that the church doth not signifie all the elect and predestinate, the which we ought to beleeue to be the vniuersall church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmely to beleeue according to our Creed: I beleeue the holy catholike church; and of this church doth saint Augustine, saint Gregory, saint Jerome, and diuers other make mention.

The ninth Article. Peter neuer was, neither is the head of the holy vniuersall church. The answer: This article was drawne out of these words of my booke: All men doe agree in this point, that Peter had receiued of the rocke of the church (which is Christ) humility, pouerty, stedfastnesse of faith, and consequently blessednesse. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Vpon this roche I will build my church, that he would build euery militant church vpon the person of Peter, for Christ should build his church vpon the rocke which is Christ himselfe, from whence Peter receiued his stedfastnesse of faith, forsomuch as Jesus Christ is the onely head and foundation of euery church, and not Peter.

Peter neuer was head of the whole vniuersall church.

The tenth article. That that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, doe follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar. But if so be it, he doe walke in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of antichrist, and the enemy and aduersarie of Saint Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscariot. I answere: The words of my booke are these: If he which is called the vicar of saint Peter, walke in the waies of Christian vertues aforesaid, we doe beleeue verily that hee is the true vicar and true bishop of the church which he ruleth: but if he walke in contrary paths and waies, then is he the messenger of antichrist, contrary both to Saint Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore Saint Bernard in his fourth booke did write in this sort vnto pope Eugenie: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancie, being gorgeously and sumptuously arraied, that fruit or profit doe thy flocke or sheepe receiue by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of diuels then of sheep. Saint Peter and S. Paul did not so: therefore you seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not saint Peter. These be the very words of S. Bernard. It followeth after in my book, that if the manner and fashion of his life and liuing, be contrary to that which S. Peter vsed, or that he be giuen to auarice and couetousnesse, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariotb, which loued and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ. As some as they had read the same, those which ruled and gouerned the councell, beheld one another, making mocks and mowes, they nodded their heads at him.

The vicar of Christ, how he is to be taken.

Bernard. ad Eugenium, lib. 4.

The eleuenth Article. All such as do vse simony, and priests liuing dissolutely and wantonly, doe hold an vntrue opinion of the seuen sacraments, as vnbeleeuing bailards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the holie orders, censures, rites, and ceremonies, neither of the diuine seruice of the church, or of veneration or worshipping of reliques, neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church, neither yet of indulgences or pardons. I answere, that it is placed in this manner in my booke: This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as doe sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making faires and markets of the holy sacraments, and liuing in all kind of voluptuousnesse and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of liuing: They doe pollute and defile the holy ecclesiasticall state. And albeit that they professe in words that they doe know God, yet do they deny it against by their deeds, and consequently beleeue not in God: But as vnbeleeuing bailards they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seuen sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most euidently, forsomuch as all such doe vtterly contemne and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, the first chapter: Vnto you O priests, be it spoken, which do despise and contemne my name.

Prelates making merchandise of holy orders.

The twelfth Article. The papall dignity hath his originall from the emperors of Rome. I answere, and marke well what my words are: The preeminence and institution of the pope is spring and come of the emperors power and authority. And this is proued by the 96. distinction: for Constantine granted this priuiledge vnto the bishop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus for the outward and temporall goods bestowed vpon the church, is counted alwaies the most high king aboue all others: so the bishop of Rome should be called the principall father aboue all other bishops. This notwithstanding the papall dignity hath his originall immediatly from Christ, as touching his spirituall administration and office, to rule the church. Then the cardinall of Cambray said: In the time of Constantine, there was a generall councell holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest rowme and place in the church was giuen to the bishop of Rome, for honors cause, it is ascribed vnto the emperor: Wherefore then doe you not allwell affirme and say that the papall dignitie take his originall rather from that councell, then by the emperors authoritie and power?

12 The pope taketh his originall from the emperors. 96. dist.

The thirteenth Article. No man would reasonably affirme (without relation) neither of himselfe nor of any other, that he is the head of any particular church. I answer: I confesse it to be written in my booke, and it followeth straight after: Albeit that through his good liuing, he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy vniuersall church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher: No man knoweth whether he be worthy and haue deserued grace and fauor, or hatred. And Luke the 17. When ye haue done all that ye can, say that you are vnprofitable seruants.

13 The pope is not the head of any particular church.

The fourteenth Article. It ought not to be beleeued that the pope, whatsoeuer he be, may be the head of any particular church, vnlesse he be predestinat or ordained of God. I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine, and this is easie to proue, forsomuch as it is necessary that the christian faith should be deprawed, forsomuch as the church was deceiued by Peter, as it appeareth by S. Augustine.

14

The fifteenth Article. The popes power as Vicar, is but vaine and nothing worth, if he doe not conforme and addresse his life according to Jesus Christ, and not follow the maners of S. Peter. I answer, that it is thus in my booke; that it is meet and conuenient that he which is ordained vicar, should addresse and frame himselfe in maners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place. And John Hus said moreouer before the whole councell: I vnderstand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the maners of Christ, is fruitlesse and void, as touching the merit and reward, which he should obtaine and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office. Then certaine others standing by, asked of him saying; Where is that glosse in your booke? John Hus answered, You shall finde it in my treatise against maister Paletz: whereat all the assistance (looking one vpon another) began to smile and laugh.

15 The popes power vaine.

Distinction of merit and of office.

The fifteenth Article. The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the rowme and place of S. Peter, but because he hath great reuenewes. I answer, that my words are mutilate, for thus it is written: He is not most holy because he is called the vicar of S. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions: but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentlenes, patience, labor and trauell, and in perfect loue and charity.

16 Holinesse commeth not by lording but by following.

The seuenteenth Article. The cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other Apostles of Jesus Christ, if they liue not according to the fashion of the Apostles, keeping the commandements and ordinances of the Lord Jesus. I answer, that it is thus written in my booke, and it proueth it self sufficiently: For if they enter in by another way then by the doze, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murtherers and theeues.

17 The cardinals be not the successors of the Apostles.

Then said the cardinall of Cambray: Behold both this and all other Articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his booke then is presented in his articles. Truly John Hus thou hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings. Had it not been your part to haue applied your remonstrances according to your audience? For to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you before the people to preach against the cardinals, when as none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to haue told them their faults before them all, then before the laity. Then answered John Hus: Reuerend father,

father, for so much as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those words. Then said the cardinall, thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talke thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the church.

The eighteenth Article; An heretike ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient onely that he abide and suffer the ecclesiasticall censure. These are my words: That they might be ashamed of their cruell sentence and iudgement, specially forsomuch as Jesus Christ, bishop both of the old and new testament, would not iudge such as were disobedient by ciuill iudgement, neither condemne them to bodily death. As touching the first point; it may be euidently seene in the 12. chapter of S. Luke. And for the second it appeareth also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the eighth chapter of S. John. And it is said in the eighteenth chapter of S. Matthew; If thy brother haue offended thee, &c. Marke therefore what I doe say: That an heretike whatsoeuer he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with christian loue and gentleness by the holy scriptures, and by the reasons drawne and taken out of the same, as S. Augustine and others haue done, disputing against the heretikes. But if there were any which after all these gentle and louing admonitions and instructions, would not cease from or leaue off their stiffnesse of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporall or bodily punishment.

As soone as John Hus had spoken those things, the Iudges read in his booke a certaine clause, wherein he seemed grieuously to inueigh against them which deliuered an heretike vnto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresie, and compared them vnto the high Priests, Scribes and Pharisies, which said vnto Pilat; It is not lawfull for vs to put any man to death, and deliuered Christ vnto him: and yet notwithstanding according vnto Christs owne witnesse, they were greater murtherers then Pilat: For he, said Christ, which hath deliuered me vnto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Hus, saying; Who are they that thou dost compare or assimule vnto the Pharisies? Then he said, all those which deliuered vp any innocent vnto the ciuill sword, as the Scribes and Pharisies deliuered Jesus Christ vnto Pilat. No, no, said they againe, for all that, you spake here of bishops. And the cardinall of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner said: Truly they which haue made and gathered these articles, haue vsed great lenity and gentlenesse, for his writtings are much more detestable and horrible.

The nineteenth Article. The nobles of the world ought to constraine and compell the ministers of the church to obserue and keepe the law of Jesus Christ. I answere, that it standeth thus word for word in my booke: Those which be on our part doe preach and affirme that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is diuided, and constituted in these parts: That is to say: Ministers of the church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandements of the sonne of God, and the nobles of the world that should compell and bring them to keepe the commandements of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, seruing to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.

The twentith Article. The ecclesiasticall obedience, is a kind of obedience, which the priests and monks haue inuented without any expresse authority of the holy scriptures. I answer and confesse, that those words are thus written in my booke: I say, that there be three kinds of obedience, spirituall, secular and ecclesiasticall. The spirituall obedience is that which is onely due according to the law and ordinance of God, vnder the which the Apostles of Jesus Christ did line, and all christians ought for to line. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the ciuill lawes and ordinances. The ecclesiasticall obedience is such as the priests haue inuented, without any expresse authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth vtterly exclude from it all euill, as well on his part which giueth the commandement, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24. chapter of Deut. Thou shalt doe all that which the priests of the kindred of Leui shall teach and instruct thee, according as I haue commanded them.

The twenty one Article. He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the iudgement of the pope and the generall councell, and appealeth vnto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his appellation all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annay or hurt him. I answere, that I doe not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me, & such as fauoured me great wrong, and that they refuse to heare me in the popes court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeale to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeale from the pope to the councell, it were too long, and that were euen as much as if a man in trouble should seeke an vncertaine remedy. And therefore last of all I haue appealed to the head of the church my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better, then any pope, to discusse and determine matters and causes, forsomuch as he cannot erre, neither yet hath iniustice to him that doth aske or require it in a iust cause, neither can he condemne the innocent. Then spake the cardinall of Cambray vnto him, and said; Wilt thou presume aboue Saint Paul, who appeales vnto the emperor, and not vnto Jesus Christ? John Hus answered: Forsomuch then as I am the first that doe it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted an heretike? And yet notwithstanding, S. Paul did not appeale vnto the emperor of his owne motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake vnto him by reuelation and said: Be firme and constant, for thou must goe vnto Rome. And as he was about to rehearse his appeale againe, they mocked him.

¶ Forsomuch as mention here is made of the appeale of the said Hus, it seemeth good here to shew the manner and forme thereof.

## The copie and tenor of the appeale of John Hus.

FOrasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chiefe and first, and also the last and vttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing iustice to such as bee wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call vpon him in verity and truth, vnbinding those that are bound: and fulfilling the desires of all those which honor and feare him, defending and keeping all those that loue him, and vtterly destroying and bringing to ruine the stiffenecked and vnpenitent sinner, and that the Lord Jesus Christ very God and man, being in great anguish compassed in with the Priests, Scribes and Pharisies, wicked Iudges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeeme the chosen children of God, before the foundation of the world, from euerlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory vnto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can doe all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this maner: O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himselfe against me, and thou art my protector & defender. O Lord thou hast giuen me vnderstanding, and I haue acknowledged thee: thou hast opened vnto me all their enterprises; & for mine owne part I haue been as a meeke lambe which is led vnto sacrifice, and haue not resisted against them. They haue wrought their enterprises vpon me, saying: Let vs put wood in his bread, and let vs banish him out of the land of the liuing, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou O Lord of hosts, which iudgest iustly and seest the deuices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance vpon them, for I haue manifested my cause vnto thee, forsomuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and haue counselled together, saying: The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him & catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliuer me from mine enemies, for thou art my God: doe not separate thy selfe far from me, forsomuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succor me. My God my God looke downe vpon me, wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs haue compassed me in, and the company of the wicked haue besieged mee round about, for they haue spoken against mee with deceitfull tongues, and haue compassed me in with words full of despite, and haue enforced me without cause. In stead of loue towards me, they haue slandered me, and haue recompenced me with euill for good, and in place of charity they haue conceiued hatred against me.

Wherefore behold I staying my selfe vpon this most holy and fruitfull example of my Sauiour and redeemer, doe appeale before God for this my griefe and hard oppression from this most wicked sentence and iudgement, and the excommunication determined by the Bishops, Scribes, Pharisies, and Iudges, which sit in Moises seat, and resigne my cause wholly vnto him; so as the holy Patriarke of Constantinople John Chrysostome, appealed twice from the councell of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew bishop of Prage, and Robert bishop of Lincoln, appealed vnto the soueraigne and most iust Iudge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can bee be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet bee deceiued by false witnesse. Also I desire greatly that all the faithfull seruants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all other which inhabit our country of Boheme, should vnderstand and know these things, and haue compassion vpon me, which am so greeuously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedrall church of Prage, and giuen and granted out by Peter of Saint Angels, deane of the church of Rome, and cardinall, and also ordained Iudge by pope John xxiij. who hath continued almost these two yeeres, and would giue no audience vnto my aduocates and procurators, which they ought not to deny: no not to a Iew or Pagan, or to any heretike whatsoeuer he were) neither yet would he receiue any reasonable excuse for that I did not appeare personally, neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole Vniuersity of Prage with the seale hanging at it, or the writings of the syvorne Notaries, and such as were called vnto witnesse. By this all men may euidently perceiue, that I haue not incurred any fault or crime of contumacie or disobedience, forsomuch as that I did not appeare in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

And moreouer, forsomuch as they had laid ambushments for mee on euery side by waies where I should passe, and also because the perils and dangers of others, haue made mee the more circumspect and aduised, and forsomuch as my procurers were willing and consented to binde themselues euen to abide the punishment of the fire, to answere to all such as would oppose or lay anything against me in the court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawfull procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. For somuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient lawes, as well diuine of the old and new testament, as also of the canon lawes, is this, that the Iudges should resort vnto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and thereto enquire of all such crimes as shall be obiected and laid against him which is accused, or slandered, and that of such men as by conuersation haue some knowledge or vnderstanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the euill willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered: but must bee men of an honest conuersation, no common quarrell pickers or accusers, but seruent louers of the law of God) and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or perill, resort or come, and that the iudge and witnesses should not be enemies vnto him that is accused: And also forsomuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safegard of my life, I am excused before God from the friuolous pretended obstinacie and excommunication. Wherupon I John Hus doe present and offer this my appeale vnto my Lord Jesu Christ, my iust Iudge, who knoweth and defendeth, and iustly iudgeth euery mans iust and true cause.

The twenty two article. A vicious and naughty man liueth viciously and naughtily; but a vertuous and godly man liueth vertuously and godly. I answere: My words are these: That the diuision of all humane works is in two parties, that is, that they be either vertuous, or vicious: for somuch as it doth appeare, that if any man be vertuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then vertuously and godly. And contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby vnderstand deadly sinne, doth vniuersally infect or depraue all the acts and doings of the subiect, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise vertue and godlinesse doth quicken all the acts and doings of the vertuous and godly man: in somuch, that he being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good works euen sleeping, as it were by a certaine meanes working: as Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory, and diuers other affirme. And it appeareth in the sixth chapter of Luke: If thine eye, that is to say, the mind or intention be simple, not depraued with the peruersitie of any sinne or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings shall be cleere and shining, that is, acceptable and gratefull vnto God. But if thine eye be euill, the whole body is darkened. And in the second to the Corinthians, 10. chapter: All things that you doe, doe them to the glory of God. And likewise in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter, it is said: Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kind of life and liuing according vnto charity, is vertuous and godly: and if it be without charity, it is vicious and euill. This saying may well be proued out of the 23. chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh vnto the people, that he that keepeth his commandements, is blessed in the house and in the field, out going, and in comming, sleeping and waking: but he that doth not keepe his commandements, is accursed in the house and in the field, in going out and in comming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is euident by S. Augustine vpon the Psal. where he writeth; that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lacke their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeale, be not without reward, and consequently be vertuous and good? And contrariwise it is vnderstood of him which is in deadly sinne, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoeuer the vncleane man doth touch, is made vncleane.

To this end doth that also appertaine which is before repeated out of the first of Malachi. And Gregory in the first booke and first question, saith: We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when as we come vnworthily to the table, and when we being defiled, doe drinke his bloud. And Saint Augustine vpon the 146. Psalme, saith: If thou doest exceed the due measure of nature, and doest not abstaine from gluttony, but gorge thy selfe vp with drunkennes, whatsoeuer laud or praise thy tongue doth speake of the grace and fauor of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same. When he had made an end of this article, the cardinall of Cambray said: The Scripture saith that we be all sinners. And againe; If we say we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and so we should aliuates liue in deadly sinne. John Hus answered: The Scripture speaketh in that place of veniall sinnes, the which doe not vtterly expell or put away the habit of vertue from a man, but doe all ariate themselues together. And a certaine Englishman whose name was Wi. said: But those sinnes doe not associate themselues with any act morally good. John Hus alledged against Saint Augustines place vpon 146. Psalme; the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said; What makes this to the purpose?

The twenty three article. The minister of Christ living according to his law, and hauing the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding the pretended excommunication of the pope. And moreouer, if the pope or any other ruler doe forbid any priest or minister so disposed, not to preach, that he ought not to obey him. I answere, that these are my words: That albeit the excommunication were either threatned or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to doe the commandements of Christ, it appeareth by the words of Saint Peter and the other Apostles, that we ought rather to obey God then man. Thereupon it followeth, that the minister of Christ liuing according vnto his law, &c. ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. For it is euident that it is commanded vnto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God, Acts 5. God hath commanded vs to preach and testifie vnto the people, as by diuers other places of the Scripture, and the holy fathers, rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appeare more at large. The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner.

By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to giue almes, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandements. Whereby it is further euident, that if the pope or any other ruler of the church doe command any minister appointed to preach, or a rich man disposed so to giue almes, not to giue, that they ought not to obey him. And he added moreouer, to the intent that you may vnderstand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is vniustly disordered and giuen forth, contrary to the order of the law and Gods commandements. For the which the meete minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to feare damnation.

Then they obiected vnto him, that he had said that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings. Clerik, said Hus, euen so I do now say againe, that euery excommunication, by the which a man is vniustly excommunicat, is vnto him a blessing afore God: according to that saying of the Prophet: I will curse where as you blesse: and contrariwise, they shall curse, but thou O Lord shalt blesse. Then the cardinall of Florence, which had alwaies a Notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said: The law is, that euery excommunication, be it neuer so vniust, ought to be feared. It is true, said John Hus: for I doe remember eight causes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared. Then said the cardinall; Is there no more but eight? It may be, said John Hus, that there be more.

The twenty foure article. Euery man which is admitted vnto the ministery of the church, receiueth also by speciall commandement, the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfill that commandement, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary. The answere: My words are these: For so much as it doth appeare by that which is aforesaid, that whosoeuer commeth, or is admitted vnto the ministery, receiueth also by especiall commandement, the office of preaching, he ought to fulfill that commandement, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning, is more bound to counsell and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are vntruly, and to remit and forgiue those that doe him iniury: then for to doe any other works of mercy. Forsomuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bounden vnder the paine of damnation, to minister and giue corporall and bodily almes, as appeareth in the twenty fiue chapter of Matthew: how much more is he bound to doe spirituall almes?

The twenty fiue article. The ecclesiasticall censures are antichristian, such as the clergy haue inuented for their owne preferment, and for the bondage and seruitude of the common people. Thereby if the laity be not obedient vnto the clergy at their will and pleasure, it doth multiply their contousnesse, defordeth their malice, and prepareth a way for antichrist. Where by it is an euident figure and token, that such censures proceede from antichrist; the which censures in their processes they doe call Fulminations or lightnings, wherethy the clergy doth chiefely preceed against such as doe manifest and open the wickednesse of antichrist, which thrust themselues into the office of the clergie. These things are contained in the last chapter

chapter of his treatise of the Church. I answere, and I deny that it is in that forme. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23. chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they haue gathered certaine clauses most contrary thereunto. The which when they had read, the cardinall of Cambray renewed his old song, saying: Truely these are much more grieuous and offensiue, then the articles which are gathered.

The twenty sixth Article. There ought no interditement to be appointed vnto the people, for so much as Christ the high bishop, neither for Iohn Baptist, neither for any iniury that was done vnto him, did make any interditement. My words are these: When as I complained, that for one ministers sake, an interditement was giuen out, and thereby all good men ceased from the land and praise of God. And Christ the high bishoppe, notwithstanding that the Prophet was taken and kept in prison, then whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not giue out any curse or interditement, neither when hee was layd beheaded him, neither when hee himselfe was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the Souldiours, Scribes and Pharisies, he did not then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his Disciples to doe the same, as it appeareth in the fifth chapter of Saint Matthew. And Christs first vicar following the same doctrine and learning, saith in his first Epistle of Saint Peter, and the second chapter: Hereunto are ye called: For Christ hath suffered for vs, leauing vs an example that we should follow his steppes, who when hee was cursed and euill spoken of, did not curse again. And Saint Paul following the same order and way in the twelfth chapter of the Romans saith: Bleese them that persecute you. There were besides these many other places of scripture recited in that booke; but they being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did helpe or preuaile to stir vp or moue the Iudges minds.

Christ interdited none, but prayed for all.

1. Pet. 2.

Rom. 12.

And these are the articles which are alleged out of Iohn Hus his booke intituled, Of the Church.

Other Articles moreouer out of other his bookes were collected, and forced against him, first out of his treatise written against Steuen Paletz, to the number of seuen articles. Also sir other articles drained out of his treatise against Stanislaus Znopma. Thereunto his answers likewise be adioyned, not vntruitfull to be read.

## ¶ Heere follow seuen Articles, which are said to be drawne out of his Treatise which he wrote against Stephen Paletz.

Articles drawn out of the treatise written against Steuen Paletz.

THe first article. If the pope, bishop, or prelat be in deadly sinne, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelat. The answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you vnto Saint Augustine, Ierome, Chrysostome, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which doe say moreouer, that whosoeuer is in deadly sinne, is no true christian, how much lesse then is he pope, or bishop? of whom it is spoken by the Prophet Amos in his eighth chapter: They haue raigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not, &c. But afterward I doe grant that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an vnworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptise, consecrate, or otherwise worke to the profit of his church; and this is largely handled in the tert of the booke by the authorities of the holie doctors: for euen hee which is in deadly sinne, is not worthy a king before God, as it appeareth in the first booke of Kings, the fifteenth chapter. Where as God saith vnto Saul by the Prophet Samuel, saying: Forsomuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king. Whiles these things were thus intreating, the emperor looking out at a certaine windowe of the cloister, accompanied with the Countie Palatine, and the Burgraue of Norenberg, conferring and talking much of Iohn Hus: at length he said, that there was neuer a worse or more pernicious heretike then hee. In the meane while, when Iohn Hus had spoken these woords, as touching the worthy king, by and by the emperour was called, and hee was commanded to repeate those words againe; which after that hee had done, his tutor therein being confounded, the emperor answered: A man, saith hee, doth liue without fault. Then the cardinall of Cambray being in a great furie said: Is it not enough for vs, that thou doest contemne and despise the ecclesiasticall state, and goest about by thy writings and doctrine to peruerte and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity? Then Paletz began to alledge the lawes whereby he would proue that Saul was king, euen when those woords were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that Dauid did forbid that Saul should not bee slaine, not for the holinesse of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holinesse of his annointing. And whereas Iohn Hus repeated out of Saint Cyprian, that hee did take vpon him the name of Christian: in vaine, which did not follow Christ in his liuing; Paletz answered: Behold and see what a folly is in this man, which

The emperors liking of part of Iohn Hus.

The cardinall of Cambray.

alledgeth those things which make nothing for the purpose: for albeit any man be not a true christian, is hee not therefore true pope, bishoppe, or king? Whereas these are natures of office, and to be a christian is a name of merit and desert; and so may any man be a true pope, bishoppe, or king, although he be no true christian. Then said Iohn Hus; Ipope Iohn the 23. were a true pope, wherefore haue yee deprriued him of his office? The emperor answered: The lords of the Councell haue now lately agreed thereupon that he was true pope: but for his notorious and manifest euill doings, wherewithall he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoile and bring to raine the power thereof, he is reiected and cast out of his office.

The second article. The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and euery part and member thereof is strictly knit and ioyned vnto the head. The answere: I acknowledge this article to bee mine, and it is pzued in the tert out of the eighth chapter to the Romans; Who shall separate vs from the charity and loue of Christ? &c. And in the tenth chapter of Iohn: My sheepe heare my voice, and I know them, and they follow mee, and I giue them eternall life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands. This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our spirituall head Christ, vnderstanding the church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

2

The third article. If the pope bee a wicked man, and specially a reprobate, then euen as Iudas the Apostle, hee is a Diuell, a Theefe, and the Sonne of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, for so much as hee is no part or member thereof. The answere: My woords are thus: If the pope bee an euill or wicked man, and specially if hee bee a reprobate; then euen as Iudas, so is hee a diuell, a theefe, and the sonne of perdition. Now then is hee the head of the holy militant church? Whereas he is not truely no member or part thereof: for if he were a member of the holy church, then should hee be also a member of Christ; and if hee were a member of Christ, then should hee cleaue and sticke vnto Christ by the grace of Predestination and present iustice, and should bee one spirit with God, as the Apostle saith in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter: Know yee not that your bodies are the members of Christ?

3

The fourth article. An euill pope or prelat, or reprobate is no true pastor, but a theefe and a robber. The answere: The tert of my booke is thus: If he be euill or wicked, then is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh; he is no shepheard, neither are the sheepe his owne. Therefore when he seeth the wolfe comming, he runneth away, and forsaketh the sheepe: and so finally doth euery wicked and reprobate man. Therefore euery such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelat, is no true pastor; but a very theefe and a robber, as is more at large pzoued in my booke. Then said Iohn Hus: I doe so limit all things, that such as touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepheards before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.

4

Then a certaine man rising vp behind Iohn Hus clothed all in white, said: My lords, take heede least Iohn Hus deceiue both you, and himselfe with these his glosses, and looke whether these things bee in his booke or not; for of late I had disputation with him vpon these articles, in the which I said, that a wicked pope, &c. was no pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his office he was truly pope. Whereupon he vsed these glosses which hee had heard of me, and did not take them out of his booke. Then Iohn Hus turning himselfe vnto him, said: Did you not heare that it was so read out of my booke? and this did easily appeare in Iohn the twenty three, whether he were true pope, or a very theefe and robber. Then the bishoppes and cardinals looking one vpon another, said: that he was a true pope, and laughed Iohn Hus to scorne.

The fifth. The pope is not, neither ought to be called according vnto his office, most holy: for then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and diuels, ought also to be called holy. The answere: My woords are otherwise placed in this manner; So ought a faithfull man, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily obserue and keepe his fatherlinesse: and if he be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keepe the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holie, then is hee also most good; and whereas he saith that he is pope, it is the name of his office.

5

Thereupon it followeth, that the man which is pope, being an euill and reprobate man, is a most holy man: and consequently by that his office, he is most good. And forsomuch as no man can be good by his office, except he doe exercise and vse the same his office very well: it followeth that if the pope be an euill and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or vse his office well. Forsomuch as he cannot vse the office well, except he be morally good: Mat. 12. How can you speak good things, when you your selues are euill? And immediatly after it followeth: If the pope by reason of



of his office be called most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called most holy, by reason of his office and dignitie? Whereas the king according vnto Saint Augustines mind, representeth the Deitie and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanitie. Wherefore also should not Iudges, yea euen Iomenters be called holie, for so much as they haue their office by ministring vnto the church of Christ? These things are more at large discoursed in my booke; but I cannot find or know, saith Iohn Hus, any foundation whereby I should call the pope most holy, when as this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy: Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope most holy?

6

The sixth article: If the pope line contrarie vnto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonicallie elect and chosen, according to humane election, yet doth he abcend and come in another way then by Christ. The answere: The text is thus; If the pope liue contrarie vnto Christ in pride and auarice, how then doth he not abcend and come another way into the sheepefold, then by the lowlie and meeke waye our Lord Iesus Christ? But admit as you say, that he did abcend by lawfull election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according vnto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proued that he should abcend and come in another way; for Iudas Iscariot was truely and lawfullie chosen of the Lord Iesus Christ vnto his bishoppike, as Christ saith in the sixth of Iohn, and yet hee came in another way into the sheepefold, and was a theefe and a Diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Did he not come in another way? when as our Sauiour spake thus of him, he that eateth bread with me, shall lift vp his heele against me.

7

The same also is proued by Saint Bernard vnto pope Eugenius. Then said Paletz: Behold the furie and madnesse of this man; for what more furious or madde thing can there be then to say, Iudas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding hee did abcend another way, and not by Christ? Iohn Hus answered, he like both partes are true, that hee was elect and chosen by Christ, and also that he did abcend, and came in another way, for he was a theefe, a Diuell, and the sonne of perdition. Then said Paletz, cannot a man be truelie and lawfullie chosen pope or bishop, and afterward liue contrarie vnto Christ? And that notwithstanding, he doth not abcend ante other wayes. But I, said Iohn Hus, doe say that whosoeuer doth enter into any bishoppike or like office by simonie, not to the intent to labour and trauell in the church of God, but rather to liue delicately, voluptuously and vnrighteously, and to the intent to aduance himselfe with all kind of pride, euery such man abcendeth and commeth vp by another way, and accoding vnto the Gospell, he is a theefe and a robber.

The seuenth article: The condemnation of the fortie fiue articles of Iohn Wicklisse made by the doctours is vnreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleaged is fained and vntrue: That is to say, that none of those articles are catholike, but that euerie of them be either heretical, erroneous or offensiue. The answere: I haue written it thus in my Treatise: The fortie and fiue articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those fortie and fiue, is a catholike article, but each of them is either heretical, erroneous or offensiue.

The cardinall of Cambray.

O maister Doctour, where is your proofe? you faine a cause which you do not proue, &c. As it appeareth more at large in my treatise. Then said the cardinall of Cambray, Iohn Hus, thou didest say that thou wouldest not defend anie errour of Iohn Wicklisses. And now it appeareth in your bookes, that you haue openly defended his articles. Iohn Hus answered: Reuerend Father, euen as I said before, so do I now say againe, that I will not defend any errours of Iohn Wicklisses, neither of anie other mans: but for so much as it seemed vnto mee to bee against conscience, simplie to consent vnto the condemnation of them, no Scripture being alleaged or brought contrarie and against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree vnto the condemnation of them: And for so much as the reason which is copulatiue cannot bee verified in euerie point, according to euerie part thereof.

Articles drawn out of his treatise written against Stanislaus de Znopma.

NOw there remaine sixe articles of thirtie nine: These are said to be drawne out of another treatise which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znopma.

1

The first article: Noman is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented with a liuely voice according to the custome of men to elect and chuse any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successour of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the Ecclesiasticall office, but in that that any man doth most abundantlie worke meritoriouslie to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power giuen him of God thereunto. The answere: These things which follow are also written in my booke. It standeth in the power and hands of wicked Electours to chuse a woman into the Ecclesiasticall office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called Iohn, who held and occupied the popes place and dignity by the space of two yeres and more.

It may also be that they do chuse a theefe, a murderer or a diuell, and consequently they may also elect and chuse Antichrist.

It may also be, that for loue, countenaunce, or hatred, they doe chuse some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen: In so much as the Electours or the greater part of them haue consented and agreed together, according to the custome of men vpon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successour or vicar of Peter the Apostle, or any other in the Ecclesiasticall office.

Therefore they which must accordingly vnto the Scripture do elect and chuse, reuelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason vpon him they do elect and chuse, thereupon whether the Electours do so chuse god or euill, we ought to giue credit vnto the woykes of him that is chosen; for in that point that any man doth most abundantly worke meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power giuen him of God thereunto. And hereupon saith Christ in the tenth of Iohn, giue credit vnto woykes.

The second article: The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God. The answere: I wrote it thus in my treatise, that I would willingly receiue a probable and effectuall reason of the Doctor, how this question is contrarie vnto the faith, to say, that if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold the truth cannot decay or faile in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the Scribes and Pharisies, Matthew the eleuenth, O ye stocke and offspring of vipers, how can yee speake good things, when you your selues are wicked and euill? And behold, I demand of the Scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stocke of vipers, how is he the head of the holy Church of God, that the Scribes and Pharisies, which were in the councell house of Caiaphe make answere herein: For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speake good things, for so much as he may bee in state of grace according vnto present iustice, then to be the head of the holy church of God.

2

Also in the fifth of Iohn, our Sauiour complaineth vpon the Iewes, saying: How can you beleeue which do seeke for glorie amongst your selues, and do not seeke for the glorie that commeth only of God? And likewise doe complaine, how that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the church of God, which receiueth his glorie of the world, and seeketh not for the glorie of God? For it is more possible that the pope being a reprobate should beleeue, then that he should be the head of the church of God: For so much as he taketh his glorie of the world.

The third article: There is no sparke of apparance, that there ought to be one head in the spiritualtie, to rule the church, the which should bee alwaies conuersant with the militant church. The answere: I do grant it. For what consequent is this, The king of Bohemie is head of the kingdome of Bohemie: Ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the head of the spiritualtie, ruling and gouerning the militant church by much more and greater necessitie then Cesar ought to rule the temporaltie. For so much as Christ sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, both necessarilie rule the militant church as head. And there is no sparke of apparance that there should be one head in the spiritualtie ruling the church, that should alwaies be conuersant with the militant church, except some infidell would heretically affirme, that the militant church should haue heere a permanent and continuall citie or dwelling place, and not to enquire and seeke after that which is to come. It is also further endent in my booke, how inconsequent the proportion of the similitude is for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdome of Bohemie.

3

The fourth article: Christ would better rule his church by his true Apostles dispersed throughout the whole world without such monstrous heads. Answere, that it is in my text, as heere followeth, that albeit that the Doctour doth say, that the bodie of the militant church, is oftentimes without a head; yet notwithstanding we do verily beleeue that Christ Iesus is the head ouer euery church, ruling the same without lacke or default, powring vpon the same a continual motion and sense, euen vnto the latter day: neither can the Doctor giue a reason why the church in the time of Agnes, by the space of two yeres and fiue monethes, liuing according to many members of Christ in grace and fauour, but that by the same reason, the church might be without a head, by the space of many yeres. For so much as Christ should better rule his church by his true Disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads. Then said they all together, Behold now hee prophesieth. And Iohn Hus againe further prosecuting

4

his former talke said, but I say that the church in the time of the Apostles was far better ruled and gouerned then now it is. And what doth let and hinder that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true Disciples without such monstrous heads, as haue been now a late? For behold euen at this present we haue no such head, and yet Christ easilie doth rule his church. When he had spoken these wordes, he was derided and mocked.

The fifth article: Peter was no vniuersall pastor: or shepheard of the sheepe of Christ, much lesse is the bishop of Rome. The answere: These words are not in my booke, but those which do follow. Secondly, it appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit vnto Peter for his iurisdiction, the whole world, no not one only prouince. So likewise neither vnto any other of the apostles. Notwithstanding certaine of them walked through many regions, and otherwhile sower, preaching and teaching the kingdome of God, as Paul which laboured and trauelled more then all the rest, did corporally visit and conuert most prouinces, whereby it is lawfull for any apostle or his vicar to conuert and confirme as much people, or as many prouinces in the faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their libertie or iurisdiction: but only by disabilitie or insufficiencie.

The sixth article: The Apostles and other faithfull priests of the Lord haue sourly ruled the church in all things necessarie vnto saluation before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and so would they verie possible do still, if there were no pope euen vnto the latter day. Then they all cried out against and said; Behold the prophet. But Iohn Hus said, seeing it is true that the apostles did rule the church stoutly, before the office of the pope was brought into the church. And certainlie a great deale better then it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithfull men which do follow their steps do the same, for as now we haue no pope, and so peraduenture it may continue and endure a peece or more. Besides this were brought against him other nine & twentie articles, obiected vnto him being in prison, which with his answeres to the same here likewise follow. Of the which articles, the first is this:

The first article: Paul according vnto present iustice was a blasphemer and none of the church, and therewithall was in grace, according vnto predestination of life euerlasting. The answere: This proposition is not in the booke, but this which followeth: Thy reby it doth seeme probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemer according to present iustice, and therewithall also was a faithfull child of our holy mother the church, and in grace according to predestination of life euerlasting: So Iscariot was both in grace according vnto present iustice, and was neuer of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life euerlasting, for so much as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot albeit he was an apostle, and a bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he neuertheless no part of the vniuersall church.

The second article: Christ doth more loue a predestinate man being sinfull, then any reprobate is what grace possible soeuer he be. The answere: My words are in the fourth chapter of my booke intituled of the church, and it is euident that God doth more loue any predestinate being sinfull, then a mie reprobate, in what grace soeuer he be for the time: for so much as he will, that the predestinate shall haue perpetuall blessednesse, and the reprobate to haue eternall fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loueth them both as his creatures, yet he doth more loue the predestinate because he gineth him greater grace, or a greater gift: that is to say, life euerlasting, which is greater and more excellent then only grace, according vnto present iustice. And the third article of those articles before, sounded much nere vnto this, that the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they haue a certaine radicall grace rooted in them, although they be depriued of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.

The third article. All the sinfull according vnto present iustice, are not faithfull, but do swarue from the true catholike faith, for so much as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sinne but in that point, that he doth swarue from the faith. The answere: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth, that if they did thinke vpon the punishment which is to be laid vpon sinners, and did fully beleeue, and had the faith of the diuine knowledge and vnderstanding, &c. then vndoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Esay; Thy rulers are vnfaithfull, mislouers, fellowes and companions of theeues, they all loue bribes, and follow after rewards. Behold the prophet calleth the rulers of ✠ church infidels for their offences, for all such as do not kepe their faith inuiolate vnto their principall Lord, are vnfaithfull seruants, and they also are vnfaithfull children which kepe not their obedience, feare, and loue vnto God their father.

Item, this proposition is verified, by the saying of the apostle, the first chapter to Titus: They doe confesse that they know God, but by their workes they do denie him. And for so much as they which are sinfull, doe swarue alway from the meritorious worke of blessednes, therefore they do swarue from the true faith grounded vpon charitie, for so much as faith without workes is dead. To this end doth also pertaine that which the Lord speaketh, Matth. 23. of the faithfull and vnfaithfull seruant.

The fourth article: These words of Iohn in his two and twentith chapter, Receiue the holy Ghost: and, Whatsoeuer you shall bind vpon earth, &c. And Matthew the sixteenth and eightenth chapter, for lacke of vnderstanding shall terrifie many christians, and they shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceiued by them, presuming vpon the fulnesse of their power and authoritie. The answere: This sentence I do approue and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that it is fit of all to be supposed that the saying of our Sauiour is necessarie, as touching the vertue of the words, for as much as it is not possible for a priest to bind and lose, except that binding and losing be in heauen. But for the lacke of the true vnderstanding of those words, many simple christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselues that whether they be iust or vniust, the priests may at their pleasures, whensoeuer they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests doe also presume and do take vpon them to haue power to bind and lose when soeuer they will. For manie foolish and ignorant priests do say that they haue power and authoritie to absolue euerie man confessing himselfe, of what sinne or offence soeuer it be, not knowing that in many sinnes it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that an hipocrite do confesse himselfe, or else one as is not contrite for his sinne, whereof peraduenture oftentimes been found, and it is euident, for so much as the letter doth kill, but the spirit doth quicken.

The fifth article: The binding and losing of God, is simple and plainly the chiefe and principall. The answere: This is euident, for so much as it were blasphemous presumption to affirme, that a man may remit and forgiue an euill fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himselfe not approuing or allowing the same. For by the vniuersall power of the Lord, it is necessarie that he do first absolue and forgiue, before that his vicar doe the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or knowne vnto vs, then that it should be impossible for any man of the militant church to absolue or bind, except in such case as it be conformable vnto the head of the church Iesu Christ. Wherefore euerie faithfull christian ought to take heed of that saying: if the pope or any other pretend by any manner of figure to bind or lose, that he is thereby bound or losed; for he that doth grant or confesse that, must also consequently grant and confesse that the pope is without sinne, and to that he is a God, for otherwise he must needs erre, and do contrarie vnto the keyes of Christ. Thus saying plainly the fact of the pope, who damnes in his absolution presupposeth contrition and confession. Peraduenture, if any letter of absolution be giuen vnto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby euident, that manie priests doe not absolue those which are confessed, because that either through shamefastnesse they do cloake or hide greater offences, or else that they haue not due contrition or repentance, for vnto true absolution there is first required contrition. Secondly, a purpose and intent to sinne no more. Thirdly, true confession. And fourthly sledfast hope of forgiuenesse. The first appeareth by Ezechiel, If the wicked do repent him, &c. The second in the fifth and eighth of Iohn. Do thou not sinne any more. The third part by this place of Luke: Shew your selues vnto the priests. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ: Thy sonne beleeue, and thy sinnes are forgiuen thee. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, and the master of the sentences.

The sixth article: The priests do gather and heape vp out of the Scriptures those things which serue for the bellie, but such as pertaine to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reiect and refuse as impertinent vnto saluation. The answere: This Saint Gregorie doth sufficiently proue in his seuenteenth Homilie, alleaging the saying of Christ: The harueft is great, the workemen are few, speaking also that which we cannot say without griefe or sorrow, that albeit there be a great number which willingly heare good things, yet there lacke such as should declare the same vnto them; for, behold the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarsitie of workemen in the harueft of the Lord. We take vpon vs to slinglie priesthood, but we do not fulfill and do the workes and office of priesthood. And immediatlie after he saith, We are fallen vnto outward affaires and businesse, for we take vpon vs one office for honor sake, and we doe exhibite and giue another to ease our selues of labour. We leaue preaching, and as farre as I can perceiue were are called bishops to our paine, which doe retaine the name of honor, but not the vertitie.

And immediatlie after he saith, We take no care for our flocke, we daily call vpon for our stipend and wages, we couet and desire earthly things with a greedie mind, we gape after worldly



worldly glorie, we leaue the cause of God vndone, and make haste about our worldly affaires and businesse, we take vpon vs the place of sanctitie and holinesse, and we are wholly wrapped in worldlie cares and troubles, &c. This writeth Saint Gregorie, with manie other things more in the same place. Also in his Pastorall, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also Saint Bernard as in manie other places, so likewise in his 33. sermon vpon the Canticles, he saith, All friends, and all enemies; all kinsfolkes and aduersaries, all of one houshold, and no peace-makers: they are the Ministers of Christ, and serue Antichrist: they go honorable honored with the gods of the loin, and yet they be no honor, &c.

The seuenth article: The power of the pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared. The answere: It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, that the subiects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the vertuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and euill. But notwithstanding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords the cardinals, as I suppose, did not feare the power of Gregorie the twelfth before his depostition, when as they resisted him, saying that he did abuse his power contraric vnto his olme oth.

The eighth article: An euill and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Iudas. The answere: I wrote thus in my treatise: If the pope be humble and meke, neglecting and despising the honors and lucre of the world: if he be a shepheard, taking his name by the feeding of the flocke of God (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying: Feed my sheepe) if he feed the sheepe with the word, and with vertuous example, and that he become euen like his flocke with his whole heart and mind: if he doe diligently and carefullie labour and trauell for the church: then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if he walke contrarie vnto these vertues, for so much as there is no societie betweene Christ and Belial: and Christ himselfe saith, He that is not with me, is against me: how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of Antichrist? Christ called Peter himselfe Sathanas, when he did contrarie him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, euen him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed ouer his church: Why should not any other then, being more contrarie vnto Christ, be truelie called Sathanas, and consequently Antichrist, or at least the chiefe and principall minister or vicar of Antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Bernard, Gregorie, Remigius, and Ambrose, &c.

The ninth article: The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps, power is giuen vnto him to make warre vpon the Saints. The answere: I denie this article to be in my booke.

The tenth article: It is lawfull to preach, notwithstanding the popes inhibition. The answere: The article is euident, for so much as the Apostles did preach contrarie to the commandement of the bishops of Jerusalem. And saint Hilarie did the like, contrarie to the commandement of the pope which was an Arrian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, which contrarie vnto the commandement of pope Gregorie the twelfth, sent throughout all realmes such as should preach against him. It is also lawfull to preach vnder appeale, contrarie vnto the popes commandement. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandement of God, wherevnto he ought chiefely to obey.

The eleuenth article: If the popes commandement be not concordant and agreable with the doctrine of the Gospell or the Apostles, it is not to be obeyed. The answere: I haue thus written in my booke: The faithfull disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider whether the popes commandement be expresse and plainly the commandement of Christ or any of his Apostles, or whether it haue any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no: and that being once knowne or vnderstood, he ought reuerentlie and humblie to obey the same. But if he doe certainly know that the popes commandement is contrarie and against the holy Scripture, and huttfull vnto the church; then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto. This I haue handled at large in my treatise, and haue confirmed it by the authorities of Saint Augustine, Hierome, Gregorie, Chrysostome, Bernard, and Bede, and with the holy Scripture and canons, the which for breuities cause I do here passe ouer. I will only rehearse the saying of Saint Isidore, who writeth thus: He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrarie and besides the will of God, or that which is euidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honored as a false witteslie of God, and a church robber. Wherevpon we are bounden to obey no prelat, but in such case as he do command or take counsell of the counsels and commandements of Christ.

Likewise Saint Augustine vpon this saying: vpon the chaire of Moses, &c. saith: Ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their olwne inuentions, do not giue eare vnto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, He that heareth you heareth me, all lawfull and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christs saying: It is not you which do speake, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Let therefore my aduersaries and slanderers learne that there be not only twelue counsels in the Gospell, in the which subiects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers, but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawfull and honest things ioyned with precepts and commandements of God, binding vs thereunto, vnder the paine of deadlie sinne, for euerie such thing doth the Lord command vs to fulfill in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their Minister.

The twelfth article: It is lawfull for the clergie and laitie, by their power and iurisdiction to iudge and determine of all things pertaining vnto saluation, and also of the workes of the prelats. The answere: I haue thus written in my booke, that it is lawfull for the clergie and laitie to iudge and determine of the workes of their heads and rulers. It appeareth by this, that the iudgement of the secret counsels of God, in the court of conscience is one thing, and the iudgement of the authoritie and power in the church is another. Wherefore subiects first ought principally to iudge and examine themselues, 1. Corinthians the eleuenth chapter. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertaine vnto their saluation, for a spirituall man iudgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleaged as touching the first iudgement, and not the second, as the enemie doth impute it vnto me. Whereupon in the same place I doe say, that the lay man ought to iudge and examine the workes of his prelat, like as Paul doth iudge the doings of Peter in blaming him. Secondly, to auoid them according to this saying: Beware of false prophets, &c. Thirdly, to rule ouer the Ministerie: For the subiect ought by reason to iudge and examine the workes of the prelats. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and reioyce: But if they be euill, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sure for them, but not to doe the like, lest they be damned with them: according to this saying: If the blind leade the blind, both fall into the ditch.

The thirteenth article: God doth suspend of himselfe, euerie wicked prelat from his ministerie, while he is actuall in sinne, for by that meanes that he is in deadly sinne, he doth offend and sinne whatsoeuer he doe: and consequently is forbidden so to doe; therefore also is he suspended from his ministerie. The answere: This is proued as touching suspension from dignitie, by Osee the fourth chapter, and Ezay, and Malachie the first. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the eleuenth chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinfull, or in any grieuous crime or offence, from the eating of the bodie of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood, and consequently suspendeth all sinfull prelats from the ministration of the reuerend Sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinfull from the declaration of his right counselle, Psalme 49. For so much then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibite the ministerie or anie other good thing for the offence take, or as the new lawes do terme or call it, to interdit or forbid; it is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinfull, being in sinne to exercise or vse their ministerie or office, which by Gods commandement ought to be exercised without offence. Wherevpon he saith by Esay the prophet: Be that carrie the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleinsed and made cleane. And to the 6. Corinthians it is said: Let all things be done with loue and charitie, &c. The same thing also is commanded by diuers and sundrie Canons, the which I haue alleaged in my treatise.

The fourteenth article: The answere which he made to the fiue and twentith article in prison sufficeth for this, that is to say, that the clergie for their olwne preferment and exaltation, doth supplant and vndermine the lay people, doth increase and multiplie their couetousnesse, cloketh and defendeth their malice and wickednesse, and prepareth a way for Antichrist.

The first part he proueth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himselfe Benedict, by the example of Angelus Coziarius, which named himselfe Gregorie the twelfth, and also by the example of John the three and twentith. Likewise by the thirteenth and twentie fourth of Ezechiel, and out of Gregorie, which saith, What shall become of the flocke, when the shepheards themselues, are become Wolues, &c. Also out of Osee, Micha, and other of the Prophets, and many places of Saint Bernard.

The second part is proued by the eighth chapter of Jeremie, Gregorie in his seuenteenth Homilie, and Saint Bernard vpon the Canticles.

The third part of this article is also proued by experience: for who defendeth the wickednesse of any schisme but only the clergie, alleaging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore? Who execrateth simonie, but only the clergie? likewise couetousnesse in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousnesse and fornication: For how many of the clergie are there now a daies which do say it is no deadly sinne, alleaging (albeit disorderlie) the saying of Genesis, Increase and multiplie?

Hereby also is the 4. part of the article easily verified. For

the way of Antichrist is wickednesse and sinne: of the which the Apostle speaketh to the Thessalonians: Gregorie in his Register, Bassanus and Morals: also Saint Bernard vpon the Canticles plainely saith; Wicked and euill priests prepare the way for Antichrist.

The fifteenth article. The falsehood of which as of others is manifest by that which I haue afore written.

The fifteenth article: John Hus doth openly teach and affirme that these conclusions afore said are true. The answere is manifest by that which I haue afore written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish, other some mine enemie did faine, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition vnto me: the which thing the commissioners themselues did confesse before me. Whom I desired for the faire inuention and fayning of those articles, that they would punish those, whom they themselues knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

The fifteenth article.

The sixteenth article: Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they haue affirmed in the article following: that is to say, that all the afore said conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as doe weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the church, inuented contrarie to the holy scriptures and the church. But if there be any such, I am readie most humble to reuoke and recant the same.

The seuenteenth article: There was also an obiection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Palets and Stanislaus de Znoyma. The which I declared for Gods sake, they might be openly read in the audience of the whole councell, and said, that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit my selfe to the iudgement of the whole councell.

The seuenteenth article.

The eighteenth article: There was also another article obiected against me in this forme. Item, John Hus said and preached that he should go to Constance, and if so be that for a time manner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet notwithstanding he neuer purposed to doe it with his mouth so much as what soeuer he had before taught, was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ. The answere: This article is full of lies, to the inuentor whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus: All the day long thou hast imagined mischefe and wickednesse, and with thy tongue as with a sharpe rasour, thou hast wrought deceit. Thou hast delighted and loued rather to talke of wickednesse and mischefe then of equitie and iustice. Verily I doe grant, that I left behind me a certaine epistle to be read vnto the people, the which did containe that all such as did weigh and consider my carefull labors and trauels, should pray for me, and stedfastly persecuere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Iesu Christ, knowing for a certaintie that I neuer taught them any such errors as mine enemies doe impute or ascribe vnto me: and if it should happen that I were ouercome by false witnesse, they should not be vered or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the truth.

The eighteenth article.

The nineteenth article: Last it was obiected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write vnto the kingdome of Boheme, that the pope and the emperor receiued me honorable, and sent vnto me two bishops to make agreement betweene me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirme and establish me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Boheme. This article is falsely alleaged of men from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I haue written that the pope and the emperour did honor me, whereas otherwise I had written before, that as yet we knew not where the emperour was: and before the emperor himselfe came vnto Constance, I was by the space of three weekes in prison. And to write that I was honored by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdome of Boheme would repute the honor as no great reuowne and glorie vnto me. Howbeit my enemies may in derision say vnto me, that according to their wils and pleasures, I am exalted and honored. Wherefore this article is wholy throughout false and untrue.

The nineteenth article.

Fiftéene articles drawne out by hostile Bardus against John Hus, John Gerson chancellour of Paris.

Vnto these articles above prefixed, were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawne out against matter John Hus, to the number of nineteene. The chiefe author thereof, was John Gerson chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Paris, a great setter on of the pope against good men. Of these articles John Hus both often complaine in his epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answere vnto them. Which articles being falsly collected and wrongfully depraued, although John Hus had no time to answere vnto, yet I thought not vnfit here to set downe for the reader to see and iudge.

## 2 Articles formally contained or picked out of the Treatise of Iohn Hus of Prage, which he intituled of *the church, following in this part or behalfe the errours, as they name them, of Iohn Wickliffe.*

1 THe first article: No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelat. The errour is in the faith, and behauiour and manners, being both of late and manie times before condemned, as well against the poore men of Lions, as also against the Waldenses and Pikardes. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensiue and pernitious, and tending to the subuersion of all humane policie and gouernance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthie of loue or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made vncertaine and vnstable, if it should be founded vpon predestination and charitie: neither should the commandement of Peter haue ben good, which willeth all seruants to be obedient vnto their masters and lords, although they be wicked.

2 The second article: That no man being in deadly sinne, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the diuell, is true pope, prelat, or lord. The erro of this is like vnto the first.

3 The third article: No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the apostolike seate of Peter, neither hath any apostolicall power ouer the christian people. This error is alike vnto the first.

4 The fourth article: No reprobates are of the church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ. This error is against the common vnderstanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

5 The fifth article: They only are of the church, and sit in Peters seat, and haue apostolike power which follow Christ and his Apostles in their life and liuing. The errour hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancie and rashnesse.

6 The sixth article: That euerie man which liueth vprightlie according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any prelat or bishop, euen as he might and ought to giue almes: for his good life in liuing together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.

This is a rash and temerarious error, offensiue and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiasticall hierarchie.

7 The seuenth article: That the pope of Rome being contrarie vnto Christ, is not the vniuersall bishop, neither hath the church of Rome any supremacie ouer other churches, except peraduenture it be giuen vnto him of Cesar, and not of Christ. An error lately and plainly reproued.

8 The eighth article: That the pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed. This error is temerarious, vncurerently and offensiuely published.

9 The ninth article: That according vnto the doctrine of Christ, heretikes, be they neuer so obstinate or stubborne, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated. This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence affirmed against the lawes of the Ecclesiasticall discipline, as S. Augustine doth proue.

10 The tenth article: That subiects and the common people may and ought publikely and openly to detect and reproue the vices of their superiours and rulers, as hauing power giuen them of Christ, and example of Saint Paul so to do. This errour is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and maledition of Cham.

11 The eleuenth article: That Christ only is head of the church and not the pope. It is an error according vnto the common vnderstanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacie, and of being head be secluded and taken away from the pope.

12 The twelfth article: That the only church which comprehendeth the predestinate and good liuers, is the vniuersall church, whereunto subiects do owe obedience. And this is consequent vnto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

13 The thirteenth article: That tithes and oblations giuen vnto the church are publike and common almes. This error is offensiue, and contrarie to the determination of the apostle, 1. Corinth. 9. chapter.

14 The fourteenth article: That the clergie liuing wickedlie, ought to be reproued and corrected by the lay people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporall profits. A most pernicious errour and offensiue, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege, subuerting the ecclesiasticall libertie.

15 The fifteenth article: That the blessings of such as are reprobate or euill liuers of the clergie are maledictions and cursings before God according to the saying: I will curse your blessings. This error was lately reproued of S. Augustine, against S. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the matter of the sentences allowed of the masters in that point that he seemeth to fauour this article.

16 The sixteenth article: That in these daies and in long time before, there hath ben no true pope, no true church, or faith, which is called the Romish church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the synagogue of Antichrist and Satan. The error in this article is in this point, that it is denied, and taken his foundation vpon the former articles.

17 The seuenteenth article: That al gift of money giuen vnto the ministers of the church for the ministration of any spirituall matter, it doth make such ministers in y case biers of simonie.

This



This error is seditious and temerarious, for so much as some thing may be giuen vnto the clergie, vnder the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spirituall thing.

18 The eighteenth article: That whosoeuer is excommunicate of the pope, if he appeale vnto Christ, he is preserued that he need not feare the excommunication, but vtterly to contemne and despise the same. This errour is temerarious and full of arrogancie.

19 The nineteenth article: That euery deed done without charitie is sin. This errour was reproued and reuoked before this time at Paris, specially if it be vnderstood of deadly sinne, for it is not necessarie that he which lacketh grace should continually sinne and offend anew: Albeit he be continually in sinne.

¶ This following, the masters of Paris by their whole voice and consent did adde and adioyne vnto these nineteene articles, for their reason and determination.

WE affirme that these articles afore said are notoriously heretical, and that they are iudicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, left they do infect other. For albeit they seeme to haue a zeale against the vices of the prelats and the clergie, the which (the more is the pitie and griefe) doe but too much abound, yet is it not according vnto learning: for a sober and discreet zeale, suffereth and lamenteth those sinnes and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, for so much as Diuels are not cast out through Belsebub, but by the power of God which is the holy Ghost, who willeth that in correction the measure and meane of prudence be alwaies kept, according to the saying: Sparke, wh, what, where and why, by what meanes and when, prelats and bishops are bound vnder grieuous and expresse penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to teache themselues against the foresaid errors and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it alwaies be well vnderstood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of priue affinitie or societie of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischiefe.

These things are entermeddled by the way vnder correction, as by way of doctrine.

### Iohn Gerson Chancellour of Paris, vnworthilie.

THese things thus declared, a man may easily vnderstand, that John Hus was not accused for holding any opinion contrarie to the articles of our faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdome of Antichrist for the glorie of Christ, and the reseruing of the church.

The words of the cardinall of Cambay vnto John Hus after his recantation.

Now to returne vnto the storie: when as the first thirtie nine articles, which I haue before rehearsed, were all read ouer together with their testimonies, the cardinall of Cambay calling vnto John Hus, said; Thou hast heard what grieuous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them there are: and now it is thy part to deuise with thy selfe what thou wilt doe. Two waies are proponed and set before thee of the councell, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessitie enter into.

A double inconuenience for John Hus to fall into.

First, that thou do humble and meekely submit thy selfe vnto the iudgement and sentence of the councell, that whatsoeuer shall bee there determined by their common voice and iudgement, thou wilt patiently beare and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part both for the honor of the most gentle emperour here present, and also for the honor of his brother the king of Boheme, and for thy owne safegard and preseruation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue and gentlenesse, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we haue propounded vnto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not denie thee power and licence thereunto: but this thou shalt well vnderstand, that here are such maner of men, to cleare in vnderstanding and knowledge, and hauing so firme and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I feare it will be to thy great hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou shouldest any longer will or desire to defend the same.

This do I speake and say vnto thee to counsell and admonish thee, and not as in maner of a Iudge.

John Hus answereth.

This Oration of the cardinals many other prosecutting, euery man for himselfe, did exhort and perswade John Hus to the like: vnto whom with a louely countenance he answered: Most reuerend fathers, I haue often said that I came hither of mine owne free will, not to the intent obstinately to defend anie thing, but if that in any thing I should seeme to haue conceiued a peruerse or euill opinion, that I would meekely and patientlie be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may haue yet further libertie to declare my mind. Whereof except I shall alleage most firme and strong reasons, I will willingly submit my selfe (as you require) vnto your information.

The cardinall of Cambay appointeth John Hus certaine conditions wherein he may be otherwise heard.

Then there start vp one which with a loud voice said; Behold how craftily this man speaketh: He termeth it information and not correction or determination. Verily, said John Hus, euen as you will terme it, information, correction, or determination: for I take God to my witnesse, that I speake nothing but with my heart and mind.

The cardinall of Cambay: for so much then as thou doest submit thy selfe vnto the information and grace of this councell, this is decreed almost by threescore doctours, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose roome and place the Parisians are succeded; and also it is approued by the whole councell, not one man speaking the contrarie thereunto:

First of all, that thou shalt humblie and meekely confesse thy selfe to haue erred in these articles, which are alleaged and brought against thee.

Moreouer, that thou shalt promise by an oth, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold or maintaine any of these articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles.

The answere of John Hus.

Vpon the which sentence: When as many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Hus said; Forsee against do say, that I am readie to submit my selfe to the information of the councell: but this I most humblie require and desire you all, euen for his sake, which is the God of vs all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing, which my conscience doth repugne or striue against, or the which I cannot doe without danger of eternall damnation: that is, that I should make renocation by oth to all the articles which are alleaged against me. For I remember that I haue read in the booke of the vniuersalities, that to abiure is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And for so much as many of these articles are said to be mine, which I were neuer in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oth? But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise vnto them, I will willingly performe that which you desire.

The emperour reproueth John Hus to recant.

Then said the emperour, thy maiesti not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou saiest are falsly alleaged against thee by the witnesses? For I verily would not thing at all doubt to abiure al errors, neither doth it follow that therfore by and by I haue professed any error. To whom John Hus answered: Most noble emperor, this word to abiure, doth signifie much otherwise then your maiestie doth here vse it. Then said the cardinall of Florence: John Hus, you shal haue a forme of abiuration, which shall be gentle and tollerable enough, written and deliuered vnto you, and then you will easilie and soone determine with your selfe, whether you will do it or no. Then the emperor repeating againe the words of the cardinal of Cambay, said: thou hast heard that there are two waies laid before thee. First, that thou shouldest openly renounce those thy errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe vnto the iudgement of the councell, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessitie enter into.

The emperour exhorteth the cardinall of Cambay to agree vnto.

Second answere of John Hus.

Second, that thou do humble and meekely submit thy selfe vnto the iudgement and sentence of the councell, that whatsoeuer shall bee there determined by their common voice and iudgement, thou wilt patiently beare and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part both for the honor of the most gentle emperour here present, and also for the honor of his brother the king of Boheme, and for thy owne safegard and preseruation, will intreat and handle thee with as great humanitie, loue and gentlenesse, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we haue propounded vnto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not denie thee power and licence thereunto: but this thou shalt well vnderstand, that here are such maner of men, to cleare in vnderstanding and knowledge, and hauing so firme and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I feare it will be to thy great hurt, detriment, and perill, if thou shouldest any longer will or desire to defend the same.

The false witnesse.

The emperour to John Hus.

Thou art of lawfull age, said the emperor, thou mightest haue easilie vnderstood what I said vnto thee yesterday and this day: for we are forced to giue credit vnto these witnesses which are worthie of credit: for so much as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all truth is tried: how much more then by so many witnesses of such worthie men:

Wherefore if thou be wise, receiue penance at the hands of the councell, with a contrite heart, and renounce the manifest errors, and promise by an oth that from henceforth thou wilt neuer more teach or preach against them. The which if thou refusest to do, there are lawes and ordinances, wherewith thou shalt be iudged of the councell.

An old bishop of Pole.

Here a certaine verie old bishop of Pole put to his verdict. He said the lawes are euident as touching heretiques, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Hus constantly answered as before: in so much that they said he was obstinate and stubborne. Then a certaine well seen priest and gaylie apparelled, cried out vnto the Presidents of the councell, saying: he ought by no meanes to bee admitted to recantation: for he hath written vnto his friends, that although he do sweare with his tongue, yet he will keepe his

Yyy. iij. mind

Obiection of a priest better fed then taught.

mund vniuersitie without oth: wherefore he is not to be trusted. Vnto this Master John Hus answered as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guilte of any errors.

Pallets against John Hus.

Then said Pallets, to that end is this protestation, for so much as thou saiest that thou wilt defend no errors, neither yet the seuentie, he brought forth foure witnesse nine articles of John Wicklisses, and read them openly: and afterward he said; What say I and master Stanislaus in the presence of Cruelius of Austrich duke of Polage, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his bookes which he set forth. The which except you do here erbidite, we will cause them to be erbidited. So said the emperor also. Vnto whom John Hus answered, I am verie well contented that not only these, but also al other my bookes be brought forth and shewed.

A new kinde of slanders.

In the meane time there was erhibited vnto the councell a certaine article, wherein John Hus was accused, that he had set vp certaine interpreted a certaine sentence of the popes: the which he denied that he did, saying, that he never saw it but in prison, when as the article was shewed him by the commissioners. And when he was demanded who was the author thereof, he answered that he knew not, but that he heard say that master Jeffrets was the author thereof.

John Hus wareth faint and wearie.

What said they, then doe you think or iudge of the interpretation thereof? Then answered John Hus, what should I say thereunto, when as I said I never saw it, but as I have heard it of you. Thus they were all so grieuous and troublesome vnto him, that he waxed faint and wearie, for he had passed all the night before without sleepe, though the paine of his teeth.

Another quarrel picked vnto John Hus, for that he denied the bodies of Saints to be buried at Prage. Fox. 649. 650.

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that these men were beheaded at Prage, because that through Wicklisses doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the popes letters: and that they were of the same Hus, with the whole pompe of the scholars, and by the publike consecration or congregation carried out to be buried, and by a publike sermon placed amongst the number of Saints. And the same doctor Hasse, of whom you haue heard record, ministred al reade recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himselfe was present, when as the king of Boheme commanded those blaspheamers so to be punished.

John Hus beheaded.

Then said John Hus: both these parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the coarses were by me conueyed with any such pompe vnto their sepulture or burial: wherefore you doe both iniurie vnto me and the king. Then Pallets confirmed the affirmation of doctour Hasse his fellow, with this argument (for they both laboured to one end and purpose:) That it was prouided by the kings commandement, that no man should once speake against the popes Bulls: And these that spake against the popes Bulls: Ergo, by vertue of the kings commandement they were beheaded. And what John Hus his opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is euident enough by his booke entituled Of the church, wherein he writeth thus: I beleeue they haue read Daniel the prophet, where as is said: And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captiuitie, and many shall fraudulently and craftily alleviate themselues vnto them. And afterward he saith: how is this fulfilled in these two lay men, who not consenting, but speaking against the fained lies of Antichrist, haue offered their liues therefore, and manie other were readie to do the same, and many were fraudulently alleviate vnto them, which being feared by the threatnings of Antichrist, are fled, and haue turned their backes, &c.

Another quarrel picked by Cruelius against John Hus.

When these things were read, one looking vpon another, as though they had been all in a marueilous strange study, they held their peace for a certaine space. For this Pallets, and the foresaid doctor Hasse had also added that John Hus in an open sermon had inflamed and stirred vp the people against the magistrates, in so much that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselues against the magistrates: and by that meanes was it, that he and those three were readie to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit, or helpe that the king could do. Then the English men erhibited the copie of a certain epistle, which they said was lately conueyed vnto Prage, vnder the title of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and that John Hus did read the same out of the pulpit vnto the people, that he might commend and praise John Wicklisse vnto the citizens of Prage. Then they had read the same before the councell, the Englishmen demanded of John Hus, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars vnder the seale of the Vniuersitie: they also inquired of him what scholars they were. He answered: this my friend (meaning Stephen Pallets) knoweth the one of them as well as I, the other I know not what he was.

There Sermons all of Oxford, for Wicklisse brought to Prage.

Then they first enquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. John Hus answered: I heard say, said he that in his returne into England, he died by the way. As touching the first, Pallets said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certaine small piece of the stone of Wicklisses sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present, do reuerence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that John Hus was the author of them all.

A piece of the stone of Wicklisses sepulchre brought for a relike to Prage.

Then the English men erhibited another epistle, contrarie to the first, vnder the seale of the Vniuersitie, the effect and argument whereof was this: The Senate of the Vniuersitie, not without great sorrow and griefe hath experimented and found, that the errors of Wicklisse are scattred and spread out of that Vniuersitie throughout all England. And to the intent that through their helpe and labour, meanes may be found to remedie this mischiefe, they haue appointed for that purpose twelue doctours, men of singular learning, and other matters, which should sit in iudgement vpon the bookes of Wicklisse.

These men haue noted out aboue the number of two hundred articles, the which the whole Vniuersitie haue iudged worthie to be burnt: but for the reuerence of the said sacred councell, the said Vniuersitie hath sent them vnto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authoritie of the iudgement vnto this councell.

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then Pallets rising vp, as though he had finished nowe his accusation, said: I take God to my witnes before the emperours maiestie here present, and the most renerend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Hus, I haue not bled any hatred or euil will: but that I might satisfie the oth which I toke, when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruell and sharpe enemie of all maner of errors, for the profit and commoditie of the holy catholike church. Michael de Causis did also the like. And I, said John Hus, do commit all these things vnto the heauenly Iudge, which shall iustly iudge the cause or quarrels of both parties. Then said the cardinall of Cambray, I cannot a little commend and praise the humanitie and gentlenesse of master Pallets, which he hath vsed in drawing out the articles against master John Hus. For as we haue heard, there are many things contained in his booke, much worse and detestable.

The oth of Pallets.

The oth of Michael de Causis.

John Hus witnesseth the Lord.

Then he had spoken these words, the bishop of Lygen vnto whom John Hus was committed, commanded that the said John Hus should be carried againe safely vnto prison. Then John de Clum following him, did not a little incourage and comfort him. No tongue can expresse what courage and stomacke he received by the shot talke which he had with him: when as in so great a hoole and grieuous hatred, he saw himselfe in a manor forsaken of all men. After that John Hus was carried away, the emperour began to exhort the presidents of the councell in this maner, saying:

John de Clum both comforteth John Hus.

YOu haue heard the manifold and grieuous crimes which are laid against John Hus, which are not only proued by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him: of the which euery one of them by my iudgement and aduice hath deserued, and are worthie of death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I iudge and thinke meete that he be punished with fire: and albeit he doe that which he is willed and commanded to do; notwithstanding I do counsell you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he returne no more into the kingdome of Boheme. For if he be admitted againe to teach and preach, and specially in the kingdome of Boheme, he will not obserue and keepe that which he is commanded, but hoping vpon the fauour and good will of such as be his adherents and fautours there, he will returne again vnto his former purpose and intent, and then besides these errours, he will also sow new errors amongst the people, so the last error shall be worse then the first.

The emperours oration to the presidents of the councell.

That which Hus planted men shall neuer root vp.

Moreouer, I iudge and think it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent vnto my brother the king of Boheme, and afterward into Pole and other prouinces, where as mens minds are replenished with his doctrine; with this commandement, that whosoeuer do proceed to hold or keepe the same, they should by the common aid both of the ecclesiasticall and ciuill power, be punished. So at the length shall remedie be found for this mischiefe, if the boughes together with the root, be vtterly rooted and pulled vp: and if the bishops and other prelats, which heere in this place haue laboured and trauelled for the extirpating of this heresie, be commended by the whole voices of the councell vnto the kings and princes, vnder whose dominion they are. Last of al, if there be any found heere at Constance, which are familiars vnto John Hus, they also ought to be punished with such seueritie and punishment as is due vnto them, and specially his scholar Jerome of Prage. Then said the rest, when the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle.

Jerome of Prage manifested and pronounced by the emperour.

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the Closter, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of Julie, the emperour Sigismund sent vnto him foure bishops, accomfoure bishops sent to John Hus.



accomplished with master Wenceslate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learne and vnderstand of him what he did intend to doe. When as hee was brought out of prison vnto them, John de Clum began first to speake vnto him, saying.

The pitifull and louing oration of John de Clum vnto John Hus.

MAster John Hus, I am a man vnlearned, neither am I able to counsell or aduertise you, being a man of learning and vnderstanding: notwithstanding I do require you, if you know your selfe guilty of any of those errors, which are obiected and laid against you before the Councell, that you will not bee ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the Councell: if contrariwise, I will be no author vnto you, that you should doe any thing contrarie, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and indure any kind of punishment, then to denie that which you haue knowne to bee the truth. Vnto whom, John Hus turning himselfe, with lamentable teares, said: Verily as before I haue oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witnesse, that I am readie with my whole heart and mind, if the Councell can instruct or teach me any better by the holy scripture: I will bee readie with all my heart to alter and change my purpose. Then one of the bishops which sate by, said vnto him, that he would neuer bee so arrogant or proud, that hee would preferre his owne mind or opinion before the iudgement of the whole Councell. To whom John Hus answered, neither doe I otherwise mind or intend. For if the which is the meanest, or least in all this Councell, can conuict me of error, I will with an humble heart and mind perfonne, and doe whatsoeuer the Councell shall require of me. Marke, said the bishops, how obstinately hee doth persieuere in his errors. And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carrie him againe vnto prison, and so they returned againe vnto the Emperour with their commission.

The manerfous constancie of John Hus.

That is no right modestie that moues a regarderth to obey man, then gracious scripture. John Hus answereth.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of Julie, there was a generall Session holden of the Princes and lords, both of the ecclesiasticall and temporall estates in the head Church of the citie of Constance, the emperour Sigismund being president in his imperiall robes and habit: in the midst whereof, there was made a certaine high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a deske of wood, vpon the which the garments and vestiments pertaining vnto priesthood were laid, for this cause, that before John Hus should be deliuered ouer vnto the ciuill power, he should be openly depriued and spoyled of his priestly ornaments. When John Hus was brought thither, he fell downe vpon his knees before that same high place, and prayed a long time. In the meane while the bishop of Londy went vp into the pulpit, and made this sermon following.

The Sermon of the bishop of Londy, before the sentence was giuen vpon John Hus.

They cannot deuide the lattie to rule in any case.

All the popish religion riseth in lands, bishops and liuerties.

The sermon before the sentence

IN the name of the Father, the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. Trusting by humble inuocation vpon the diuine helpe and aid, most noble prince, and most Christian emperour, and you most excellent fathers, and reuerend lords, bishops, and prelats, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high countes, honourable nobles, and barons, and all other men worthie of remembrance: that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainely and euidently appeare vnto this most sacred congregation, I am first of all determined to intreat or speake of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth chapter to the Romans: That is to say: Let the bodie of sinne be destroyed, &c.

State here the popes diuinitie, how the bloud of Christ serueth to purchase them pardemonie.

The theame, Or theame confirmed by Aristotle.

It appeareth by the authoritie of Aristotle, in his booke intituled *De cœlo & mundo*, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand peruerse and wicked beginnings. For he saith, that a small errour in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to haue erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthie doctor Saint Ierome, in his booke vpon the exposition of the Catholike faith, teacheth how necessarie a thing it is, that heretikes and heresies should be suppressed, euen at the first beginning of them, saying thus: The rotten and dead flesh is to bee cut off from the bodie, lest that the whole bodie do perish and putrifie. For a scabbed sheepe is to bee put out of the fold, lest that the whole flocke bee infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned. Arrius was first a sparke in Alexandria, who because hee was not at the first quenched, hee presumed and went about with his wicked and peruerse imaginations, and phantasticall inuentions, to spot and defile the Catholike faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many Martyrs, and illuminate and set foorth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must bee suppressed: such heretikes of necessitie must bee suppressed and condemned.

Wherefore I haue truely propounded, as touching the punishment of euerie such obstinate heretike, that the bodie of sinne is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered according vnto the holy traditions of the Fathers, that some sins are aduerse and contrary vnto another. Other some are annexed or conioined together: other some are, as it were, branches and members of others: and some are as it were the rootes and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to bee counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst, haue their originall and beginning. Wherefore, albeit that all sinnes and offences are to be abhorred of vs: yet those are specially to bee eschued, which are the head and roote of the rest. For by how much the peruersenesse of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection, ought they to bee rooted out and extinguished, with apt preseruatiues and remedies. For somuch then as amongst all sinnes none doth more appeare to be inueterate, then the mischiefe of this most execrable schisme, therefore haue I right well propounded, that the bodie of sinne should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schisme, great and most cruell destruction is sprung vp amongst the faithful, and hath long continued: abominable diuisions of heresies are growne: threatnings are increased and multiplied: the confusion of the whole clergie is growne thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the Christian people are abundantly sprung vp and increased. And truly it is no maruell, for so much as that most detestable and execrable schisme, is, as it were, a bodie and heape of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where as such a pestiferous schisme hath raigned so long a time? For as saint Bernard saith, Like as in the vnitie and concord of the faithfull, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the schisme and diuision of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the diuell. Is not schisme and diuision the originall of all subuersion, the denne of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of vnitie and peace being once troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all liuse and debate. Couetousnesse is vttered in othes for lucres sake, lust and will is set at liberty, and all meanes opened vnto slaughter. All right and equitie is banished, the ecclesiasticall power is iniuried, and the calamitie of this schisme bringeth in all kind of bondage, sword and violence doth rule, the laitie haue the dominion, concord and vnitie are banished, and all precript rules of religion vtterlie contemned and set at naught.

Consider most gentle lords, how that during this most pestiferous schisme, how many heresies haue appeared and shewed themselues, how many heretiks haue escaped vnpunished, how many Churches haue been spoiled and pulled do wne, how many cities haue been oppresled, and regions brought to ruine, what confusion hath there hapned in the clergie? What and how great destruction hath been amongst the Christian people I pray you marke how the Church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, is contemned and despised. For who doth reuerence the keies of the Church, who feareth the censures or lawes, or who is it, that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it, that doth not offend the same, or who doth not inuade it, or else what is hee that dare not violently lay hands vpon the patrimonie or heritage of Iesus Christ? The goods of the clergie, and of the poore, and the releese of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the bloud of our Sauiour, and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold the abomination of the desolation brought vpon the Church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruine of the Lords flocke or fold, and all the whole companie of our most holy Sauiour and Redeemer. This losse is more great or grieuous then any which could happen vnto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruell then the persecution of any tyrants, for they did but onely punish the bodies, but in this schisme and diuision the soules are tormented. There the bloud of men was only shed, but in this case the true faith is subuerted and ouerthrowne. That persecution was saluation vnto many: but this schisme is destruction vnto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase: but by this diuision it is vtterly decaied. During their crueltie and madnesse, the primitiue Church increased, but through this schisme it is confounded and ouerthrowne. Tyrants did ignorantly offend: but in this schisme, many doe wittingly and willingly euen of obstinacie offend. There came in heretikes, vsers of simonie, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the Church: vnder those tyrants, the merits of the iust were increased.

But during this schisme, mischiefe and wickednes are augmented: for in this most cursed and execrable diuision, truth is made an enemie to all Christians, faith is not regarded, loue and charitie hated, hope is lost, iustice ouerthrowne, no kind of courage, or valiantnesse, but onely vnto mischiefe: modestie and temperance cloked, wisdome turned into deceit, humilitie fained, equitie and truth falsified, patience vtterlie fled, conscience small, all wickednesse intended, deuotion counted follie, gentlenesse abiect and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reprochfull and abominable. With how great and grieuous sorrowes is the Church of God replenished and filled, whilest that tyrants doe oppresse it, heretikes inuade it, vsers of simonie doe spoile and

This shall be confirmed. 40. Actes.

and rob it, and schismatikes goe about vtterly to subuert it? O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of fortie yeeres, wilfulich incurable and continuall schisme, they haue tormented, and almost brought to ruine! O the little barke and ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandred and strayed now in the middest of the whirlepooles, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grieuous and tempestuous stormes! O miserable and wretched boate of Peter, if she most holy father would suffer thee to sincke or drowne, into what dangers and perils haue the wicked pirats brought thee? amongst what rocks haue they placed thee? O most godly and louing Christians, what faithfull deuout man is there, which beholding and seeing the great ruine and decay of the Church, would not bee prouoked vnto teares? what good conscience is there, that can refraine weeping? because that contention and strife is powred vpon the ecclesiasticall rulers, which haue made vs to erre in the way: because they haue not found, or rather would not find the way of vnitie and concord: Whereupon so many heresies, and so great confusion is sprung vp, and growne in the flocke of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

He stirreth vp the emperour to councell.

Many princes, kings and prelates, haue greatly laboured and trauelled for the rooting out hereof, but yet could they neuer bring to passe, or finish that most wholesome and necessary worke. Wherefore most Christian king, this most glorious and triumphant victorie hath tarried only for thee, the crowne and glorie thereof shall be thine for euer, and this most happy victorie shall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored againe the Church which was so spoiled, thou hast remooued and put away all inueterate and ouergrowne schismes and diuisions, thou hast trodden downe vsers of simonie, and rooted out all heretikes. Doest thou not behold and see how great, perpetuall and famous renowne and glorie will be vnto thee? For what can bee more iust, what more holy, what more better, what more to bee desired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, then to root out this wicked and abominable schisme, to restore the Church againe vnto her ancient libertie, to extinguish and put away all simonie, and to condemne and destroy all errours and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithfull? Nothing truely can bee better, nothing more holie, nothing more profitable for the whole world, and finally, nothing more acceptable vnto God. For the performance of which most holy and godly worke, thou wast elect and chosen of God, thou wast first deputed and chosen in heauen, before thou wast elect and chosen vpon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestiall and heauenlie prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldest condemne and destroy those errors and heresies, which we haue presently in hand to bee condemned and subuerted. To the performance of this most holy worke, God hath giuen vnto thee the knowledge and vnderstanding of his diuine truth and veritie, power of princely maiestie, and the iust iudgement of equitie and righteousnes, as the most highest himselfe doth say; I haue giuen thee vnderstanding and wisedome, to speake and vtter my words, and haue set thee to rule ouer nations and kingdomes, that thou shouldest helpe the people, plucke downe and destroy iniquity, and by exercising of iustice, thou shouldest, I say, destroy all errours and heresies, and specially this obstinate hereticke here present, through whose wickednesse and mischiefe, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and hereticall poison, and by his meanes and occasion, almost vtterly subuerted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince, was reserued only for thee, vpon thee it doth onely lie, vnto whom the whole rule and ministration of iustice is giuen. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renowne, euen by the mouthes of infants and sucking babes, for thy praises shall bee celebrate for euermore, that thou hast destroyed and ouerthrowne such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou maist prosperously and happily performe and bring to passe, our Lord Iesus may vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and helpe, who is blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

Lewis. dem re-flandes stat, absque alium.

Heere the vile flatterie of these papists is detected, which would haue any thing of the emperour for their purpose.

The matter of the Councell called for the reformation.

¶ When this Sermon was thus ended, the procurer of the Councell riling vp, named Henricus de Piro, required that the processe of the cause against John Hus might bee continued, and proceed vnto the definitiue sentence. Then a certaine bishop, which was appointed one of the Iudges, declared the processe of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, betweene John Hus and the prelates of Prage.

The Cardinall of Cambray commanded John Hus to keepe silence.

At the last he repeated those articles which twe haue before remembred, amongst the which hee rehearsed also one article, that John Hus should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Hus went about briefly with a word or two to answere vnto euery one of them; but as often as he was about to speake, the cardinall of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying: hereafter you shall answer to all together, if you will. Then said John Hus, how can I at once answer vnto all those things which are alleaged against mee, when as I cannot remember them all? Then said the cardinall of Florence, twe haue heard the sufficiently. But when as John Hus for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him thereunto. Then began he to intreate, pray, and beseech them, that they would heare him, that such as were present might not credit or beleeue those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing preuaile, he kneeling downe vpon his knees, committed the whole matter vnto God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, for at their hands hee beleeued easily to obtaine that which he desired.

John Hus could not be heard in the councell.

John Hus committeth his cause to the Lord Christ.

When the articles aboue said were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemie, which they alinputed to John Hus. That is, that hee laid there should be a fourth person in diuinitie, and that a certaine body did beare him speake of the same. When John Hus desired that the doctor might bee named, the bishop which had alleaged the article, said, that it was not needfull to name him. Then said John Hus, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to beare such blasphemie and slander.

Sturdie the by shamefastnesse of them to falsifie what they list. John Hus against-dauncerd.

Afterward the article was repeated, how he appealed vnto Christ, and that by name, was called hereticall. Whereunto John Hus answered: O Lord Iesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this councell, vnto this againe I doe appeale: which when thou was euill intreated of thine enemies, diddest appeale vnto God thy father, committing thy cause vnto a most iust Iudge, that by thy example, wee also being oppressed with manifest wrongs and iniuries, should flie vnto thee. Last of all, the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John Hus. Whereunto he answered as before, that he was cruelly by his aduocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appeare when he was cited: and also that it may be proued by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified: and finally, to the intent he might cleare himself of obstinacie, he was for that cause come into Constance, vnder the emperors safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them which was appointed Iudge, read the definitiue sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

The Councell doth call it hereticall to appeale to Christ.

Contempt of the popes excommunication laid to John Hus.

## The sentence or iudgement of the Councell of Constance giuen against John Hus.

The sentence read against John Hus.

The most holy and sacred generall Councell of Constance, being congregate and gathered together, representing the Catholike Church for a perpetuall memorie of the thing, as the veritie doth require, we euill reb bringeth forth euill fruit: hereupon it commeth, that the men of most damnable memorie John Wickliffe, though his pestiferous doctrine not through Iesus Christ by the gospell, as the holy fathers in times past, haue begotten faithfull children, but contrarie vnto the wholesome faith of Iesus Christ, as a most venemous rote, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom hee hath left behind him, successors and followers of his peruerse and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred Synode of Constance is forced to rise vp, as against bastards and vnlawfull children, and with diligent care, with the sharpe knife of the ecclesiasticall authoritie, to cut vp their errours out of the Lords field, as most hurtfull brambles and briers, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

Many shall come in my name and shall deceive many: Marke 13.

Forsomuch then as in the holy generall Councell lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, that the doctrine of John Wickliffe of most damnable memorie, should be condemned, and that his bookes which contained the same doctrine, should be burned as hereticall, and this decree was approued and confirmed by the sacred authoritie of the whole Councell: neuertheless one John Hus here personallie present in this sacred Councell, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wickliffe, an archheretike, after, and contrarie, or against the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached and affirmed the articles of Wickliffe, which were condemned by the Church of God, and in times past by certaine most reuerend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops and bishops, of diuers kingdomes and realmes, masters of diuinitie of diuers Vniuersities: especiallie resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and complices in the schooles, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliffes, oftentimes published in the said Vniuersitie of Prage, and hath declared him the said Wickliffe, for the fauour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergie and people, to bee a Catholicke man, and a true Euangelicall doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certaine and many of his articles worthilie condemned, to bee catholicke, the which are notoriouslie contained in the bookes of the said John Hus.

To appeale to Christ to deliuer vs from the popes hollinesse.

Therefore, after diligent deliberation and full information had vpon the premisses by the reuerend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy Church of Rome, cardinals, patriarks, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of diuinitie, and of both lawes in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holie Councell of Constance declareth and determineth the articles aboue said (the which)

Vtterlie condemned for heretikes.

which after due conference had, are found in his bookes written with his owne hand, the which also the said John Hus in open audience, before this holy Councell, hath confessed to be in his bookes: not to be catholicke, neither worthie to bee taught, but if many of them are erroneous, some of them to be wicked, other some to be offensiue vnto godly eares, many of them to be temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them to be notoriouslie hereticall, and euen now of late by the holy fathers and generall councels, reproued and condemned. And forsomuch as the said articles are expressely contained in the bookes of the said John Hus, therefore this said sacred Councell, doth condemne and reproue all those bookes which he wrote in what forme or phrase soeuer they be, or whether they be translated by others; and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnlie and openlie burned in the presence of the clergie and people of the citie of Constance, and elsewhere: adding moreouer for the premisses, that all his doctrine is worthie to be despised and eschewed of all faithfull Christians. And to the intent this most pernitious and wicked doctrine, may be vtterlie excluded and shut out of the Church, this sacred Synode both straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the ecclesiasticall censure, for such treatises and works, and that such as are found, be confumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemne or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred Synode ordaineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against euery such person as suspect of heresie.

The sentence read against John Hus.

Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Hus, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both lawes, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthie of credit, and many other things openly read before the said John Hus, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred Councell (by the which allegations of the witnesses it appeareth that the said John Hus hath taught many euill and offensiue, seditious, and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time) this most sacred and holy Synode lawfully congregate and gathered together in the holy Ghost, the name of Christ being inuocate and called vpon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that John Hus was and is a true and manifest hereticke, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the Church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious, and offensiue things to no small offence of the diuine maiestie, and of the vniuersall Church, and detriment of the catholicke faith and church, neglecting and despising the keies of the Church, and ecclesiasticall censures. In the which his errors he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardned by the space of many yeeres, much offending the faith of Christians by his obstinacie and stubburnesse, when as he made his appeale vnto the Lord Iesus Christ, as the most high iudge, omitting and leauing all ecclesiasticall meanes. In the which his appeale hee alleaged many false, iniurious, and offensiue matters, in contempt of the Apostolike see and the ecclesiasticall censures and keies.

Vtterlie condemned for heretike.

Wherevpon both for the premisses and many other things, the said Synode pronounceth John Hus to be an hereticke, and iudgeth him by these presents to be condemned and iudged as an heretike; and reprooueth the said appeale as iniurious, offensiue, and done in derision vnto the ecclesiastical iurisdiction, and iudgeth the said Hus, not only to haue seduced the Christian people by his writings and preachings, and specialie in the kingdomie of Boheme, neither to haue been a true preacher of the Gospell of Christ vnto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors: but also to haue been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiffnecked person, yea and such a one as doth not desire to returne againe to the lap of our holy mother the Church, neither to abiure the errors and heresies which hee hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred Councell decreeth and declareth, that the said John Hus, shall be famouslie deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignitie, &c.

John Hus cleareth himselfe of obstinate.

¶ Whilest these things were thus read, John Hus, albeit he were forbidden to speake, notwithstanding he did often interrupt them, and specially when he was reproued of obstinacie, he said with a loud voice: I was neuer obstinat, but as alwaies heretofore, euen so now againe I desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I doe professe my selfe to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one onelie word subuert the errors of all heretikes, I would not refuse to enter into that perill or danger forthet it were. When his bookes were condemned, he said: Wherefore haue you condemned those bookes, whereas you haue not proued by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreouer, what iniurie is this that you doo to me, that you haue condemned these bookes written in the Bohemian tongue, which you neuer saw, neither yet read? And oftentimes looking vp vnto heauen, he prayed.

They condemne the bookes written in the Bohemian tongue, which they neuer read.

They shall bring you before their consistories, where you shall be sure of no iustice.

You prayed for your enemies.

When the sentence and iudgement was ended, kneeling downe vpon his knees, hee said: Lord Iesus Christ, forgiue mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsly accused,



Pardon all thing you before kings and principants for my name, &c. Luk. 21.

and that they haue vsed false witnesse and slanders against me; forgiue them I say, for thy great mercies sake. This his prayer and oration the greater part, and specially the chiefe of the priests, did deride and mocke.

John Hus commanded to put on the priestly garments.

At the last, the seuen bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthad, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining vnto priesthood, which thing when hee had done, vntil hee came to the putting on of the Albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herode put vpon Iesus Christ in mock him withall. So likewise in all other things he did comfort himselfe by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that hee should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and prouide for his honour and safegard. Then he (according as the manner of the ceremonie is) going vp to the top of the scaffold, being full of teares, hee spake vnto the people in this sort.

John Hus his oration vnto the people.

These lords and bishops doe exhort and counsell me, that I should here confesse before you all that I haue erred; the which thing to doe, if it were such as might be done with the infamie and reproch of any man, they might peraduenture easily perswade me thereunto: but now truely I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominie, and grudge of mine owne conscience, I can by no meanes doe that which they require of me. For I doe well know, that I neuer taught any of those things which they haue falsllie alleaged against me, but I haue alwaies preached, taught, written and thought contrarie thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heauens? With what face should I looke vpon them, whom I haue taught, wherof there is a great number, if through me it should come to passe that those things which they haue hitherto knowne to bee most certaine and sure, should now be made vncertaine? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many soules, so many consciences, indued with the most firme and certaine knowledge of the Scriptures, and Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will neuer doe it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seeme more to esteeme this vile carcase appointed vnto death, then their health and saluation. At this most godly word hee was forced againe to heare by the consent of the bishops, that hee did obstinately and maliciously persuere in his pernitious and wicked errors.

The degrading of John Hus.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his iudgement, and in his comming downe, one of the seuen bishops afore rehearsed, first tooke away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying: Deuised Iudas, why hast thou forsaken the counsell and waies of peace, and hast counselled with the Iewes? we take away from thee this chalice of thy saluation. But John Hus received this curse in this manner: but I trust vnto God the father omnipotent, and my Lord Iesus Christ, for whose sake I doe suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption, but haue a stedfast and firme hope that this day I shall drinke thereof in his kingdome. Then followed the other bishops in order, which euery one of them take away the vestiments from him, which they had put on, eth one of them giuing him their curse. Whereunto John Hus answered, that he did willingly embrace and beare those blasphemies for the name of the Lord Iesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing of his shauen crowne. But before the bishops would goe in hand with it, there was a great contention betweene them, with what instrument it should bee done, with a rasor, or with a paire of sheares.

The words of John Hus when the emperour.

In the meane season John Hus turning himselfe toward the emperour, said: I maruell, that forsomuch as they bee all of like cruell mind and stomacke, yet they cannot agree vpon their kind of cruelti. Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut off the shrine of the crowne of his head with a paire of sheares. And when they had done that, they added these words: Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and priuiledges from him. Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be deliuered ouer vnto the secular power. But before they did that, there yet remained another knacke of reproch. For they caused to be made a certaine crowne of paper, almost a cubit depe, in the which were painted three diuels of wonderfull vgly shape, and this title set ouer their heads, Heresiarcha. The which when hee saw, hee said: My Lord Iesus Christ for my sake did weare a crowne of thorne: why should not I then for his sake againe weare this light crowne, bee it neuer so ignominious? Truly I will doe it, and that willingly. When it was set vpon his head, the bishops said: now wee commit the soule vnto the diuell. But I, said John Husse lifting his eies vp towards the heauens) doe commit my spirit into thy hands: O Lord Iesus Christ, vnto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed. These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops turning themselues towards the Emperour, said: This most sacred Synode of Constance, leaueth now John Hus, which hath no more any office, nor doe in the Church of God, vnto the

The crowne of John Hus pared away with sheares.

The manerlous constancie and courage of the blessed martyr.

The paper with the inscription set vpon Husses head.

ciuill

civill iudgement and power. Then the emperor commanded Ludouicus duke of Bauaria, which stood before him in his robes, holding the golden appell with the crosse in his hand, that he should receiue Iohn Hus of the bishops, and deliuer him vnto them which should doe the execution. By whom, as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doores hee saw his bookes burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that he passed by, hee exhorted, not to thinke that he should die for any errour or heresie, but only for the hatred and ill will of his aduersaries, which had charged him with most false and vniust crimes. All the whole citie in a manner being in armor, followed him.

The protestation of Iohn Hus as he was led to the place of execution.

The place appointed for the execution, was before the gate Gotlebian, betweene the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. Then as Iohn Hus was come thither, kneeling downe vpon his knees, and lifting his eies vp vnto heauen, he prayed, and said certaine Psalmes, and specially the 50. 31. psalmes. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merrie and chearefull countenance repeate this verse: Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, &c. Which thing when the lay people beheld which stood nere vnto him, they said: that he hath done afore, we know not, but now we see and heare that hee doth speake and pray very deuoutly and godlie. Othersome wished that hee had a confessor. There was a certaine priest by, sitting on horseback in a greene goune drawne about with red silke, which said, hee ought not to bee heard, because he is an hereticke. Yet notwithstanding, whilest he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolued by

The prayers of Iohn Hus well liked of the people.

a certaine doctour, a monke, as Hus himselfe doth witnesse in a certaine Epistle which hee wrote vnto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ raigneth vnknowne vnto the world, euen in the midst of his enemies. In the meane time whilest hee prayed, as hee bowed his necke backward to looke vpward vnto heauen, the crowne of paper fell off from his head vpon the ground. Then one of the souldiers taking it vp againe, said: let us put it againe vpon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the diuels vpon he hath serued.

Ex Epist. Ioan. Hus. 31. The paper which diuels fell from his head. At the prayer of Iohn Hus the paper with the diuels fell downe.

Then as by the commandement of the tormentors, he was risen vp from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said: Lord Iesus Christ assist and helpe me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gratious helpe, I may beare and suffer this cruell and ignominious death, wherevnto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy Gospell and word. Then as before, he declared the cause of his death vnto the people. In the meane season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his backe, tied him fast vnto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And where as by chance he was turned towards the East, certaine cried out that hee should not looke towards the East, for hee was an heretike: so he was turned towards the West. Then was his necke tied with a chaine vnto the stake, the which chaine when he beheld, smiling he said, that he would willingly receiue the same chaine for Iesus Christs sake, whom hee knew was bound with a farre worse chaine. Vnder his feete they set two fagots, admiring straw withall, and so likewise from the feet vp to the chin, hee was inclosed in round about

Iohn Hus fastened to the stake.

Iohn Hus turned towards the West.

## The description of the burning of Iohn Hus, contrarie to the safe-conduct granted vnto him.



with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Ludouicus duke of Bauaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the same of Clemunt, came and exhorted Iohn Hus, that hee would yet be mindfull of his safegard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, what errour should I renounce, when as I know my selfe guiltie of none? For, as for those things which are falsly alleaged against me, I know that I neuer did so much as once thinke them, much lesse preach them. For this was the principall end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sinnes, according to the veritie of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and the exposition of the holie doctors: wherefore with a chearefull mind and courage I am here readie to suffer death. When hee had spoken these words, they left him, and making hands together they departed.

Pardon offered against to Iohn Hus.

The last confession of Iohn Hus.

Then was the fire kindled, and Iohn Hus began to sing with a loud voice, Iesus Christ the son of the liuing God haue mercie vpon me. And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drone the flame so vpon his face, that it choked him. Yet notwithstanding he moued a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lords prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the vpper part of the body was left hanging in the chaine, the which they threw downe flake and all, and making a new fire burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner bee consumed vnto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staues and clubs, was at last pricked vpon a sharpe sticke, and rosted at a fire apart vntill it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the riuer of Rhene, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not bee left vpon the earth, whose memorie notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godlie, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

The martyrdome of blessed Iohn Hus.

Pretious in the sight of God is the death of his saints.

The heart of Iohn Hus beaten with staues, and consumed with fire.

The ashes of Iohn Hus cast into the riuer of Rheine.

¶ I know very well that these things are very slenderlie written of me as touching the labors of this most holie martyr Iohn Hus, with whom the labors of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters: but this our Hercules with a most stout and valiant courage hath subdued euen the world it selfe, the mother of all monsters and cruell beasts. This storie were worthie some other kind of more curious handling; but forsomuch as I cannot otherwise performe it my selfe, I haue endeuoured according

The author excuseth himselfe of the storie.



ro: dling to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same vnto all godly minds: neither haue I heard it reported by others, but I my selfe was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able I haue put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeuour howsoeuer it were, I might preserue the memorie of this holy man and excellent doctor of the Euangelicall truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this storie, it is not here expressed. Cochleus in his 2. booke contra Hussitas, supposeth his name to be Ioannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of I. Hus at Prage, at last is thought to relent to the papists.

M. Iohn Pisybram is thought to be his name. Ex Cochleo lib. 2. de H. Hussita.

This godly seruant and martyr of Christ was condemned by the cruell councell, and burned at Constance, an. 1415. about the moneth of Iulie.

How grieuous this death of I. Hus was taken among the nobles of Boheme and of Pozania, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appeare by their leters which they sent vnto the Councell, and by the letters of Sigismund the king of Romanes, written vnto them. Wherein hee laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himselfe, of Hus his death. Albeit hee was not altogether free from that cruell fact, and innocent from that bloud: yet notwithstanding he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest vpon the bloudie prelates of that councell, as the words of the king doe purport in forme as followeth.

Ex Cochleo. de hist. Hussit. lib. 4.

The Emperour excuseth himselfe of the death of Iohn Hus.

*Interea (inquit) nobis adhuc in partibus Rheni existentibus, peruenit ad Constantiam, &c. i.* In the meane time as we were about the coasts of Rhene, Iohn Hus went to Constance, and there was arrested, as is not to you vnknowne. Who if he had first reported vnto vs, and had gone with vs vp to the Councel, perhaps it had been otherwise with him. And God knoweth, what griefe and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can beare vs witnes, seeing and beholding how carefull and sollicitous we were in labouring for him: In so much that we many times with anger and furie departed out of the councell and not only out of the councell, but also went out of the citie of Constance taking his part, vnto such time as the rulers of the Councell sending vnto vs, said: That if we would not permit them to prosecute that, which right required in the Councell, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with our selues, that here was nothing else for vs more to doe, nor yet to speake in this case, forasmuch the whole Councell otherwise had been dissolued. Where is to bee noted moreouer, that in Constance the same time there was not one clerke, or two, but there were ambassadours for all kings and princes in Christendome, especially since the time that (Petrus de Luna giuing ouer) all those kings and princes which tooke his part, came to vs: so that whatsoeuer good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present councel, &c. Ex Epist. Imper. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

¶ By this it may appeare that the Emperour as partly ashamed and sorie of that which was done, would gladly haue cleared himselfe thereof, and haue washed his hands with Pilate: yet he could not so cleare himselfe, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension: as may both appeare by his last words spoken in the Councell to Iohn Hus, whereof Iohn Hus in his Epistles complaineth, writing to certaine of his friends in Bohemia in his 33. Epistle, as by his words may appeare here following.

Ex Epist. Ioh. Hus 33.

The emperour beseecheth to Iohn Hus.

I Desire you yet againe for the loue of God, that the lords of Bohemie ioyning together, will desire the king for a finall audience to be giuen me. Forsomuch as he alone said to me in the Councell, that they should giue me audience shortly, and that I should answere for my selfe briefly in writing: it will bee to his great confusion, if he shall not performe that which he hath spoken. But I feare that word of his will be as firme and sure, as the other was concerning my safe-conduct granted by him. Certaine there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his safe-conduct. And other said: hee will surely giue you to your enemies. And the Lord Mikest Dwekie told me in secret before M. Iessenitz, saying: Master, know it for certaine you shall be condemned. And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that hee had been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence: now I conceiue that he is not greatly skilfull nor so prudentlie circumspect in himselfe. Hee condemned me before mine enemies did. Who, if it had pleased him, might haue kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, which said: I find no cause in this man or at least if he had said but thus: Behold, I haue giuen him his safe-conduct safely to returne. And if he will not abide the decision of the Councel, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia, with your sentence and attestations, that hee with his Clergy may iudge him. But now I heare by the relatiō of Henry Lessl, and of other, that he will ordaine for me sufficient audience: And if I will not submit my selfe to the iudgement of the Councell, he will send me safe, the contrary way, &c.

Blame meete inderate to Christen Emperours in Iohn Hus.

This Iohn Hus being in prison, wrote diuers treatises, as of the commandements, of the Lords prayer, of mortall sin, of matrimonie, of the knowledge and loue of God, of three enemies of mankind, the world, the flesh, and the diuell, of penance, of the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of the Lord, of the sufficiencie of the law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also diuers Epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Boheme: And in his writings did foreshew many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church: and seemeth in the prison to haue had diuers prophetical reuelations shewed to him of God. Certaine of which his letters, and predictions, I thought here vnderneath to inlert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will ouercharge the volume too much: nor yet in reciting of none, I will be so briefe, but that the reader may haue some taste, and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man: First, beginning with the letter of the lord Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.

A letter of the lord Iohn de Clum, concerning *the safe-conduct of Iohn Hus.*

TO all and singuler that shall see and heare these presents, I Iohn de Clum doe it to vnderstand, how master Iohn Hus bachelar of diuinitie, vnder the safe-conduct and protection of the renoumed prince and lord Sigismund of Romans semper Augustus, and king of Hungarie, &c. my gratious lord, and vnder the protection, defence, and safegard of the holie Empire of Rome, hauing the letters patent of the said my lord king of Romans, &c. came vnto Constance to render a full count of his faith in publike audience to all that would require the same. This the said M. Iohn Hus, in this imperiall citie of Constance, vnder the safe-conduct of the said my lord king of Romans, hath bin and yet is detained. And although the pope with the cardinals haue bin seriously required, by solemne Ambassadors of the said my lord king of Romans, &c. in the kings name and behalfe, that the said M. Iohn Hus should bee set at libertie, and bee restored vnto mee, yet notwithstanding they haue and yet doe refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe-conduct of the king, and of the safegard and protection of the Empire, or emperiall maiestie. Wherefore I Iohn aforesaid in the name of the king, doe here publish and make it knowne, that the apprehending and detaining of the said M. Iohn Hus, was done wholie against the will of the forenamed king of Romans my lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe-conduct of his subiects, and of the protection of the empire, because that the said my lord was then absent farre from Constance, and if hee had been there present, would neuer haue permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he for this great iniurie, and contempt of this safe-conduct done to him and to the empire, will grieuouslie be molested for the same. Giuen at Constance, in the day of the natiuitie of the Lord, 1414.

¶ In this instrument aboue prefixed note (gentle Reader) three things.

First, the godnesse of this gentle lord Iohn de Clum, being so feruent and zealous in the cause of Iohn Hus, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safe-conduct granted vnto the said Iohn Hus, vnder the faith and protection of the Emperour, and of the empire.

Thirdly, here is to be seene the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates in disobeying the authoritie of their high Magistrate, who contrarie to his safe-conduct giuen, and the mind of the emperour, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the comming of the said emperour, and before that Iohn Hus was heard. Let vs note, as we haue promised, aduerse some of the epistles of this godly man.

An Epistle of Iohn Hus, vnto the people of Prage *in his owne vulgar speech.*

A letter of Iohn Hus to the people of Prage.

GRace and peace from our Lord Iesus Christ, that you being deliuered from sinne, may walke in his grace, and may grow in all modestie and vertue, and after this may enioy eternall life.

Dearely beloued, I beseech you which walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the saluation of your soules, when as you hearing the word of God, are premonished wittily to vnderstand that you be not deceiued by false Apostles: which doe not reprehend the sinnes of men, but rather doe extenuate and diminish them, which flatter the priests, and do not shew to the people their offences: which magnifie themselues, boast their owne workes, and maruellouslie extoll their owne worthinesse, but follow not Christ in his humilitie, in pouertie, in the crosse and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our mercifull sauiour did premonish vs before, saying: False Christs and false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceiue many. And when he had forewarned his welbeloued disciples, he said vnto them: Beware and take heed of false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly are ra-

uening

uening wolues: yee shall know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithfull of Christ haue much neede diligently to beware and take heed vnto themselues. For as our Sauiour himselfe doth say: the elect also, if it were possible, shal be brought into error. Whereforemy welbeloued, be circumspect and watchfull, that ye be not circumuented with the craftie traines of the diuell. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last iudgement is neere at hand: death shall swallow vp many, but to the elect children of God, the kingdom of God draweth neere, because for them hee gaue his owne bodie. Feare not death, loue together one another, persieure in vnderstanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of iudgement bee alwaies before your eies, that you sinne not: and also the ioy of eternall life, whereunto you must endeuour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Sauiour be neuer out of your minds; that you may beare with him and for him gladly, whatsoeuer shall be laid vpon you. For if you shall consider well in your minds his crosse and afflictions, nothing shall be grieuous vnto you, and patientlie you shall giue place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and prisonment, and shall not doubt to giue your liues moreouer for his holy truth, if need require. Know yee welbeloued, that antichrist being stirred vp against you, deuiseth diuers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least haire of their heads, as by mine owne example I can testifie, although hee hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for mee to the Lord, to giue me intelligence, sufferance, patience and constancie, that I neuer swarue from his diuine veritie. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my iournie openly and manifestly, I haue not feared to vtter my name as becommeth the seruant of God. In no placke I kept my selfe secret, nor vsed any dissimulation. But neuer did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies then at Constance. Which enemies neither should I haue had there, had it not been for certaine of our owne Bohemians, hypocrites and deceiuers, who for benefits receiued and stirred vp with couetousnesse, with boasting and bragging haue perswaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercie of our God, and by your praiers, I shal persist stronglie in the immutable veritie of God, vnto the last breath. Finally, I would not haue you ignorant, that whereas euery one here is put in his office, I onely as an outcast amnegested, &c. I commend you to the mercifull Lord Iesus Christ, our true God, & the sweet of the immaculate virgin Mary, which hath redeemed vs by his most bitter death, without all our merits, from eternall paines, from the thraldome of the diuell, and from sinne. From Constance the yeere of our Lord, 1415.

*Another letter of Iohn Hus to his benefactors.*

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MY gratious benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Iesus Christ, that now ye setting aside the vanities of this present world, will giue your seruice to the eternall king, Christ the Lord. Trust not in princes, nor in the sonnes of men, in whom there is no health. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitfull. To day they are, to morrow they perish, but God remaineth for euer. Who hath his seruants, not for any neede he hath of them, but for their owne profit: vnto whom he performeth that which hee promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to giue. He casteth off no faithfull seruant from him, for he faith: Where I am, there also shall my seruant be. And that Lord that maketh euery seruant of his to be the Lord of all his possession, giuing himselfe vnto him, and with himselfe, all things: that without all rediousnesse, feare, and without all defect, he may possesse al things, reioycing with all Saints in ioy infinite. O happie is that seruant, whom, when the Lord shall come, hee shall find watching. Happie is the seruant which shal receiue that king of glorie with ioy. Wherefore, welbeloued Lords, and benefactors, serue you that king in feare: which shall bring you, as I trust, now to Boheme at this present, by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternall life of glorie. Fare you well: For I thinke that this is the last letter that I shall write to you: whereto morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Iesus Christ, through bitter death, from my sinnes. The things that happened to me this night, I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done al things with me deceitfully. God forgiue him and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against mee. I pray you haue no suspition of faithfull Vitus.

*Another letter to the lord Iohn de Clum.*

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MOst gratious benefactor in Christ Iesus, dearelie beloued, yet I reioyce not a little, that by the grace of God I may write vnto your honour. By you letter, which I receiued yesterday, I vnderstand, first how the iniquitie of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation (whereof mention is made in the Apocalyps) is detected, and shal be more detected. With the which strumpet, the kings of the earth doe commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and as is there said, sliding backe from the truth, and consenting to the lies of antichrist, through his seduction and through feare, or through hope of confederacie, for getting of worldly honour. Secondly, I perceiued by your letter, how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceiued the feruent constancy of your charity, wherewith you professe the truth boldly. Fourthly, with ioy I perceiued ỹ you mind now to giue ouer the vanitie and painfull seruice of this present world, and to serue the Lord Iesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serue is to raigne, as Gregorie saith. Whom he that serueth faithfullie, hath Iesus Christ himselfe in the kingdome of heauen to minister vnto him, as hee himselfe saith: Blessed is that seruant, whom when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verely I say vnto you, that he rising, shall gird himselfe, and shall minister to him. This doe not the kings of the world to their seruants: whom only they doe loue so long as they are profitable and necessarie for their commodities, &c.

## Another Epistle of Iohn Hus, wherein he declareth

*why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing diuers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirme both himselfe and other.*

THe Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, welbeloued in God my deare friends, which moued me to thinke that those letters were the last, which before I sent vnto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now vnderstanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort vnto me, that I haue some leisure more to talke with you by letters: and therefore I write againe to you, to declare and testifie at least, my gratitude and mindeful dutie toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me and to my welbeloued brother M. Ieron, who I trust will die holily and without blame: and do know also that he doth, and suffereth now more valiantly, then I my selfe a wretched sinner. God hath giuen vs a long time, that we might call to memorie our sinnes the better, and repent for the same more feruentlie. He hath granted vs time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grieuous sinnes, and bring the more consolation. He hath giuen vs time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful king and Lord Iesus, and should ponder his cruell death, and so more patiently might learne to beare our afflictions. And moreouer that wee might keepe in remembrance, how that the ioyes of the life to come, are not giuen after the ioyes of this world immediatly, but through many tribulations the saints haue entred into the kingdom of heauen. For some of them haue bin cut and chopt all to peeces, some their eies bored through, some sod, some rosted, some slaine aliue, some buried quicke, stoned, crucified, grinded betwixt milstones, drawne and haled hither and thither vnto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torne in peeces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bands. And who is able to recite al the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered vnder the old and new Testament for the veritie of God: namely those which haue at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or haue preached against their wickednesse? And it will be a maruell if any man now also shall escape vnpunished, whosoeuer dare boldly resist the wickednesse and peruersitie, especiallie of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to reade my bookes, in the which their malice is somewhat described: and I know they haue read the same more exactly and diligently, then the holy Gospell, seeking therein to find out errors. Giuen at Constance vpon Thursday, the 28. day of Iune, An. 1415.

The torments of the martyrs vnder the old and new testament.

Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he rehearseth what iniu-

*ries he receiued of the councell, and of the deputies.*

IF my letter be not sent yet to Boheme, keepe it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

Item, if the king doe aske, who ought to be my iudge, since that the Councell neither did call me, nor did cite mee, neither was I euer accused before the Councell, and yet the Councell hath imprisoned mee, and hath appointed their proctor against me.

Item, I desire you right noble and gratious Lord Iohn, if audience shall be giuen me, that the king will be there present himselfe, and that I may haue a place appointed neere vnto him, that he may heare me well and vnderstand what I say: and that you also with the Lord Henrie, and with Lord Wencelaus and other mo, if you may, will be present, and heare what the Lord Iesus Christ my procurator and aduocate, and most gratious iudge, will put in my mouth to speake, that whether I liue or die, you may bee true and vpright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shal say hereafter that I swaued away from the truth which I haue preached.

Item, know you that before witnesses and notaries in the prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute vnto me a proctor and an aduocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not performe it. Wherefore I haue committed my selfe to the Lord Iesus Christ that hee will bee my procurator and aduocate and iudge of my cause.

Item, know you, that they haue as I suppose no other quarel against me, but only this, that I stood against the popes bull, which

Ye meaneth belike that he should meet the masters conuicted in this Epistle.

John Hus seeth here to prophecie of the councell, as it came to passe. The councell afraid to be tried by the scriptures.

This cardinall Bar cardinall Cambyensis.

Saint Katharine disputed with fiftie doctors, conuerted them; but Iohn Hus could not conuert his fiftie doctors.



which pope Iohn sent downe to Boheme, to sanctifie war with the signe of the crosse and full remission of sinnes, to all them which would take the holy crosse to fight for the patrimonie of the Romish church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they haue mine owne writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secodly, they haue also against me, that I haue continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take vpon me to minister in the church and say Masse. Thirdly, they haue against me, because I did appeale from the pope to Christ. For they read my appeale before mee, the which with a willing mind, smiling I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certaine letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethleem, the which letter my aduersaries haue verie euil fauouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out without a safe-conduct. Whereunto you your selues can say and beare me record, that I in my going out, had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me when I wrote that letter.

Item, if audience may be giuen to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned againe into prison, but that I may haue your counsels and others my friends: and if it may please God that I may say some thing to my soueraigne lord the king, for the behalfe of christianity, and for his owne profit, &c.

## Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickednesse of that Councell.

Another letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the seruant of God, to all the faithfull in Boheme, which loue the Lord, greeting through the grace of God. I commeth in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you, that be the faithfull and beloued of the Lord, how that the councell of Constance being full of pride, auarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my bookes written in the Boheme tongue, for heretical, which bookes they neuer saw, nor euer heard them read: And if they had heard them, yet they could not vnderstand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britaines, some Spaniards, Germaines, with other people of other nations moe: vnlesse peraduenture Iohn bishop of Litomish vnderstood them, which was present in that councell, and certaine other Bohemians, and priests which are against me, and labour all they may how to depraue both the verity of God, and the honestie of our countrie of Boheme. Which I iudge in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well giuen to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest maners. And if you were heere at Constance, ye should see the grieuous abomination of this councell, which they call so holy, and such as cannot erre. Of the which councel I haue heard it by the Swechers reported, that the citie of Constance is not able in thirty yeeres to be purged of the wicked abominations in that councell committed. And all be offended almost with that councell, being sore grieued to behold such execrable things perpetrate in the same.

The councell condemne bookes which they vnderstand not.

Phalse of Bohemia. The abomination of the councell of Constance described.

When I stood first to answere before mine aduersaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outragiously crying out, I said plainly vnto them, that I looked for more honest behauiour, and better order and discipline, in that councell. Then the chiefe cardinall answered, Saiest thou so? but in the tower thou spakest more modestly. To whom, said I: In the tower no man cried out against me, where as now all do rage against me. My faithfull and beloued in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my bookes. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as Spiderwebs. They went about to shake my constancie from the veritie of Christ: but they could not ouercome the vertue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scriptures against me, as diuers honorable lords can witnes with me, which being readie to suffer contumelie for the truth of God, tooke my part stoutly: namely lord Wencesslaus de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum: for they were let in by king Sigismund into the councel. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing erre, then they heard the chiefe cardinall answere againe: Because thou wouldest be informed, there is no remedie, but that thou must first reuoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fiftie Bachelers of Diuinitie appointed. O high instruction.

After like maner S. Katharine also should haue denied and reuoked the veritie of God and faith in Christ, because the 50. masters likewise did withstand her: which notwithstanding, that good virgin would neuer doe, standing in her faith vnto death: But she did win those her masters vnto Christ, when as I cannot win these my masters by any meanes. These things I thought good to write vnto you, that you might know how they haue ouercome me, with no grounded Scripture nor with any reason: but only did assay with terrors and deceits to perswade mee to reuoke and to abiure. But our merciful God, whose law I haue magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will keepe me in his grace vnto death. Written at Constance after the feast of Iohn Baptist, in prison and in bands, daily looking for death; although for the secret iudgements of God, I dare not say whether this be my last Epistle: for now also almighties God is able to deliuer me.

*The sixe next pages.*

## Another letter of Iohn Hus, wherein he comforteth his friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for *the condemning of his bookes: and also declareth the wickednesse of the Clergie.*

Good bookes of good men haue been burned of old time.

MAster Iohn Hus, in hope the seruant of God, to al the faithfull which loue him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

Beloued, I thought it needful to warne you that you should not feare or be discouraged because the aduersaries haue decreed that my bookes shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the prophet Ieremy, and yet they could not auoid the things that were prophecied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecie againe, and that larger; which was also done. For Ieremie sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was readie at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the 35. or 45. chapter of the vision of Ieremie. It is also written in the bookes of the Machabees, that the wicked did burne the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Againe, vnder the new Testament, they burned the Saints, with the bookes of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certaine of S. Gregories bookes, and had burnt them all if they had not bin preserued of God by the meanes of Peter, Gregories minister. Hauing these things before your eyes, take heed lest through feare, you omit to reade my boookes, and deliuer them to the aduersaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our merciful Sauiour, by which he forwarneth vs, Matth. 24. There shall be (saith he) before the day of iudgement, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning, vntill this day, neither shall be afterwards: So that euen the elect of God should be deceiued, if it were possible. But for their sakes, those daies shall be shortned. When you remember these things (beloued) be not afraid, for I trust in God that that schoole of Antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, neither shall the councell of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I thinke, that many of them, which are of the councel, shal die before they shal get from you my books. And they shal depart from the councel and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like storkes, and then they shall know when winter commeth, what they did in sommer. Consider that they haue iudged their head the P. worthie of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; Answere to this you preachers, which preach that the pope is the god of the earth, that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things: that he is the head of the whole holy church in verity well gouerning the same: that he is the heart of the church in quickning the same spiritually: that he is the wel-spring from which flow eth al vertue and goodnes: that he is the sumie of the holy church: that he is the safe refuge to which euery Christian man ought to flie for succour. Behold now that head is cut off with the sword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his sins are declared openly, now that wel-spring is dried vp, that sun darkened, that heart is plucked out and throwne away, lest that any man should seeke succor thereat. The councel hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because he took money for indulgences, bishoprickes and other such like. But they condemned him by order of iudgment which were themselues the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present Iohn bishop of Lytomissia, who went twice about to buy the bishoprike of Prage, but others preuented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beame out of their own eyes? These men haue accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselues which were the buyers and consenters to the bargaine, are without danger. What shall I say that they do vse in this manner of buying and selling at home in their owne countries? For at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the pope for allowing of both their facts, took bribes of both sides. It came so to passe in Bohemia also as you know. I would that in that councell God had said, He that amongst you is without sin, let him giue the sentence against pope Iohn: Then surely they had gone all out of the councell house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him alwaies, before this his fall, kisse his feete, and call him the most holy father, seeing they saw apparantly before, that he was an heretike, that he was a man killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they haue found in him? Why did the cardinals chuse him to be P. knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedome? for to this end they are his counsellers, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselues as guiltie of these faults as he? seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselues? why durst no man lay ought to his charge, before he had fled from Constance, but as soone as the secular power, by the sufferance of God laid hold vpon him, then, and neuer afore, they conspired al together that he should not liue any longer? Surely, euen at this day is the malice, the abomination

Good men liuing here bookes to be burned, no meruel.

John Hus foreseeth to prophecie of the councell.

The blasphemous opinion of Lawyers and papists, touching the soueraignte of the pope.

One Simonist condemneth another.

The bishops of the councell noted of Simonie.

Pope Iohn made a peace being bowne to be a murderer.

and filthinesse of Antichrist reuealed in the pope and others of this councell.

Antichrist now first beginneth to be reuealed in the pope.

Now the faithfull seruants of God may vnderstand what our Sauiour Christ meant by this saying: When you shal see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, &c. who so can vnderstand it, &c. Surely these be great abominations, pride, couetousnesse, simonie, sitting in a solitarie place, that is to say, in a dignitie void of goodnesse, of humilitie, and other vertues: as we do now clearely see in those that are constituted in any office and dignitie. How acceptable a thing should it be (if time would suffer me) to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparant, that the faithfull seruants of God might know them? I trust in God that he will send after me, those that shall be more valiant: and there are aliue at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of Antichrist, and shall giue their liues to the death, for the truth of our Lord Iesus Christ: who shall giue both to you and me the ioyes of life euerlasting. This epistle was written vpon S. Iohn Baptists day in prison and in cold irons; I hauing this meditation with my selfe, that Iohn was beheaded in his prison and bounds, for the word of God.

A prophecie of Iohn Hus.

## Another letter of Iohn Hus.

IOhn Hus in hope the seruant of God, to all the faithfull at Boheme, which loue the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attaine vnto eternall life.

Ye that bare rule ouer other and be rich, and ye also that be poore, welbeloued and faithfull in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient vnto God, make much of his word, and gladly hearing the same, wil humblie performe that which ye heare. I beseech you sticke fast to the veritie of Gods word, which I haue written and preached vnto you out of his law, and the sermons of his Saints. Also I desire you if any man either in publike sermon or in priuate talke heard of me any thing, or haue read any thing written by mee which is against the veritie of God; that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guiltie that I euer haue spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you moreouer if any man at any time haue noted any leuitie either in my talke or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same: but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightnes. I pray you that ye will loue your priests and ministers, which be of honest behauiour, to prefer and honor them before others: namely such priests as trauel in the word of God. I pray you take heed to your selues and beware of malitious and deceitfull men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Sauiour doth speake, that they are vnder sheepes clothing, and inwardly are rauening wolues. I pray such as be rulers and superiours, to behaue themselues gently towards their poore inferiours, and to rule them iustly. I beseech the citizens that they will walke euery man in his degree, and vocation with an vpright conscience. The Artificers also I beseech, that they wil exercise their occupations diligently, and vse them with the feare of God. I beseech the seruants, that they wil serue their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolemasters I beseech that they liuing honestly, will bring vp their scholars vertuously, and to teach them faithfullie. First to learne to feare God: then for the glorie of God and the publike vtilitie of the common wealth, and their owne health, and not for auarice or for worldly honor, to employ their minds to honest Arts. I beseech the Students of the Vniuersitie and all schooles, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence, they will studie to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glorie of God, and to the soules health as wel of themselues as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yeeld most hartie thankes to the right honorable lords, the lord Wenceslaus de Duba, lord Iohn de Cluan, lord Henrie Lumlouio, lord Vilem Zagecio, lord Nicolas and other lords of Boheme, of Morauia and Polony: that their diligence towards me, may be graterull to all good men: because that they like valiant champions of Gods truth, haue oftentimes set themselues against the whole councell for my deliuerance, contending and standing against the same to the vttermost of their power: but especially lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and lord Iohn de Clum. What soeuer they shall report vnto you, giue credit vnto them; for they were in the councell when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that councell cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also that yee will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queene, that God of his mercie would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in euerlasting life, Amen.

Notes for all noble men to marke and to follow.

This Epistle I haue written to you out of prison and in bands, looking the next day after the writing hereof, for the sentence of the councell vpon my death; hauing a full trust that he will not leaue me, neither suffer me to denie his truth and to reuoke the errours, which false witnesses malitiously haue deuised against me. How mercifullie the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marueilous temptations, ye shall know when as hereafter by the helpe of Christ, we shall all meete together in the ioy of the world to come. As concerning M. Ieroime my dearely beloued brother and fellow, I heare no other but that he is remaining in strait bands, looking for death as I do: and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruell enemies of Boheme haue giuen vs into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bands. I beseech you pray to God for them.

Moreouer, I beseech you, namely you of Prage, that ye will loue the temple of Bethleem, and prouide so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may bee preached in the same. For, because of that place, the diuell is angrie and against the same place he hath stirred vp priests and canons, perceiuing that in that place his kingdome should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keepe that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall giue greater encrease of his word by other, then he hath done by mee a weake vessell. I beseech you also that ye will loue together, and withholding no man from the hearing of Gods word, ye will prouide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the yeare of our Lord, 1415.

## ¶ Another right godly letter of Iohn Hus, to a certaine priest admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithfull: worthie to be read of all Ministers.

A worthy lesson for all ministers and prelats.

THe peace of our Lord Iesus Christ, &c. My deare brother be diligent in preaching the Gospell, and do the worke of a good Euangelist: neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed souldier of Christ. First, liue godly and holily. Secondlie, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to other in wel doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings: correct vice and set forth vertue. To euill liuers threaten eternall punishment; but to those that be faithfull and godly, set forth the comforters of eternall ioy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently vnderstanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Neuer affirme or maintaine those things that be vncertaine and doubtfull, lest that your aduersaries take hold vpon you, which reioyce in deprauing their brethren, whereby they may bring the Ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the bodie and blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warne you that you enter into no tauernes with guests, and bee not a common company keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the companie of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, denie not yet your helpe and diligence, wheresoeuer you may profit other. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that euer you can: For that is the raging beast, which deuoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore my heartily beloued, I beseech you to flie fornication: for whereas a man would most profit and do good, there this vice vseth most to lurke. In any case flie the companie of yong women, and beleeue not their deuotion: For S. Austin saith, the more deuout she is, the more precious to wantonnes, and vnder the pretence of religion, the snare and venome of fornication lurketh. And this know ye welbeloued, that the conuersation with them, subuerteth manie, whom the conuersation of this world could neuer blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soeuer it be, and haue not much talke with them otherwise, for auoiding of offence. Finally, howsoeuer you do, feare God and keep his precepts: so shall you walke wisely, and shall not perish: so shall you subdue the flesh, contemne the world, and ouercome the diuell: so shall you put on God, find life, and confirme other, and shall crowne your selfe with the crowne of glorie, the which the iust Iudge shall giue you. Amen.

Saint Augustine meaneth not here of all but of the common sort of light persons.

## ✠ This letter of Iohn Hus containeth a confession of the infirmitie of mans flesh: how weake it is, and repugnant against the spirit. Wherin he also exhorteth to perseuere constantly in the truth.

This Pallecz was the chiefest enemie of Iohn Hus, and procurer of his death.

HEalth be to you from Iesus Christ, &c. My deare friend, know that Paletz came to me to perswade me that I should not feare the shame of abiuration, but to consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater then to abiure: and why should I feare then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind; Presupposing such articles were laid to you, which you knew your selfe not to be true: what would you do in that case? would you abiure? Who answered: The case is sore, and began to weepe. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis was sometimes before in the prison with the deputies. And when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speake vnto the keepers: We by the grace of God will burne this heretike shortly: for those cause I haue spent many Florens. But yet vnderstand that I write not this to the intent to reuenge mee of him, for that I haue committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

Michael de Causis another bitter enemie of Iohn Hus. Iohn Hus praieth for his enemies.

Yet



A prophecie of Iohn Hus.

Yet I exhort you againe, to be circumspect about our letters: For Michael hath taken such order that none shall be suffered to come into the prison: no nor yet the keepers wiues are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth Antichrist extend his power and cruelty? But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquitie shal be detected more and more amongst the faithfull people.

Almightie God shall confirme the hearts of his faithfull, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receiue the eternall crowne of glory. And let Antichrist rage as much as he will, yet he shall not preuaile against Christ, which shal destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the Apostle saith: and then shall the creature be deliuered out of seruitude of corruption, into the libertie of the glorie of the sons of God, as saith the Apostle in the words following: We also within our selues do grone, waiting for the adoption of the sonnes of God, the redemption of our bodie.

I am greatly comforted in those words of our Sauiour: Happie be you when men shal hate you, and shal separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the son of man. Reioyce and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heauen, Luke 6. O worthie, yea O most worthie consolation, which not to vnderstand, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

This rule Saint Iames with the other Apostles, did well vnderstand, which saith; Count it exceeding ioy my brethren, when ye shall fall into diuers tentations, knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience: let patience haue her perfect worke. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to reioyce in trouble, and to take it for ioy to be in diuers temptations. A light matter it is to speake it and to expound it: but a great matter to fulfill it: For why? our most patient and most valiant champion himselfe, knowing that he should arise againe the third day, ouercomming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect after his last supper, was troubled in spirit and said, My soule is heauie vnto death. Of whom also the Gospell saith, that he began to feare, to be sad and heauie. Who being then in an agonie, was confirmed of the Angell, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling vpon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples; Let not your hearts be troubled, neither feare the cruelties of them that persecute you: for you shall haue mee with you alwaies, that you may ouercome the tyrannie of your persecutours. Whereupon those his souldiers, looking vpon the Prince and King of glorie, sustained great conflicts. They passed thorow fire and water, and were saued, and receiued the crowne of the Lord God, of the which Saint Iames in his canonicall epistle, saith; Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proued, he shall receiue the crowne of life, which God hath promised to them that loue him. Of this crowne I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me partaker also with you, which be the feruent zealers of the truth, and with all them, which stedfastly and constantly doe loue the Lord Iesus Christ, which suffered for vs, leauing to vs example that wee should follow his steps. It behooued him to suffer, as he saith: and vs also it behooued to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the head. For he saith: If any man will come after me, let him denie himselfe and take vp his crosse and follow me.

Examples of the old martyrs.

Exterample of Christ.

The prayer of Iohn Hus to Christ.

O most mercifull Christ, draw vs weake creatures after thee, for except thou shouldest draw vs, we are not able to follow thee. Giue vs a strong spirit, that it may be readie, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before vs, go with vs, & follow vs: for without thee we can do nothing, and much lesse enter into the cruell death for thy sake. Giue vs that prompt and readie spirit, abold heart, an vpright faith, a firme hope and perfect charitie, that we may giue our liues patientlie and ioyfully for thy names sake, Amen. Written in prison and in bonds in the Vigill of holy Saint Iohn the Baptist, who being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickednes, was beheaded.

¶ Among diuers other letters of Iohn Hus, which hee wrote to the great consolation of others: I thought also here to intermixe another certaine godly letter written out of England, by a faithfull scholar of Wickliffe, as appeareth, vnto Iohn Hus and the Bohemians, which for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not vnworthie to be read.

## A letter to Iohn Hus, and to the Bohemians, from London.

A zealous letter to Iohn Hus from London.

GReeting, and whatsoeuer can be deuised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Iesu. My dearely beloued in the Lord, whom I loue in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that haue the knowledge of the truth, which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for euermore: I reioyced aboue measure, when our beloued brethren came and gaue testimonie vnto vs of your truth, and how you walked in the truth. I haue heard brethren, how sharpely Antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithfull seruants of Christ with diuers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no maruell, if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world ouer) the law of Christ be too too grieuously impugned, and that red Dragon hauing so many heads (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalyps) haue now vomited out of his mouth that great flood, by which he goeth about to swallow vp the woman: but the most gratious God will deliuer for euer his only and most faithfull spouse. Let vs therefore comfort our selues in the Lord our God, and in his vnmeasurable goodnesse, hoping strongly in him which will not suffer those that loue him, to be vnmercifullie defrauded of any their purpose, if we according to our dutie, shal loue him with all our heart: for aduersitie should by no meanes preuaile ouer vs, if there were no iniquitie raigning in vs. Let therfore no tribulation or sorrow for Christs cause, discourage vs, knowing this for a suretie, that whomsoeuer the Lord vouchsafeth to receiue to be his children, those he scourgeth: for so the mercifull father will haue them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that after wards he may spare them. For the gold that this high artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it vp in his pure treasurie. For we see that the time which we shall abide heere, is short and transitorie: the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and euerlasting. Therefore whilest we haue time, let vs take paine, that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brickle life, then sorow, heauines and sadnes, and that which is most grieuous of all to the faithfull, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let vs therefore endeuour our selues as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternall and abiding, despising in our minds all transitorie and fraile things. Let vs consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that haue gone before vs. Let vs consider the Saints of the old and new Testament. Did they not passe through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, other some stoned, and other of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goats skins, as the Apostle to the Hebrewes witnesseth. Surely they all walked strait waies, following the steps of Christ, which said, He that minister eth vnto me, let him follow me, wheresoeuer I go, &c. Therefore let vs also, which haue so noble examples giuen vs of the Saints that went before vs, laying away as much as in vs lieth, the heauie burden and the yoke of sin which compasseth vs about, runne forward through patience, to the battell that is set before vs, fixing our eyes vpon the author of faith, and Iesus the finisher of the same: who seeing the ioy that was set before him, suffered the paines of the crosse, despising death. Let vs call vpon him, which suffered such reproch against himselfe of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartily pray for helpe of the Lord, and may fight against his aduersarie Antichrist: that we may loue his law, and not be deceitfull laborers, but that we may deale faithfully in al things, according to that, that God hath vouchsafed to giue vs, and that we may labour diligently in the Lords cause vnder hope of an euerlasting reward. Behold therfore brother Hus, most dearly beloued in Christ, although in face vnknowne to me, yet not in faith and loue (for distance of places cannot separate those whom the loue of Christ doth effectually knit together) bee comforted in the grace which is giuen vnto thee, labour like a good souldier of Christ Iesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst, to the way of truth: for the truth of the Gospell is not to be kept in silence, because of the friuolous censures and thunderbolts of Antichrist. And therfore to the vttermost of thy power strengthen thou and confirme the members of Christ, which are weakened by the diuel: and if the Lord will vouchsafe it, Antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly reioyce, that in your realme and in other places, God hath stirred vp the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment and death.

Further, beloued, I know not what to write vnto you, but I confesse, that I could wish to powre out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute from the bottome of my heart, all the faithfull louers of the law of the Lord, and specially Iacobellus your coadiutor in the Gospell, requiring that he wil pray vnto the Lord for me in the vniuersall church of Iesus Christ. And the God of peace which hath raised from the dead the shepheard of the sheep, the mightie Lord Iesus Christ, make you apt in all goodnesse, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which haue heard of your constancie. I would desire also to see your letters written backe to vs, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort vs.

At London by your seruant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labors.
Ricus Wichewitze, priest vnworthie.

## Another letter of Iohn Hus to his friends of Boheme.

THe Lord God be with you. I loue the counsell of the Lord aboue gold and precious stone. Wherfore I trust in the mercie of Iesus Christ, that he will giue me his spirit to stand in his truth. Pray to the Lord, for the spirit is readie and the flesh is weake. The Lord almightie bee the eternall reward vnto my Lords, which constantlie, firmelie and faithfullie do stand for

eighteousnesse: to whom the Lord God shall giue in the kingdome of Boheme, to know the truth. For the following of which truth, necessarie it is that they returne againe into Boheme, setting apart all vaine-glorie, and following not a mortall and miserable king, but the king of glorie which giueth eternall life.

Oh how comfortable was the giuing of the hand of lord John de Clum vnto me, which was not ashamed to reach forth his hand to me a wretch, and such an abiect he reseke, lying in fetters of iron, and cried out vpon all men! Now peraduenture I shall not speake much hereafter with you: Therefore salute in time as you shall see them, all the faithfull of Boheme.

Pelletz. Palletz came to me into prison. His salutation in my vehement infirmitie, was this before the commissaries, that there hath not risen a more perillous heresike since Christ was borne, then was Wickliffe and I. Also he said, that all such as came to heare my talke, were infected with this heresie, to thinke that the substance of bread remained in the Sacrament of the altar.

To whom I answered and said: O master, what a grieuous salutation haue you giuen me, and how greatly do you sinne? Behold I shall die, or peraduenture to morrow shall be burnt: And what reward shall be recompenced to you in Boheme for your labour?

This thing peraduenture I should not haue written, lest I might seeme to hate him. I haue alwaies had this in my heart, Trust not in princes, &c. And againe, Cursed be the man which trusteth in man, and maketh flesh to be his arme. For Gods sake be you circumspect how you stand and how you returne. Carry no letters with you. Direct your bookes not all by one, but diuerslie by diuers friends.

The visions of John Hus by dreames. Know this for certaine, that I haue had great conflicts by dreames, in such sort as I had much a do to refraine from crying out. For I dreamed of the popes escape before he went. And after the lord John had told me thereof, immediatly in the night it was told me that the P. should returne to you againe. And afterward also I dreamed of the apprehending of master Ierome, although not in full maner as it was done. All the prisonments, whither and how I am caried, were opened to me before, although not fully after the same forme and circumstance. Many serpents oftentimes appeared vnto me, hauing heads also in their taile: but none of them could bite me, and many other things more.

A plaine title of master Ierome of Prage. There things I write, not esteeming my selfe as a Prophet, or that I extroll my selfe, but only to signifie vnto you what temptations I had in bodie and also in mind, and what great feare I had, lest I should transgresse the commandement of the Lord Iesus Christ. Now I remember with my selfe the words of master Ierome, which said, that if I should come to the councell, he thought I should neuer returne home againe. In like maner there was a good and godly man, a tailour, which taking his leaue of me at Prage, spake to me in these words: God be with you (said he) for I thinke verily, my deare and good master Iohn, that you shall not returne againe to vs with your life. The king, not of Hungarie, but of heauen, reward you with all goodnesse, for the faithfull doctrine which I at your hands haue receiued, &c.

This taylour was a Polander. ¶ And shortly after the writting hereof, he sendeth also vnto them another prophetical vision of his to be expounded touching the reformation of the church, written in his 44. epistle: the contents whereof be these.

## Another letter of Iohn Hus, sent to the Lord *Iohn de Clum.*

I Pray you expound to me the dreame of this night: I saw how that in my church of Bethleem, they came to race & put out all the images of Christ, and did put them out. The next day after I arose and saw many painters, which painted and made more fairer Images and many more then I had done before: which images I was very glad and ioyfull to behold. And the painters with much people about the, said, Let the bishops and priests come now, and put vs out these pictures. Which being done, much people seemed to me in Bethleem to reioyce, and I with them. And I awaking therewith, felt my selfe to laugh, &c.

Prophetie. ¶ This vision lord John de Clum, and John Hus himselfe in his bolt of epistles in the 45. epistle saieth to expound, and applieth these images of Christ vnto the preaching of Christ and of his life. The which preaching and doctrine of Christ, though the pope and his cardinals should extinguish in him, yet did he feare not and declare, that the time should come, wherein the same doctrine should be restored againe by others, so plentifully, that the pope with all his power, should not be able to preuaile against it. Thus much as concerning this vision of I. Hus. Whereunto doth well accord the prophecie of Ieronie of Prage, printed in the coine called Moneta Hussi: of the which coine I haue my selfe one of the plates hauing this superscription following printed about it; Centum reuolutis annis Deo respondebitis & mihi. That is, After an hundred yeres come and gone, you shall giue a count to God and to me. Whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Furthermore in the 48. epistle the said John Hus seeking to speake with the like spirit of prophecie, hath these words following: Sed spero, quod quæ dixi sub tecto, prædicabuntur super tecta: That is, but I trust that those things which I haue spoken within the house, hereafter shall be preached vpon the top of the house. Prophetie.

And because we are heere in hand with the prophecies of John Hus, it shal verie well in place, heere moreouer to record his words in a certaine treatise by him written, De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium Abominatione; wherein the said John Hus speaking prophetically of the reformation of the church, hath these words following: Ex iis vlterius aduerte incidentaliter, quod Dei ecclesia nequit ad pristinam suam dignitatem reduci, &c. That is in English:

Prophetie. Moreouer, herkenyon note and marke by the way, that the church of God, cannot be reduced to his former dignitie, or be reformed, before all things first be made new: The truth whereof is plaine by the temple of Salomon. Like as the clergy and priests, so also the people and laitie: Or else vnlesse all such as now be addict to auarice, from the least to the most, be first conuerted and reclaimed, as well the people as clergie and priests, Albeit as my mind now giueth me, I beleeue rather the first, that is, that there shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people new clerkes and priests shall come, and be taken which all shall hate couetousnesse, and glorie of this life, painting to an heauenly conuersation. Notwithstanding all these things shall come to passe, and be brought by little and little in order of times, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God both and hath bo for his owne goodnesse and mercie, and for the riches of his great longanimitie and patience, giuing time and space of repentance to them that haue long lien in their sins, to amend, and flie from the face of the Lords furie, while that in like maner the carnall people, and carnall priests successiuely and in time, shall fall away and be consumed as with the moth, &c.

## Another letter of Iohn Hus.

MAster Martin my deare brother in Christ, I exhort you in the Lord, that you feare God, keepe his commandements, and flee the companie of women, and beware of hearing their confession, lest by the hypocrisie of women, Satan deceiue you: trust not their deuotion. You know how I haue detested the auarice and the inordinate life of the clergie, wherefore through the grace of God I suffer now persecution, which shortly shall be consummate in me, neither do I feare to haue my hart powred out for the name of Christ Iesus; I desire you heartily be not greedie in seeking after benefices. And yet if you shall be called to any cure in the countrie, let the honor of God, the saluation of soules, and the trauell thereof moue you thereunto, and not the hauing of the liuing or the commodities thereof. And if you shall be placed in any such benefice, beware you haue no young woman for your cooke or seruant, lest you edifie and increase more your house, then your soule. See that you be a builder of your spirituall house, being gentle to the poore, and humble of mind, and waste not your goods in great fare. I feare also if you do not amend your life, ceasing from your costly and superfluous apparel, lest you shal be grieuously chastised, as I also wretched man shall be punished, which haue vsed the like, being seduced by custome of euill men and worldly glorie, whereby I haue been wounded against God with the spirit of pride. And because you haue notably knowne both my preaching and outward conuersation euen from my youth, I haue no need to write many things vnto you, but to desire you for the mercie of Iesus Christ, that you do not follow me in any such leuitie and lightnes, which you haue seene in me. You knew how before my priesthood (which grieueth me now) I haue delighted to play oftentimes at chesse, and haue neglected my time, and thereby haue vnhappily prouoked both my selfe and other to anger many times by that play. Wherfore, besides other my innumerable faults, for this also I desire you to inuocate the mercie of the Lord, that he wil pardon me, and so direct my life, that hauing ouercome the wickednes of this present life, the flesh, the world and the diuell, I may find place in the heauenly countrie, at the least in the day of iudgement. Fare ye well in Christ Iesus, with all them which keepe his law. My gray coate, if you will, keepe to your selfe for my remembrance, but I thinke you are ashamed to weare that gray colour: therefore you may giue it to whom you shall think good. My white coat you shal giue the Minister N. my scholar, To George or else to Zuzikon 60. groats, or else my gray coat: for he hath faithfully serued me.

Sent that the priest is here not married, and therefore he willeth him to auoid all companie of women.

He repenteth his playing at the cheste.

Iohn Hus from his gay garments commeth to his white coate.

¶ *The superscription.*

I pray you that you do not open this letter, before you be sure and certaine of my death.

## The consolation of master Ierome to *master Hus.*

MY master, in those things which you haue both written hitherto, and also preached after the law of God against the pride, auarice, and other inordinate vices of the priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require,

of



of mine owne accord, I will follow after to helpe you, as much as I can.

John Hus condemned for no erroneous doctrine wherein he was culpable. BY the life, acts and letters of John Hus hitherto rehearsed, it is euident and plaine, that he was condemned not for any erro; of doctrine, which they could well proue in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authozitie of the church of Rome, if it were well gouerned, nor yet the seuen Sacraments, and also said masse himselfe, and almost in all their popish opinions was a papist with them: but only of euil will was accused of his malicious aduersaries, because he spake against the pompe, pride and auarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals and prelats of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and liuings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be Antichrist like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him. Who straining and picking matter out of his bookes and writings, hauing no one iust article of doctrine to lay vnto him, yet they made him an heretike, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charitie of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charitie (good Reader) may easily vnderstand, in perusing the whole course of his storie: I beseech thee then, what cause had Iohn Cochleus to write his twelue bookes against John Hus and Hussites? In which bookes how bitterly and intemperatly he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second booke thou maiest take a little taste: which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may iudge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholikes be caried. This words be these; Lib. 2. Hist. Dico igitur Ioan. Hus neque Sathan neque beatum bibendum esse, sed impium potius, &c. That is, I say therefore John Hus is neither to be counted holie nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched: in so much that in the day of iudgement, it shall be more easie, not only with the infidel Pagans, Turks, Tartarians and Iewes, but also with the most sinfull Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their daughters, sisters or mothers, yea and also with most impious Cain, killer of his owne brother, with Thyestes, killer of his owne mother, and the Lestrygones and other Anthropophagi, which deuoure mans flesh; yea more easie with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharao and Herod, then with him, &c. These be the words of Cochleus. Whose railing bookes although they deserue neither to be read, nor answered, yet if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir vp some towardly yong man, that hath so much leasure to defend the simplicitie of this John Hus, which cannot now answere for himselfe. In the meane time, something to satisfie or stay the readers mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Hus to speake and to cleare himselfe against this slander: those words in his booke De sacerdotum & monachorum abominatione desolationis, pag. 84. &c. I beseech the reader to note. Nam & ista scribens fateor, quod nihil aliud me in illis perurget, nisi dilectio Dom. nostri Iesu crucifixi, &c. That is, For in writting these things, I confesse nothing else to haue moued me hereunto, but only the loue of our Lord Iesus crucified, whose paines and stripes (according to the measure of my weaknesse and vilenesse) I couet to beare in my selfe, beseeching him so to giue me grace, that I neuer seeke to glorie in my selfe or in any thing else, but only in his crosse, & in the inestimable ignominie of his passion which he suffered for me. And therefore I write and speake these things, which I do not doubt will like all such as vnfainedly do loue the Lord Christ crucified: and contrarie will mislike not a little all such as be of Antichrist. Also againe, I confesse before the most merciful Lord Iesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I haue written before, neither I could haue written, nor knew how, nor durst so haue written, vnlesse he by his inward vnction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authozitie, to get me fame and name: For as Saint Augustine and Ierome do say, that is only to be giuen to the Scriptures and writings of the Apostles, Euangelists and Prophets, and to the canonicall Scriptures, which do abound in the fulnesse of the Spirit of Iesus. And what soeuer is there said, is full of veritie and wholesome vtilitie, &c. And here place also would require something to say to Aeneas Siluius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsly impute articles to him, which he neuer maintained. But because time sufficeth not, I will proceed to the storie of master Ierome of Prage.

Ierome cometh to Constance.

The safe-conduct was required in vaine of the emperor.

Coc. lenus raileth against John Hus without cause.

Ex Coch. lib. 2. hist. Hussitarum, pag. 88.

The intimating of Ierome of Prage, set up in diuers places of the towne of Constance.

* The tragicall and lamentable historie of the famous learned man and godly martyr of Christ, master Ierome of Prage, burned at Constance for like cause and quarrell, as master John Hus was, 1416.

The storie of Ierome of Prage. THese things hitherto being discoursed touching the life, acts and constant martyrdome of master John Hus, with part also of his letters adioyned to the same, whose death was on the sixth of Iulie, an. 1416. now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedie and cruell handling of his christian companion and fellow in bands master Ierome of Prage. Who grieuously sorrowing the slanderous reproch and defamation of his countrie of Boheme, and also hearing tel of the manifest iniuries done vnto that man of worthie memorie master John Hus: freely and of his owne accord came vnto Constance the fourth day of Aprill, an. 1415. Who there perceiuing that John Hus was denied to be heard, and that watch and waite was laid for him on euery side, he departed to Iberling a citie of the empire, vntill the next day; the which citie was a mile off from Constance, and from thence he wrote his letters by me vnto Sigismund king of Hungarie and his barons, and also vnto the councell, most earnestly requiring that the king and the councell would giue him a safe conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answere vnto euery man, if there were any of the councell that would lay any crime vnto him, as by the tenor of his intimation, shall more at large appeare.

When as the said king of Hungarie was required hereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinall of Cambray, he denied to giue master Ierome any safe-conduct, excusing himselfe for the cuill speech he had with the safe-conduct of John Hus before, and alleaging also certaine other causes. The deputies also of the foure nations of the councell being moued thereunto by the lords of the kingdome of Boheme, answered: we (say they) will giue him a safe-conduct to come, but not to depart. Whose answeres, when they were reported vnto master Ierome, by the next day after wrote certaine intimations according to the tenor here vnder written, which he sent vnto Constance to be set vpon the gates of the citie, and vpon the gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelats. The tenour whereof here followeth word for word in this maner.

Vnto the most noble prince and lord, the lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, alwaies Augustus, and of Hungarie, &c. I Ierome of Prage master of Art of the generall Vniuersities of Paris, Colen, Heidelberg and Prage, by these my present letters do notifie vnto the king together with the whole reuerend councell, and as much as in me lieth, do all men to vnderstand and know, that bicause of the crafte slanderers, backbiters and accusers, I am readie freely and of mine owne will, to come vnto Constance, there to declare openly before the councell the puritie and sinceritie of my true faith and mine innocencie, and not secretly in corners before any priuate or particular person. Wherefore if there be anie of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soeuer they be, which will obiect against me any crime of erro; or heresie: let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole councell, and in their owne names obiect against me, and I will be readie, as I haue written, to answere openly and publikely before the whole councel, of mine innocencie, and to declare the puritie and sinceritie of my true faith. And if so be that I shall be found culpable in erro; or heresie, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be more and worthie for an erroneous person, or an heretike.

Wherefore I most humblie beseech my lord the king and the whole sacred councell, that I may haue to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure accesse. And if it happen that I offering such equitie and right as I do, before any fault be proued against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or haue anie violence done vnto me, that then it may be manifest vnto the whole world, that this generall councell doth not proceed according to equitie and iustice, if they would by any meanes put me backe from this profound and strait iustice, being come hither freely of mine owne mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be farre from so sacred and holy councell of wise men.

Safe-conduct denied to Ierome.

Ierome returneth toward Boheme, with the testimonies of the lords of Boheme.

Ierome appointed in the way by duke John.

Michael de Causis, and Palletz enemies to Ierome.

Ierome of Prage cited by the councell when he was taken.

WHen as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latine, and Germaine tongue, being set vp as aforesaid, could not get any safe-conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights speciallie of the Bohemian nation present in Constance, gaue vnto master Ierome their letters patents, confirmed with their seales for a testimonie and witnesse of the premisses. With the which letters the said master Ierome returned againe vnto Boheme; but by the treason and conspiracie of his enemies was taken in Hirlaw by the officers of duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought backe again to the presence of the duke. In the meane time such as were the letters forward of the councell against master John Hus, and master Ierome, that is to say, Michael de Causis and master Palletz and other their accomplices, required that the said master Ierome should be cited by reason of his intimations, and certaine dates after the citation here vnder written, was set vpon the gates and poaches of the citie, and churches, which followeth here in this maner.

¶ This most sacred and holy Synode and generall councell of Constance, faithfully congregated & gathered together in the holy Ghost, representing the vniuersall militant church, vnto Ierome of Prage, which writeth himselfe to be a master of Art of so manie Vniuersities, and pretendeth those things

Iic. iij. which

which are only pertaining vnto sobjetie and modestie, and that he knoweth no more then he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certaine writing come vnto our vnderstanding and knowledge, the which was set vp as it were by thine owne person vpon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, vpon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God; Quasi modo geniti. Wherein thou doest affirme, that thou wilt openlie answere vnto thy accusers and slanderers which shall object anie crime, error or heresie against thee, whereof thou art marueilously infamed and accused before vs, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliffe, and other doctrines contrarie vnto the catholike faith, so that thou mightest haue granted vnto thee a safe conduct to come. But for so much as it is our part principallie and chiefly to foresee and loke vnto these craftie Foxes which go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth by the tenor of these presents, thy person manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the terme of fifteene daies to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof fiue daies are appointed for the first terme, fiue for the second, and other fiue for the third, we doe ordaine and appoint by canonicall admonition and warning, that thou do appeare in the publike Session of the sacred councell, if there be any holden the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when as any session shal be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answere to those things, which any person or persons shall obiect or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receiue and haue, as iustice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in vs lieth, and as catholike faith shall require, we offer and assigne to thee by the tenour hereof, our safe-conduct from all violence (iudice absentes beeing saued) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appeare or not, the said terme or time appointed notwithstanding, processe shall go forward against thee by the said sacred councell, or by their commissarie or commissaries, for the time afore said not obserued and kept, thy contumecie or stubburnesse in any thing notwithstanding. Giuen in the sixth Session of the generall Councell, the seuenteenth day of April, vnder the seale of the presidents of the foure nations.

¶ Grumpert Faber Notarie of the Germaines.

Duke John in his letters to councell is called the son of Clement.

AFter that Sigismund king of Hungarie with the rest of the councell, had reclued by the forsaid duke John that master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that master Jerome should be brought before them vnto the councell. The which duke John, after he had receiued letters of the king and the councell, brought master Jerome bound vnto Constance, whom his brother duke Ludouicus led thorow the citie to the cloister of the friers Minors in Constance, where as the chiefe priests and elders of the people, Scribes and Pharisies, were gathered together, attending and waiting for his comming. Hee the said master Jerome carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chaine in his hand, and as hee passed the chaine made a great rattling and noise, and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chaine after Duke Ludouicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the chaine a great way from him: with the which chaine they also kept him bound in the Cloister. When he was brought into the Cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John, which was sent with the said master Jerome vnto the Councell, containing in effect, how that the said duke John had sent master Jerome vnto the councell, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an euill report of him, that he was fastened of the heresies of Wicklife; that the councell might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did erre and stray from the truth, besides manie other flattering tales which were written in the said letter for the praise of the councell. After this they read the citation which was giuen out by the councell against master Jerome, whereof we haue spoken before. Then certaine of the bishops said vnto him; Jerome, why biddest thou vs and runne away, and biddest not appeare when thou wast cited? He answered, because I could not haue any safe conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patents of the barons, which you haue, neither by mine open intimations could I obtaine any safe-conduct.

Jerome is brought bound vnto Constance by duke John.

The councell entreth in mould giue him liberte safely to come, nay freely to go.

Marke Jerome was reuiled by master Stefens, with comemoration of his eloquence.

Wherefore I perceiuing many of my geticuous and hearie friends to be here present in the councell, would not my selfe be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had knowne or had any vnderstanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Boheme, I would haue returned againe. Then all the whole rabble rising vp, alleaged diuers and sundrie accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake master Gerson the Chancellor of Paris: Jerome, then thou wast at Paris, thou thoughtest thy selfe by meanes of thy eloquence to be an Angell, and diddest trouble the whole Vniuersitie, alleaging openly in the schooles many erroneous conclusions with their correlaria, and especially in the question de vniuersalibus & de Ideis, with many other verie offensiue questions. Vnto whom master Jerome said: I answere to you master Gerson: Those matters which I did put forth there in the schooles at Paris, in the which also I am knowen to the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically and as a Philosopher, and matter of the Vniuersitie: and if I haue put forth any questions which I ought not to haue put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moll humblie be informed, and amend the same.

Gerson remueth old matters.

The master of the Vniuersitie of Collen.

This man worth neede, but beknowen matter.

Whiles he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the Master of the Vniuersitie of Collen vpon the riuer of Rheine) rising vp said: When thou wast also at Colen in the position which thou diddest there determine, thou diddest propound many erroneous matters. Then said master Jerome vnto him, shew me first one errour which I propounded. Where-vnto he being in a manner astonished, said, I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be obiected against you.

The master of the Vniuersitie of Heidelberg.

And by and by the third man rising vp, said: when that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinitie, and there painted out a certaine shield or scutchine, comparing the Trinitie of persons in diuinitie vnto water, snow and ice, and such like. Vnto whom master Jerome answered: Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speake, write and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will moll humblie reuoke and recant the same.

Crucifige, crucifige eum.

Then certaine cried out, Let him be burned, let him be burned. Vnto whom he answered: If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so.

Then said the archbishop of Salisburg; not so master Jerome, for so much as it is written: I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he conuert and liue. When these and many other tumults and cries were pasted, whereby they did then moll disorderly and outragiously witnesse against him, they deliuered the said master Jerome being bound, vnto the officers of the citie of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night: and so euerie one of them returned to their lodgings.

Jerome is comforted by the Pontift.

In the meane time, one of the friends of master John Hus, looking out at a window of the Cloister, said vnto him, master Jerome. Then said he, you are welcome my deare brother. Then said Peter vnto him: Be constant and feare not to suffer death for the truth sake, of the which when you were in times past at libertie, you did preach so much godlinesse. Vnto whom Jerome answered, truly brother I do not feare death, and for so much as we know that we haue spoken much thereof in times past; let vs now se what may be knowne or done in effect. By and by his keepers comming to the window, threatning him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the Cloister.

Ex tradit. Lucæ.

Then came there one Titus vnto master Jerome and said, master how do you? Vnto whom he answered; truely brother, I do very well. Then his keepers comming about him, laid hold of the said Titus, saying, this is also one of the number, and kept him. When it drew towards euening, the archbishop of Rigen, sent certaine of his seruants which led away master Jerome, being strongly bound with chaines, both by the hands and by the necke, and kept him so for certaine houres. When night drew on, they caried him vnto a certaine tower of the citie in Saint Pauls churchyard, there as they tying him fast vnto a great blocke, and his feet in the stockes, his hands also being made fast vpon them, they left him there as the blocke was so high, that he could by no meanes sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downeward. They caried also the said Titus vnto the archbishop of Rigen, who demanded of him, why he durst be so bold to talke with such a man being a reprobate of all men, and an heretike: and when as he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was master John de Clums friend, taking an oth and promise of him that he should not go about to endamage the councell, by reason of that imprisonment and captiuitie, so dismissed him and sent him away.

Titus the companion of John de Clum.

Jerome straitly bound hand and foot.

Titus had to the archbishop of Rigen.

Titus bound by oth.

Master Jerome, vnknowne vnto vs whither he was caried, lay in the said tower two daies and two nights, reliued only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers comming vnto master Peter, declared vnto him how that master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chaines, and how he was fed. Then master Peter desired that he might haue leaue giuen him to giue him meat, because he would procure the same vnto him. The keeper of the prison granting his request, caried meat vnto him. Within eleuen daies after, so hanging by the heeles, he died of small repast, that he fel sore sick euen vnto the death. Whenas he lying then in that captiuitie and prison, desired to haue a Confessor, they of the councell denied that he should haue any, vntill such time as by great importunitie he obtained to haue one: his friends bring then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one yeare lacking but seuen daies.

Jerome hanging in the stocks was fed with bread and water.

Peter bringeth meat to Jerome

Jerome is made here to say not his own mind, but what pleased them.

Jerome in great sickneſs desireth for a Confessor.

After they had put John Hus to death, then about the feast of the nativitie of Marie the virgin, they brought forth master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chaines, vnto the church of Saint Paul: and threatning him with death, being instant vpon him, they forced him to abiure and recant, and consent vnto

Master Jerome was by the space of one yeare.



vnto the death of master John Hus, that he was iustly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for feare of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenour which was exhibited vnto him, did make abiuration, and that in the cathedrall Church and open Session, the draught whereof penned to him by the papists, here ensueth.

¶ The abiuration of master Hierome of Prage.

The forced abiuration of Hierome.

I Hierome of Prage, master of Art, acknowledging the catholike Church, and the apostolike faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and specially that, wherof I haue hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Hus and John Wickliffe haue holden and taught in their workes, treatises and sermons, made vnto the people and clergie: for the which cause the said Wicklisse and Hus, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this Synode of Constance as heretikes, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especiallie in certaine articles expressed in the sentences and iudgements giuen against them by this sacred Councell.

Also I doe accord and agree vnto the holie Church of Rome, the Apostolicke seat in this sacred Councell, and with my mouth and heart doe profeſſe in all things, and touching all things, and specially as touching the keies, sacraments, orders and offices, and Ecclesiasticall censures, of pardons, reliques of Saints, Ecclesiasticall libertie, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining vnto Christian religion, as the Church of Rome, the Apostolicke see, and this sacred Councell doe profeſſe: and specially that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reprooued by the holie fathers, some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous: some offensiue vnto godly eares, and many of them temerarious and seditious. And such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred Councell, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singuler Catholicke men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintaine any of the said articles, vnder paine of being accused.

And I the said Hierome, forsomuch as I haue laboured by Scholasticall arts, to perswade the opinion, De Vniuersalibus realibus, and that one substance of the common kind should signifie many things subiect vnder the same, and euery one of them, as S. Ambroſe, Hierome, Augustine doe affirme, and likewise others. For the teaching hereof by a plaine example I described as it were a certaine triangle, forme or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.

Therefore vtterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked vnderstanding thereof, the which peraduenture some men may gather thereby, I doe say, affirme, and declare, that I neuer made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith to that intent or purpose, that I would extoll or preferre the opinion of vniuersalities aboue or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof, the catholike faith could not be defended or maintained, when as I my selfe would not obstinatelie sticke thereunto. But this I said, because I had put example in the description of thetriangle or forme, that one diuine essence consisted in three subiects or persons in themselues diuine, that is to say, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt. The article of the which Trinitie, is the chiefe shield of faith, and foundation of the catholicke truth.

Furthermore, that it may be euident vnto all men that the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to sticke to, and fauour sometime John Hus: I signifie vnto all men by these presents, that when as I heard him oftentimes both in his sermons, and also in the Schooles, I beleeued that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainesay the traditions of our holy mother the Church, or holy doctors: insomuch as then I was latelie in this Citie, and the articles which I affirmed were shewed vnto me, which were also condemned by the sacred Councell, at the first sight of them I did not beleeue that they were his, at the least not in that forme. But when as I had further vnderstood by certaine famous doctors and masters of diuinitie, that they were his articles, required for my further information and satisfaction, to haue the bookes of his owne handwriting shewed vnto me, wherein it was said, those articles were contained. The which bookes, when they were shewed vnto mee written with his owne hand, which I did know as well as mine owne, I found all, and euery one of those articles therein written in like forme as they are condemned. Wherefore I doe worthilie iudge and thinke him and his doctrine with his adherents, to be condemned and reproued by this sacred Councell, as heretically and without reason. All which the premisses with a pure minde and conscience, I do here pronounce and speake, being now fullie and sufficientlie informed of the foresaid sentences and iudgements giuen by the sacred Councell against the doctrines of the said John Wicklisse and John Hus, and against their owne persons: vnto the which iudgement, as a deuout catholike in all things, I doe most humblie consent and agree.

Also I the foresaid Hierome, which before the reuerend fathers, the lords, cardinals, and reuerend lords, prelates and doctors, and other worshipfull persons of this sacred Councell in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpole, amongst other things speaking of the Church, did diuide the same into three parts. And as I did perceiue afterward, it was vnderstood by some that I would affirme, that in the triumphant Church, there was faith. Whereas I doe firmelie beleeue that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all darke vnderstanding and knowledge. And now also I do say, affirme and declare, that it was neuer my intent and purpose, to proue that there should be faith, speaking of faith, as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge farre exceeding faith. And generallie what soeuer I said, either there, or at any time before, I doe referre, and most humblie submit my selfe vnto the determination of this sacred Councell of Constance.

Moreouer, I doe sweare both by the holy Trinitie, and also by the moll holy Gospell, that I will for euermore remaine and persuere without all doubt, in the truth of the Catholike Church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching, shall impugne this faith, I iudge them worthie together with their doctrines of eternall curse. And if I my selfe at any time (which God forbid I should) doe presume to preach or teach contrarie thereunto, I will submit my selfe vnto the seuerite of the Canons, and bee bound vnto eternall paine and punishment. Whereupon I doe deliuer by this my confession and tenor of my profeſſion willingly before this sacred generall Councell, and haue subscribed and written all these things with mine owne hand.

Hierome after his abiuration remoued into prison.

AFter all this, they caused him to be caried againe vnto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before: not withstanding kept euery day with soulders and armed men. And when as afterward, his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Pallets, with other their companions in these affaires, vnderstood and knew by the words and talke of master Hierome and by other certaine tokens, that hee made the same abiuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to scape their hands, they together with certaine frieres of Prage, of the order of Carmelites, then comming in, put vp new accusations against the said master Hierome, and deliuered the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forsomuch as his iudges, and certaine cardinals, as the cardinall of Caumbay, the cardinall de Vrsinis, the cardinall of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of master Hierome, did see the great iniurie that was done vnto him, they laboured before the whole Councell for his deliuerie.

Hierome accused anew by Caulis, Pallets, and the Carmelites. The cardinall of Caumbay with certaine other cardinals labour for the deliuery of Hierome.

It happened vpon a certaine day, as they were labouring in the Councell for the deliuerie of the said master Hierome, that the Germaines and Bohemians his enemies, with all force and might resisted against it, crying out, that the matter in no case bee dismissed. Then start vp one called Doctor Haid, which said vnto the cardinals; we marueil much of you moll reuerend fathers, that your reuerences will make intercession for such a wicked heretike, for whose sake we in Boheme with the whole clergy, haue suffered much trouble and mischiefe, and peraduenture your fatherhods shall suffer: and I greatly feare, lest that you haue received some rewards, either of the king of Boheme, or of these heretikes. When as the Cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselues of master Hierome cause and matter.

Si dimittis hunc, non es amicus Cæsaris.

Then his enemies aforesaid, obtained to haue other iudges appointed, as the Patriarch of Constantinople, and a Germaine doctor, forsomuch as they did know that the patriarch was a grieuous enemie vnto master Hierome, because he being before appointed iudge by the Councell, had condemned John Hus vnto death.

The patriarch of Constantinople gaue sentence of death both against Hus, and S. Hierome of Prage.

But S. Hierome would not answer them in prison, requiring to haue open audience, because he would there finally declare vnto them his mind, neither would hee by any meanes consent vnto those priuat iudges. Whereupon the presidents of the Councell thinking that the said S. Jerome would renue his recantation, before the said audience, and confirme the same, did grant him open audience.

In the yere of our Lord 1416. the 25. day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said master Jerome was brought into open audience before the whole councell, to the great cathedrall Church of Constance, where as by the commissioners of the Councell, in the behalfe of his forsaid enemies, there was said against him of new a hundred and seuen articles, to the intent that hee should not scape the snare of death, which they prouided and laid for him: in so much as the iudges had before declared that by the saying of the witnesses it was alreadie concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning, vntill none, he answered vnto more then 40. articles, most subtilly obiected against him: denying that he held or maintained any such arti-

§ Anno 1416. Hierome brought againe before the Councell.

cles

False witnesse against Jerom.

rles as ineere either hurtfull or false, affirming that those witnesse had deposed them against him falsly and slanderously, as his most cruell and mortall enemies. In the same Session they had not yet proceeded vnto death, because that the none time drew so fast on, that hee could not answer vnto the articles. Therfore for lack of time sufficient to answer vnto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after the foresaid Saturday, before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time againe early in the morning, hee was brought vnto the said Cathedrall Church to answer vnto all the residue of the articles.

The diuersitie of Hierome in answering his aduersaries.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered vnto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himselfe very learnedly, refelling his aduersaries, who had no cause, but onely of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselues astonied at his oration, and refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with thame enough were put to silence: As when one of them had beaunded of him, what hee thought by the Sacrament of the altar, he answered; Before consecration (said he) it is bread and wine: after the consecration it is the true bodie and bloud of Christ; adding with all mee wordes according to their catholike faith. Then another rising vp; Hierome, said he, there goeth a great rumor of thee, that thou shouldest hold, bread to remaine vpon the altar. To whom hee pleasantlie answered, saying: that hee beleeued bread to bee at the bakers. At which words being spoken, one of the Dominicke friers fum thy tooke on, and said; What? dost thou denie that no man doubteth of? Whose presuth sawcinesse, Hierome with these words did well represse: Hold thy peace (said he) thou monke, thou hypocrite: and thus the monke being nipped in the head, sat downe dumbe. After whom, started vp another, who with a loud voice cried out: I sweare (said he) by my conscience, that to bee true, that thou dorst denie. To whom said Hierome againe, speaking in Latine: *Heus, inquit, sic iurare per conscientiam tam stultam fallendi via est:* That is, thus to sweare by your conscience, is the next way to deceive. Another there was, a spitefull and a bitter enemie of his, whom he called by no other name then bogge, or asse. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all driuen to keepe silence.

False witnesses.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who comming in presence, gaue testimonie vnto the articles before produced. Vpreason wherof, the innocent cause of Hierome was oppressed, and began in the councell to be concluded. Then Hierome rising vp, began to speake: Forsomuch (saith he) as you haue heard mine aduersaries so diligently hitherto attendement it is, that you should also now heare me to speake for my self.

Audience hard to grant to Hierome to speake for himselfe.

Whereupon with much difficulte, at last audience was giuen in the Councell for him to say his mind. Which being granted, he from morning to nane continuing, intreated of diuers and sundrie matters, with great learning and eloquence. Who first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to giue him spirit, ability, and vtterance, which might most tend to the profit and saluation of his owne soule. And so entring into his Oration:

The oration of Hierome had before the Councell.

Socrates.

Plato.
Anaxagoras.
Zeno.
Rupilius.
Boetius.

Moyses.

Joseph.

Moyses.
Daniel.
The Prophets.
Sathanna.

John Baptist.
Christ.

The Apostles.

Iknow, saith he, reuerend lords, that there haue been many excellent men, which haue suffered much otherwise then they haue deserued, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong iudgements. And so beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was vniustly condemned of his countrymen, neither would he escape then he might: taking from the feare of two things, which same most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment, and death. Then he inferred the captiuitie of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreouer, he brought in the wrongfull condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Rupilius, reciting also the vnworthie death of Boetius and others, whom Boetius himselfe doth write of.

From thence, he came to the examples of the Hebrewes, and first began with Moyses the deliuerer of the people, and the law giuer, how hee was oftentimes handled of his people as being a seducer and contemner of the people. Ioseph also, saith he, for enuie, was sold of his brethren, and for false suspition of whoredome, was cast into bands. Besides these, hee receiued Esaias, Daniel, and almost all the Prophets, who as contemners of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongfull condemnation. From thence, he proceeded to the iudgement of Sathanna, and of diuers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they vniustly cast away with wrongfull sentence. At the length hee came to John Baptist, and so in long processe hee descended vnto our Sauiour, declaring how it was euident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreouer, how Stephen was slaine by the Colledge of the priests, and how all the Apostles were condemned to the death, not as good men, but as seditious sturrers vp of the people, and contemners of the Gods, and euill doers. It is vntrue, saith he, vniustlie to bee condemned one priest of an other, and yet he proued that the same hath so happened most vniustly in that Councell of priests. These things did hee discourse at large, with marueilous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

The false witnesse of Jerom refelled.

And forasmuch as all the whole summe of the cause did rest onely in the witnesses, by many reasons he proued that no credit was to be giuen vnto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but onely of hatred, malice, and enuie. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expresselie he proued vnto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost perswaded them. So lively and likelie their hatred was detected, that almost no truth was giuen to their testimonies, saue onely for the cause and quarrell wherein they stood touching the popes doctrine. All mens minds here were moued and bending to mercie towards him: For he told them how that hee of his owne accord came vp to the Councell, and to purge himselfe he did open vnto them all his life and doings, being full of vertue and godlinesse. This was (saith he) the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy Elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the verite. So did Augustine and Jerome differ, not only being diuers, but also contrarie one from the other, and yet without all suspition of heresie.

Hierome vnderstood by the wicked men of Jerom.

All this while the popes holie Councell did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himselfe, and to retract those things which were obiected against him, and to craue pardon of the Councell. But he persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no errour, nor gaue any signification of retractation.

Hierome commendeth the life and doctrine of John Hus.

Atlast, entring into the praise and commendation of master John Hus, he affirmed that he was a good, iust, and holie man, and much lamented that death which hee did suffer. Whom hee did know from his youth vpward, to be neither of fornication, drunkard, neither any cruell or vitious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a iust and true preacher of the holie Gospell: and whatsoeuer things master John Hus and Wickliffe had holden or written specially against the abuse and pomp of the clergie, he would affirme euen vnto the death, that they were holie and blessed men, and that in all points of the catholick fauth, he doth beleeue as the holy catholick Church doth hold or beleeue. And finallie he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliffe and Joh. Hus had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder of the prelats, he would sincerlie and stedfastly, without recantation, hold and defend euen vnto the death. And last of all he added, that al the sinnes that euer he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that onely sinne, which hee had committed in that most pitifullest fact, when as in his recantation, he had vniustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and specially in consenting vnto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did vtterlie renoke and denie that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weaknesse of heart and feare of death: And moreouer, that whatsoeuer thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied vpon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart, that euer he did it.

Hierome repenteth his speaking against John Hus.

And at the hearing hereof, the hearts of the hearers were not a little sore. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man might be saued, if otherwise their blind superstition would haue suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death then life. And persisting in the praise of John Hus, he added moreouer, that he never maintained any doctrine against the state of the Church, but onely spake against the abuses of the clergie, against the pride, pompe, and excesse of the prelates. Forsomuch as the patrimonies of the Churches were first giuen for the poore, then for hospitalitie, and thirdly to the reparations of the Churches: it was a griefe to that good man (said he) to see the same misspent and cast away vpon harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, vpon gorgeous apparell, and such other things vnseeming Christian religion. And herein he shewed himselfe marueilous eloquent: yea, aboue more.

Hus never maintained any doctrine against the Church of Rome: but onely spake against their naughtie life.

Hierome put them to silence.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by diuers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which scaped vnblanckt, but he brought them al to confusion, and put them to silence. Then any noise began, he ceased to speake, and after began againe, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to giue him leaue a while to speake, whom they hereafter should heare no more: neither yet was his mind euer dashed at all these noises and tumults.

Hierome in prison 340. daies.

The excellent memorie in S. Hierome.

And this was marueilous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison 340. daies, hauing neither booke, nor almost light to read by: yet hath admirable his memorie serued him: Declaring how all those paines of his strait handling, did not so much grieue him, as he did wonder rather to see their vnkind hunmanitie towards him.

Then her had spoken these and many other things as touching the praise of John Wickliffe, and John Hus, they which sat in the Councell, whispered together, saying: by these



these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself. Then was he againe carried into prison, and grieuously fettered by the hands, armes and feet, with great chaines and fetters of yron.

S. Hierome brought againe before the Councell.

The Saturday next before the Ascension day, earlie in the morning hee was brought with a great number of armed men vnto the Cathedrall Church before the open congregation, to haue his iudgement giuen him. There they exhorted him, that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid touching the praise and commendation of master John Wickliffe, and master John Hus, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same: but he marueilously stoutly without all feare, spake against them, and amongst other things said vnto them: I take God to my witnesse, and I protest here before you all, that I do beleeue and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy Catholike Church doth hold and beleeue the same: but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you vnto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you haue most wickedlie condemned for certaine articles, detelling and abhorring your wicked and abominable life. Then hee confessed there before them all his beleefe, and vttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, in so much, that all men there present, could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no meanes could they induce or perswade him to recant.

S. Hierome beleeth all the articles of the Catholike Church.

The eloquence of S. Hierome.

Then a certaine bishop named the bishop of Londy, made a certaine sermon exhortatiue against master Hierome, perswading to his condemnation.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, master Hierome said against vnto them: You shall condemne me wickedly and vniustly. But I after my death will leaue a remorse in your conscience, and a naile in your hearts; *Et cito vos omnes, vt ref pondeatis mihi coram altissimo & iustissimo iudice post centum annos:* That is: And here I cite you to answere vnto me before the most high and iust Judge, within a hundred yeeres.

The prophecy of S. Hierome.

No pen can sufficiently write, or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and Philosophically had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same, wherefore I haue but only touched here the superficiall matter of his talke, partly, and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when as by no meanes he might bee perswaded to recant the premisses, immediatly euen in his presence, the sentence and iudgement of his condemnation was giuen against him, and read before him.

The sentence and iudgement of S. Hierome.

IN the name of God Amen. Christ our God, and our Sauiour being the true vine, whose father is the husbandman, taught his Disciples, and all other faithfull men, saying: If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry, &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent doctor and master, this most sacred Synode of Constance, executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretiks, being moued by this said sacred Synode, through report, publike fame, and open infamation: procedeth against Hierome of Prage, master of Art, lay man. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said master Hierome hath holden, maintained, and taught diuers articles hereticall and erroneous, lately reprooued and condemned by the holy Fathers, some being very blasphemous, othersome offending godlie eares, and many temerarious and seditious, which haue been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of most damnable memorie John Wickliffe, and John Hus, the which are also written in diuers of their works and bookes. Which articles of doctrine and bookes of the said John Hus and Wickliffe, together with their memorie, and the person of the said John Hus, were by the said sacred Synode condemned of heresie. The which sentence of condemnation this Hierome afterward during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred Synode, and approued the true Catholike and Apostolike faith thereunto consenting, accusing all heresie, specially that whereof hee was infamed, and confessed himselfe to bee infamed, and that which in times past John Hus and John Wickliffe maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and bookes: for the which the said Wickliffe and Hus, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred Synode as hereticall, condemned. The condemnations of all which the premisses, hee did openly professe and allow, and did sweare that he would persieure and continue in the veritie of that faith. And if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion, or preach contrarie thereunto, that hee would submit himselfe to the triall and truth of the Canons, and be bound to perpetuall punishment. And this his profession written with his owne hand, he deliuered vp vnto the holie Councell. Many daies after his said profession and abiuration, as a dog returning vnto his vomit, to the intent hee might openly vomit vp the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and layen hid in his breft, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the Councell. The which being granted vnto him, hee affirmed, said and professed before the whole Synode, being publikely gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and iudgement of the condemnation of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and that he had most shamefully lied in approuing and allowing the said sentence, neither was hee ashamed to confesse that hee had lied: yea, hee did also reuoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made vpon their condemnation, affirming that hee neuer at any time had read any errors or heresie in the bookes and treatesses of the said Wickliffe and Hus. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is euidently proued, that he did diligently studie, reade, and preach their bookes, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said master Hierome did professe as touching the Sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the bodie of Christ, that he doth hold and beleeue as the Church doth hold and beleeue, saying also that he doth giue more credit vnto S. Augustine, and the other doctors of the Church, then vnto Wickliffe and Hus. It appeareth moreouer by the premisses, that the said Hierome is an aduerent and maintainer of the said Wickliffe and Hus, and their errors, and doth is, and hath been a fauourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred Synode determineth the said master Hierome as a rotten and withered branch not growing vpon the vine, to be cut off, and cast out. The said Synode also pronounceth, declareth and condemneth him as an heretike and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leauing him vnto the arbitrement and iudgement of the secular iudge, to receiue such and due punishment, according to the qualitie of so great an offence: The said sacred Synode notwithstanding intreating that the said iudge would moderate his sentence of iudgement without perill of death.

S. Hierome giuen to the secular power.

The which sentence so giuen before his face, and ended, a great and long miter of paper was brought vnto him, painted about with red diuels, the which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood vpon the ground amongst the prelates, hee tooke the miter, and put it vpon his head: saying, Our Lord Jesu Christ, when as he should suffer death for me most wretched sinner, did weare a crowne of thorne vpon his head: and I for his sake in stead of that crowne, will willingly weare this miter and cap. Afterward hee was laid hold of by the secular power.

A paper with red diuels vpon the head of S. Hierome by diuelish packs.

S. Hierome committed to the secular power.

After that he was led out of the said Church to the place of execution: when he was going out of the Church with a cheerfull countenance and a loud voice lifting his eies vp into heauen, hee began to sing, Credo in vnum Deum, as it is accustomed to be sung in the Church. Afterward as he passed along, hee did sing some Canticles of the Church: the which being ended, in the entring out of the gate of the citie, as men goe into Gothlehem, he did sing this hymne, Felix namque. And that respond being ended, after he came to the place of execution where as master John Hus before had suffered death innocently, kneeling before an image which was like vnto the picture of master John Hus, which was there prepared to burne master Hierome, hee made a certaine deuout prayer.

S. Hierome went singing into his martyrdome.

S. Hierome prayeth.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors tooke him vp, and lifting him vp from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterward girded him about the lornes with a linnen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chaines of iron to the said Image, which was made fast into the earth: and so standing vpon the ground, when as they began to lay the wood about him, he sung Salue festa dies. And when the hymne was ended, he sung againe with a loude voice, Credo in vnum Deum, vnto the end. That being ended, he said vnto the people in the Germaine tongue in effect as followeth. Dearely beloued children, euen as I haue now sung, so do I beleeue and none otherwise. And this Creed is my whole faith: notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the Councell, and with them affirme and hold that master John Hus, was by them holily and iustly condemned: for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the Gospell of Jesu Christ.

S. Hierome burned in the fire.

The words of Hierome to the people.

S. Hierome giueth testimonie of John Hus.

After that he was compassed in with the wood vp to the crotone of the head, they cast all his garments vpon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice: In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began bebenuentlie to burne, he said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue: O Lord God father almighty, haue mercy vpon mee, and be mercifull vnto mine offences, for thou knowest how that sincerely I haue loued thy truth. Then his voice by the vehemencie of the fire was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but hee moued continually his mouth and lips, as though hee had still prayed or spoken within himselfe.

The last words of S. Hierome.

The cruelte of his burthe.

When as in a manner his whole bodie with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared through the great burning vpon his bodie certaine great bladders, as big as an egge, yet hee continually very strongly and stoutly

showed,

mouth, and shaked his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an houre. So burning in the fire, he liued with great paine and martyrdome, whilest one might easilie haue gone from S. Clements ouer the bridge, vnto our Ladie

## The burning of master Ierome of Prage.



Church: he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his trashed, his boots, his hod, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a Cart, and cast them into the Riuer of Rhene, which ran hard by the Citie.

The ashes of M. Hierome cast into the riuer of Rhene.

The brothers of the Christes.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified vnto vs the acts and doings about the condemnation of master Hierome, and sent the same vnto vs to Prage in writing, both thus concludes: All these things (saith hee) I did behold, see, and heare to bee done, in this forme and manner. And if any man doe tell you the contrarie, doe not credit him; for all those things which happened vnto him, when hee came toward Constance, and also at his first comming vnto Constance of his owne free will, and afterward when he was brought bound vnto Constance, as is aforesaid, I my selfe did see and perfectly behold, and for a perpetuall memorie thereof to be had for euer, I haue directed the same vnto you, not lying, or falsifying any point thereof, as he which is the searcher of all mens hearts can beare mee witnesse, willing rather to sustaine the note of ignorance and rudenesse of stile, to beare witnesse vnto the truth, then I would by any meanes be compelled by tickling, or flattering the eares of the hearers with fained and cloked speech, to swarue or goe aside from the truth.

The truth of this Story.

Thus end the tragicall historie of master John Hus, and master Hierome of Prage, faithfully gathered and collected by a certaine Bohemian, being a present witnesse and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latine, and so sent by the said Bohemian into his country of Behem, and againe translated out of the Latine with like fidelitie, into our English tongue.

In the meane time while master Hierome was in this trouble, and before the Councell, the nobles and lords of Boheme and of Morauia (but not a little agrieued thereat) directed their letters vnto this barbarous Councell of popish murderers, in tenour and forme of words as followeth.

### The letter of the 54. Nobles of Morauia written vnto the Councell of Constance in the defence of master John Hus, and Hierome of Prage.

To the right reuerend fathers and lords in Chriſt, the lords, cardinals, patriarks, primates, archbishops, bishops, ambassadours, deanes, and masters, and to the whole Councell of Constance: We the nobles, lords, knights and esquires, of the famous Marquesdome of Morauia, with the desire of all goodnes, and the obseruation of the commandements of our Lord Jesus Christ.

FOrasmuch as euery man both by the law of nature, and also by Gods law, is commanded to do that vnto another man, which he would haue done vnto himselfe, and is forbidden to doe that thing vnto another, which hee would not haue done vnto himselfe, as our Sauiour saith: All things whatsoeuer you Matth. 7. would that men should do vnto you, the same do you vnto them, for this is the law & the Prophets: yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt loue thy neighbor as thy self. We therfore (God being our author) hauing respect as much as in vs lieth vnto the said law of God, and the loue of our neighbour, be- Rom. 13. fore did send our letters vnto Constance for our dearely beloued friend of good memorie, master John Husse bacheler of diuinitie, and preacher of the Gospell. Whom of late in the Councell of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led) you haue condemned as an obstinate heretike: neither hauing confessed any thing, neither being lawfully conuict as were expedient: hauing no errours or heresies declared or laid against him, but onely at the sinister, false and importune accusations, suggestions and instigations of his mortall enemies, and the traitors of our Kingdome and Marquesdome of Morauia. And being thus vnmercifully condemned, you haue slaine him with most shamefull and cruell death, to the perpetuall shame and infamie of our most Christian Kingdome of Boheme, and the famous Marquesdome of Morauia (as we haue written vnto Constance, vnto the most noble Prince and Lord, the Lord Sigismund king of Romans, and of Hungary, the heire and successor of our kingdom) the which was also read & published in your congregations, which we will here also haue enrolled; and haue burned him, as it is reported, in the reproch and contempt of vs.

Wherefore we haue thought good, euen now to direct our letters patents to your reuerences now present, in the behalfe of master John Hus, openlie professing and protesting both with heart and mouth, that he the said master John Hus, was a iust, good, and catholicke man, and a long season worthilie commended and allowed in our kingdome, for his life and conuersation. Hee also preached and taught vs and our subiects the law of the Gospell, and of the holie Prophets, and the bookes of the old and new Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approoued by the Church, and left many Monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continuallie admonishing both vs and all faithfull Christians to doe the like, diligentlie exhorting all men as much as in him lay, by his words, writings and trauell, vnto quietnesse and concord: so that vsing all the diligence that we might, we neuer heard or could vnderstand, that master John Hus had preached, taught, or by any meanes affirmed any errour or heresie in his Sermons, or that

The cause of John Hus cleared by the testimonie of the nobles of Boheme.

Such noble men offered their obedience to the pope, no further then was lawfull, honest and agreeable to reason and the law of God. Marke this and learne you noble men.



that by any manner of meanes he had offended vs, or our subiects, either by word or deed, but that hee alwaies led a quiet and a godlie life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to obserue and keepe the law of the Gospell, and the institutions of the holie fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the Church, and to the edifying of mens soules. Neither did these premisses, which you had so perperrated to the reproch both of vs and our kingdome and marquesdome, suffice and content you, but that also without all mercie and pitie, you haue apprehended, imprisoned and condemned, and euen now peraduenture, like as you did master John Hus, you haue most cruelly murdered the worshipfull man master Hierome of Prage, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seuen liberall artes, and a famous philosopher, not being seene, heard, examined, neither conuict, but onely at the sinister and false accusation of his and our accusers and betraiers.

All that will liue godly in Christ. 2. Tim 3.

Defence of M. Hierome of Prage.

Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and vnderstanding (which wee doe not without great griefe rehearse) as wee may also euidentlie gather by your writings, how that certaine detractors, odible both to God and men, priuie enuiers and betraiers, haue wickedly and grieuously, albeit falslie and traiterously, accused vs, our kingdome and marquesdome aforesaid, before you in your councell, that in the said kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Morauia, diuers errours are sprung vp, which haue grieuously and manifoldlie infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithfull men: in so much, that without a speedie stop or stay of correction, the said kingdome and marquesdome, together with the faithfull Christians therein, should incur an irrecuperable losse and ruine of their soules.

These cruell and pernitious iniuries which are laid vnto vs, and to our said kingdome and marquesdome, albeit most falslie and slanderously, how may we suffer? for so much as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other kingdomes of the world haue oftentimes wauered, making Schismes and Antipapes) our most Christian kingdome of Boheme, and most noble marquesdome of Morauia, since the time they did receiue the catholike faith of our Lord Iesus Christ, as a most perfect * quadrant, haue alwaies without reproue stuck vnto the church of Rome, and haue sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges and great trauell, with what worship and due reuerence they haue reuerenced the holy mother the Church and her pastors, by their princes and faithfull subiects, it is more manifest then the day light vnto the whole world; and your selues, if you will confesse the truth, can witnesse the same also.

He meaneth the long schisme taken of before, where three popes were striuing one against another.

* A quadrant being foure square pyramidalle, signifieth a man that is constant and vnmouable. Rom. 12.

Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the Apostle, may procure honest and good things, not onelie before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renowne of the kingdome and marquesdome, wee bee found cruell toward our neighbours; hauing a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certaine true faith in Christ Iesu our Lord, by the tenour of these we signifie and declare vnto your fatherhoods, and to all faithfull Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoeuer man, of what estate, preheminence, dignitie, condition, degree, or religion so euer he be, which hath said, or affirmed, either doth say or affirme, that in the said kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Morauia, heresies haue sprung vp which haue infected vs and other faithfull Christians, as is aforesaid (the onelie person of our most noble Prince and Lord, Sigismund king of Romans and of Hungarie, &c. our Lord and heire successor, being set apart, whom we trust and beleeue, not to be guiltie in the premisses) all and euery such man (as is aforesaid) doth lie falslie vpon his head, as a wicked and naughtie traitour and betraier of the said kingdome and marquesdome, and most traiterous vnto vs, and most pernitious heretike, the sonne of all malice and wickednesse, yea, and of the diuell himselfe, who is a liar and the father of all lies.

John 8. Deut. 28. Psalm. 30.

Notwithstanding, we for this present committing the foresaid iniuries vnto God, vnto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquitie, will prosecute them more amplie before him, whom God shall appoint in the Apostolike see, to gouerne his holy Church, as the onely and vndoubted pastor. Vnto whom God willing, we exhibiting our due reuerence and obedience as faithfull children, in those things which are lawfull, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, will make our request and petition, that speedie remedie may bee prouided for vs, our said kingdome and marquesdome, vpon the premisses, according to the law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premisses notwithstanding we setting apart all feare and mens ordinances prouided to the contrarie, will maintaine and defend the law of our Lord Iesus Christ, and the deuout, humble and constant preachers thereof, euen to the shedding of our bloud.

Dated at Sternberg, in the yeere of our Lord, 1415. vpon S. Wenceslaus day, martyr of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Round about the said letters there were 54. seales hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seales they were. The names of which noble men, I thought it good here to annex withall, partly for the more credit of that hath been said, partly also for examples sake, to the intent that our noble men and gentlemen in this our Realme of England, now liuing in this cleare light of the Gospell, may by their example vnderstand, that if they ioyne themselues with the Gospell of Jesus, zealously, and as they should doe, yet are they neither the first, nor the most that to haue done before them: whot, yet the truth may here remaine in the stone to their shame, or else to their instruction, seeing so many noble and worthie gentlemen within the small kingdome of Bohemia, to be so forward in those so darke daies, and among so many enemies soo. peres agoe, to take part with Christ: And yet our gentlemen here in such long continuance of time, being so diligently taught, are neither in number nor in zeale to them to bee compared, but will still take part, contrary both to Christ, and to the example of these nobles, whose names they may see and reade here following.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Alsso kabat de Wisscowitz. | 32 | Henr. de Zrenowicz. |
| 2 | Vlricus de Lhota. | 33 | Baczko de Cõuald. |
| 3 | Ioan. de Kſimicz. | 34 | Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltorolderck. |
| 4 | Ioſsko de Sczitowicz. | 35 | Czẽko de Moſsinow. |
| 5 | Pærdus Zwiranowicz. | 36 | N. |
| 6 | Joan. de Ziwla. | 37 | Zibilutz de Clezk. |
| 7 | Joan. de Reychenberg. | 38 | Ioan. de Paterſwald. |
| 8 | Wilde Skitzyuy. | 39 | Parſifal de Namyeſcz. |
| 9 | Drliko de Biela. | 40 | Zodoni de Zwierzick. |
| 10 | Kos de Doloylatz. | 41 | Raczeck Zawskalp. |
| 11 | Joan. de Simuſin. | 42 | Ion de Toſſawicz. |
| 12 | Dobeſſimus de Tiſſa. | 43 | Diwa de Spiſſinta. |
| 13 | Drazko de Aradeck. | 44 | Steſsko de Draczdw. |
| 14 | Steph. de Hmodorkat. | 45 | Iſsko de Draczdw. |
| 15 | Joan. Dern de Gabonieck. | 46 | Odich de Hlud. |
| 16 | Barſo dictus Hloder de Zeinicz. | 47 | Wosfart de Paulowicz. |
| 17 | Ioan Himrſdorfar. | 48 | Pirebbor de Tirezenicz. |
| 18 | Pſateska de Wilklek. | 49 | Rynard de Tyrczewicz. |
| 19 | Petrus Mog de Sczitowicy. | 50 | Bohunko de Wratiſdow. |
| 20 | N. Studenica. | 51 | Vlricus de Racdraw. |
| 21 | N. Briſchell. | 52 | Deſſaw de Nali. |
| 22 | N. de Cromaſſona. | 53 | Bonesb de Frabecnicz. |
| 23 | Aramiſick Donant de Polonia. | 54 | Eybl de Roiſſowan. |
| 24 | Ioan. Donant de Polonia. | | |
| 25 | Ioan. de Cziczow. | | |
| 26 | Wenceſlaus de N. | | |
| 27 | N. de N. | | |
| 28 | N. N. | | |
| 29 | Ioſseck de N. | | |
| 30 | Henricus de N. | | |
| 31 | Waczlals de kuck. | | |

These noble men did accompanie Hus, and with certain horsemen conduct him to Constance.

This noble man

After these things thus declared and discoursed concerning the historie of John Hus, and Hierome of Prage, the order of place and countrie next would require, consequentlie to inferre and comprehend the great troubles and perturbations, which happened after and vpon the death of these men in the countrie of Bohemе: but the order of time calleth me backe, first to other matters heere of our owne countrie, which passed in the meane time with vs in England. Which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward returne to the tractation hereof, to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things belõe pertaining to the latter end of the Councell of Constance, and chosing of pope Martin, as the order of peres and time shall require.

We heard before pag. 541. how after the death of Thomas Arundell archb. of Cant. succeeded Henrie Chichester, anno 1414. and sate 25. peres. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England: of whom many were compelled to abiure, some were burned, diuers were driuen to exile. Whereof partly now to intreate, as wee find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon Coxar of London, and Richard Turming: whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirme to be burned in the pere therein sir Roger Acon and D. Browne suffered; who in deede suffered not before the second pere of Henrie Chichesley being archbishop of Canturburp, which was an. 1417. The historie of which John Claydon, in the Registers is thus declared.

Vide supra pag. 541. Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canturbury.

The

## The storie of Iohn Claydon Coriar, and of Richard Turming Baker.

The historie of Iohn Claydon Skinner of London, and of Richard Turming Baker, Parishioners of Iohn Claydon examined.

THe 17. of August 1415. did personally appeare Iohn Claydon Coriar of London (arrested by the maior of the said citie for the suspition of heresie) before Henry archbishop of Canturburie, in Saint Pauls Church: which Iohn (being obiected to him by the archbishop, that in the citie of London and other places of the prouince of Canturbury, he was suspected by diuers godly and learned men for heresie, and to be contrary to the catholicke faith, and determination of the Church) did openly confesse and denied not, but that he had been for the space of xx. yeres, suspected both about the citie of London, and also in the Prouince of Canturburie, and specialie of the common sort, for Lollardie and heresie, and to be contrarie to the catholicke faith and determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Iohn Claydon first conuicted by Robert Wardbooke bishop of London.

In somuch, that in the time of master Robert Wardbooke bishop of London deceased, he was for the space of two yeres committed to the prison of Conuey, for the foresaid detamation and suspition, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fléete for three yeres. Out of which prison he (in the raigne of king Hen. the fourth) was brought before lord Iohn Scarle then Chancellor to the king, and there did abiure all heresie and errour. And the said Iohn Claydon being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abiure the heresie of which he was suspect, before any other: did confesse, that in a Conuocation at London in Paules Church before Thomas Arundell late archbishop deceased, he did abiure all such doctrine which they called heresie and error contrarie to the catholicke faith and determination of the Church, and that he had not onely left such articles and opinions, wherein hee was defamed, but also did abstaine from all companie that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither giue aid, helpe, counsell, nor fauor vnto them.

Iohn Claydon brought vnto the bishop.

And moreouer, the said Iohn was asked by the said archbishop, whether hee euer had in his house since his abiuration, in his keeping, any bookes written in English. Whereunto hee confessed, that hee would not denie, but that he had in his house, and in his keeping many English bookes: for hee was arrested by the maior of the citie of London, for such bokes as hee had, which bookes (as hee thought) were in the maiors keeping. Vpon the which, the maior did openlie confesse, that hee had such bookes in his keeping, which in his iudgement were the worst, and the most peruerse that euer he did reade or see, and one boke that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand: and among the other bookes found with the said Iohn Claydon, the maior gaue vp the said booke before the archbishop. Whereupon the said Iohn Claydon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that booke, did openlie confesse that he knew it very well, because he caused it to bee written of his owne costs and charges, for hee spent much monie thereupon since his abiuration. Then was hee asked who wrote it. He did answer, one called Iohn Grime.

English bookes.

The iudgement of the maior of London.

Claydon beholden much vnto vpon English bookes.

And further, being required what the said Iohn Grime was, hee answered, hee could not tell. Againe, being demanded whether hee did euer reade the same booke, he did confesse that he could not reade, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one Iohn Fuller. And being asked whether hee thought the contents of that booke to be catholike, profitable, good, and true: Hee answered, that many things which he had heard in the same booke, were both profitable, good and healthfull to his soule: and as hee said, hee had great affection to the said booke, for a Sermon preached at Hoxlaborne, that was written in the said boke. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abiuration, hee did commune with one Richard Baker, of the citie aforesaid; hee did answere, yea: for the said Richard Baker did come often vnto his house to haue communication with him. And being asked, whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected, and defamed of heresie, hee did answere again, that he knewe well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the citie of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretike.

Iohn Claydon could not reade.

Richard Turming Baker.

This Turming beléeued, was then in prison.

William Lindwood doctor of both lawes.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said bokes to bee deliuered to master Robert Gilbert, doctour of diuinitie, to William Lindewood doctor of both lawes, and other Clerkes, to bee examined, and in the meane time Dauid Seard, Alexander Philip, and Baithasar Dera, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to bee examined to master Iohn Scourt, generall examiner of Canturburie. This done, the archbishop continued his Session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the xv. of the said month, the said master Scourt openlie and publikelie exhibited the witnesses, being openlie read before the archbishop, and other bishops: which being read, then after that were read diuers tractations, found in the house of the said Iohn Claydon: out of the which, being examined, diuers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and specially out of the booke aforesaid: which booke the said Iohn Claydon confessed by his owne costs to bee written and bound, which booke was intituled, The Lanterne of light. In the which and in the other examined, were these Articles vnder written contained.

An English booke intituled, The Lanterne of light.

1. First, vpon the text of the Gospell, how the enemie did sow the tares, there is said thus: that wicked antichrist the pope hath sowed among the lawes of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authoritie, strength, nor valure.

2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seates of the beast antichrist, when hee sitteth in them and raigneth aboue other people in the darke cases of errours and heresies.

3. That the bishops licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast. i. antichrist: and therefore simple and faithfull priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that antichrist, and without licence.

The head and taile of anti-christ.

4. That the court of Rome is the chiefe head of antichrist, and the bishops bee the bodie: and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friers, brought in not by Christ, but damnable by the pope, be the venemous and pestiferous taile of antichrist.

This is true, speaking of the inuisible Church.

5. That no reprobate is a member of the Church, but onelie such as bee elected and predestinate to saluation: seeing the Church is no other thing but the congregation of faithfull soules, which doe and will keepe their faith constantly, as well indeed as in word.

6. That Christ did neuer plant priuate religions in the Church, but whilest hee liued in this world hee did roote them out. By which it appeareth that priuate religions bee vnprofitable branches in the Church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the materiall Churches should not be decked with gold, siluer, and pretious stone superfluouslie, but the followers of the humilitie of Iesus Christ, ought to worship their Lord God humblie in meane and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now a daies.

Three rules of persecution noted.

8. That there be two chiefe causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the priests vnlawfull keeping of temporall and superfluous goods: the other is, the vnlatiable begging of the friers, with their bie buildings.

Foure conditions in giuing almes.

9. That almes is not giuen vertuouslie nor lawfully except it bee giuen with these foure conditions: first, vnlesse it bee giuen to the honour of God: secondlie, vnlesse it be giuen of goods iustlie gotten: thirdlie, vnlesse it begiuen to such a person as the giuer thereof knoweth to be in charitie: and fourthlie, vnlesse it bee giuen to such as haue need, and doe not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the scripture, and therefore it is not lawfull for priests to occupie themselues with singing in the Church, but with the studie of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

That breade remaineth in the Sacrament.

11. That Iudas did receiue the bodie of Christ in bread, and his bloud in wine. In the which it doth plainelie appeare that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before, doth truly remaine on the altar.

12. That all ecclesiasticall suffrages doe profit all vertuous and godly persons indifferentlie.

The bookes of Iohn Claydon burned.

13. That the popes and the bishops indulgences be vnprofitable, neither can they profit them, to whom they bee giuen by any meanes.

14. That the laitie is not bound to obey the prelats that forcuer they command, vnlesse the prelates doe watch to giue God a iust account of the soules of them.

15. That images are not to bee sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawfull for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kisse them, nor to giue them any maner of reuerence.

For the which articles, the archbishop with other bishops, and diuers learned men comming together, first condemned the bokes as heretical, and burned them to ashes: and then because they thought the said Iohn Claydon to be for some one and fallen into heresie, the archbishop did proceed to his definitiue sentence against the said Iohn personally appearing before him in iudgement (his confessions being read and deposed against him) after this manner.

The sentence and condemnation of Iohn Claydon.

IN the name of God, Amen. We Henrie by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolike sea, in a certaine cause of heretical pranitie and of relapse into the same, whereupon Iohn Claydon lay man of the prouince of Canturbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our prouince of Canturburie publikely defamed (as by publike fame and common report notoriously to vs hath been knowne) first, sitting in iudgement seat and obseruing all things law fullie required in this behalfe, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitiue in forme as followeth. The name of Christ being inuocated and only set before our eies, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited and confessed before vs, also by diuers signes and euidences we haue found the said Iohn Claydon to haue bin, and to be publikly and notoriously relapsed againe into his former heresie, heretofore by him abiured: according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of vs diligently searched, waighed & pondered before, to the intent that



that the said Iohn Claidon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reuerend brethren Richard bishop of London, Iohn bishop of Couentrie and Liechfield, and Steuen bishop of Saint Dauids, and of other doctors as well of Diuinitie as of both lawes, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting vs in this behalfe, doe iudge, pronounce, and declare the said Iohn Claidon, to be relapsed againe into his heresie, which hee before did abiure, finally and definitiuely appointing him to be left vnto the secular iudgement, and so doe leaue him by these presents.

John Claidon committed to the secular power. The law de comburendo, insufficient.

Thus Iohn Claidon receiuing his iudgement and condemnation of the archbishop was committed to the secular power, and by them vniustly and vnlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporall magistrate had no such law sufficient for them, to burne any such man for religion condemned of the prelats, as is aboue sufficiently proued and declared, pag. 539. But to be short, Quo iure quaque iniuria, Iohn Claidon notwithstanding by the temporall magistrates, not long after was had to Smithfield, where meekely hee was made a burnt offering vnto the Lord, An. 1415.

The death and martyrdome of Iohn Claidon.

The burning of Iohn Claidon, and Richard Turming.



Robert Fabian, and other Chronologers which follow him, adde also that Richard Turming Baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of Iohn Claidon, was likewise the same time burned with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the Register I find no sentence of condemnation giuen against the said Turming, neither yet in the storie of saint Albons is there any such mention of his burning made, but onely of the burning of Iohn Claidon aforesaid: wherefore the iudgement hereof I leaue free to the Reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming this is certaine, that hee was accused vnto the bishops, and no doubt was in their handes, and bandes. What afterward was done with him, I referre it vnto the authors.

Iohn Claidon, Richard Turming, martyrs.

Anno 1416

The next yeer after the burning of these two aforesaid and also of Iohn Hus being burnt at Constance, which was An. 1416. the prelats of England seeing the daily encrease of the Gospell, and fearing the ruine of their papall kingdome, were busilie occupied with all their counsell and diligence, to maintaine the same. Wherefore to make their Rate and kingdome sure, by statutes, lawes, constitutions, and terrour of punishment, as Thomas Arundell, and other prelats had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canturburie, in his conuocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough beene made before) against the poore Lollards: the copie and tenour whereof he sendeth abrode, to the bishop of London, and to other his Suffraganes, by them to be put in strait execution, containing in words as followeth.

Ex Regist. Chichesly. 117.

HEnry by the grace of God archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legate of the sheete seate: to our reuerend brother in the Lord Richard, by the grace of God bishop of London, health and brotherly loue, with continuall increase. Lately in our last conuocation in saint Pauls church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergie of our prouince, we doe remember to haue made this order vnder written by your consents: When as among many other our cares this ought to bee chefe, that by some meanes wee take those heretickes, which like fores lurke and hide themselues in the Lords vineyard: and that the dust of

You should be better occupied to shake off the dust from your

negligence may be vtterly shaken from our feete and from the feete of our fellow brethern: in this the said conuocation of the prelats and clergie, wee haue ordained, that our fellow brethren, our Suffragans and archdeacons of our prouince of Canturburie, by themselues, their officials or Commissaries in their iurisdictions, and euery of them charges in their courtes, twice euery yeare at the least, doe diligently inquire of such persons as are suspect of heresie: and that in euery such their archdeaconries in euery parish, wherein is reported any heretickes to inhabite, they cause three or more of the honestest men and best reported of, to take their oth vpon the holy Euangeliste, that if they shall know or vnderstand any frequenting either in priuie conuenticles, or else differing in life or manners from the common conuersation of other catholike men, or else that hold any, either heresies or errours, or else that haue any suspected bookes in the English tongue, or that doe receiue any such persons suspect of heresies and errours into their houses, or that be fauourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conuersant with them, or else haue any reconsite vnto them: they make certificates of those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspect, vnto the said our Suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soone, and with as much speede as possible they can: And that the said archdeacon and euery of their Commissaries aforesaid, doe declare the names of all such persons denounced together with all the circumstances of them, the dioces, and places, and secretly vnder their seales doe send once vnto vs the same: And that the same dioceSans effectually direct forth lawfull processe against them, as the qualitie of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discerne, define and execute the same.

Twice euery yeer to inquire for Lollards.

Against priuie conuenticles. To differ from the common sort in life and manners, or against the speculatiue. Against Engli. sh bookes.

And if perhaps they leaue not such persons conuict vnto the secular court, yet notwithstanding let them commit them vnto the perpetuall or temporall prisons, as the qualitie of the cause shall require, vntill the next conuocation of the prelats and clergie of our prouince of Canturburie, there personally to remaine: and that in the same prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth: And that of all and singuler the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they haue made, and what they haue found, and how in the processe they haue behaued themselues, and what persons so conuict they haue caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the Commissaries aforesaid, with all and all maner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and specially of the abiurations, if in the meane time they shall chance to abiure any heresies: that then in the next conuocation of the prelates and clergie vnder the seale aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and openly to be certified to vs and our successors: And that they deliuer effectually to the officiall of our court, the same processe to remaine with them, or else in the register of our court of Canturburie; so that euery one, to whom such things appertaine for the further execution of the same processe, may haue recourse vnto the same officiall, with all effect.

We therefore command, that as touching the constitution brought vnto your citie and diocesan, you cause the same in conuenient place and time to bee published, and that in all points you both obserue the same your selues and cause it also of others to bee diligently obserued: Commanding furthermore, all and singuler our fellow brethren and Suffragans, that they in likewise cause the same to bee published throughout all their cities and dioces, and both diligently obserue the same themselues, and also cause all others to do the same: and what thing soeuer you shall doe in the premises, that you certifie vs betwixt this and the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next comming, that you duely certifie vs of these things, by your letters patents, containing the same effect, sealed with your seales. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, Anno 1416.

The trouble of Iohn Barton, and Robert Chapell in cause of religion.

Bishop Repington a fore mention'd in the storie of Wickliffe.

In During the time of this conuocation in the yeere aboue said, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for heretickes: one named Iohn Barton, vnto whom it was obiected by Philip bishop of Lincolne, that he had bene excommunicated about fiue or seuen yeeres before, vpon articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appeare being cited, nor would seeke to bee reconciled againe vnto the church. Which things being so proued against him, he was committed to the custodie of the foresaid Philip bishop of Lincolne, and so to be holden in prison, till hee should heare further what should be done.

The other was Robert Chapell, otherwise named Holbech, chaplaine sometime to the lord Cobham: vnto whom likewise it was obiected, that hee being vnder the sentence of excommunication about three or foure yeares, yet notwithstanding to the contempt of the keyes, did continue saying masse, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapell denying that he did know any such excommunication giuen out against him. Then was the copie of his excommunication first made by the bishop of Rosse, afterward denounced by the bishop of London at Paules crosse, brought and read before him: and so that done, that Session broke vp for that time, which was about the latter end of May, An. 1416.

The xij. day of the moneth of July next following, the said Chapell appeared againe before the archbishop and the prelats. To whom when it was obiected as before, how hee had preached without the bishops licence, in diuers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shoone; at length hee confessing and submitting himselfe, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted vnto him, yet at the last the bishop of Roff. putting in his hands the decree of the canon law, 2. q. 7. cap. Quories, &c. and causing him to reade the same, made him to abiure all his former articles and opinions as heretical and schismaticall, neuer to hold the same againe, according to the contents of the foresaid decree. Whereupon the said Robert being absolued by the authoritie of the archbishop, (saue only that hee should not intermeddle with saying masse before he had beene dispensed from the pope himselfe for irregularitie) was inioyned by the archbishop himselfe for his penance, standing at Pauls to publish these articles following vnto the people, in stead of his confession giuen him to bee read.

R. Chappel abiureth.

Articles obtruded to R. Chappel to confesse.

In primis, I confesse that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiasticall persons, hauing no other profession to the contrarie, may lawfully haue, receiue, and retaine lands and possessions temporall, to dispense and dispose the same and the rents thereof, to the behoofe of themselues, or of their church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

2 Item, I confesse that it were very brimishall, yea rather brutish, that temporall men vpon any occasion, whatsoeuer it be, should take away temporall lands and possessions from the church either vniuersall or particular, to whom they are giuen, the consideration of the abuse of morall prelats, priests, or other ministers in the church conuerting (which are mixt together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Marke well this catholike doctrine of the popes church, concerning remission of sins. Marke also this doctrine agreeth with Gods commandement, and with his word.

3 Item, I confesse that peregrinations to ꝓ reliques of saints and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholike, but are auailable to remission of sins, and approued of holy fathers, and worthie to be commended.

4 Item, I confesse that to worship the images of Christ or of the other saints, being set vp in the church, or in any other place, is not forbidden: neither is any cause inductiue of Idolatrie, being so vsed as the holy fathers doe will them to bee worshipped: But rather such images doe profit much to the health of christians, because they doe put vs in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth moue and stir vp the people to prayers and deuotion.

Ergo, by this confession of the auncient fathers, images are not to be worshipped.

5 Item, I confesse that auricular confession vsed in the church is necessary for a sinner to the saluation of his soule, and necessarie to bee done of such a priest, as is ordained by the church, to heare the confession of the sinner, and to enioyne him penaunce for the same: without which confession (if it may be had,) there is no remission of sinnes, to him that is in sinne mortall.

How can christ giue the keies of heauen vnto his church, but by this confession auricular.

6 Item, I confesse and firmely doe hold, that although the priest be in mortall sinne, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other Sacraments and Sacramentals: which neuertheless are profitable to all the faithfull, whosoeuer receiueth them in faith and in deuotion of the church.

7 Item, I confesse that bishops in their owne diocees, may forbid, decree, or ordaine vpon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their speciall licence, the word of God, and that those that do against the same, should suffer the ecclesiasticall censures.

Priuate religions not profitable, therefore to be put away.

8 Item, I confesse that priuate religions as well of monks, canons and other, as also of the begging friers, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the vniuersall church, and in no meanes contrarie to Gods law, but rather founded and authorized thereon.

9 Item, I promise and sweare vpon these holy Euangelies, which I hold here in my hands, that I will neuermore hold, affirme, nor by any meanes teach any thing contrarie vnto the premisses either openly or priuately.

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the daies of the abouenamed Henry Chichesley archbishop of Canturburie, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men whose hearts began to bee wonne to the Gospell, were brought to much deration and caused outwardly to abiure.

Great lamentation in England. Christ had the hearts of many then he has them now.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men: yet the catholicke Antichrist would needs possesse their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abiure, besides the other aforsaid, was also Iohn Taylor of the parish of S. Michaels at Quern.

R. Brakle sum of such as abiured vnder Henrie Chichesley.

William Ianes maister of art and physition, who had long remained in prison, and at length after abiuration, was licenced with his keeper to practise his physicke.

I. Swart. Ect Fryer. John Swarte.

Also I. Swart, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the duke of Bedford to the foresaid Chichesley and other bishops to be examined before them in the conuocation: where hee at length reuolting from his doctrine recanted & did penance.

I. Iourdelay.

In like maner Iohn Iourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincolne for a certaine booke, which he contrarie to the former decree of the bishops did conceale and did not exhibite vnto them, was therefore enforced to abiure. After whom was brought likewise before the bishops, one Katharin Dertford a Spinster, who being accused and examined vpon these 3. articles concerning the sacrament of the popes altar, adoration of Images, and of pilgrimage, answered that she was not able, being vnlearned, to answere to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but onely her Creed and x. commandements: and so was shee committed to the vicar generall of the B. of Lint. (for that the was of the same diocess) to be kept and further to be examined of ꝓ same. Ex regist. H. Chichesley.

I. Iourdelay abiureth.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the Lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Yeggely in Lincolnshire, named Sr. Rob. who being long kept in the Tower, at length by the kings writ was brought & examined the same time vpon the like articles, to wit touching the sacrament of the altar, peregrination, & donation of Images, and whether it was lawfull for spirituall men to enioy temporall lordships, &c. To the which articles he answered (saith the Register) doubtie and mockingly, saue only in the sacrament he seemed something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Therefore being committed to the custodie and examination of Richard bishop of Lincolne, in the end he was also induced to submit himselfe.

Robert parson of Yeggeley examined.

The same likewise did W. Henry of Leterden, being suspected and arrested for companie keeping with them, whom the bishops called Lollards, and for hauing suspected bokes.

W. Henry of Leterden examined.

Besides these, diuers other there were also which in the same conuocation were conuented, and reuoked their opinions, as I. Galle a priest of London, for hauing a boke in English, intituled: A boke of the new law. Item, Richard Wonke, vicar of Chetham in Lincolneshire, who submitted himselfe likewise. In this race and number followed moreouer, Bartholomew Cornonger, Nic. Hoper seruant to the lord Cobham, Tho. Granter with other mo, mentioned in the foresaid Register.

A booke of the new lawe. R. Galle. Rob. Wonke. Bart. Cornonger. N. Hoper. Tho. Granter, troubled for their doctrine.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Pong in priest, who for the same doctrine was arrested and sent vp by the lord Chancellor of England, to the foresaid archbishop, and by him committed to David Pitre, bishop of Landaff to the bishop of London. There after he had remained foure monethes in prison, hee was by the said David presented to the conuocation, against whom diuers articles were obiected.

One head, that is, the vnitie of the church.

But for the better explaning of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this conuocation prouincial, pope Martin had sent bolone to the clergie of England, for a subsidie to be gathered of the church, to maintaine the popes warre against the Lollards (so the papists did terme them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidie was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerke master of Art of Oxford, who flying out of England, was at the councell of Basill, disputing on the Bohemians side. And thirdly, another subsidie was also required to persecute Wi. Russell, Warden of the grayfriers in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintaine his opinion before the pope, and there escaped out of prison, &c. of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall entreate. In the meane time marke here the practises of the pope to bake in the English money by all maner of pretences possible.

A subsidie gathered by the popes sight against the Lollards of Bohemia.

Wenlich to the church of Rome.

Nemish sleights to get the English money.

Thus Rafe Pongin, the foresaide examinate, appearing before the bishops in the conuocation, it was articulated against him, first that he should affirme and hold, not to be lawfull for any christian to fight and make warre against the heretickes of Bohemia.

Article ecclesiasticall against Rafe Pongie.

Item, it was to him obiected, that he did hold and say, not to be lawfull for any man to haue propriety of goods, but ꝙ same to be common: which he expresly denied that euer he so said or affirmed. Whereby we haue to obserue, how the craftie malice of these aduersaries vseth falsly to collect and surmise of men, what they neuer spake, whereby to oppresse them wrongfully, whom by plaine truth they cannot expugne.

Moreouer, they obiected against him, that he should keepe companie with maister Clerke aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the citie of London, certaine bookes of Iohn Wickliffe and of Peter Clerke, namely, the booke Trialogus, and the gospels of Iohn Wickliffe, &c. He was charged moreouer to haue spoken against the popes indulgences, for that the pope had no more power to giue indulgences then hee had.

Trialogus. The Gospels translated by I. Wickliffe.

Upon these and other such articles obiected, the said Pongin being asked if he would reuoke, answered that it seemed to him not iust or meete so to doe, which did not know himselfe guiltie of any hereste. Thus he being respited for the time, was committed to prison till the next sitting; into then being called diuers and sundrie times afterward before the bishops, after long inquisition and straite examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, hee notwithstanding still denied as before, to recant. Wherefore the foresaid Venrie the archbishop, procreant. Wherefore the foresaid Venrie the archbishop, procreant. Wherefore the foresaid Venrie the archbishop, procre

# The description of the cruell Martyrdome of sir Iohn Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.



Furthermore, in the said Parliament, Act. 17. it was enacted that the church and all estates should enioy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealeable by the common law: meaning belike, the excluding of the iurisdiction of the popes forreine power, which hath alwaies by the common law been excluded out of this realme.

An. 5. Hen. 5. Act. 17.

In the same parliament also a grieuous complaint was made (by the bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suggested that they were the Lollards, heretickes, and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, that the statutes therefore made should bee executed, &c. Thus the clergie Tanquam leones rugientes, ceased not to roare after christian blood: and whosoeuer was else in fault, still the clergie cried: crucifie Christ, and deliuer vs Barrabas: For then all horrible facts and mischeefes, if any were done, were imputed to the poore Lollards.

All the blame laid to the Lollards.

And now from our English matters, to returne againe to the storie of the Bohemians, from whence wee haue a little digressed: when as the newes of the barbarous cruelties exercised at Constance against Iohn Hus, and Hierom of Prage, were noised in Bohemie, the nobles and gentlemen of Boiauia and Bohemie, such as fauoured the cause of Iohn Hus, gathering themselues together in the scale of Saint Christ: first sent their letter vnto the councell, expostulating with them, for the iniurie done to those godly men, as is before expressed, page 554. For the which letter they were all cited vp to the councell. Vnto this letter Sigismund the emperour maketh answere againe in the name of the whole councell: first, excusing himselfe of Iohn Hus his death, which he said was against his safe conduct, and against his will: Insomuch that her rose in anger from the councell, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembred. Secondly, her requireth them to bee quiet, and to conforme themselues peaceably vnto the order of the catholike church of Rome, &c.

The followers of Iohn Hus in Bohem.

Also the councell hearing or fearing some stirre to rise among the Bohemians, did make lawes and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of fortie.

Articles decreed in the councell of Constance against the Bohemians.

FIrst, that the king of Bohemia shall be sworne to giue obedience and to defend the liberties of the church of Rome.

That all maisters, Doctors and priests, shall be sworne to abiure the doctrine of Wickliffe, and Hus, in that councell condemned.

That all they which being cited, would not appeare, should also be sworne to abiure: and they which would not appeare, concerning the censure of the keies, should haue processe against them, and be punished.

That all such lay men as had defended the causes of Iohn Wickliffe and Iohn Hus, should sweare to defend them no more, and to approue the doings of that councell, and the condemnation of Iohn Hus.

That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy should be sworne to restitution.

That priests being expelled from their benefices, should be restored againe.

That all prophaners of churches should be punished after the canonicall sanctions.

That such as had beene promoters in the councell against Iohn Hus, should be permitted safely to returne into Boheme againe, and to enioy their benefices.

That the reliques and treasure taken out of the church of Prage, should be restored fully againe.

That the Vniuersitie of Prage should be restored againe and reformed, and that they which had beene the disturbers therof, should be really punished.

That the principall heretickes and doctors of that sect, should be sent vp to see apostolique, namely, Ioânes Iessenetz, Iacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna, Simon de Rochizzano, Christianus de Brachatitz, Ioannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de loben, The provost of Allhallowes, Zaitaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

That all Secular men, which communicated vnder both kinds, should abiure that heresie, and sweare to stop the same hereafter.

That they which were ordained Priests by the suffragane of the archbishop of Prage, taken by the lord Zenko, should not be dispensed with, but sent vp to the see apostolicke.

This Suffragan was a good man and held with I. Hus. Wickliffes bookes translated by I. Hus and Iacobellus into the Bohemian speech.

That the treatises of Iohn Wickliffe, translated into the Bohemian tongue by Iohn Hus, and Iacobellus, should bee brought to the Ordinarie.

That the treatises of Iohn Hus condemned in the councell, should also be brought to the Ordinarie.

That all the tractations of Iacobellus De vtraque specie, de Antichristo (wherein he calleth the pope Antichrist) Et de remanentia panis post consecrationē, should likewise be brought and burned.

That all songs and ballets made to the preiudice of the councell, and of the catholicke persons of both states, should be forbid to be sung in cities, townes and villages, vnder great and extreme punishment.

That none should preach the word without the licence of the Ordinarie, or of the parson of that place.

That ordinaries and prelats, hauing iurisdiction, should not be stopped in their iurisdiction, by the secular power, vnder paine of excommunication.

That all and singuler persons shall be commanded to obedience, vnder paine of excommunication: and that whosoeuer knoweth any person to fauour any Wickleuistes or their doctrine, or that keepeth companie with suspect persons, he shall present the same to his Diocesans or his Officials.

That the confederacie of the seculars made betweene themselues, or any of the spiritualty, to the preiudice of the foresaid councell, and of the apostolike see and Church of Rome, in the fauour of Iohn Husse, Hierome of Prage, and other in the said councell condemned, shall bee dissolued.

That the rites and ceremonies of christian religion, touching Gods seruice, images, and worshipping of reliques, shall bee obserued, and transgressours of the same bee punished.

Concilium maguntinum.

That all and singuler, either spirituall or secular that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintaine the opinions and articles of Iohn Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, and Hierome, in this councell condemned, and conuict of the same, shall be holden for heretickes, and falling in relapse, shall be burned.

That all secular persons being monished and charged by the Ordinaries, shal be bound to giue their aid and furtherance vnto them, touching the premisses.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruell articles, contemning the vaine deuices of these prelats and fathers of the councell, ceased not to proceede in their league and purpose begunne, ioyning themselues more strongly together.

Deposing of pope Iohn 23. Ex hist. Albani.

In this meane time it happened, that during this councell of Constance, after the deposing of pope Iohn, and spoiling of his goods, which came to 75. thousand pounds of gold and siluer, as is reported in the storie of Saint Albans, pope Martine vpon the day of Saint Martine, was elected. Concerning whose election, great preparation was made before of the councell, to that beside the cardinals, fiue other bishops of euery nation should enter into the conclaue, who there together should be kept with thinne diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together, they agreed vpon this man, and not tarrying for opening the doze, like mad men, for hast, brake open an hole in the wall, crying out, habemus papam, Martinum, wee haue a Martine pope. The emperour hearing thereof, with the like hast, came apace, and falling downe kissed the new popes feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang, Te Deum.

The election of pope Martine. The emperor kissith the popes feet.

The next day following, this Martine was made priest (which before was but a cardinall deacon) and the next day after was consecrate bishop, and sang his first masse, whereat was present 140. mitred bishops. After this the next morow, the new holy pope ordained a generall procession, where a certaine clerke was appointed to stand with flaxe, and fire, who setting the flaxe on fire, thus said: Ecce pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi. i. Behold holy father, thus vaineth the transitorie glory of this world. Which done, the same day the holy father was brought vp vnto an high scaffold: saith the story) I will not say to an high mountaine, where was offered to him all the glorie of the world, &c. there to bee crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day after dinner, the new crowned pope was with great triumph brought through the middest of the citie of Constance, where all the bishops and abbats followed with their miters. The popes horse was all trapt with red skarlet downe to the ground. The Cardinals horses were all in white silke, the emperour on the right side, and prince elector on the left, playing both the popes footemen, went on foote, leading the popes horse by the bridle.

Pope Martine.

The coronation of pope Martine. Mercurius explicatus super histiam. Apocalyp.

The pope on horseback, the emperour on foote.

Why then doth the pope keepe still the old Iewes ceremonies? all things be made new? Anno 1417

As this Pageant thus with the great giant procéded, and came to the market place, there the Iewes (according to the maner) offered to him their law and ceremonies. Which the pope receiuing, cast behind him, saying: Recedant vetera, noua sunt omnia. i. Let old things passe, all things bee made new, &c. Ex hist. S. Alb. ex paralip. Visperg. This was Anno 1417.

Thus the pope being now confirmed in his kingdome, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moueth them to catholike obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, saying, that if it were not for the emperours request, he would enter procelle against them. Thirdly and finally hee threateneth to attempt the vttermost against them, and with all force to inuade them, as well with the apostolicall, as also with the secular arme, if they did still persist, as they began.

Albeit these new threats of the new bishop, did nothing moue the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeale of Christs word had before inflamed.

And although it had beene to be wished, such bloodshed and warres not to haue followed: yet to say the truth, how could these Rabines greatly blame them herein, whom their bloodie tyrannie had before prouoked to brutishly, if now with their glosing letters they could not so easilie appeale them againe?

Wherefore these foresaid Bohemians, partly for the loue of Iohn Hus and Hierome their countrimen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistrie, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemne memoriall of the death of Iohn Hus and Hierome, decreeing the same to bee holden and celebrate yearely. And afterward, by meanes of their friends,

I yearely memoriall of Iohn Hus and Hierome.



they obtained certaine churches of the king, wherin they might freely preach and minister the Sacraments vnto the congregation. This done, they suppressed diuers monasteries, phalisaicall temples, and idolatrous phanes, beginning first with the great monasterie of the blacke friers, eight miles from Prage, and driuing away the wicked and vicious priests and monkes out of them, or compelling them vnto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing vnder the conduct of a certaine noble man named Nicolas, they went againe vnto the king, requiring to haue more and ampler churches granted vnto them. The king seemed at the first willingly and gently to giue eare vnto the said Nicolas intreating for the people, and commanded them to come againe the next day.

reformers of religion among the Bohemians.

When the people were departed, the king turning himselfe to the noble man Nicolas, which taried still behind, said: Then hall begun a tuch to put me out of my kingdome, but I will make a rope of it, wherewith I will hang thee. Whereupon he immediately departed out of the kings presence, and the king himselfe went into the castle of Tissegrade: within a while after, into a new castle, which hee himselfe had builded fiue stones casts from thence, sending embassadors to his brother to require aid.

K. Wenceslaus threatneth Nicolas.

These protestants being assembled in the towne of Prage, holding their conuentions: the king sent forth his chamberlaine with three hundred horsmen, to runne vpon them: but the hauing respect vnto his life, fled. When newes thereof was brought vnto the king, all they were about him being amazed, bitterly detested the fact: but the kings cupbearer standing by, said: I knew before that these things would thus come to passe. Whom the king in a rage taking hold of, threw him downe before his feet, and with his dagger wounded haue slaine him: but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado, he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king being taken with a palsie, fell sicke, and within eightene daies after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to bee put to death, incessantly calling for aide of his brother, and other his friends, hee departed this life before the princes which hee had sent vnto, were come with aide, when he had reigned 55. yeares, and was about the age of 57. yeeres.

The death of king Wenceslaus.

The marueilous words of God vnderstanded not to be noted, in detesting his people.

## The storie of Ziska.

IMmediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certaine noble man named Ziska, borne at Trotinoua, which from his youth vpward, was brought vp in the kings court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battell, where as he had valiantly borne himselfe. This man being sore grieued for the death of Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage, minding to reuenge the iniuries which the councell had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdome of Boheme, vpon their complices and adherents: he gathered together a number of men of warre, and subuerted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling downe, and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driuing away the priests and monks, which he said were kept vp in their cloisters, like swine in their sties to bee fatted. After this his armie being increased, hauing gathered together about fortie thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Tissegrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Ziska vnder the conduct of Tozanda, went speedily vnto Pelsina, where as he knew he had many friends of his faction, and tooke the towne into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which taried behind, tooke the castle of Tissegrade.

Out of Eneas Siluius.

Ziska getteth Pelsina.

Then the queene Sophia being very careful, sent letters and messengers vnto the emperour Sigismund, and other nobles adioyning vnto her, requiring aide and helpe: but the emperour made preparation against the Turke, which had then lately wonne certaine castles of him. Whereupon the queene seeing all aide to faile off, together with Zenko Waterberge, gathered an host with the kings treasure, and fortified the castle of Prage, and the lesser citie which ioyneth vnto the castle, making gates and towers of wood vpon the bridge ouer the riuer Sultane, to stoppe that the protestants should haue no passage that way. Then it happened that at the Ile of S. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equall or indifferent battell with them.

The queene sendeth for Sigismund the emperour.

In the meane time the number of the protestants being increased in Prage, they fought for the bridge. In which battell many were slaine on both parts, but at the length the iustices man the bridge, and the nether part of lesser Prage, the queenes part fleeing into the vpper part there where as they turning againe fiercely renued the battell, and fought continually day and night by the space of fiue daies. Many were slaine on both parts, and goodly buildings were raced, and the councell house, which was in a low place, was vtterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the embassadors of the emperour Sigismund were come: which taking vpon them the rule and gouernance of the realme, made a truce

The emperors embassadors agree with the citizens of Prage.

a league with the citie of Prage vnder this condition, that the castle of Wisgrade being rendred, it should bee lawfull for them to send embassadours to the emperour Sigismund to intreat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render Pelyna and Pilsna with the other townes which hee had taken. These conditions thus agreed vpon and receiued, all the seruing professants departed out of the citie, and the Seniorate of the citie began to gouerne againe according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists which were gone out of the towne, durst not returne againe: but still looked for the emperour, by whose presence they thought they should haue beene safe. But this their hope was frustrate by meanes of certaine letters which were sent from the emperour, wherein it was written that hee would shortly come and rule the kingdome, euen after the same order and manner as his father Charles had done before him. Whereby the protestants vnderstood that their sect and religion should be vtterly banished, which was not begun during the reigne of the said Charles.

About Christmas, the emperour Sigismund came to Vnma a citie of Morauia, and there hee pardoned the citizens of Prage, vnder condition that they would let downe the chaines and barres of the citie, and receiue his rulers and Magistrates. Whereunto the whole citie obeyed, and the magistrates thereof lifting vp their hands vnto heauen, repented at the comming of the new king. But the emperour turned another way, and went vnto Tratislauia, the head citie of Silesia, where as a little before, the communaltie of the citie had slaine in an insurrection, the magistrates, which his brother Wenceslaus had set in authoritie: the principals thereof he beheaded. The newes whereof when they were reported at Prage, the citizens being feared by the examples of the Tratislauians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and hauing obtained Sancho on their part, which had the gouernment of the Castle of Prage, they sent letters into all the realme, that no man should suffer the emperour to enter, which was an enemie vnto Boheme, and fought nothing else, but to destroy the kingdome: which also bound the ancient citie of the Pintenians, vnder oder by pledges, and put the Marquesse of Brandenburge from the Bohemian crowne: and had not onely suffered Iohn Hus and Hierome of Prage to be burned at the councell of Constance, but also procured the same, and with all his indeauour did impugne the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilest these things were thus done, Zisca hauing gotten ouer Pelsna by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through policie hee was alwaies victor. The places where they fought, were rough and vnknowne, his enemies were on horsebacke, and all his soudiers on foote, neither could there bee any battell fought, but on foote. Wherevpon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women which customablie followed the host, to cast their kercheeffes vpon the ground, wherein the horsemen being intangled by their spurres, were slaine before they could vnloose their feet.

After this, he went vnto Vsca, a towne situate vpon the riuer Lusnitius, out of which towne Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren papists, had cast out many protestants. This towne Zisca tooke by force of armes the first night of Lent, raced it, and set it on fire. He also tooke the castle of Ulricius, which was a mile off, whither as Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his familie to the sword, sauing one onely.

Then, forsomuch as hee had no walled or fensed towne to inhabite, hee chose out a certaine place vpon the same riuer, which was fensed by nature, about eight miles from the citie of Vsca. This place hee compassed in with walles, and commanded euery man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this citie Thabor, and the inhabitants his companions Thaborites, because their citie by all like, was builded vpon the top of some hill or mount. This citie, albeit that it was fensed with high rockes and cleaues, yet was it compassed with a wall and bauniure, and the riuer of Lusnitius fensed a great part of the towne: the rest is compassed in with a great trooke, the which running straight into the riuer Lusnitius, is stopped by a great rocke, and driuen backe towards the right hand, all the length of the citie, and at the further end it ioyneth with the great riuer. The way vnto it by land is scarce thirtie foote brode, for it is almost an Iland. In this place there was a deepe ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thicknesse, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and forts set in their conuenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and thole that came after him, fortified it, euery man according to his owne deuice. At that time the Thaborites had no horsemen amongst them, vntill such time as Nicolas, maister of the mint (whom the emperour had sent into Boheuia with a D. horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Thaborites lodging all night in a village named Nogine) was surprised by Zisca comming vpon him suddenly in the night, taking alway all his horse and armour, and setting fire vpon the village. Then Zisca taught his Soudiers to meant on horseback, to leape, to runne, to turne, to cast in a ring, so that after this hee neuer led armie without his wings of horsemen.

In this meane time Sigismundus the emperour gathering together the nobles of Slesia, entred into Boheme, and went vnto Gecium, and from thence with a great armie vnto Cuthna, alluring Cenche with many great and large promises, to render vp the castle of Prage vnto him, and there placed himselfe to annoy the towne. Thus Cenche infamed with double treason, returned home. The Citizens of Prage sent for Zisca, who speeding himselfe thither with the Thaborites, received the citie vnder his gouernance. In the Bohemians host there was but onely two Barons, Vdico Cruschina of Kirnberge, and Puico of Waldestene, with a few other nobles. All the residue were of the common people. They went about first to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fensed, and could not be wonne by any other meanes then with famine: wherevpon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be caried in. But the Emperour opened the passages by dint of sword, and when he had giuen vnto them which were besieged, all things necessarie, hauing sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the citie. There were in the emperours campe the dukes of Saxon, the marquesse of Brandenburge, and his sonne in law Albert of Austrich. The citie was assaulted by the space of fiue weekes. The emperour Sigismund was crowned in the Petropolitane house in the castle, Conradus the archbishop solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In y meane time the captaines Rosenes and Chagerie, which had taken the tents of the Thaborites, being ouercome in battell by Nicolas Hus, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpole, were driuen out of their tents, and Czecium the queenes citie was also taken.

There is also aboue the towne of Prage a high hill, which is called Videchon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possesse it, with whom the marquesse of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his soudiers. For when as the Misnians had gotten the toppe of the hill, being driuen backe into a corner, which was broken and steepe, and fiercely set vpon, when as they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slaine, and some falling headlong from the hill, were destroyed. Wherevpon the emperour Sigismund raising his siege, departed into Cuthna, and Zisca with his companie departed into Thabor, and subdued many places: amongst which hee subuerted a towne pertaining to the captaine of Wisgrade. During this time the castle of Wisgrade was strongly besieged, where as, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eate horse flesh. All of all, except the emperour did aide them by a certaine day, they promised to yeeld it vp, but vnder this condition, that if the Emperour did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The emperour was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entring into a straite vnderneath the castle, was suddenly set vpon by the soudiers of Prage, where he had a great ouerthrow, and so leauing his purpose vnperformed, returned backe againe. There were slaine in that conflict nine noble men of the Bohemians, and of the Hungarians, and other a great number. The castle was deliuered vp vnto them. Whilest these things were in doing, Zisca tooke Wallaua a captaine, which was surnamed Cignetus, by force, in a verie strong towne of his, and brought him vnto his religion. Who a few yeares after, leading the protestants host in Austria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died. There were in the territorie of Pelyna many Monasteries, of the which Zisca subuerted and burned fiue. And forsomuch as the Monasterie of saint Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himselfe.

Thither also came the emperour with his armie: but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, hee most cowardly fled, and not long after, he departed out of left Boheme. Then Zisca lead with his armie vnto Pelsna; but forasmuch as he saw the citie so fensed, that hee was in doubt of winning the same, hee went from thence to Commitania a famous citie, the which hee tooke by force, burning all the priests therein.

Afterward, when as he lay before the towne of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, hauing but that one before left vnhurt. From thence, he was caried to Prage to physitions, where as hee being cured of his wound, and his life saued, yet hee left his sight, and for all that, hee would not forsake his armie, but still tooke the charge of them.

After this, the garrisons of Prage went vnto Clarona, where as there was a great garrison of the emperors, and take it by force, many being slaine of either part. They also tooke the towne of Woda in Germanie, and slue the garrison, and afterward tooke Cuthna and many other cities by composition. Further, when as they led their armie into a towne called Pons, which is inhabited by the Misnians, the Barons meeting them by the way, because they durst not ioyne battell, they returned backe. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes electors a day, that at Barthelmewtide, they should with their army inuade the West part of Boheme, and hee with an host of Hungarians would enter on the East part. There came vnto him also the archbishoppe of Ments, the countie Palatine of Rheine, the dukes of Saxon, the marquesse of Brandenburge, and many other bishops out of Alemaine: all the rest sent their aides. They encamped before the towne of Sozitz, a strong and well fenced place, which they could by no meanes subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued vntill the feast of Saint Galle. Then it was broken vp, because the emperour is not come at his day appointed: but hee hauing gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and well Moranians, about Chrillmas entred into Boheme, and tooke certaine townes by force, and Cuthna was yeelded vnto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him, and set vpon him, he being afraid, and many of his nobles slaine, fled. But first hee burned Cuthna, which the Thaborits, by meanes of the siluer mines, called the pouch of Antichrist. Zisca pursuing the emperor a daies iourny, got great and rich spoile, and taking the towne of Woda by force, set it on fire: the which afterward almost by the space of fourteen yeres, remained vninhabited. The emperor passed by a bridge ouer the riuer of Iglaria. And Pisa a Florentine, which had brought fiftene thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these warres, passed ouer the pre, the which by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broke, deuoured and destroied a great number. Zisca hauing obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idoll to be in the churches, neither thought it to be boone withall, that priests should minister with copes or ornaments: for the which cause hee was much the more enuied among the Estates of Boheme. And the consuls of Prage being agreaued at the insolencie of Iohn Przemnitz tensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the councell house, as though they would conferre with them as touching the commonwealth: and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home euery man to his owne house, thinking the citie had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their seruants being not circumspect enough, washing downe the court yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slaine, through the sinks & chanels: the which being once seene, the people vnderstood what was done. Wherevpon there was a great tumult: the councell house was straightway ouerthowne, and eleuen of the principall citizens, which were thought to be the authors thereof, were slaine, and diuers houses spoiled.

About the same time, the castell of Purgell, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison (whither as also many papists with their wiues & children were fled) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire, went vnto Pelsna. After this, diuers of the Bohemian captaines, and the senat of Prage, sent ambassadors to Witold Duke of Lituania, and made him their king. This did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Witold sent Sigismund Coributus, with two thousand horsemen into Boheme, who was honorably receiued of the inhabitants of Prage. At his comming, they determined to lay siege vnto a castell situate vpon a hill, which was called Charles stone.

Here Sigismundus had left for a garrison foure centurions of soudiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six monethe, and the assault great euery day and night. Fine great slings threw continually great stones ouer the walles, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcases and other excrements, were cast in amongst those which were besieged: which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all lose. Notwithstanding they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight vntill the winter, hauing priuily receiued medicine out of Prage, to fasten their teeth again.

In the meane time Fredericke the elder, prince of Brandenburge, entring into Boheme with a great power, caused them of Prage to raise the siege. And Witoldus at the request of Wladislaus king of Pole, which had talked with the emperor in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus his vncle, with his whole army out of Boheme. Wherevpon the emperor supposed that the protestants being destitute of forren aid, would the sooner doe his commandement: but hee was farre deceiued therein; for they leading their armies out of Boheme, subdued the borderers thereupon adioyning. It is also reported, that Zisca went into Austrich, and when as the husbandmen of the countrey had carried away a great number of their cattell by water into an Ile of the riuer called Manubius, and by chance had left certaine calues and swine in their villages behind them: Zisca drawe them vnto the riuers side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roare out and cry, vntill that the cattell feeding in the Iland, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattell on the other side the water, for the desire of their like, did swim



ouer the riuer: by the meanes whereof, he got and draue away a great booty.

About the same time, the emperor Sigismundus gaue vnto his sonne in law Albert duke of Austrich, the country of Morauia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericus king of Denmarke, and Peter Infant, brother to the king of Portugall and father of Iames, cardinall of Saint Eustachius, came vnto the emperor, being both very expert men in the affaires of warre, which did augment the emperors host with their aid and power. Wherevpon, they straightway pitched their campe before Lutemperge, a towne of Morauia, and continued the siege by the space of three moneths. There was at that time a certaine knight at Prage surnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This man, forsomuch as he had no child of his owne, adopted vnto him his sisters sonne, named Procopius: whom when he was of meane nature & age, he carried with him into France, Spaine, and Italy, and vnto Jerusalem, and at his returne caused him to be made priest. His man when the Gospell began to flourish in Boheme, take part with Zisca; and forsomuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painfull, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius for his valiant acts, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed vnto him the whole charge of the prouince of Morauia, and the defence of the Lutemperges, who receiuing a great power by force (maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege) carried victuals into the towne which was besieged, and so did frustrate the emperors siege. The emperor before this had deliuered vnto the marquesse of Misnia, the bridge and towne of Aussa, vpon the riuer of Albis, that they should fortifie them with their garrisons. Wherevpon Zisca besieged Aussa, and Frederike the marquesse of Misnia, with his brother the Lantzgraue of Turing, gathering together a great army out of Saxonia, Turing, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and aid those which were besieged.

There was a great battell fought before the city, and the victory depended long vncertaine, but at last it fell on the protestants part. There were slaine in that battell, the Burgraues of Misnia or Chrysopolenses, the barons of Gleichen, and many other nobles, beside nine thousand common soudiers, and the towne of Aussa was taken and vtterly raced.

At the last, dissension rising betweene Zisca and them of Prage, they of Prage prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiuing himselfe ouermatched, fled vnto the riuer of Albis, and was almost taken, but that hee had passage through the towne of Poggiebras; but they of Prage pursuing the taile of the battell, slew many of his Thaborites. At the length they came vnto certaine hils, where as Zisca going into the valley, knowing the straits of the place, that his enemies could not spread their army, he commanded his standard to stand still, and exhorting and encouraging his soudiers hee gaue them battell.

This battell was very fierce and cruell: but Zisca hauing the vpper hand, slew three thousand of them of Prage, and put the rest to flight, and straightwaies take the citie of Cuthna by force (which they of Prage had repaired) and set it on fire: then with all speede he went with his army to besiege Prage, and incamped within a bow shot of the towne. There were many both in the citie, and also in his host which grudged sore at that siege: some accusing Zisca, other some them of Prage. There were great tumults in the campe, the soudiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the city should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdome, and did not dissent from them in opinion, saying; that the Bohemians power would soone be tame, if their enemies should know that they were diuided within themselues: also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and that it was but a foolish deuice to moue wars amongst themselues. This talke came vnto the eare of Zisca, who calling together his army, standing vpon a place to bee heard, spake in these words.

BRethren, be ye not agreeued against me, neither accuse him which hath sought your health and safegard. The victories which ye haue obtained vnder my conduct, are yet fresh in memory, neither haue I brought you at any time vnto any place, from whence you haue not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake haue lost my sight, and dwell in darknesse. Nothing haue I gotten by all these fortunate battels, but onely a vaine name. For you haue I fought, and for you haue I vanquished; neither doe I repent me of my trauels, neither is my blindnesse greeuous vnto me, but onely that I cannot prouide for you, according to my accustomed manner: neither doe I persecute them of Prage for mine owne cause, for it is your bloud that they thirst and seeke for, and not for mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being now an old man and blinde; it is your valiantnesse and stout stomaches which they feare. Either must you or they perish: who whilest they seeme to lie in wait for me, doe seeke after your liues. You must rather feare ciuill warres then forren, and ciuill sedition ought first to be auoided. Wee will subdue Prage, and banish the seditious citizens before the emperor

emperor shal haue any newes of this sedition. And then hauing but a few of his faction left, we may with the lesse feare looke for it: better then if these doubtfull citizens of Prage were still in our campe. But because ye shall accuse me no more, I giue you free libertie to doe what you will. If it please you to suffer them of Prage to liue in quietnesse, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought. If you determin to haue war, I am also ready. Looke which part you will decline vnto, Zisca will be your aid and helper.

When hee had spoken these words, the soulditers mindes were changed, and thally determined to make warres, so that they rest by and by to take vp their armor and weapons, to run vnto the walles to prouoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the citie. Zisca in the meane time prepared all things ready for the assault. There is a little from Pelsina, a certaine village named Rochezana. In this place there was a child borne of poore and base parentage, whose name was Iohn: he came vnto Prage, and was named Ioannes de Rochezana, by the name of the towne where he was borne. This man grewe to be of great name and authority in the towne of Prage. Wherevpon when as Zisca beliged Prage, he by the consent of the citizens, went out into the campe, and reconciled Zisca againe vnto the citie.

When as the emperor perceiued that all things came to passe according vnto Zisca his will and mind, and that vpon him alone the whole state of Boheme did depend, he fought pitie meanes to reconcile and get Zisca into his fauor, promising him the gouernance of the whole king dome, the guiding of all his hostes and armies, and great perely reuenewes if he would proclaime him king, and cause the citizes to be swoorne vnto him. Vpon which conditions, when as Zisca for the performance of the couenants went vnto the emperor, being in his iourney at the castell of Psitcouia, he was stricken with sickenesse and died.

It is reported, that when he was demanded being sicke, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skinne to be pulled off from his dead carcase, and the flesh to be cast vnto the fowles and beasts, and that a drum should be made of his skin, which they should vse in their battels; affirming, that as soone as their enemies should heare the sound of that drum, they would no abide but take their flight. The Taborites bespoiling all other images, yet set vp the picture of Zisca ouer the gates of the citie.

### The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant captaine of the Bohemians.

IOhn Zisca, not inferior to an emperor: or captaine in warlike policie, a seuere punisher of the pride and auarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, hee lie here. That which Appius Claudius by giuing god counsell, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantnesse did for the Romans; the same, I being blinde, haue done for my Bohemians. I never slacked opportunity of battell, neither did fortune at any time faile me. I being blind, did foresee all oppotunity of well ordering: & doing my businesse. Seuen times in ioyning battell, I went vtmost out of the field. I seemed to haue worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry, against the delicate, fat, and glutionous priests, and for that cause to haue received helpe at the hands of God. If their cruie had not let it, without doubt I had deserued to be numbred amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding my bones lie here in this hallowed place, euen in despite of the pope.

IOANNIS ZIZKÆ Calopsis Pij aduersus Ecclesiæ hostes, oratio brevis.

¶ Iohn Zisca a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and coueteous priests, but with a godly zeale.

And thus haue you the acts and doings of this worthy Zisca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credit we haue drawne out of Aeneas Syluius, onely his railing termes excepted, which we haue here suppressed.

All this while the emperor with the whole power of the Germans, were not so busie on the one side, but Martin the pope was as much occupied on the other side: who about the same time directed downe a terrible bull, full of all poison, to all bishops and archbishops against all such as take any part or side with Wickliffe, Iohn Hus, Jerome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copie of which bull, which I found in an old written monument, I will the reader thoroughly to perus, wherein he shall see the pope to powre out at once all his poison.

### The bull of pope Martin directed forth against the followers of John Wickliffe of England, of *Iohn Hus of Boheme, and Jerome of Prage.*

MArtin, bishoop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to our reuerend brethren the archbishops of Salzeburgen. Guezuen. Bambergen. Pisinen. Patauien. Tratilanien. Ratisponen. Traceuien. Pognanen. and Nitrien. and also to our beloued children the Inquisitors appointed of the prelats about recited, or where else focuer, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting, and Apostolicall benediction. Amongst all other pastorall cares wherewith wee are oppressed, this chiefly and specially doth inforce vs, that heresises with their false doctrine and errors, being vtterly expulsed from amongst the company of christian men, and rooted out (so farre forth as God will make vs able to doe) the right and catholike faith may remaine sound and vndefiled: and that all christian people, immouable and immolate, may stand and abide in the sinceritie of the same faith, the whole vaile of obscuritie being removed. But lately in diuers places of the world, but specially in Boehemia, and the dukedome of Morauia, and in the straits adioyning thereunto, certaine archheretikes haue risen and sprung vp, not against one onely, but against diuers and sundry documents of the catholike faith, being lauolopers, schismatikes, and seditious persons, fraught with diuelish pride and voto: thy madnesse, deceiued by the subtilty of satan, and from one euill vanity brought to a worse. Who although they vose vp and sprang in diuers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, hauing their tailes as it were knit together: to wit, John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prage of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruine and infidelity. For when as those and such like pestiferous persons did in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine, obstinately sow and spread abroad peruerse and false opinions, that prelats who had the regiment and execution of the iudicial power, like dumbe dogs, not able to bark, neither yet reuenging speedily with the Apostle, all such disobedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the lords house (as they were intoined by the canons) those subtill and pestilent archheretikes, into their wolvish fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but suffering their false and pernitious doctrine negligently, by their ouerlong delaies, to grow and way strong: a great multitude of people in stead of true doctrine receiued those things, which they did long falsly, pernitiously and damnably sow among them, and giuing credit vnto them, fell from the right faith, and are intangled (the more pitie) in the soule errors of Paganisme.

Insomuch, that those archheretikes, and such as spring of them, haue infected the catholike flocke of Christ in diuers climats of the world, and parts bordering vpon the same, and haue caused them to putrifie in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the generall synod of Constance, was compelled with Saint Augustine to exclaime against so great and ruinous a plague of faithfull men, and of the soundand true faith it self, saying: What shall the soueraigne medicine of the church doe, with motherly loue seeking the health of her sheepe, chasing as it were, amongst a company of men frantike, and hauing the disease of the Lethargy? what? shall she desist and leaue off her good purpose? No not so. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharpe to both these sorts, which are the grieuous enemies of her wombe. For the physition is sharpe vnto the man that raught and raging in his frensie, and yet hee is a louer to his owne rude and vnmannerly sonne, in binding the one, in beating the other, by shewing therein his great loue vnto them both. But if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish (saith Augustine) this manslaetude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.

And therefore the foresaid synod, to the glory of almighty God, and preseruation of his catholike faith, and augmenting of christian religion, and for the saluation of mens soules, hath corporally reiected and cast forth of the houshold of God, the foresaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, also amongst other things, did beleeue, preach, teach, and maintaine of the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments of the church and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy church of Rome beleeueth, holdeth, preacheth and teacheth, and haue presumed obstinatly to preach, teach, hold, and beleeue many other more, to the damnation of themselues and of others: and the said synod hath separated the same, as obstinate and malapert heretikes from the communion of the faithfull people, and haue declared them to be spiritually throwne forth. And many other things both wholsome and profitable hath the same councell as touching the premisses, stablished and decreed, whereby they, with by the meanes of those archheretikes, and by their false doctrine, haue spiritually departed from the Lords flocke, may by the canonicall rules be reduced to the straight path of truth and verity.

And moreouer (as we to our great griefe doe heare) not onelie in the kingdome of Boheemia, and dukedome of Morauia and other places aboue recited, but also in certaine parts and prouinces neere adioyning and bordering vpon the same; there bee many other of the sectaries and followers of the foresaid archheretikes and heretical opinions, calling behinde them backes as well the feare of God, as the shame of the world, neither receiuing fruit of conuersion and repentance by

Pope Martins bloudy bull to all bishops and archbishops.

All these errors and heresises be, for that they speake against the rule of peace and their owne dignities.

*Ecclesiastes 10. Fooles mouth is like the mouth of a lion.* Apoc. 13.

*Deuenisti lex sanguine sordpta.* The popes religion hath left all sence of humanity.

An he Pegasus with the pope, that like not his superstitious cus and ordinations traditions.

A great difference betweene a louing mother, and the fearefull whore of Babylon.

*Et vidi bestiam & reges terræ & exercitus eorum congregatos cum sedente in equo, & exercitu eius.* Apoc. 19. *Et data est illi potestas in omnem tribum, & populum & linguam & gentem.* 13. And power is giuen him ouer all tribes, and people, and tongues, and nations, &c. Apoc. 13.



*Ecclesiastes 10.* Fooles shall chance to die, (although not so denounced by the church) yet in this is great a crime, let him and them want christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor receiued. His goods and substance also from the time of his death, according to the canonical sanctions being confiscat, let no such enioy them to whom they appertaine, till that by the ecclesiasticall Iudges, hauing power and authority in this behalfe, sentence vpon that his or their crime of heresie, be declared, and promulgate: and let such owners as be found suspect or noted with any such suspition of heresie, before a competent and ecclesiasticall Iudge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspition, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a Iudge, shew and declare his proper and owne innocency with deuotion, as beseemeth in that behalfe. And if in his purgation, being canonically incroched, he doe faile, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his oth by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation; then let him bee condemned as an heretike. But such as through negligence or through slothfulnesse, shall omit to shew their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicat, and so long put out from the company of christian men, till that they shall make condigne satisfaction: so that if by the space of one whole yeere, they shall remaine in such excommunication, then let them as heretikes be condemned.

And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the foresaid pestiferous doctrine of the archheretikes aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well disposed; let them yet be punished according to the canons. If only through inkamp and suspicion of the foresaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspect, and in his purgation canonicall for this thing being interdicted, shall faile: let him be accounted as a man conuict, and as a conuict person by the canons let him be punished.

And furthermore, we inuocating and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, pope Boniface the eighth, which beginneth thus: *Vt inquisitionis negotium, &c.* For hereby wise require, and also command all temporall potentates, Lords and Iudges afore recited, by whatsoeuer dignities, offices, & names they are knowne: that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithfull members and children of the church, and doe reioyce in the name of Christ: so in likewise for defence of the same faith, they willo bey, intend, giue their aid and fauorable helpe to you that are archbishops, bishoppes, and ecclesiasticall men, inquisitors of all heretical prauitie, and other Iudges and ecclesiasticall persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church, for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretikes, their beleeuers, their fauorers, their receiuers, and their defenders, whensoeuer they shall be thereunto of them required.

*Et falsi crines pudicos, & magnos & diuites, & pannicos, & fœminarum perechaudices rem in manu sua dextra.* 1. And he shall make hasty tarte and great, rich and poore, free and bond to take the character in their right hand, &c. Apoc. 13.

And that they bring and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the foresaid pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as by you the archbishoppes, bishoppes, clergy and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or else vnto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, gouernments and rectories, where they by catholike men, that is, by you the archbishoppes, bishoppes, the clergy and inquisitors, or any other that shall bee by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may bee holden and kept in safe keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of yron vnder most strait custody for escaping away, till such time as all that businesse which belongeth vnto them, be by the iudgement of the church finished and determined, and that of such heresie, by a competent ecclesiasticall Judge (which firmely holdeth the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy Church of Rome) they be condemned. *Satan tarijet bischaines.*

The residue let the foresaid temporall lords, rectors, Iudges, or other their officers & pursuants, take amongst them, with condigne deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing left to the prejudice and slander of the foresaid catholike faith and religion, though the pretert of ignorance, any man herein should be circumuented, or that any subtill and craftie men should vnder the vaile of friuolous excuse, cloke and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the conuincing or apprehending of the foresaid heretikes, their receiuers and defenders, fauorers, beleeuers, and adherents, and also of such as are suspect of heresie, and with such like peruerse doctrine or any wise spotted, wee might giue more perfect instruction: Therefore as well to the kingdome of Boheemia, and parts neere adioyning to the same, as all other where this superstitious doctrine first began to spread, we haue thought it good to send the articles hereunder written concerning the sect of those archheretikes, for the better direction of the foresaid catholike faith.

Touching which articles, by vertue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishoppes and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that euery of

of them within the diocesse and limits of their iurisdiction, and also in the foresaid kingdome, and disobeying, and places neere adioyning, although the same places be beyond the same their iurisdiction: in the fauor of the catholike faith, doe giue most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those errors, archheresies, and most pestiferous sect aforesaid: and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspect of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be vnder the penalty of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension or interdict, or any other conuenable paine canonicall or legall, wherein and wherefoeuer it shall seeme good to them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oth corporally taken either vpon the holy Euangelists, or vpon the reliques of saints, or vpon the image of the crucifix, according to the obseruances of certaine places, and according to the interrogatories, to make conuenient answer to euery article within written. For we intend against all and singuler archbishops, bishops, ecclesiasticall persons, or inquisitors, which shall shew themselues negligent and remisse in the extirpation of the teaven of this heresticall prauitie, and purging their territories, diocesse, and places to them appointed, of such euil and wicked men: to proceed and to cause to be proceeded, vnto the deprivation and deposition of their pontificall dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said heresticall prauity, and proceede to further paines against such by the lawes limited, and to other yet more grevious (if need be require) we our selues will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according as the party his fact, and altogether of his crime committed, shall deserue. The tenor of those articles whereof we haue made mention in this our own writing are in words as follow.

The old custome of the popish crue.

## ¶ The Articles of John Hus to be inquired vpon.

1 THere is one only vniuersall church, which is the vniuersitie of the predestinate, as shall after be declared.

2 The vniuersall church is only one: as there is one vniuersitie of those that are predestinate.

3 Paul was neuer a member of the diuell, although hee did certaine acts like vnto the acts of the church malignant.

4 The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the same finally faileth from her, because that the charity of predestination which bindeth the same church together, neuer faileth.

Speaking of the true visible church, the article is true.

5 The two natures (that is the Diuinity, and the humanity, be one Christ.

6 The reprobate, although hee be sometime in grace, according to present iustice, yet is he neuer a part of the holy church: and the predestinate is euer a member of the church, although sometime he fall from grace adventitia, but not from grace of predestination: euer taking the church for the coniunction of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present iustice. And after this sort the church is an article of our beleefe.

This article is worthily to be wished out of the mouth of Iohn of Hus.

7 Peter is not, nor neuer was the head of the holy catholike church.

8 Priests liuing vitiously, do defile the authority of priesthood, and so, as vnfaithfull children, do vnfaithfully beleeue of the seuen sacraments, of the keies of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies of the worshipping of reliques, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

The pope all his supporters reproched.

9 The pap all dignity came and grew from the emperor: and his gouernment and institution, sprang from the emperors gouernment.

10 No man can reasonably affirme either of himselfe or other, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the church of Rome.

11 A man ought not to beleeue, that he which is bishoppe of Rome is the head of euery particular church, vnlesse God haue predestinate him.

12 None is the vicar of Christ, or else of Peter, vnlesse he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor other wise apt to receiue of God this power procuratory. For into the office of a viceregerent of Christ is required, the conformity of manners, and the authority of the institutor.

13 The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the prince of the Apostles, if he liue in manners contrary to Peter: and if he hunt after auarice, then is he the vicar of Iudas Iscariot. And likewise the cardinals bee not the true and manifest successors of the colledge of the other Apostles of Christ, vnlesse they liue according to the maner of the Apostles, hauing the commandements and counsels of our Lord Iesus Christ.

14 The doctors alledging, that if a man, which will not be amended by the ecclesiasticall censures, is to be deliuered to the secular powers, doe follow in this point the bishops, Scribes and Pharises, that deliuered Christ to the secular power (saying, it is not lawfull for vs to kill any man) because he would not obey them in all things: and that such be greater homicides then Pilat.

15 The ecclesiasticall obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church haue found out, besides the expresse authority of the scripture. The inuentiue diuision of humane works, is, that they be either vertuous or vitious: and if a man be vitions, and doth any thing, then doth he it vitiously: and if he be vertuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it vertuously. For like as vice, which is called a great offence or mortall sin, doth staine all the doings of a vitious man: so vertue doth quicken all the doings of a vertuous man.

Priests not to beleeue the councell of Constance.

16 A priest of God liuing after his lasn, and hauing the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edifie the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magistrate doth forbid a priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient vnto him. For euery one that taketh vpon him the order of priesthood, receiueth in charge the office of a preacher: and of that burden ought he well to discharge himselfe, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

17 By the censures ecclesiasticall, as of excommunication, suspending, and interdict, the clergy to their owne aduancement cause the lay people to aid them: they multiply their auarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to antichrist. And it is an evident signe that such censures procede from antichrist, which in their processe they call Fulminationes, that is, their thunderbolts wherewith the clergy principally procedeth against those that declare the wickednesse of antichrist, who so greatly for his owne commodity hath abused them.

18 If the pope be euill, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he with Iudas a very diuell, a theefe, and the son of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the same.

19 The grace of predestination, is the band wherewith the bride of the church and euery member of the same, is indissolubly ioyned to their head Christ.

20 The pope or prelat that is euill and a reprobate, is a pastor in name, and not in deed, yea he is a theefe and a robber in very deed.

John Hus expounded this article with this distinct. Non ratione meritifed ratione officij.

21 The pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his office sake, for then ought a king to be called by his office, the most holy one: and hangmen, with other such officers also were to be called holy, yea the diuell himselfe ought to be called holy, forasmuch as he is Gods officer.

22 If the pope liue contrary vnto Christ, although he climbe vp by the right and lawfull election, according to the common custome of men: yet notwithstanding should hee otherwise climbe then by Christ, yea though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Iudas Iscarioth was lawfully elect of God Christ Iesus to his bishoppricke, and yet came not hee the same way he ought to doe vnto the sheepfold.

John Hus declareth his mind touching this article sufficiently before.

23 The condemnation of 45. articles of John Wickliffe by the doctors made, is vnreasonable, wicked and naught, and the cause by them alledged is fained, that is, that none of them are catholike, but euery one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

Election maketh not the successor of Peter, but imitation.

24 Not for that the electors, or the most part of them haue consented together with liuely voice, according to the custome of men vpon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the Apostle, or of any other the Apostles in the ecclesiasticall office. Wherefore, whether the electors haue either well or euill made their election, it behoueth vs to beleeue the same, by the works of him that is elected. For in that that euery one that worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

One head of the vniuersall church besides Christ, hath no foundation in holy scripture.

25 There is not so much as one sparke of appearance, that there ought to be one head ruling and gouerning the church in spirituall causes, which should alwaies be conuersant in the church militant: for Christ without any such manifold heades, by his true disciples spared through the whole world, could better a great deale rule his church.

26 The Apostles and faithfull priests of God, haue right worthily in all things necessary to saluation, gouerned the church before the popes office take place, and so might they do againe, by like possibility vntill Christ came to iudgement, if the office should faile.

Heresie to withdraw in both kinds.

Let euery one that is suspected in the foresaid articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in maner and forme as followeth.

The forme and manner of the popes inquisition.

IN primis, whether hee knew Iohn Wickliffe of England, Iohn Hus of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prage, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them: whether that during the liues of them, or any of them, they had either been conuersant with them, or formd any friendship at their hands.

Heresie to plead for Iohn Wickliffe or Iohn Hus, &c.

2 Item, whether hee knowing them, or any of them to be excommunicat did willingly participate with them: esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sinne.

3 Item, whether that after their deaths, hee euer prayed for them



them or any of them, openly or priuily, doing any worke of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saints, or else to be saued.

4 Item, whether he thought them, or any of them to be saints, or whether that euer he spake such words, and whether euer he did exhibit any worship vnto them as vnto saints.

5 Item, whether he beleeue, hold and affirme, that euery generall councell, as also the councell of Constance, doth represent the vniuersall church.

Heresie not to beleeue the councell of Constance.

6 Item, whether he doth beleeue, that that which the holy councell of Constance, representing the vniuersall church, hath and doth allow in the fauor of the faith, and saluation of soules, is to be approued & allowed of all the faithfull christians: and that whatsoeuer the same councell hath condemned, and doth condemne to be contrary both to the faith and to all good men, is to be beleeued, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not.

7 Item, whether he beleeueth that the condemnations of John Hus, John Wickliffe, and Jerome of Prage, made as well vpon their persons, as their bookes and doctrine, by the holy generall councell of Constance, be rightly and iustly made, and of euery good catholike man, are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

8 Item, whether he beleeue, hold, and affirme, that John Wickliffe of England, John Hus of Bohemia, & Jerome of Prage, were heretikes or not, and for heretikes to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their bookes and doctrines were and be pernerse or not: for the which, together with their pertinacie, they were condemned by the holy sacred councell of Constance for heretikes.

Heresie to denie the popes indulgences.

9 Item, whether he haue in his custody any treatises, small workes, epistles, or other writings in what language or tongue soeuer, set forth and translated by any of those heretikes, John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliuer them to the ordinaries of that place, or his commissary, or to the inquisitors vpon his oth. And if he say that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you sweare him to bring the same before his Ordinary, or other aforenamed, within a certaine time to him prefixed.

Heresie not to worship images.

10 Item whether hee knoweth any that hath the treatises, workes, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome, in whatsoeuer tongue they are made or translated, and that he detein manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of iustice.

11 Item, especially let the learned be examined, whether he beleeueth that the sentence of the holy councell of Constance vpon the 45. articles of John Wickliffe, and the 30. articles of John Hus be not catholike: which faith that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensiue to godly eares.

12 Item, whether he beleeueth and affirmeth, that in no case it is lawfull for a man to sweare.

13 Item, whether he beleeueth, that at the commandement of a iudge or any other, it is lawfull to take an oth to tell the truth in any conuenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not.

14 Item, whether he beleeueth that periury wittingly committed, vpon what cause soeuer, whether it be for the safegard of his owne life, or of any other mans life, (yea although it be in the cause and defence of the faith) be a sinne or not.

15 Item, whether a man contemning purposely the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcisme, of catechisme, and the consecration of the water of Baptisme be deadly sinne or not.

16 Item, whether he beleeue, that after the consecration of the priest in the sacrament of the altar vnder the figure of bread and wine, be no materiall bread and wine, but in all points the same very Christ which was crucified vpon the crosse, and sitteth vpon the right hand of the father.

17 Item, whether he beleeue, that after the consecration made by the priest vnder the onely forme of bread, and besides the forme of wine, be very flesh of Christ and his bloud, his soule and his deitie, and so whole Christ as he is: and in like wise, vnder the forme of wine, without the forme of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very bloud, his soule, and deitie, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely vnder euery one of those kinds singularly.

Heresie to preach without authority.

18 Item, whether he doth beleeue, that the custome of housling of the lay people vnder the forme of bread onely, obserued of the vniuersall church; and allowed by the onely councell of Constance, be to be vsed, and not without the authority of the church, at mens pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirme the contrary to this, are to be punished as heretikes, or not.

19 Item, whether he beleeue that those which contemne the receiuing of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme vnction, or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sinne or not.

20 Item, whether he beleeue that a christian man, ouer and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a conuenient priest, is bound to confesse himselfe onely to a priest, and not to any lay man, be he neuer so deuout of god, vpon the necessitie of saluation.

Heresie not to confesse to a lay man.

21 Item, whether he beleeue, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolue a sinner confessing himselfe, and being contrite, from all sinnes, and enioyne him penance for the same.

22 Item, whether he beleeueth, that an euill priest, with due maner and forme, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolue, doth verily baptise, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments euen as the church doth.

23 Item, whether he beleeue that S. Peter was the vicar of Christ, hauing power to bind and to loose vpon the earth.

24 Item, whether he beleeue that the pope being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, hauing supreame authority in the church of God.

25 Item, whether he beleeue that the authority or iurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop or a bishop, in binding and loosing, be more then the authority of a simple priest or not, although hee haue charge of soules.

Heresie to denie the popes indulgences.

26 Item, whether he beleeue, that the pope may vpon a iust and good cause, giue indulgences and remission of sinnes to all christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that goe on pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds.

27 Item, whether he beleeue, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and giue them any thing, may obtaine remission of sinnes or not.

28 Item, whether he beleeue that all bishops may grant vnto their subiects, according as the holy canons doe limit, such indulgences or not.

Heresie not to worship images.

29 Item, whether he beleeue and affirme, that it is lawfull for faithfull christians to worship images and the reliques of saints, or not.

30 Item, whether he beleeue that those religions which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy fathers or not.

31 Item, whether he beleeueth that the pope, or any other prelat for the time being, or their bicars, may excommunicat their subiect ecclesiasticall or secular for disobedience or contumacy, so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicat, or not.

32 Item, whether he beleeue, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicat, increasing; the prelats or their bicars in spirituall things haue power to aggrauate and to reaggrauate, to put vpon men the interdit, & to call for the secular arme: and that the same secular arme or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their interdicts called for.

These popes will be sure to lose nothing.

33 Item, whether he beleeue that the pope and other prelats, or else their bicars, haue power in spirituall things to excommunicat priests, and lay men that are stubborne and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church, also to silence them.

34 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull for ecclesiasticall persons without committing sinne, to haue any possessions and temporall goods: and whether he beleeue that it is not lawfull for lay men to take away the same from them by their authority: but rather that such takers away and inrochers vpon ecclesiasticall goods, are to be punished as committers of sacriledge, yea although such ecclesiasticall persons liue naughtily that haue such goods.

Wealthy liuelihoods maintained.

35 Item, whether any such taking away or incroching vpon any priest rashly or vi clenly made, although the priest be an euill liuer, be sacriledge or not.

36 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull for lay men of whether sex soeuer, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not.

The pope neither preacheth himselfe, nor yet will suffer other good priests to preach.

37 Item, whether he beleeue that it is lawfull to all priests freely to preach the word of God whersoeuer, whensoeuer, and to whosoeuer it shall please them, although they be not sent at all.

38 Item, whether he beleeue that all mortall sinnes, and especially such as be manifest and publike, are to be corrected and to be correpat, or not.

Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any by secret information, by you or any other to be receiued, shall be found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresie, and doctrine of the most pestilent men John Wickliffe, John Hus, and Jerome of Prage, the archheretikes aforesaid, or of fauoring, receiuing, or defending the foresaid damned men whilest they liued on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that beleeueth their errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholike men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other waies, wherein they deserue to be suspected: that then they by you or some of you, may be cited personally to appeare before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oth being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plaine and mere verity of the articles aboue written, and euery of them, or other opportune, as case & circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you shall see expedient

expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or other wise canonically, as you shall thinke god.

Also that you doe publish solemnly, and cause to be published, these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocesse, where conueniently you may, vnder our authority, and there to denounce, and cause to be denounced all and singuler such heretikes, with their abettors and fauorers of their heresies and errors, of what sex or kind soeuer, that doe hold and defend the said errors, or doe participate any manner of way with heretikes, priuily or apertly, of what state, dignity, or condition soeuer he or they be, patriarke, archbishoppe, king, queene, duke, or of what other dignity either ecclesiasticall or secular hee bee: also with their aduocates and procurators whatsoeuer, which are beleeuers, followers, fauorers, defenders, or receiuers of such heretikes, or suspected to be beleeuers, followers, fautors, defenders, or receiuers of them, to be excommunicat euery sunday and festiuall day, in the presence of the people.

Pope striketh man & cattel.

Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired by the said our authority, vpon all and singuler such persons both men and women, that maintaine, approue, defend, and teach, such errors, or that be fauorers, receiuers and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, preheminence degree, order, or condition soeuer. And such as you shall finde in the said your inquisition, either by their owne confession, or by any other meane to be conuicted, or otherwise inforced with the spot of such heresie or error, you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and priuation of their dignities, personages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees, which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiasticall places, also of honors and temporall dignities and degrees of sciences or other faculties, as also by other paines and censures of the church, or by waies and meanes whatsoeuer else shall seeme to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning of their bodies, and other corporall punishments wherewith heretikes are punished, or are wont and are commanded by canonicall sanctions to bee vsed: and if they bee clerkes, by degradation, doe correct and punish, and cause them to bee corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise by stoutly and courageously against such heretikes, and the gods as well of them, as of the lay men, according to the canonicall sanction made against heretikes and their followers, vnder the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subiect. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premisses, shall be bound to purge themselues at your arbitrement: but the other, which either be witnesses, or by their owne confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be conuicted of the foresaid heresies or articles, or of any the premisses, they shall be compelled to reuoke and abiure publikely and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condigne penance and punishment, yea euen to perpetuall imprisonment (if need be) for the same.

See here the dragon casting out wil. ii. floods to swallow vp the saints.

And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or deed, priuily or apertly, directly or indirectly to beleeue the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety. Who, if it so chance that they will not publikely and solemnly renounce and abiure their articles and errors, and take at your handes condigne penance, though it be to perpetuall or temporall punishment, according to your direction, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold nor nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce other by word or deed, priuily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other maner of colour to beleeue the same: that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits: yea and if you see it so expedient, as against heretikes, and as inforced with heresie by our authority, according to the canonicall sanctions summarily, & simply and plainly, sine strepitu & figura iudicij, and of office, all appellation or appellations whatsoeuer ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonicall, yea if need be, in leauing and committing them to the secular power: and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiasticall excommunication, all appellation set aside, also inuocating, if need shall require, aid of the secular arme: The constitution of well of our predecessor pope Boniface 8. of blessed memorie, wherein is decreed that no man without his cittie or diocesse (except in certaine cases) or in places being one daies iourney distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall bee called into iudgement, and that no man doe presume to depute Iudges from the see apostolike, without the cittie and diocesse where they are deputed to proceed against any: or do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to send and remoue any man beyond one daies iourny from out his diocesse where he dwelleth, or at most two daies iourny, if it be in a generall councell: as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well Iudges delegat, as persons

Pope Martin 5. Canterbo pope Boniface 8.

Pope Martin his decree in the acts and edicts of all other popes.

not to be called to iudgement beyond a certaine number: or else any other edict, indulce, priuiledge, or exemption generall or speciall granted from the apostolike see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited vp to iudgement without the compasse of certaine limits: or else whatsoeuer thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your iurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any meanes to the contrary notwithstanding. Dat. Constant. the first yeere of our popedome.

¶ This bloudy and abominable commission of pope Martin, which I haue copied out of a certaine old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackslopt, student in the Temple, seemeth to be directed and giuen out to the publike destruction of all faithfull christian men, about the latter end and breaking vp of the councell of Constance, anno 1418. By the which, the prudent reader hath this to note and consider, what labor, what policie, what counsell, and what lawes haue been set, what waies haue been taken, what seuerity hath been shewed, how many power, wit, and authority of the whole world haue conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner meanes to subuert and supplant the word and law of the Lord: and yet notwithstanding man hath not preuailed, but all his force and deuised policies haue been ouerthrowne, dispatched, and with the counsell of Achitophel and Ammon, haue been brought to nought, and contrary to the furie of the world, the Gospell of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this, will the pope cease to spurne and rebell still against the kingdome of Christ, and of his gospell, against which, neither he, nor yet the gates of hell shall euer preuaile. The Lord of hosts be mercifull to his pope persecuted flocke, Amen.

Note how antichrist regreth and striueth against Christ.

Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of pope Martin the great antichrist, I thought good here to adioyne and annex another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conradus, and other captains of the Bohemians, which seemeth not long after the death of Zisca, to be written against the pestiferous sea of Rome, the tenor whereof here followeth.

## A fruitfull and christian exhortation of the Bohemians to kings and princes, to stir them vp to the zeale of the Gospell.

As exhortation of the Bohemians.

THe almighty God the father, by his inebeloued Sonne Iesus Christ, map in his holy spirit open the vnderstanding both of you and of all christians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousnesse, and map make you to continue therein, surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your saluation, all ye honorable, wise, and honest Noblemen, and all the comminalty, yea rich and poore, heare and consider with diligent heed the words of this present letter, which is sent vnto you from the country of the Bohemians. It is manifest and well knowne to you and many other cities, kings, princes, and lords, that now a certaine number of peeres, there hath been great discord betwixt vs and you: and there haue been done which haue moued you by letters, and preached you to make warre against vs, and to destroy vs. And as well on your part as ours, many men as well noble as vnnoble, haue foolishly lost their liues. Yet neuer hitherto haue ye in any part vnderstood our faith by our owne confession, neither whether we be able to proue the same out of the Scriptures, yea or no: and yet in the meane time kings, princes, lords and cities haue sustained great damage. And hereof we greatly maruell that you doe so much trust and beleeue the pope and his priests, which giue you drinke full of poison, and such comfort as no man can vnderstand, in that they say that they will giue you forgiuenesse of all your sinnes, and great grace and pardon, to this end, that you should warre vpon vs and destroy vs: wherewas their graces and pardons are none other then great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soule of all them that beleeue them, and put their trust in them. This we would proue vnto them, and ouercome them by the holy Scripture; and we would suffer, that whosoeuer is desirous to heare the same, should heare it. For the pope and all his priests herein deale with you as the diuell would haue done with our Lord Iesus Christ. Of whom Luke writeth in his fourth chapter, that he brought him vpon an high hill, and shewed vnto him in the twinckling of an eye, all the kingdomes that are in the compasse of the earth, and said vnto him: I will giue thee, &c. So the diuell deceiueth the pope, and all the priests with the riches of the world, and worldly power: And they thinke they can giue grace and pardon when they will: and they themselues shall neuer finde fauour before Almighty God, except they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiuing of Christendome. And how can they giue that to others, which they themselues haue not? So did the diuell, who was rich in promising, and pore in giuing. And like as the diuell is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all they are not ashamed to speake that which shall neuer bee found true, nor be proued by the holy scriptures, because for no cause they stirre vppe kings, princes, lords and cities to make warre against vs, not to the end that the christian faith should thereby

The pope and prelats by their letters allure them to fight.

False words & make fooles false.

The pope reuealeth the world with many matters of things which he conspireth.

The popes pretensed cruelte detected. Rom. 1.

The diuell and the pope rich in promising, and pore in giuing.

Repentance of Gods blessing, where the pope hath cursed. Dilection.



thereby be defended, but because they feare that their secret vices and heresies shall be disclosed and made manifest. For if they had a true cause, and a godly loue to the christian faith, they would then take the bookes of the holy Scripture, and would come vnto vs, and ouercome vs with the weapons of Gods word, and that is our chiefe desire. For so did the apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ, who came to the Paganes and Iewes, and brought them from their infidelity to the true faith of our Lord Iesus Christ; and this they did in the spirit of meeknesse, as the apostle Paul writeth in the 6. chap. to the Galat.

Galat. 6.

Brethren if any man be agreeued, &c. So ought they also to doe, if they perceiued that they were iust and wee vniust. And if wee would not abide instruction: then they might take to them kings, princes, lords, and imperiall cities, and resist vs according to the commandements of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtile defence of all the bishops and priests, that they say that master Hus and Hierome which were burnt at Constance, were ouercome of the holy father the pope, and of the whole councell: For ye must vnderstand that they were not ouercome by the holy Ghost, but vniustly, with wrongfull violence, which God may yet hereafter grieuously punish in all them that gaue their counsell and aide thereto. And they say it ought not to be suffered, that we should be heard in consulting our faith. How may that be proued by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the diuell, as it is written in the fourth chapter of Matthew? And they are not better then Christ, nor wee worse then the diuell. If they bee iust and haue the truth with them (as they say they haue) and wee bee vnrighteous, why doe they feare, since the truth ought not to be afeard of falshood, as Esdras writeth in his second booke, the third chapter: Zorobabel declared that truth is of all things the most mightie, and ouercommeth all things. For Christ is the truth; John 14. I am the way, the truth, &c. And the diuell is the father of lies; John 8. He is a lier from the beginning, and neuer abode in the truth, and there is no truth in him. Therefore if the pope and his priests haue the truth, let them ouercome vs with the word of God. But if they haue lies, then they cannot long abide in all their presumption. Wherefore, wee exhort and beseech all the imperiall cities, all kings, princes, noble men, rich and poore, for Gods sake, and for his righteousnesse, that one of them write hereof to another, and that there map bee some meanes made, how wee map commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place as shall bee fit both for you and vs, and bring with you your bishoppes and teachers, and let them and our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let vs heare them, and let not one ouercome the other by violence or false subtiltie, but onely by the word of God. And if your bishops and teachers haue better proofes of their faith out of the holy Scripture, then we, and our faith be found better, we will receiue penance and satisfaction, according to the Gospell. But if your bishops and teachers bee ouercome of ours by the holy Scripture, then doe yee repent and hearken to vs, and hold with vs. And if your bishops and teachers will cease from their spirituall pride, and repent and make satisfaction: then will we helpe you according to our power, and will compell them, either to ioyne with vs, or else we will expell them out of Christendome. And if your bishops and teachers will say, that it is not lawfull for laie men to heare such reasoning, or to be present at it: that may you vnderstand to tend to no other end, but that they feare they should be ouercome and put to shame in the sight of you: For if they knew that they should ouercome therein, out of doubt they should desire that euery man should heare it, and thereby their glory should become the greater, and their fame and praises should bee encreased vpon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsell you to come to no hearing with vs, then doe it whether they will or no, and suffer not your selues at any time to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish parodns, but tarie at home in your houses with your wiues and children. And let the pope of Rome come to vs with all his cardinals and bishops, and with all his priests, with his owne person and power to warre with vs, and let themselues deserue the absolution of sinnes, grace, and pardon, which they preach to you (for they haue great need of forgiuenesse of sinnes, grace, and pardon) and by the grace of God wee will giue them pardon enough as they shall neede. But their subtill excuse is this: they say that it belongeth not to priests to fight with bodily weapons: and true it is that belongeth not to them: but it belongeth as little to them to sit by, to counsell, and to fortifie others thereto: For Paul saith in the first to the Rom. and in the fifth to the Galath. That all that do such things are worthy of euerlasting death

False pretenses of the papists. Who and Hierome by wrongfull violence put to death.

Christ heard the diuell: but the pope will not heare men confesse their faith.

Wans power and counsell fea wrokes against Christ.

1. Esdras 3. John 14. John 8.

And if ye will not determine to do any other thing then to fight against vs, then will wee take the Lord to our helpe and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the pope, or his cardinals, or of the bishops, because wee know that the pope is not God, as he maketh himselfe, that he can curse and excommunicate when hee will, or bleese when hee will: who hath now these many yeares cursed and excommunicated vs, and yet notwithstanding, God and his gratious blessing hath beene our helpe. But peraduenture ye will say, that though wee see that bishops and priests bee euill and wicked, yet wee cannot lacke them: for who should baptise our children, who should heare confessions, and minister the holy Sacraments? and then also wee should bee within the excommunication of the pope and of his bishops. Welbeloued, ye need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the pope harreth you nothing. Feare yee the excommunicating of God, and the Lord will prouide for those things well enough. If yee would banish euill bishops and priests, yee should haue good priests which should baptise your children, heare confessions, and minister the holy mysteries, because when the diuell is banished, then place is made for the holy Ghost: So when ill bishops and priests shall bee banished, then place shall bee made for good priests and bishops. Also, your bishops and priests say, that wee are miscreants and hereticles, and that we beleeue not on Purgatorie, vpon the virgine Marie, nor vpon the saints: wherein they say ill, for wee will proue by the holy Scripture, that we know better by Gods grace how we ought to beleeue vpon Purgatorie, and vpon Marie the mother of our Lord, and vpon his welbeloued saints, then they can tell vs. Also they say, that we will not be obedient vnto the pope. Truelie when hee shall become holie and iust, then wee know well that wee ought to bee obedient to him in all things, and not before. They say also that wee destroy Gods holie seruice, in that wee destroy monasteries, banishing thence the wicked monks and nunns. Truelie wee did it, thinking once that they were holie, that they did the reuerend seruice of God, but after that wee well perceiued and considered their life and workes, then wee perceiued that they were false lowlie hypocrites, and wicked builders on high, sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and such as deuoured in themselues the sinnes of the people. And whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleepe, and pray for the sinnes of the people: for as much as their selling of their prayers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no better then hypocrisie and hereste; therefore if wee doe speake against them and destroy their monasteries, we doe not therein destroy the seruice of God, but rather the seruice of the diuell, and the schooles of hereticles. And if wee knew them as wee know them, yee would as diligently destroy them as we doe. For Christ our Lord did not ordaine any such order, and therefore it must needs come to passe that shortly it shall be destroyed, as our Lord saith in the Gospell of saint Mat. 15. chap. Euerie plant which my father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp. We desire you also that yee would diligently consider the articles here written, wherein your bishops and priests are guiltie.

The popes false persecution against Christ.

Mat. 15.

The first article is, that when your bishops will ordaine priests, they doe it not except he that is to bee made priest haue sufficient liuing, either inheritance left him of his parents or of benefices or else as notwithstanding, Christ would that priests should bee poore, for as much as it is enough for the scholler to bee as his master is, and for the seruant to bee as his lord is: and the bishops will that they should be rich vpon earth, which is vniust before the Lord.

The abuse of popish religion in making priests vnreasonable, &c.

The 2. article is, that bishops take money of such as are to be ordained; but saint Peter did therefore sharpely rebuke Simon Magus, when he would haue giuen him money, as it is written in the eighth of the Acts.

Act. 8.

The third article is, that they that come to be priests enter into their priesthood, not for Gods seruice sake, because they meane to preach and increase it among the christian people, so as the people may bee edified and made better: but rather for an idle life: and that they may eate well and drinke well, and that they may be honoured and reuerenced vpon earth. For euery one seeketh vpon his priest as a theefe and a robber, as John writeth in his tenth chapter.

The abuse of popish religion in taking of orders.

The 4. article is of excommunication, which the pope and all his priests take to themselues, and therewith fetter and bind all christian people as they will, and they thinke that whosoeuer they excommunicate or curse, he is accursed and excommunicate before God: And woe will proue by the holy Scripture, that they themselues are excommunicate and accursed before God, because they keepe not the commandement of the loue of God, whereof the apostle writeth in the 1. to the Corinthians, the 6. chap. If any man loueth not our Lord Iesus Christ, he is excommunicate in the day of the comming of the Lord. For they cannot excommunicate you, who are already bound and excommunicate before God and his saints: and therefore why feare ye their excommunication?

Popish excommunication abused. 2. Cor. 16.

The 5. article is, that they take gifts for to pray for the dead, and to say masse for their soules. This is a wicked deuise and hereste before the Lord, as all they that contribute to them to this end, doe wickedly, for that hereby priests become merchants of prayers and of masses: and here with is all the church of Rome poysoned and defiled. For if they would pray for the dead, and say masse for their soules, yet no man ought to hire them thereto, for as much as they ought to take no gifts, neither little nor great. And euery one that taketh rewards to this end, to redeeme soules out of Purgatorie, doe therewithall call their owne soules downe into hell. And they that giue any thing to that end, doe altogether lose that which they giue. And with such diuelliih subtiltie, the pope with all his priests

The popes church poysoned with buying and selling their prayers & singing, and all their boding for money.

Frere of pur-garatorie hath a dime, & all the whole world.

Solomo as purely seyeth, the wall is made but of clay.

The subtilties of the diuell in making the church holy. Ecclesiast.9.

Worldly prelates with their long and pertilous garmentes, counterfaite the Pharisies then Christ. 1.Tim.6.

Honest in well gouerning.

The popes church hath ioyned matrimony with whoredome.

The popes church and monasteries commonly pestered with diuelishe euiuls.

The popes church pestered with pride and bitternesse.

The popes church infamous with notorious lies.

The popes church erreth in diminishing the power of the Sacrament.

haue deceiued, spoiled, and disherited kings, princes, lords, and knightes, and good housholders and many other, of their lawfull inheritances, because their ancestors and progenitours gaue it to colledges, monasteries and churches, that they might make memorials of them, and to sing or say prairs or misses for their soules, that they might bee redeemed out of Purgatorie. And with such goods, bishops, canons, and monasteries haue made themselues so rich, that now they fall at variance, with cities and princes: and whereas they should procure peace betwixt cities and rulers, there they are the first that begin warre: and as long as they haue such goods, they will neuer cease to be at strife with lords and cities, neither will they begin to teach you the true foundation of the truth. For they doe as a dog, which as long as he holdeth a bone in his mouth and gnaweth it, so long hee holdeth his peace and can not barke: Euen so, as long as they haue this bone of pleasant riches, it will neuer be well in the world. Wherefore all kings, princes, and unperiall cities should doe a great worke of godlinesse and mercie, if by them they were compelled to doe this, as the dogge is when the bone is taken from him.

And therefore ye noble men, kings, princes, lords, imperiall cities, and all the communalte, both rich and poore, if yee haue beene asleepe, yet now awake and open your eyes and behold the subtilte of the diuell, how hee hath blinded the church of Rome, and take againe that is yours, and not theirs. And if you will make a good memoriall for your soules, then doe as the wise man saith, Eccle.19. Lay by almes, &c.

The 6. article is, that they are full of pride and of high mind, which is manifestly knowne, by their long, costly, and superfluous garments, wherein they walke very unlike to Christ our Lord, who had a garment without a seame, and to the welbeloued Iohn Baptist, who had a garment of Camels haire: and they will be honoured and worshipped, and they preach and say that priesthood ought to be honoured: and so it ought indeed to be: but there are none that doe so much slander and abase it, as they themselues, with their euil workes, gay apparell, and with their euil words, wherein they passe all other men. Paul saith the first to Tim. the 3. chap. Let the Elders that gouerne well, be honoured with double honour, chiefly they that labor in the word and doctrine of the Lord. Consider, that he saith, They that gouerne well.

The 7. article is, that they are couetous from the highest to the lowest, and for couetousnesse they preach many foolish deeds and manifest lies, and sell the holy Sacraments, which is a great heresie: for God commanded that they should giue freely. Paul writeth in the first to Timothie: couetousnesse is the roote of all mischefe, wherunto many haue beene giuen, and therefore they are separated from the faith and haue denied the truth.

The 8. article is, that they commonly are called notorious whoremongers. This is manifestly seene in their concubines and children, which walke openly in all mens sight, and make many mens liues whores, or corrupt their daughters being virgins, and make them priests harlots and ribaldes.

The 9. article is, that they are full of deuelish enuie, and especially in all monasteries they haue great enuie and hatred amongst themselues, because when any thing is giuen or disposed to one monasterie or colledge, then there are others that hate it, and enuie at it, and would more gladly haue it themselues: Like as among dogs, when any thing is giuen to the one and not to the other, which the other seeing, enuieth his fellow, and the other likewise will rather deuour all himselfe, then giue any part to his fellow. Wherefore it were well that they were brought from that great sinne of enuie in giuing nothing vnto them: And it were better that their possessions were taken from them, and that they should do that which the Lord spake to his disciples saying: Go ye and preach the Gospell to all men.

The 10. article is, that they are idle, and chiefly the bishops, canons, and other prelats, which will not labour diligently in the holy Scripture, wherewith they might cure the miseries of Christendome, whereto they haue bound themselues, and they eate the bread thereof in idlenesse, because when other men watch and labour to maintaine themselues and their little ones, then are they with their lemmons, or else they walke in some citie, carying hawkes on their fists, or else they sit at the good wine with their concubines, and there they sing and play the Lucians, and eate of the best, and therefore all that willingly bring and giue to them shall bee made partners of that curse which is giuen them of God, because they eate their bread vniustly, whereof Paul writeth in the 2. to the Thessal. the 3. chapter: Hee that laboureth not, let him not eate.

The 11. article is, that they are notorious liars, because to the end that they may please men, they tell many tales and lies, which in the holy Scripture haue no foundation nor proofe. Of such writeth Iohn in the Apocal. 21.

The 12. article is, that they doe not rightly giue or minister to the people the body of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they giue it not as God hath instituted it and commanded. This is a great and a diuelish sinne and too great malapertnesse.

Herein wee would ouercome them, with the testimonies of the Euangelists: & say wee would ouercome the pope, and all his priests, with the authorities of Paule, Luke, and Paul, Romaines 13. and wee would suffer, that kings, princes, lords, and all that are willing to beare, should beare it.

The 13. article is, that they sit in spirituall iudgement, and then many times they iudge according to fauour, and not according to the rightconsuelle of God, that they take bribes, giuing sentence for him, which in Gods sight hath the wrongfull cause. Woe bee to such sentences, as it is written in Iaap 5. Woe be to you that, &c. The popes church charged with partiality.

The 14. article is, that they sit hearing confessions, and then there come to them sluttes, raueners, and theeues, they take bribes of them of their ill gotten goods, to spare them: and they willingly suffer them in cities and townes. And likewise of adulterers and other notorious whoremongers, and whores, and they neuer let or stop them in their great sinnes, to the end that the Scripture may bee fulfilled in them, which saith: Gifts and the loue of money doe draw to hell, and doe blind the eyes of iudges.

The 15. article is, that they receiue tithes of men, and will of right haue them, and preach and say that men are bound to giue them tithes, and therein they say falsly: For they cannot proue by the new Testament, that our Lord Iesus Christ commanded it, and his disciples warned no man to doe so, neither did themselues receiue them. But although in the old Testament, it were commanded to giue tithes, yet it cannot there by be proued, that christian men are bound thereto: For this precept of the old Testament had an end in the first preste of our Lord Iesus Christ, like as the precept of circumcision. Wherefore wee beloued, consider and see, how poore bishops seduce you and that your eyes with things that haue no proofe. Christ saith in the 11. of Luke: Giue almes of those things that remaine, but he said not, giue the tenth of the goods which ye possesse, but giue almes. But when they heare the word, they may say as the lawyer said to Christ: Maister when then saiest so, thou gluest offence. Luke 11. He meaneth of claiming tithes by mere necessitie of the old law, and not by the politike lawe of princes.

The 16. article is, that they in many places lend money or goods to haue treasure or vsurie, and they haue in cities and townes, poorely pappmentes and perpetuall reuenues, as great princes and lords. Wherein they do against the Gospell, which saith, Doe not ye possesse gold nor siluer. And whereas they lend for gaine and vsurie, against that speaketh the Lord. Deuteronom. 24. Lend not to vsurie to thy brother, &c. Bee honest, discreet, and welbeloued lords, all the aforesaid articles we will proue against the pope, and all his priests, with many testimonies of the holy Scripture, which for brenities sake, wee haue not here mentioned. But note yee chiefly these 4. articles, for which we striue, and desire to defend them to the death. The popes church charged with vsurie.

The first article is, that all publike, and customable mortall sinnes, ought to be forbidden and prohibited to all priests and laie men, according to the commandement of the holie Scripture. Princeps Hungar.

The second article is, that riches ought to bee taken from the pope and all his priests, from the highest to the lowest, and they ought to be made poore, as the disciples of our Lord Iesus Christ were: who had nothing of their owne, neither possessions in this world, neither worldly power. He meaneth the immoderate riches and temporall possessions.

The third article is, that the word of God ought to be free for euery man appointed and ordained thereto, to preach and reade in all places, whither they shall come, without resistance of any man, or without any inhibition of either spirituall or earthly power, openly or manifestly. Men appointed to preach may preach though the pope forbids them.

The fourth article is, that the body of our Lord Iesus Christ ought truely be deliuered to euery christian as our Lord hath ordained it, as the holy Euangelists haue written. We haue also vnderstood that there shall be a councell in Basill: Therefore let no man bee exalted, but let them diligently keepe their liues, their daughters, and their virgins from bishops, priests, and monks. And doe not thinke that there is made any holy assemblie of bishops and priests for the common commoditie and profit of Christendome, but onely to this end, that they may hide their secret vices and heresies, with the cloake of hypocrisie, and let and hinder the righteousnesse of God, which is much contrarie to them: and for this cause consider ye diligently, that they will not make an holy assemblie, but the congregation of Satan. And take ye heede that it be not done as some did at Constance, who tooke money of bishoppes and prelats, and suffered them to sleepe with their liues. Bee welbeloued and honest lords, if yee find any thing in these foresaid articles or words written somewhat sharpely, we did it not to offend or contemne you, but to the end that yee should diligently consider and denise, how christendome is to all kept and led by the priests of this present age. Our Lord Iesu Christ keepe you both in bodie and soule: Amen. In the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundreth and thirtie. Eum vide infra in radice mensis scripta. Eben the pope bathreth his councell, let men looke to their wiues and daughters where the councell is kept.

Preropus, Smahors, Conradus, Samssmolich, Captaines of Bohemia.

Now



Now to prosecute the warres of the Bohemians against Aster Ziska was dead, thereof we did intreat before, there was great feare, sorrow, and lamentation in the armie, the souldiors accusing to: tune which gaue ouer such an vnmeetable captaine to be ouercome with death. Immediatlie there was a diuision in the host, the one part chosing Procopius Magnus to be their captaine, the other part saying, that there was none could be found worthie to succeede Ziska: thereupon they chusing out certaine to serue the warres, named themselues Orphane. The armie of Ziska diuided.

Thus the Thaborites being diuided into two armies, the one part retained their old & accustomed name, and the other by meanes of the death of their captaine, named themselues Orphans. And albeit, that of tentimes there was distension betwixt them, yet whensoeuer any forraine power came towards them, they ioyned their powers together in one camp, and defended themselues. They seldome went vnto any fenced townes, except it were to buie necessaries, but liued with their wiues and children in their campe and tents. They had amongst them many carres, the which they vsed as a Bulwarke: For whensoeuer they went vnto battell, they made two wings of them, which closed in the formen. The wings of the horsemen were on the outside, and when as they saw their time for to ioyne battell, the wagon men which leade the wings, going forth vnto the Emperours standard, and compassing in such part of their enemies as they would, do close themselues in together, whereby the enemies being inclosed, so that they could not be relieued, they were partlie by the footmen, and partlie by the men that were in the carres, with their darts slaine. The horsemen fought without the fortification: and if it happened that they were oppressed or put to flight, by and by the carres opening themselues, receiued them as if they were into a fenced citie: and by this meanes they got many victories, forsomuch as their enemies were ignorant of their policies. The other and police that the armie of Ziska held in warre after his death.

These two armies went forth, the one into Slesia, and the other into Moravia, and returned againe with great prap, before their enemies knewe of their comming. After this they beleged the towne of Swetlep in Austrich, where as the Thaborites and the Orphans, two nights continuallie assaulted the walles without ceasing; but Albert duke of Austrich comming with his host to ayde the citizens, they fought by the space almost of foure houres, the valiantest warriours being slaine on both parts. At the length the battaile was broken off, and the Chaborites lost their carres, and Albert was put out of his campe and tents. Within a while after, Procopius Magnus, came againe and inclosed the citie of Rhetium in Austria with a notable siege. They of Prage sent in his armie, and Wollaus Cygneus, of whom we spake before, was slaine there with a dart, and the citie of Rhetium was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The Burgraue of Salberburge lord of the towne, was also taken & caried into Prage, where also he died in prison.

These things thus done, the Emperour sent for the nobles of Boheme: which went vnto him vnto a towne of Hungarie, called Posonium in the borders of Austria, vpon the bankes of the riuer of Dannubius: but they would not enter into the towne, but remained without the towne in their tents; whither as the Emperour going out vnto them, communed much with them as touching his right and title, and the recouering of his fathers kingdome, promising if there were any cause, which did alienate the Bohemians mindes from him, that he would take awap all the occasion thereof. They made answere, that he had made warre vpon them without cause, and that he had suffered their countrey men contrarie to his promise, to be burnt at Constance not being heard, and the kingdome to be contumeliouslp interdited, and the Nobles of Boheme to be condemned by the church of Rome as heretikes: and that he should thinke the force and power of the Bohemians not to be so small, but that they would prouide for their owne honor. Whereunto the Emperour answered deuotly gentile, and offered them a generall councell, wherein they might declare their innocencie, if they would submit themselues to the iudgement of the vniuersall church: but the Bohemians which were nowe become valiant victors in armes, would not nowe bee ouercome with words; and so nothing being finally concluded, the Emperour returned home. Sigismund the emperor which beraued Hus & Hierom before, now is faine to inuest for his kingdome. The death of Iohn Hus & Hierom reuenged.

Then pope Martin perceiuing the Gospell to increase daily more & more, sent the Cardinall of Winchester an Englishman, borne of a noble house, into Germany to moue them vnto warre against the Bohemians. Whereunto the Emperour also did assist him. The Cardinall of Winchester sent into Germany to raise warre against the Bohemians. Their armies lie against the Bohemians.

There were their armies prouided. In the first army were the dukes of Saxonie, and the lower cities.

The second armie which was gathered of the Francomians, was vnder the conduct of the Marques of Brandenburge.

The third army was led by Otho the archbishop of Treuers, whom the Rhenenses, the Bauarians, and the Imperiall cities of Swenia followed. These armies entring into Bohemie, in three seuerall parts, after they were passed the wood, they ioyned together and pitched before Aplna. This God reuengeth his people meruaylously conuerted.

towne a certaine learned and eloquent protestant, named Peschicho, the night before, had wonne from the papists: wherfore the armie was determined first to recouer that citie, before they would go any further. But when as newes came vnto the host, how the Protestants had gathered an armie, and came with all speed towards them: they fled before they saw their enemies, and went vnto Tacouin, leauing behind them their warlike engines with a great prap. The Cardinall was not yet come into the campe, but meeting them in their flight at Tacouin, he marueiled at the cowardlie flight of so many Noble and valiant men, desiring them that they would turne againe vnto their enemies, which, he said, were farre weaker then they. Which thing when he had long trauailed about in vaine, his was faine to be a companion with them in their flight. They were scarsly entred the wood, when as the Bohemians comming vpon them, set vpon their rereward. Then was their flight much more disordered and fearfull then before, neither did they leaue flying before the Bohemians left following. Then all impediment of let being taken away, they vanquished Tacouin: and hauing obtained great store of warlike engines, they destroyed Aplna. And when they would haue returned home by Franconia, they had great summes of money sent vnto them that they should not waste or destroy the Countries of Bamberge and Norembergе: wherefore the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched. The popes army fleeth. Like captaine like souldiour.

Sigismundus the emperor hauing vnderstanding of these things, went straight vnto Noremberge, and gathered there new aid and help. Also Pope Martine sent Iulian the cardinall of saint Angeli into Germany with his ambassade, to make warre against the Bohemians, and that bee should be in the Councell of Basill, which doth now shortly draw on, by president in the Popes name. He entring into Germany, went straight to Noremberge to the emperour, where as many of the Nobles of Germany were assembled. Anno 1421 The pope raiseth warre the second time against the Bohemians.

There was a new expedition decred against the Bohemians, against the eight Kalends of Iulie, and Fredericke Sparquelle of Brandenburge appointed Generall of that warre, which should follow the Cardinall. He entred into Bohemie by the way that leadeth vnto Thapa, and Albertus prince of Austrich was appointed to bring his armie through Moravia. A new war raised by the pope against the Bohemians.

In this expedition was Albert and Christopher of Bauaria, and Fredericke Dukes of Saxony. Iohn and Albert princes of Brandeburge, with their father which was Generall of those warres. Also the bishops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge and Eystet. Also the company of the Sweuians, which they called the companie of Saint George, and the magistrates of the imperiall cities, the bishops of Peritz, Treuers, and Colen sent their aides, and with them the chiefetaines of their prouinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen were about fortie thousand. But their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part doe vse to fight their battels on horsebacke. The number of the popes army against the Bohemians.

Also Rhenatus prince of Loyain promised to come to these warres, but being letted by his ciuill warres, forsomuch as he went about to vanquish the earle of Vandome, whereby hee could not keepe his promise, neither the countie Palatine of Rheine, which did aide and succour the earle of Vandome, could not goe against the Bohemians. The cardinall staying for them, deferred his iourne vntill the Kalends of August. In the meane time, Albert leading his armie out of Austria, vnderstanding that the cardinall was not present at the day appointed, and being himselfe vnable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he returned backe againe. After this the cardinall entred into Boheme with an huge armie, and destroyed many of the protestants townes, killing men, women and children, sparing neither old nor young: notwithstanding, this his tyrannie was exercised in the vttermost borders of Boheme, for his captaines feared to enter farre into the land. The Bohemians assone as they had heard tell that their enemie was come, made readie, and gathered their host with all speed, and last flege to a towne called Stiltiuerge, and brought it vnder subiection. Cardinal Iulius with a mallet beateth Bohemie. The cruell slaughter done by the cardinall.

In the meane season there fell such a marueilous sudden feare amongst all the papists throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefullie to run away before any enemie appeared in sight. The cardinal Iulianus marueiling at this most sudden feare, and that thould moue so great an armie to flie, went about vnto the captains, exhorting them to put on armor, to order their battels, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying: they did not fight for the glorie of their kingdome, or for the possession of lands, but for their liues, and honour, and * religion of Christ, and for the saluation of soules. Holy ignominious affinges it (saith he) for the Germans to flie in battell, whole courage and valiantnesse all the world both erstoll? It were much better for to die, then to giue place to any enemies, before they were seene: for they can by no meanes flie in safetie within the walls, which giue place vnto their enemie in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man and not the walls, & except they would euen presently defend their liberty with the sword, they thould shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable then any death. But this exhortation was God sendeth a feare into the popes armie. * Rather for the religion of Antichrist. This cardinall belike loued to preach rather in the campe then in the Church.

all in vaine, for feare had put away all boldnesse: for the ensignes were snatched vp, and as though there had beene no captaine in the hast, euery man tanne headlong away. No man regarded any commandement, neither once tooke his leaue of his captaine, but casting away their armour with spéde flight they ran away, as though their enemie had béen at their backes. The cardinall also, although it were against his will, was forced to doe the like.

The cardinall of Millaine ranne away for feare.

Thus the protestants by the feare of their enemies made the more bold & courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great pray and spoile of them. Notwithstanding, Albertus, when he heard tell that the cardinall was entred into Boheme, with all speed came againe out of Austrich with his armie, and besieged the strong towne of Porgeabia: but when he vnderstood how the cardinall was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subiect vnto him, and destroyed aboue fiftie townes, with fire and sword, tooke many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murther and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they tooke vpon them his yoke, and promised to be subiect and obedient to him vnder this condition, that as touching religion he would be bound to do that which the councell of Basill should determine.

Great slaughter in Boheme by duke Albert.

There was there an ambassade sent out of Boheme vnto Basill, where as Sigismund held the councell, who during the time of the warres, had kept himselfe at Norembrege. Then as he should take his iourney vnto Rome to be crowned emperour, he wrote letters vnto the nobles of Boheme, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian borne, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation, then to his owne, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned, the which his honour should also be a renowne to the Bohemians, whom to aduance it hath beene alwaies his speciall care.

The councell of Basill.

A feeres of the Emperour to the Bohemians.

Also, how that through his endeuor the councel was begun at Basill, exhorting all such as were desirous to bee heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintaine any quarrell contrarie to the holy mother church, that the councell would louingly and gently heare their reasons; that they should onely endeuor themselues to agree with the Synode as touching religion, and reserue and keepe a quiet and peaceable kingdome for him, against his returne: Neither should the Bohemians thinke to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and vncle, had reigned ouer them, and that he would reigne ouer them after no other meane or sort, then other christian kings vsed to doe.

The Bohemians sent by the councell, to safe conduct them vnto the Councell. A doubt concerning the Bohemians whether to go to the councell of Basil or no. This Woman-dus was after a great backe friend to the faithfull Bohemians.

The councell of Basill also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors which should shew a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to goe and come, and free libertie to speake what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions; for the protestants and almost all the common people said, it was not good to goe, alledging the examples of John Hus and Hierome of Prage, which going into Constance vnder the safe-conduct of the emperour, were there openly burned. But the nobilitie following the mind of Rayuardus, prince of the new house, said, that they ought to goe vnto the councell, and that they are not to bee suffred which had inuented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kind of religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the vniuersall church, and defend those things, which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion tooke place, and an ambassade of three hundred horse was sent vnto Basil. The chiefe whereof were William Colca a valiant knight, and Procopius surnamed Magnus, a man of woorthe fame for his manifold victories. Iohn Rochezana preacher of Prage, Nicolas Galecus minister of the Thaborites, and one Peter an Englishman, of excellent prompt and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the towne, and many out of the Synode and councell, attending before the gates to see the comming of this valiant and famous people: othersome gathered together in great number into the streetes where as they should passe through. The matrons, maides and children, filled the windowes and houses to behold and se, and to maruell at their strange kind of apparell, and stout courageous countenances, saying that it was not vntrue which was reported of them: notwithstanding all men beheld Procopius, saying, this is he which hath ouercome the papists in so many battels, which hath subuerted so many townes, and slaine so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his owne souldiers, doe feare and reuerence: also, that hee was a bold, valiant and inuincible captaine, which could not bee ouercome with any terrour, labour or trauell.

The Bohemians send to the Councell.

300. Inhabitants of the Bohemians first ambassade to the councell.

This Englishman was Peter Payne. The preaching of the Bohemians at Basill.

Procopius famous among the Germanes.

The oration of cardinall Iulian.

This Bohemian ambassadours were gently receiued. The next day after, cardinall Iulianus sending for them vnto the councell house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent Oration vnto them, exhorting them to vnitie and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Sauiour Christ, and the mother of all faithfull, that it hath the keyes of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and faire, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot erre in those points which are necessarie to saluation, and that he which doth contemne the same church, is to be counted as a prophane Ethnicke, and Publican, neither can this church be represented better by any meanes then in this councell. He exhorteth them also to receiue the decrees of the councell, and to giue no lesse credit vnto the councell then vnto the Gospell, by whose authoritie the Scriptures themselues are receiued and allowed. Also that the Bohemians which call themselues the children of the church, ought to heare the voice of their mother, which is neuer vnmindfull of her children: how that now of late they haue liued apart from their mother; albeit (said he) that is no new or strange thing, for there haue been many in times past which haue forsaken their mother, and yet seeking after saluation haue returned to her againe: That in the time of Noes flood, as many as liuers without the arke perished: that the Lords passeouer was to be eaten in one house: that there is no saluation to bee sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountaine of water: whereof whosoeuer shall drinke, shall not thirst euerlastingly: That the Bohemians haue done as they ought, in that they haue sought the fountaines of this water at the councell, and haue determined now at length to giue care vnto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of war vtterly to bee reiected: For the fathers would louingly and gently heare whatsoeuer there they would say in their owne cause or quarrell, requiring onely that they would willingly receiue and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred Synode: whereunto not onely the Bohemians, but also all other faithfull christians, ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers of eternall life.

This Oration of the cardinall, was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Wherunto the Bohemians answered in few words, that they neither had condemned the church nor the councel: as the sentence giuen at Constance against those which were vnheard, doth diminish nothing of the christian religion: that the authoritie of the fathers hath alwaies remained amongst them inuiolate; and whatsoeuer things the Bohemians had taught, to bee confirmed by the Scriptures and Gospell, and that they are nowcome to manifest their innocencie before the whole church, and to require open audience, where as the laity may also be present. Their request was granted them: and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the church of Rome, they propounded foure articles.

The Bohemians answer to the cardinals oration.

The articles wherein the Bohemians differed from the church of Rome.

First, they affirmed, that al such as would be saued, ought of necessitie to receiue the communion of the last Supper vnder both kinds of bread and wine.

The second article, they affirmed all ciuill rule and dominion to be forbidden vnto the clergie by the law of God.

The third article, that the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.

The fourth article, as touching open crimes and offences which are in no wise to be suffered for the auoiding of greater euill.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the councell in the name of the whole realme. Then an other ambassador affirmed that hee had heard of the Bohemians diuers and sundrie things offensiue to christian eares, amongst the which this was one point, that they should preach that the inuention of the order of begging friers was diabolicall.

Then Procopius riling vp, said, neither is it vntrue, for it neither Moses, neither before him the Patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither in the new law Christ and his apostles, did institute the order of begging friers, who doth doubt but that it was an inuention of the diuell, and a worke of darknesse?

This answere of Procopius was derided of them all: And cardinall Iulianus went about to proue that not onely the decrees of the Patriarches and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted to be only of God, but also all such decrees as the church should ordaine, being guided through the holy Ghost, be the workes of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of begging friers, might seeme to bee taken out of some part of the Gospell. The Bohemians chose out foure diuines which should declare their articles to bee taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrarie part there were foure appointed by the councell. This disputation continued fiftie daies, where many things were alledged on either part, whereof as place shall serue, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that councell.

Certaine appointed by the Bohemians and the councel to dispute.

In the meane season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperour and the pope, fighting for their religion, vnto whom, notwithstanding all the enuie of the popes power was bent against them, God of his goodnesse had giuen such noble victories, as is aboue expressed, and euer did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselues: as these things (I say) were doing in Boheme king Henrie the fifth, fighting like a valiant in France, albeit found like matters of religion, fell sicke at Vayes, and died, after hee had reigned nine yeares, fiue moneths, three

The death of king Henry 5. called prince of priests for fauoring the pope.





woorkes and odde daies from his coronation. This king in life and in all his doings was so deuout and seruiceable to the pope and his chaplaines, that he was called of many the prince of priests: who left behind him a sonne being yet an infant nine moneths and fiftéene daies of age, whom hee had by quéene Katharine daughter to the French king, married to him about two or three yeeres before. The name of which prince succéeding after his father, was Henrie the firth, left vnder the gouernment and protection of his vncle named Humfrey Duke of Glocester.

The names of the Archbishops of Canturbury in this fifth booke contained.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54 | Simon Islepe. | 17 |
| 55 | Simon Langham. | 2 |
| 57 | William Wikefey | 5 |
| 58 | Simon Sudbury. | 3 |
| 59 | William Courtney. | 15 |
| 60 | Thomas Arundel. | 18 |
| 61 | Henrie Chichesly. | 29 |

# The sixth Part or Section, pertaining to the last three hundred yeares.

## *A Preface to the Reader.*

According to the fiue sundrie diuersities and alterations of the church, so haue I diuided hitherto the order of this present church storie into fiue principall parts, euery part containing 300. yeeres. So that now comming to the last 300. yeeres, that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliffe: Forasmuch as in the compasse of the said last 300. yeeres, are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marueilous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the almightie; all which things cannot be comprehended in one booke: I haue therefore disposed the said latter 300. yeeres into diuers bookes, beginning now with the sixth booke, at the reigne of king Henry the 6. In which booke beside the grieuous and sundry persecutions raised vp by Antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be obserued, that whereas it hath of long time beene receiued and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally vsed, hath sprung vp and risen but of late, euen by the space (as many do thinke) of 20. or 30. yeeres, it may now manifestly appeare, not only by the Acts and Monuments heretofore passed, but also by the histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christs religion hath beene spread abrode in England of old and ancient time, not only from the space of these 200. late yeeres, from the time of Wickliffe, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abrode, although the flames thereof haue neuer so perfectly burst out, as they haue done within these hundred yeeres and more: As by these histories here collected and gathered out of Registers, especially of the dioces of Norwich, shall manifestly appeare: wherein may be seene what men, and how many both men and women within the said dioces of Norwich, haue beene, which haue defended the same cause of doctrine, which now is receiued by vs in the church. Which persons although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrell, as of late yeeres they haue beene, yet were they warriers in Christs church, and fought for their power in the same cause. And although they gaue backe through tyrannie, yet iudge thou the best good Reader, and refer the cause thereof to God, who reuealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

King Henry 6. Anno 1422.

His yong prince being vnder the age of one yeere, after the death of his father, succeeded in his reigne and kingdome of England; Anno 1422. and in the eight yeere was crowned at Westminster: and the second yeere after was crowned also at Paris, Henrie bishoppe of Winchester, cardinall, being present at them both, and reigned 38. yeeres, and then was deposed by Edward the fourth, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall bee declared in his time. In the first yeere of his reigne was burned the constant witnesse bearer and testis of Christs doctrine, William Taylo, a priest, vnder Henry Chicheley archbishop of Canturbury. Of this William Tailo I read, that in the daies of Thomas Arundell, hee was first apprehended, and abiured. Afterward in the dates of Henry Chicheley, about the yeere of our Lord, 1421, which was a yeere before his burning, the said William Tailo appeared againe in the conuocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to haue taught at Bissiow these articles following.

Exhibita mandi. Ex Regist. Cant.

William Tailor the first time apprehended. William Tailo againe apparech before the archbishop. Three articles first obiected to William Tailo.

The fourme of canonicall abiuration in the church when against them that were excommunicate.

First, that wholsoeuer hangeth any Scripture about his necke, taketh away the honor due only to God, and giueth it to the Diuell.

Secondly, that no humane person is to bee worshipped, but onely God is to be adored.

Thirdly, that the saints are not to be worshipped nor inuocated.

Upon these articles the said William Tailo being examined, denied that hee did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talke vpon the same especially vpon the second and third articles, onely in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to inforce his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, hee brought out of his bosome a paper or libell written, wherein were contained certaine articles, with the testimonies of the Doctours alledged, and exhibited the same vnto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop consulting together with the bishops and other prelats, what was to be done in the matter, deliuered the writings vnto maister John Catlit, and Iohn Wiskingdale, the two Vicechancellors of Oxford, and Cantbridge, and to John Langdon monke of Canturbury. Who assisting with themselues, and with other Diuines, about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following, presented the said articles of William Tailo, to the archbishop and prelates, as erronedus and hereticall. Whereupon William Tailo being called before them, in conclusion was contented to reuoke the same, and for his penaunce was by them condemned to perpetuall prison.

Notwithstanding, through fauour they were contented, that he should be released from his carcerall indurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the kings chancerie, and sweare that he shall neuer hold or fauour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Tailo, appointed to appeare the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication, during the time from Thomas Arundell, appeared againe before him; where hee laying aside his Arundoile, that is, his cloke, his cap, and stripped vnto his dublet, kneeled at the feete of the archbishop. Who then standing vp, and hauing a rod in his hand, began the Psalme Miserere, &c. his chapleins answering the second verse. After that was said the collect, Deus cui proprium, &c. with certaine other prayers. And so taking an oth of him, the archbishop committed him to the custodie of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him, vpon the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William Tailo for that time absolued, being enioyned notwithstanding to appeere at the next conuocation whensoeuer it should be, before the said archbishop or his successor that should follow him.

In the meane time, while William Tailo was thus in the custodie of the bishop of Worcester, there passed certaine writings betweene him, and one Thomas Smith priest at Bissiow, in the which writings William Tailo replied against the said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reple being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Tailo began anew to be troubled, and was brought againe before the publike conuocation of the clergie, by the said bishop of Worcester, to answere vnto his writings. This was Anno 1422. the 11. day of Februarie. Vnto the which conuocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not deny to be of his owne hand writing.

The opinion of William Tailo concerning worshipping of saints.

The tenour and effect of whole writing onely tended to proue, that euery petition and praier to any supernaturall gift, ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in this his writing hee did not vtterly denie, that it was not lawfull in any respect to pray to saints (and bringeth for the same Thomas Aquine) but onely in respect of that worship,

Cultus latriæ, that is, worship which is only due to God.

which is called Cultus latriæ: And further to prosecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists: as most plainely appeareth by his owne words, saying: Nunquam tamen negaui, aut nego re intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viantium, tam viuis, quam mortuis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere; quia hoc est elicibile ex Scripturis, quæ non fallit, & ex consona ratione, &c. And moreouer he inferreth the example of Moses, who prayed vnto God, alledging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimonie of Hyerome, and alledging the example of Steuen, saith: Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus. And at length hee commeth to this conclusion, proouing by saint Austin, in this manor: Ne igitur cum impijs & idolatris in veteri testamento, in circuitu ambulemus, nunquam deueniendo ad centrum, sanum est quod faciamus secundum consilium Apostoli sic dicentis: Accedamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ eius, vt misericordiam consequamur & gratiam inueniamus in auxilio opportuno, &c. That is: And therefore lest we runne about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the old Testament, and neuer come to the center, therefore it is wholesome and good counsell, that wee follow the mind of the apostle, saying: Let vs resort with boldnesse vnto the throne of his grace, that we may obtaine mercie, and find grace in time of opportune helpe, &c.

Aug. super Psal.

Thus much out of the foresaid writing of William Taylor I haue excerped, to the intent that the indifferent Reader, ying his iudgement herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet notwithstanding the same writting being deliuered by the archbishop, to the foure orders of friers of London to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points.

4. articles by the foure orders of friers laid against William Taylor.

First, that euery prayer, which is a petition of some supernaturall gift or free gift, is to be directed onely to God.

2 Item, that prayer is to be directed to God alone.

3 Item, to pray to any creature is to commit Idolatrie.

4 Also, an other opinion there was much like to the other, to make vp the fourth; so that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make vp a number euery order of the foure sorts of friers, thought to find out some matter to offer vp to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seeme more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more then could another: or else perchance lest any of them should seeme to fauor the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

☆ The burning of William Taylor priest.



When the Saturday was come, which was the 20. day of February, vpon the which day the foure orders were appointed to declare their censure vpon the articles in the chapter house of Paules, first appeareth frier Tille, for the black friers, then frier Winchelsey, then frier Lowe, after frier Ashwell, each frier for his order seuerally bringing his heresie, as is aboue specified.

Thus the verdict of these foure orders being giuen vp to the archbishop, and seuerally each order conuning in with his heresie, which was the 20. day of February: hereupon commeth downe a writ from the king, directed to the lord Maior and Sheriffes of London, De hæretico comburendo, dated the first day of March, Anno the first of his reigne. The copie whereof remaineth in the records of the Tolper, beginning thus: Rex Maiori & Vicecomitibus. Whereupon the

William Taylor Degraded.

William Taylor burned in Smithfield.

said William Taylor condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power. Who then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March, with christian constancie, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdome, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Hus before: for the papists vse but one forme for all men. First degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patine. From deaconship, by taking from them the gospell booke and tunicle. From subdeaconship, by taking from them the epistle booke and Tunicle. From Acolitesship, by taking from them the Cruet and candlesticke. From an exorcist, by taking away the booke of Exorcismus or Gardrall. From the lectorship, by taking away the church booke key and surplis. And likewise from Vsher, in taking away the surplis, and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished vpon this godly martyr, before his burning.

The popes manner of degradation.

## John Florence a Turner.

John Florence a Turner.

IJohn Florence a Turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies here vnder written (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

In primis, that the pope and cardinals haue no power to make or constitute any lawes.

Item, that there is no day to be kept holy, but onely the Sunday which God hath hallowed.

Item, that men ought to fast no other time, but of the Quatuor temporum.

Item, that images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set vp any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, that curats should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should bee distred amongst the poore parishioners.

He meaneth they should not claime such tithes by any erection.

Item, that all such as sweare by their life or power, shall be damned, except they repent.

## The displing of Iohn Florence.



Upon Wednesday being the second day of August in the yeere of our Lord, 1424, the said John Florence, personally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William bishop of Norwich, where as he proceeding against him, obiected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals: to which article the said John Florence answered in this manner. If the pope liued vprightly as Peter liued, he hath power to make lawes: otherwise I beleeue hee hath no power. But being afterward threatned by the iudge, he acknowledged that hee had erred, and submitted himselfe to the correction of the church, and was abiured, taking an oth that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any errour or heresie contrarie to the determination of the church of Rome, neither maintaine, helpe, or abet any that shall teach or hold any such errours or heresies, either priuilie or apertly; and for his offence in this behalfe done, he was enioyned this penance following.

{Anno 1424}

That



The manner of this displing was with a white rod, whose laid vpon the head of the penitentiary.

That sundaies in a solemne procession in the cathedrall church of Norwich, hee should be displed before all the people. The like also should be done about his parish church of Shelton, three other seuerall sundaies, he being bare headed, bare footed and bare necked, after the maner of a publike penitentiarie, his body being couered with a canuas shirt and canuas breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound waight; and that done he was dismissed.

## Richard Belward of Erisam in the diocesse of Norwich.

RIchard Belward of Erisam, in the diocesse of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions here vnder written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

In primis, that ecclesiasticall ministers and Ordinaries haue no power to excommunicat, neither can excommunicat. And albeit that a bishop doe excommunicat any man, God doth absolue him.

Item, that hee held the erroneous opinions and conclusions, that sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that sir John Oldcastle was a true catholike man, and falsly condemned and put to death without any reasonable cause.

Item, that such as goe on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicat, because they ought to offer to the quicke, and not to the dead: and that the ecclesiasticall ministers, that is to say, the curats doe sell God vpon Easter day, when as they receiue offerings of such as should communicate before they doe minister the sacrament vnto them.

Item, that he counselled diuers women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

The words of the Register.

Item, that he blamed diuers of his neighbors that refused his doctrine, saying vnto them: Truly ye are soles that denie to learne the doctrine of my sect, for your neighbors which are of my sect, are able to confound and banquish all other that are of your sect.

Item, that the saints which are in heauen ought in no case to be prayed vnto, but only God.

Item, that the said Richard kepeth schooles of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the towne of Dichingham, and a certaine parchmentmaker bringeth him all the bookes containing that doctrine, from London.

The fifth day of July 1424. the said Richard Belward was brought before John bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of iudgement, where as the foresaid articles were obiected against the said Richard, which he there denied: whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himselfe, the monday next after the feast of Saint Margaret: vpon which day being the 24. of July, in the yeere aforesaid, he appeared againe before the bishop, and brought with him nine of his neighbors to purge him vpon those articles, and there did solemnly purge himselfe. And afterward, forsomuch as the said bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there presently to sweare vpon the Euangelists, that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any errour or heresie, contrary to the church of Rome, neither aid, assist, fauor or maintaine, priuily or apertly, any manner of person or persons, that should hold or maintaine the said errours or heresies. In the presence of master William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle and John Berne esquire, and other of his neighbors which came vnto his purgation.

John Goddesell of Dichingham.

In like manner John Goddesell of Dichingham parchmentmaker, was defended and accused vpon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop: where as hee denying them, purged himselfe by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworne also in like manner, as he was, and so was dismissed and set at liberty, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1428. when as he was againe apprehended, accused and abiured, as shall be more at large declared in the historie when wee come to that yeere. Sir Hugh Pie also, chaplaine of Ludney in the diocesse of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich the fifth day of July, anno 1424. for holding of these opinions following

Sir Hugh Pie priest.

That the people ought not to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, that the people ought not to giue almes, but onely vnto such as beg at their doores.

Item, that the image of the crosse and other images are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh had cast the crosse of Bomeshold into the fire to be burned, which he take from one John Welgate of Ludney. Which articles, as is aforesaid, being obiected against him, he vtterly denied: whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himselfe by the witnesse of three lay men, and three priests. That so done, he was sworne as the other before, and so dismissed.

Image of the crosse not to be worshipped.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1428. king Henry the 6. sent downe most cruell letters of commission vnto John Exeter and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castell of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William White priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth.

## The copie of the kings letters directed to John Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castell of Colchester, for the apprehending of sir William *White priest, and other (as they called them) Lollards.*

Henry by the grace of God king of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, to his welbeloued John Exeter, and Iacolet Germaine, keeper of the castell of Colchester, health.

A letter of the king.

Ye shall vnderstand that we fully trusting vnto your fidelitie and circumspections, haue appointed you ioyntly and seuerally to take and arrest William White priest, and Thomas, late chaplaine of Setling, in the county of Norfolke, and William Northampton priest, and all other whatsoeuer they bee that are suspect of heresie or Lallardie, wheresoeuer they may be found within the liberties or without, and straightway being so taken, to send them vnto our next gaile or prison, vntill such time as we shall haue taken other order for their deliuery: And therefore we straitly command you, that ye diligentlie attend about the premisses, and fulfill the same in forme aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singuler Iustices of peace, Maiors, Shiriffes, Bailiffes, Constables, and all other our faithfull officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they doe assist, aid and counsell you and euery of you, in the execution of the premisses, as it shall be comely for them. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnes my selfe at Westminster, the 6. of July, the 6. yeere of our raigne.

By vertue of which commission were finde in old monuments, that within short space after, John Exeter, which was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the towne of Bungay in the diocesse of Norwich, and committed them to William Day, and William Roe, Constables of the towne of Bungay, to be sent within ten daies following vnder safe custody, vnto the castell of Norwich. Whose names through the antiquity of the monument were so defaced, that we could not attaine to the perfect knowledge of them all: onely three names partly remained in the booke to be read, which were these.

¶ John Waddon of Tenderdon, in the countie of Kent, Bartlemew, monke of Ersham, in the county of Norfolke, Corneleader a married man, William Scurs.

These three were in the custody of the duke of Norfolke, at his castell of Fremingham.

Besides these, we also finde in the said old monuments within the diocesse of Norfolke and Suffolke, specially in the townes of Beckles, Ersham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to haue been vexed and cast in prison, and after their abiuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the said diocesse called William, and his chancellor William Bernham, John Exeter being the Register therein; so that within the space of three or foure yeers, that is, from the yeere 1428. vnto the yeere 1431. about the number of 120. men and women were examined and suffained great vexation for the profession of the christian faith: of whom some were only taken vpon suspition only, for eating of meates prohibited vpon vigill daies, who of their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with lesse punishment, whose names here follow subscribed.

William bishop of Norwich, Exhibiam Bernham his chancellor.

## ¶ The names of them that were taken and examined *vpon suspition of heresie.*

A catalogue of good men and women troubled for suspition of heresie.

SRobert Skiruing of Harlstone.
William Skiruing.
John Terry of Ersham.
John Abree of Ersham.
John Middleton of Haluergate.
John Wayde of Ersham.
Richard Clarke of Sething.
Thomas White of Bedingham.
Master Robert Beete of Berry.
Richard Page of Clipsly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and some of them were put to death and burned, among whom we doe specially finde mention made of these three:

Father Abraham of Colchester.
William White, priest.
John Waddon, priest.

¶ The residue for a great number of good men and women, were forced to abiure, sustaining such cruell penance as pleased them

then the said bishop and his chancellor to lay vpon them. The names of which, both men and women, here follows together in this briefe catalogue to be seene.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Beuerley. | Richard Fletcher of Beckles. | The clerke of Ludney. |
| John Wardon. | Nicolas Belward. | Richard Clarke of Sething. |
| John Baker. John Midleton. | Thomas Grenemere. | Katharine the wife of William Wright. |
| John Kynget. | John Clarke. William Bate. | William Collin of Southcreke. |
| Margery Backster. | William Scherming. | Rich. King of Windeham. |
| John Skilley. | William Osburne. | Tho. Plowman. John Fellis. |
| John Godhold. | John Rene of Beckles. | Tho. Louse of Rokeland. |
| Thomas Albecke. John Pierce. | Baldwine Cooper of Beckles. | Richard Knobbing of Beckles. |
| Nicolas Canon of Eye. | John Per. M. Moones seruant. | Rich. Grace of Beckles. |
| Thomas Pye. | Rob. Brigs. John Finch. | Iohn Eldon of Beckles. |
| John Mendham. | John Wropham. Thomas Moone. | William Herdy. William Bate. |
| John Middleton. | Isabel Chaplaine of Martham. | Iohn Weston. |
| Thomas Chatris. | William Marsh of Ersham. | Katharine Hobs. |
| Thomas Wade. | John Goodwin of Ersham. | Iohn Daw. |
| William Taylor. | Henry Latchcold of Ersham. | Rob. Grigs of Martham. |
| John Cupper, vicar of Tunstall. | Henry Boode of Ersham. | Wil. Calis priest. |
| Sir Hugh Pye priest. | Rich. Horne of Ersham. | Tho. Pert. priest. |
| Bartholomew Tatcher. | John Belward senior of Ersham. | Katharine Dauie. |
| Thomas Iames. | John Belward iunior of Ersham. | Iacob Bodhome, & Margaret his wife. |
| John Fouling. | John Spire of Bungay. | Iohn Manning of Marton. |
| Bertram Cornmonger. | Rob. Cole of Turming. | John Culling of Beemster. |
| Thomas Swerdin. | The heard of Shepemedow. | Rich. Fletcher of Beckles and Matild his wife. |
| Alanus Andrew. | Isabel Dauy of Costes. | Iohn Eldon of Beckles. |
| William Wright. | Sibyl wife of John Godefel of Dicham. | Rob. Canel priest. |
| William Euerden. | John Pyry of Bartham. | Nic. Drey. |
| William Taylor. | John Baker. Margery Wright. | William Hardy of Mundham. |
| Auis the wife of Thomas Moone and her daughter. | Thomas Burrel and his wife. | Iohn Poleyne. |
| | John Pert. Edm. Archer. | |

These forenamed persons and soulders of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of thole dates, although they were constrained to relent and abiure, that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues, then their hearts did thinke, partly though correction, and partly though infirmity (being as yet but new trained soulders in Gods field) yet for their god will they bare vnto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not expresse it, we haue thought good that their names should not be suppressed, aswell for other sundry causes, as specially for this: either to stop the mouthes of malignant aduersaries, or to answer to their ignorance: the following rather blinde affection, then the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they knowinot, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for newelties, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched brethren. Who, if they did as well foresee times passed, as they be vnwilling to follow times now present, they should vnderstand as well by these stories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath preuailed, although in most places though tyranny and the malice of men, Gods proceedings haue been suppressed and kept vnder from rising, in much as mens power and strength ioyned with craft and subtilty, could labour to kepe downe the same: as here by these god men of Northfolke and Suffolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the god towardnesse of those god men, had had the like liberty of time, with the helpe of like authority, as wee haue now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelats, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would haue been, which now they contemne and reiect for the newnesse thereof: neither need Boner to haue asked of Thomas Hawkes, x such other, where their church was for forty yeres ago, in as much as for forty yeres ago, and more, within the country of Northfolke and Suffolke, was there found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now professe. And thus much for the number of the names of these persons.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintaine and defend: first, this is to be considered, as I finde it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their assertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other; what their articles were, partly it is shewed in the lease before: and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles that many of them either were falsly obiected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common maner is of these aduersaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresie, and of a little occasion, to stir vp great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliffe and John Hus, and others mo: So in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptisme and paying of tithes. For whereas they speaking against the ceremonies and superfluous traditions then vsed in baptisme, as salt, oile, spittle, taper, light, crismes, crossing of the water, with such other accoūted them as no materiall thing in the holy institution of baptisme, the notaries slanderously deprauing this their assertion, to make it more odious to the eares of the people, so gaue out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptisme vsed in the church by water, is but a light matter and of small effect.

Againe, in speaking against the christening the midwiues vse in priuat houses, against the opinion of such as thinke such children to be damned, which depart before they come to their baptisme, they are falsly reported, as though they should say, that christian people be sufficiently baptised in the bloud of Christ, and needs no water, and that infants be sufficiently baptised, if their parents be baptised before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest word, that it is not to be thought any to be so ignorant of the Gospell, that euer would or did affirme the same.

Moreouer, they thought or said peraduenture, that in certaine cases, tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometime, and be conferred to better vses, to the behoofe of the poore: Therefore they are falsly slandered, as saying and affirming that not tithes were to be giuen to the ministers and curats of the churches.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirme, as though it consisted onely in the mutuall consent betwixt the man and the woman, nothing no other solemnizing in the publike church, and all because (as it is like) they denied it to be a sacrament. Other articles were obiected against them, as these which hereafter followe.

That auricular confession is not to be made vnto a priest, but vnto God only, because no priest hath any power to absolue a sinner from his sinne.

Item, that no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that after the sacramentall words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

Item, that euery true christian man is a priest to God.

Item, that no man is bound vnder paine of damnation vnto Lent, or any other daies prohibited by the church of Rome.

Item, that the pope is antichrist, and his prelats the disciples of antichrist, and the pope hath no power to binde and lose vpon earth.

Item, that it is lawfull for euery christian to doe any bodily worke (sinne only except) vpon holy daies.

Item, that it is lawfull for priests to haue wiues.

Item, that excommunications and ecclesiasticall censures giuen out by the prelats, are not to be regarded.

Item, it is not lawfull to sweare in priuat cases.

Item, that men ought not to goe on pilgrimage.

Item, that there is no honor to be giuen to the Images of the crucifix, of our Lady, or any other saint.

Item, that the holy water hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or more vertue then other running or well water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

Item, that the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy, neither meritorious.

Item, that the relikes, as dead mens bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of their graues, or set by in shrines.

Item, that praiers made in all places are acceptable vnto God.

Item, y men ought not to pray to any saint but only to God.

Item, that the bels and ringing in the church, was ordained for no other purpose then to fill the priests purses.

Item, that it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiasticall precepts.

Item,

These forenamed persons and soulders of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of thole dates, although they were constrained to relent and abiure, that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues, then their hearts did thinke, partly though correction, and partly though infirmity (being as yet but new trained soulders in Gods field) yet for their god will they bare vnto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not expresse it, we haue thought good that their names should not be suppressed, aswell for other sundry causes, as specially for this: either to stop the mouthes of malignant aduersaries, or to answer to their ignorance: the following rather blinde affection, then the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lacke of knowledge, blame that they knowinot, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for newelties, and carping the teachers thereof for new broched brethren. Who, if they did as well foresee times passed, as they be vnwilling to follow times now present, they should vnderstand as well by these stories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God lacking no antiquity, hath from time to time continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath preuailed, although in most places though tyranny and the malice of men, Gods proceedings haue been suppressed and kept vnder from rising, in much as mens power and strength ioyned with craft and subtilty, could labour to kepe downe the same: as here by these god men of Northfolke and Suffolke, may well appeare. For if the knowledge and the god towardnesse of those god men, had had the like liberty of time, with the helpe of like authority, as wee haue now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelats, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would haue been, which now they contemne and reiect for the newnesse thereof: neither need Boner to haue asked of Thomas Hawkes, x such other, where their church was for forty yeres ago, in as much as for forty yeres ago, and more, within the country of Northfolke and Suffolke, was there found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now professe. And thus much for the number of the names of these persons.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintaine and defend: first, this is to be considered, as I finde it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their assertions and articles there was no difference. The doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other; what their articles were, partly it is shewed in the lease before: and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles that many of them either were falsly obiected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common maner is of these aduersaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresie, and of a little occasion, to stir vp great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliffe and John Hus, and others mo: So in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptisme and paying of tithes. For whereas they speaking against the ceremonies and superfluous traditions then vsed in baptisme, as salt, oile, spittle, taper, light, crismes, crossing of the water, with such other accoūted them as no materiall thing in the holy institution of baptisme, the notaries slanderously deprauing this

Bonner might see the church here in this age, more then forty yeres, before he was borne.

These members falsly slandered about baptisme.

The papists are but quarrell pickers.

Articles.

a Treason of necessity vrgent the present.

The deuill of Sathanas Becket.



In this article is meant, that the wicked be in the church, but not of the church.

Item, that the catholike church is onely the congregation of the elect.

These were the articles which were generally obiected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one vniforme faith, that whatsoeuer one did hold, all the other did maintaine and hold the same. By the which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all receiued it of some one instructer, who was William White: which being a scholler and followet of John Wickliffe, reuoked afterward into this country of Norfolke, and there instructed these men in the light of the Gospell. And now, as wee haue declared the names and articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speake of their troubles how they were handled, beginning first with William White.

The bishop vnmaskes himself in the matter, exhorting the people.

### William White priest.

Cxlii. White martyr. Anno 1428 Ex Waldens. Eccles. 50.

THis William White being a follower of John Wickliffe, and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise man speaketh: He was as the morning starre in the middest of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, vpright, and a well spoken priest. He gaue ouer his priesthood and benefice, and toke vnto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Ioane: notwithstanding hee did not therefore cease or leane from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of his spouse Christ, by reading, writing and preaching. The principall points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canturburie.

That men should seeke for the forgiuenesse of their sinnes only at the hands of God.

That the wicked liuing of the pope and his holinesse, is nothing else but a diuelish estate and heady yoke of antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy vnto Christs truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men which are dead.

The Romish church is aptly resembled to the cursed figge tree.

That the Romish church is the fig tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true beleefe.

That such as weare coules, or be annointed or shorn, are the lanceknights and soulders of Lucifer: and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when as the Lord shall come.

Vpon which articles he being attached at Canturbury vnder the archbishop Henry Chichelly, in the yere of our Lord 1424, there for a certaine space stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached: but like as there hee lost his courage and strength, so afterward he became againe much more stouter and stronger in Iesus Christ, x confessed his olwn errors and offence. For after this, he going into Norfolke with his said wife Ioane, and there occupying himselfe busily in teaching and conuerting the people vnto the true doctrin of Christ, at the last, by the meanes of the kings letters sent downe for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William bishop of Norwich, by whom he was conuict, and condemned of 30. articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, an. 1424.

Father Abraham, John Maddon priest, martyrs and burned.

ABout the same time also was burned father Abraham of Colchester, and John Maddon priest, for the like articles.

Concerning them which abiured, how and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and maner of the penance inioyned them, here it might be set out at large: but for auoiding of prolixity, if shall be sufficient briefly to touch certaine of the principals, whereby the better vnderstanding may be giuen to the reader, after what maner and order all the other were intreated.

First, amongst them which were arrested and caused to abiure in this yere afore specified, 1428. was Thomas Pie, and John Mendham of Aldborough, who being conuict vpon diuers of the articles before mentioned, were inioyned penance to be done in their owne parish church, as by the bishops letter directed to the deane of Rhodenhall, and the parish priest of Aldborough both more at large appeare, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

*The copy of the bishop of Norwich his letter.*

A letter of the bishop of Norwich.

WIlliam by the sufferance of God bishop of Norwich, to our welbeloued sonnes in Christ the deane of Rodenhall of our diocesse, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Aldborough of the same our diocesse, health, grace and benediction. Forsomuch as we, according to our office lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendement of the soules of Thomas Pye and John Mendham of Aldborough of the diocesse aforesaid, because they haue holden, beleeued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome, and the vniuersall church and catholike faith, haue enioyned the said Thomas and John, appearing before vs personally, and confessing before vs iudicially that they haue holden, beleeued and affirmed, diuers and many errors and heresies, this penance hereunder written, for their offences to be done and fulfilled in maner, forme and time hereunder written, according as iustice doth require, that is to say, six fustigations or displings about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid, before a solemne procession six seuerall sundaies, and three displings about the market place of Herelstone of our said diocesse three principall market daies, bare necked, head, legges and feet, their bodies being couered onely with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound waight, as well round about the church, as about the market place, in euery

The manner of the penance.

The description of the penance of Thomas Pye, *and John Mendham.*

The burning of William White.



This William White and his wife, had his most abode with one Thomas Moone of Ludney. This man was of so de-



of the foresaid appointed daies; which tapers the last sunday after ther penance finished, wee will that the said John and Thomas

Thomas do humbly and deuoutly offer vnto the high altar of the parish church of Aldborough at the time of the offertorie of the high Masse the same day, and that either of them going about the market place aforesaid, shall make foure seueral pauses or staies, and at euery of those same pauses, humbly and deuoutly receiue at your hands three disshings. Therefore we straitly charge and command you and either of you, ioyntly and seuerally by vertue of your obedience, that euery sunday and market day, after the receit of our present commandement, you doe effectually admonish, and bring forth the said Thomas Pye and Iohn Mendam to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so diligentlie to finish the same in maner and forme afore appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandements in this behalfe, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you shall cite them peremptorilie, that they or either of them appeare before vs or our commissarie, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the 12. day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they or any of them haue any cause why they should not be excommunicate for their manifest offence in this behalfe committed, according to the forme and order of law, and further to receiue such punishment, as iustice shall prouide in that behalfe. And what you haue done in the premisses, whether the said Thomas and Iohn haue obeyed your admonitions, and performed the said penance or no: we will that you or one of you which haue receiued our said commandement, for the execution thereof, doe distinctly certifie vs betweene this and the last day of November next comming. Dated at our palace of Norwich vnder our commissaries seale, the 8. day of October, An. 1428.

This (gentle Reader) was for the most part, the order of their whole penance: howbeit, some were often times more cruelly handled: and after their penance they were banished out of the diocesse, and othersome more straitly vsed by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

### Iohn Beuerley alias Battild.

IOhn Beuerley alias Battild a labourer *was attached by* the wisar of Southcreke, the parish priest of Waterden and a lawyer, and so deliuered vnto maister William Barnam the bishops commissarie, who sent him to the castle of Norwich there to be kept in ironsuntil he as afterward he being brought before the Commissarie, and hauing nothing proued against him, he tooke an oth, that euery yeere afterward he should confesse his sins once a yeere to his curate, and receiue the Sacrament at Easter, as other christians ordeined for: his offence was enioyned that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast bread and water, and vpon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Conesland, and by S. Michaels church, by Cottlerein, and about the market, hauing in his hand a wax candle of two pence, to offer to the image of the Trinitie after he had done his penance. And for so much as he confessed that he had eaten fleshvpon Easter day, and was not shriuen in all Lent, nor receiued vpon Easter day, the Iudge enioyned him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday in Whitson-weeke, hauing but one meale a day of fish and other white meats, & after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocesse, and neuer come there any more.

John Beuerley.

*Alias falsly accused.

### Iohn Skilley of Flixton, miller.

IOhn Skilley of Flixton miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich the 14. day of March, 1428. for holding and maintaining the articles aboue written, was thereupon conuict and forced to abiure; and after his abiuration solemnly made (which here to auoid tediousnes we omit) he had a most sharpe sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: That for so much as the said Skilley was conuict by his owne confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receiuing certaine good and godly men into his house, as sir William White priest, and Iohn Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretikes, and had now abiured the same, being first absolued from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by meanes of his opinions, he was enioyned for penance 7. yeres imprisonment in the monasterie of Langley, in the diocesse of Norwich. And for so much as in times past, he did vpon the Fridaies to eat flesh, he was inioyned to fast bread & water euery Friday, by the space of that seuen yeres to come; and that by the space of two yeres next immediatly after the 7. yeres expired, euery Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and euery Maundie thursday, he should appeare before the bishop or his successor, or commissarie for the time being, in the cathedrall church of Norwich together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

John Skilley. The penance of Iohn Skilley.

Besides these there were diuers other of the same company which the same yere were forced to like abiuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next yere following, which was 1429. there ensueth a great number in the same register, which were examined and did penance in like sort, to the number of 16. or 17. In the number of whom was Iohn Baker, or therwise called Vther Tunkall, who for hauing a booke with the Paternoster, the Aue and Creed in English, and for certaine other articles of talking, confession and inuocation contrarie to the determination of the Romish Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abiure and suffaine such penance, as the other before him had done.

### The storie of Margery Backster.

A Mother was Margerie Backster, wife of William Backster Wright in Swarthan, the same yere accused: against whom, one Ioane wife of Clifeland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in forme following.

Margerie Backster.

First, that the said Margerie Backster did inioyne this deponent, that she should in no case sweare, saying to her in English, haue beware of the Bee, for euery Bee will sting, and therfore take heed you sweare not, neither by God, neither by our ladie, neither by none other saint: and if ye doe contrary, the Bee will sting your tongue and benome your soule.

A woman brought in for swearing in the popes court. The Bee will sting.

Item, this deponent being instructed by the said Margery, that she did euery day at Church, she answered that she kneled downe and said 5. Pater nosters, in worship of the crucifix, and as many Aue Maries in worship of our ladie. Whom Margerie rebuked, saying: You do euil to kneele or pray to such Images in the Churches, for God dwelleth not in such Churches, neither shall come downe out of heauen, and will giue you no more reward for such prayer, then a candle lighted and set vnder the couer of the font, will giue light by night to those which are in the Church: saying moreouer in English, Leaue twights, of stocks be we and forme such crosses and Images, and after that, leaue painters glere them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true crosse of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your owne house. Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery stretching out her armes abroad, said to this deponent: this is the true crosse of Christ, and this crosse thou oughtest and maist euery day, behold and worship in thine owne house, and therefore it is but paine to run to the Church to worship dead crosses and Images.

Against Images.

Item, this deponent being demanded by the said Margery how she beleeued touching the Sacrament of the altar, said that she beleeued the Sacrament of the altar after the consecration, to be the very bodie of Christ in forme of bread. To whom Margerie said: Your beleefe is nought: For if euerie such Sacrament were God, and the very bodie of Christ, there should be an infinite number of Gods, because that a thousand priests and more doe euery day make a thousand such Gods, and afterward eate them, and void them out againe by their hinder parts filthilie stircking vnder the hedges, where as you may find a great many such gods, if you will seeke for them. And therefore know for a certaintie, that by the grace of God it shall neuer be my God, because it is falsly and deceitfully ordeined by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry: for it is only material bread.

The Sacrament is not God.

Moreouer, the said Margerie said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canturbury, whom the people called S. Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because hee traiterously endowed the Churches with possessions, and ruled by many heresies in the Church, which seduce the simple people; and therfore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false priests that say that hee suffered his death patiently before the altar, doe lie: For as a false coward ly traitor he was slaine in the church doore as he was flying away.

Sir. Thomas Becket traitor.

Thomas Becket slaine, not before the altar, but in his flying.

Moreouer, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her that the cursed Pope, Cardinals, Archbish. and Bishops, and specially the Bishop of Norwich and others that support and maintaine heresies and Idolatrie, raigning and ruling ouer the people, shall shortly haue the like same or worse mischiefe fall vpon them, that that cursed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsly and cursedlie deceiue the people with their false manners and lawes, to extort money of the simple folke to suffaine their pride, riot and idlenesse. And know assuredlie that the vengeance of God will speedilie come vpon them, which haue most cruellie slaine the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and Iohn Wadden, with many other godlie men: which vengeance had come vpon the said Caiphas, the Bishop of Norwich and his ministers, which are members of the diuell, before this time, if the Pope had not sent once those false pardons vnto those parties, which the said Caiphas had falsly obtained to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the Church. Which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatrie.

Father Abraham, William Sautre, Iohn Wadden.

Item, the said Margerie said to this deponent, that euerie faithfull man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other daies appointed for fasting by the Church, and that euerie man may lawfully eate flesh and all other meates vpon the said daies and times: and that it were better to eate the fragments left vpon Thursday at night or the fasting daies, then to go to the market to bring themselues in debt to buy fish: and that pope Syluester made the Lent.

Against the Popes fasting daies.

Item, the said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsly condemned for an heretike, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where as the saw that when he would haue opened his mouth to speake vnto the people to instruct them, a diuell one of bishop Caiphas seruants strucke him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Will. White willing to speake at the stake, was stucken on the mouth.

Item, this deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not goe on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Ioane her maid would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should heare her husband reade the law of Christ vnto them; which law was written in a booke that her husband was wont to reade to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the christian verity.

Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Ioane Welf, and that the said woman is in a good way of saluation.

Also that the said Margery said to this deponent: Ioane, it appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I haue said vnto you: and this deponent sware that she would neuer disclose it, without the said Margery gaue her occasion. Then said Margery vnto this deponent, if thou doe accuse mee vnto the bishop, I will doe vnto thee as I did once vnto a certaine frier a Carmelite of Yarmouth, which was the best learned frier in all the country. Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the frier. Vnto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said frier, rebuking him because he did beg, saying: that it was no almes to giue him any good thing, except hee would leaue his habit, and goe to the plough, and so he should please God more, then following the life of some of those friers. Then the frier required of the said Margery, whether shee could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as shee affirmed to this deponent) declared to this frier the gospels in English, and then the frier departed from her. After this, the same frier accused the said Margery of heresie; and shee vnderstanding that the frier had accused her, accused the frier againe, that he would haue had to doe with her carnally; and because she would not consent vnto him, the frier had accused her of heresie. And moreouer the said, that her husband would haue killed the frier therefore: and so the frier for feare held his peace, and went his way for shame.

Against auricular confession.

This Margery also said, that she had often times bin fained-ly confessed to the Deane of the fields, because he should thinke her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gaue the said Margery often times mony. Then this deponent asked her whether she had confessed her sinnes to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had neuer offended any priest, and therefore she would neuer confesse her selfe to any priest, neither obey him, because they haue no power to absolue any man from their sinnes, for that they offend daily more grieuously then other men; and therefore that men ought not to confesse themselues only vnto God, and to no priest.

Against Images worship.

Item, that the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship diuels which fell from heauen with Lucifer, which diuels in their fall to the earth, entred into the Images which stand in the churches, and haue long lurked and dwelled in them: so that the people worshipping those Images, commit idolatry.

Item, she said more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the bels are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicat which first ordained them.

Moreouer, that she should not be burned, although she were conuict of Lollardry, for that shee had a charter of saluation in her body.

Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Bethem her seruant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the saturday after Ashwednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a basse pot standing ouer the fire, with a piece of bacon and otemeale seething in it, as it is said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also besides this deponent, diuers other sworn and examined vpon the said Margery, as Iohn Grimley and Agnes Berthem, seruants to William Clifland, which all together confirmed the former depositions.

This much we haue thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we haue gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we finde no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same yere also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against diuers good men, as here followeth.

First this deponent saith, that William Tailor told Iohn Pury of Ludney, in the house of Iohn Bungay of Weghton, in the presence of Iohn Bungay, Robert Gigges wright of Partham, and Iohn Vther, that all the good men of Partham

John Pury, John Bungay, John Vther.



which were fauorers and helpers to that good man William White are cruell troubled now a daies, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor: and that the best doctor after him was William Swerden, which wrought with the said William Tailor of Ludney, by the space of one moneth, and that the first sunday of the same moneth, the said William Swerden did sit all day vpon the table at worke, saying to the said William Tailor, that he would not goe to church to shew himselfe a Scribe or a Pharisie: and the second sunday he put on gentlemans apparell, and went to Norwich to heare and know the bishop and his ministers vsed the poor christians there in prison.

Will. Sailor of Ludney.

Also the said William Wright, deposed that William Tailor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with sir Hugh Pie, and had conuersation of certaine times with sir William White, hauing often conference vpon the Lollards doctrine.

The wife and daughter of Thom. Screne.

Item, that Anise, wife of Thomas Screne, is of the same sect, and fauored them, and receiued them often, and also the daughter of Thomas Screne is partly of the same sect, and can reade English.

Rich. Fletcher.

Item, that Richard Fletcher of Beckles, is a most perfit doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfitly expound the holy Scriptures, and hath a booke of the new law in English, which was sir Hugh Pies sheet.

Mr. Belward.

Item, that Nicolas Belward, sonne of Iohn Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelam, is one of the same sect, and hath a new testament which he bought at London for foure marks and fortie pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one yere, and studied diligently vpon the said new Testament.

A new testament cost forty marks, and forty pence.

Tho. Gremner.

Item, that Thomas Gremner, Turner of Dychingame, is perfect in that sect and law.

John Clarke.

John Clarke the younger of Bergh, had the bedding and apparell of William Swerden in his custody, after the returne of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

Wil. Bate.

Item, William Bate, Tailor of Sething and his wife, and his sonne, which can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Wil. Skirming.

Item, William Skirming of Sething, receiued Ioane the wife of William White into his house, being brought thither by William Swerden, after their departure from Partham.

Wil. Osborne, John Rene, Swadwin Cooper.

Item, William Osborne of Sething, John Rene glouer, and Baldwin Cooper of Beckles are of the same sect.

John Pert.

Item John Pert, late seruant of Thomas Pone, is of the same sect, and can reade well, and did reade in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Pone, and conferred vpon their doctrine.

Sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, seruant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the booke of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

John Perker.

Item, sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, seruant to William White, a new Testament, which they then called the booke of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

Apocrypha.

John Perker, mercer of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

Item he said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroied: notwithstanding at the length the Lollards shall preuaile and haue the victory against all their enemies.

Also he said, that Tucke knoweth all of that sect in Suffolke, Norfolke and Ely.

Besides these, there were many other the same yere tried, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolke men, here for breuities sake we omit further to intreat of, passing ouer to the next yere following, which was 1430. Ex Regist. Norw.

Ex Regist. Norw.

John Burrell.

IOhn Burrell, seruant to Thomas Pone of Ludney, in the diocesse of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresie the 9. day of September, in this yere of our Lord 1430. and examined by maister William Bernam the bishops commissary, vpon the articles before mentioned, and diuers others hereafter following obieted against him.

In primis, that the catholike church is the soule of euery good christian man.

Lent fast, fish dates.

Item, that no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting daies appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but paradined by the priests: and that euery man may eat flesh or fish vpon the same daies indifferently, according to his owne will, and euery friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Pilgrimage to the poore.

Item, that pilgrimage ought not to be made, but only vnto the poore.

Masses for the dead unprofitable.

Item, that it is not lawfull to sweare, but in case of life and death.

Item, that masses and prayers for the dead, are but vaine, for the soules of the dead are either in heauen or hell: and there is none other place of purgatory but this world. Vpon the which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure

tinre, and suffered like pertance, as the other before had done.

The Scotte of Ludney.

Thomas Scotte of Ludney, was apprehended and attached for suspition of hereste, against whom were obiected by the bishop, the articles before written, but specially this article, that he had familiarity and communication with diuers heretikes, and had receiued, comforted, supported, and maintained diuers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Pye, Thomas Pet, and William Sallis priests, with many other more: upon the which articles, he being conuict before the bishop, was forced to abiure, and receiued the like penance, in like manner as before.

Sir Will. White, Hugh Pye, Tho. Pet, Will. Sallis, priests.

Rob. Grigges of Dartham.

In like maner, Robert Grigges of Dartham was brought before the bishop the 17. day of February, in the yere aforesaid, for holding and affirming the foresaid articles, but specially these hereafter following.

Articles.

That the sacrament of confirmation ministred by the bishop, did auale nothing to saluation.

That it was no sinne to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for the coniurations and characters which the priests make ouer them.

Upon which articles he being conuict, was forced to abiure, and receiued penance in maner and forme as the other had done before him.

The like also albeit somewhat more sharpe, happened vnto Iohn Fynch of Colchester, the 20. day of September, who albeit he was of the diocesse of London, being suspect of hereste, was attached in Ipswich in the diocesse of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he being conuict of the like articles, as all the other before him, was enioyned penance, three displings in solemne procession about the cathedrall church of Norwich three seuerall sundaies, and three displings about the market place of Norwich three principall market daies, his head, necke, and feet being bare, and his body couered only with a short shirt or wastare, hauing in his hands a taper of wax of a pound waight, which the next sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity: and that for the space of three yeres after, euery Ashwednesday and Maundy Thursday, he should appeare in the cathedrall church of Norwich, before the bishop or his viecgerent to doe open penance amongst the other penitentiaries for his offences.

John Fynch of Colchester.

Penitentiarie.

There were besides these men which we haue here rehearsed, diuers and many other, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their articles and punishments were all one, we haue thought good at this time to passe ouer, especially forsomuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

Anno 1420

About the same time, euen the same yere 1420. shortly after the solemne coronation of king Henry the fifth, a certaine man named Richard Houeden a woll winder, and a citizen of London, receiued also the croune of martyrdome.

Rich. Houeden martyr.

## The burning of Richard Houeden.



Which man when hee could by no perswasions bee withdrawne or plucked backe from the opinions of Wickliffe, hee was by the rulers of the Church condemned for hereste; and as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

## Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Nicolas Canon of Eye.

Anno 1431

NOw to proceed in our story of Norfolke and Suffolke, in following the order of yeres, we finde that in the yere of our Lord 1431. one Nicolas Canon of Eye was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspition of hereste, with certain witnesses sworne to depose against him touching his maners and conuersation, which witnesses appointing one William Chillopher to speake in the name of them all, he deposed in maner and forme following.

First, that on Easter day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicolas Canon as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrarie way, and met the procession.

This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing. Depositions.

Item, the said Nicolas asked of master John Colman of Eye, this question: Master Colman, what thinke you of the sacrament of the altar? To whom the said Colman answered: Nicolas, I thinke that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Iesus Christ vnder the fourme of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicolas in derision said: Truly if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Iesu Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small trome; as when it is in the priests mouth, that receiueth it at masse. And why may not wee simple men, as well eat flesh vpon fridaies, and all other prohibited daies, as the priest to eat the flesh, and drinke the blood of our Lord euery day indifferently? The which article, the said Nicolas denieth that he spake vnto master Colman, but vnto a monke of Hatcleneye: and furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalfe. If the sacrament be very flesh, then the priests eat flesh on Friday.

Item, that on Corpus Christi day, at the elenation of high masse, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled downe, holding vp their handes, and doing reuerence vnto the sacrament, the said Nicolas went behinde a piller of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reuerence vnto the sacrament.

This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he beleeued himselfe to doe well in so doing.

Item, when his mother would haue the said Nicolas to lift vp his right hand, and to crosse himselfe from the crafts and assaults of the diuell, forsomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother tooke vp his right hand and crossed him, saying: In nomine patris, filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen. Which ended, the said Nicolas immediatly deriding his mothers blessing, take vp his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his aduersaries report of him. This article the said Nicolas acknowledged to be true.

Item, that vpon Allhallowe day, in the time of elenation of high masse, when as many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them vp to the high altar, kneeling downe there in reuerence and honor of the sacrament, the said Nicolas carrying a torch, went vp hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priests back saying masse, at the time of the elenation he stood vpright vpon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would doe no reuerence vnto the sacrament. This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalfe. All which articles the bishops commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent vnto master William Worsted, prior of the cathedrall church of Norwich and to other doctors of Diuinity of the order of begging friers, that they might deliberate vpon them, and shew their mindes betweene that and thursday next following. Upon which thursday, being the last of November, the yere aforesaid, the said Nicolas was againe examined before master Barnam and diuers other, vpon two other articles which he had confessed vnto J. Erpeto notary, and Tho. Scrusten bachelor of Diuinity, and others. Thereof the first article was this: that the said Nicolas Canon being of perfit mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no. This article he confessed before the commissary to be true. Nicolas Canon turned his backe to the sacrament. Another examination of Nicolas Canon.

Item, that he being of perfit mind and remembrance, beleeued that a man ought not to confesse his sinnes to a priest. This article he also confessed that he doubted vpon. Articles obiected.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded vpon the articles: whose answere vnto the same was this.

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article in the same termes as it was propounded, is not simply an hereste, but an error. The iudgement of the priest and doctors vpon the articles.

Item, as touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, as touching the third article, they affirme that it is an hereste.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as vnto the first and second. An hereste to doubt whether

Item, the doctors affirme the fifth article to be an hereste. Item,



the Sacrament be the perfect bodie of Christ or no.

Item, as touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicolas being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the Sacrament of the altar were the verie perfect bodie of Christ or no, then the article is simplie an hereste.

Nicolas Canon declared an hereticke.

Whereupon the said Commissarie declared and pronounced the said Nicolas Canon vpon the determination of the foresaid doctors, to be an heretike, and thereupon forced the said Nicolas to abiure all the said articles. That done, he enioyned the said Nicolas penance for his offences, thæ displings about the cloister of the cathedrall church of Norwich, before a solemne procession, bare headed and bare foote, carrying a taper of halfe a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiarie: the which his penance, the iudge commanded should be respited vntill the comming of the bishop into his diocesse, and that in the meane time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venime and poison of errors and hereseles.

Penance enioyned to Nicolas Canon.

Thus haue we briefly discoursed vnto you, the great troubles and afflictions, which happened in Norfolke and Suffolke by the space of those foure yeres before mentioned, hauing ysaunce out briefly for euerie yere, certaine notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, for so much as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise then by those particular examples may be plainly seene.

## Thomas Bagley priest.

Thomas Bagley priest, martyr.

AND now to proceed as we haue begun with our former stories, generally we find in Fabians chronicles, that in the same yere of our Lord 1431. Thomas Bagley a priest, vicar of Honenden beside Malden, being a valiant disciple, and adherent of Wickliffe, was condemned by the bishops of hereste at London about the middest of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

## ¶ Paul Craw a Bohemian.

Paul Craw, martyr. Ex Hoeller. Bocke.

THe same yere also was Paul Craw a Bohemian taken at Saint Andrewes by the bishop Henrie, and deliuered ouer to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrarie opinions vnto the church of Rome touching the Sacrament of the Lords supper, the worshipping of Saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliffes opinions.

## ✠ The storie of Thomas Rhedon, a French man, and a Carmelite frier, burnt in Italie for the profession of Christ.

Thomas Rhedonensis, martyr. Ex Antonino. 3. part. hist. fol. 165.

WE haue declared before, how this cruell storme of persecution which first began with vs in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, it brake out and passed into Bohemie, and after within a short time, the fire of this persecution increasing by little and little, inuaded Scotland, and from thence now with greater force and violence, this furious deuouring flame hath entred Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murther and slaughter of most good and godly men. It hapned about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon, a frier of that sect, which taketh his name of the mount Carmelus, by chance came with the Venetian ambalsadors into Italy. This man although he was of that sort and sect, which in stead of Christians, are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and vnderstood the word of God, iudging, that God ought not to be worshipped, neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man being a true Carmelite, and sauouring with his whole hart that new sweet musse of Jesus Christ, firth earnest study and desire seeking after a christian integritie of life, prepared himselfe first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some, by whose good life and fruing he might be edified and instructed. For there ought more abundance of vertue and godliuing to be, then in that place, which is counted to be the fort and fountaine of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that where as so great holines is professed, thereupon all mens eyes are bent, as vpon a stage, where as Saint Peters seate is, and is thought to be the ruler and gouernour of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthie of so great expectation in that place? This holy man hauing these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himselfe, forsooke his owne countrie and citie, and went into Rome, conceiuing a firme and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthie men, he should greatly profit in godlines and learning: but the successe of the matter did bitterly frustrate his hope, for all things were cleane contrarie. Whatsoeuer he saw, was nothing else but more dissimulation and hypocrisie. In stead of gold, he found nothing but coales: and for to say the truth, he found nothing else there but gold and siluer. In stead of heauenly gifts, there raigned amongst them the pompe and pride of the world. In

Thomas Rhedonensis commeth into Italy.

The golden calfe of Rome.

All things corrupt at Rome.

The wickednes and pride that raigneth at Rome.

The corruption of Rome will admit no reformation.

Diuelle rewarded with persecution.

Hereste made where none is.

Hypocrisie armed with policie, and defended with tyrannie.

place of godlines, riot. In stead of learning and studie, slothfulnes and superstition. Tyrannie and hautinesse of mind had possessed the place of apostolike simplicitie: that now there remained no more any place or liberte for a man to learne that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly vnderstood. Finally, all things were turned arse ward, all things hapned vnto him contrarie to his expectation wheresoeuer he went. But nothing so much offended this good mans mind, as the intolerable ambition, and pompous pride in them, whom example of humilitie should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing, which did accord and agree with the rule of the Apostles: yet these things did so much passe all measure and patience, that he could by no meanes refraine his tongue in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparell, in their palaces, in their daintie fare, in their great traines of seruants, in their horse and armour, and finally in all things pertaining vnto them. Which things, how much they did varie from the prescript rule of the Gospell, so much the more was this good man forced to speake. Albeit he did well vnderstand how little he should preuaile by speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the bookes of Wickliffe and diuers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Hus, and of Jerome of Prage, and their blood shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at those most effectuall exhortations, they were sklitt scarred and amended, that they seemed twice more cruell then they were before. But all this could not feare this good man, but that in sonecessarie and wholesome an office, he would spend his life if need should be. So by this meanes, he which came to be a scholar vnto others, was now forced to be their teacher. And he which determined to follow other mens liues: maners had now contrarie set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lined so amongst them, that his life might be a rule vnto them all, and so taught, as he might also be their schoolemaster. For euen as Paul had foreshewed vnto such as should be forced to line godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happed vnto this man. He gaue vnto them the fruit of godlinesse, which they should follow: they againe set vpon his head the diademe of martyrdome. He shewed them the way to saluation, and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthie for his great labours and trauels, they with most extreame ignominie persecuted him euen vnto the fire. For when as by continuall preaching he had gotten great enuie and hatred, the rulers began to consult together, by what meanes they might circumuent this mans life. Where they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it is a peculiar and continuall custome amongst the prelats of the church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talke be not according to their mind, or by any meanes hurtfull, or a hinderance to their lucre and gaine, by and by they staine out articles of some hereste, which they charge him withall. And like as euery liuing thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himselfe from harme, as nature hath armed the Boze with his tuskes, the Hedghog with his pricklies, the Lion is feared for his clawes, the Dog for his biting, the Bull fighteth with his hornes, neither doth the Asse lacke his houes to strike withall: euen so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with hereste, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition: which thing may be easily perceiued and seene in this most holy man, before a great number of other. Who, when as now he began to ware grieuous vnto them, and could no longer be suffered: what did they? straight waies flie vnto their old policies, and as they had done with Hus, and Jerome of Prage, euen so went they about to padle against this man. They ouerwhelme him with suspition, they seeke to intangle him with questions, they examine him in iudgement, they compile articles against him, and lay hereste vnto his charge, they condemne him as an heretike, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godlines: this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites. Whose religion was to weare no sword nor shield, notwithstanding, they did beare in their hearts malice, rancour, bengeance, poison, craft and deceit, sharper then any sword. With how great care and policie is it prouided by law, that none of these clergie men should fight with sword in the streets? when as in iudgement and accusations (where as it is not lawfull for a man to oppresse his brother) there is no murtherer which hath more readie bengeance, or that doth more vilely esteeme his brothers soule then they. They shed no blod themselues, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliuer them ouer vnto others to be slaine. What difference is there I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruell fact: they kill no man as murtherers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another meane.

Poperic armed with policie, and defended with tyrannie.

His articles.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these.

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, Jewes, Turkes, and Paynes, shall be conuerted vnto Christ in the latter daies.

That abominations are vsed at Rome.

That the vniust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared: and those which do not obserue the same, do not sinne or offend.

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles: albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, euen mens soules. For this office and ministerie, there was no man thought more meete, then William of Rouen, cardinall of Saint Sixtus in the mount, Vicechancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was pope, who had a little before succeded pope Martin aboue mentioned. Before the which Eugenius, this godly Rhedonensis the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence sent into prison. And against after his imprisonment, and diuers and sundrie grieuous torments, he was brought before the Iudges. The Wolfe sate in iudgement, the lambe was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: But here need not many words. This good Thomas, not being able to resist the malice of these mightie potentates, had offended enough, and was easily conuict and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be depriued of all such degrées as he had taken of priesthood: For it is counted an vnlawfull thing, that a priest should be punished with prophane punishment, whenas notwithstanding it is lawfull enough for priests to put any lay man to death, be he neuer so guiltlesse.

Eu. Antonin. 3. part. hist. fol. 165. W. Cardinalis Rhotomagensis his persecution. Thomas Rhedonensis brought before pope Eugenius.

How religiousllie and earnestly do they foresee, that the maiestie of priestly dignitie should not in any case be hurt? But how little care haue they, that their consciences be not hurt with false iudgements, and oppressing the guiltlesse? Wherefore, before that he should come vnto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and maner of this popish degrading, is partly before touched in the storie of Williams Taylor, fol. 606.

Thomas degraded.

After that it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrées wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprined him of his life also, and burned him foure yéres after that he came to Rome. In the yéere of our Lord, 1436.

Thomas Rhedonensis a Frenchman, burned at Rome.

### ❧ The burning of Thomas Rhedonensis.



And thus through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelats, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a losse of this bodie, for a greater gaine of saluation, before the iust iudgement of God: Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liueth eternally vnder the altar with them, whose blod the Lord will reuenge, peraduenture to some for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden vnpunished.

As this Thomas aboue said suffered at Rome, so were diuers other in other places about Germanie executed neere about the same time, after the burning of John Hus: as Henrie Stumfelder priest, Henrie Kadrger priest, Iohn Drackenbarde priest, Peter Throaw, Matthew Hager minister. Pope Eugenius the fourth.

Henrie Stumfelder priest. Henrie Kadrger priest. Iohn Drackenbarde priest. Peter Throaw. Matthew Hager minister.

After the death of pope Martine, who raigned fourtéene yéares, succéeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the yére of our Lord 1431. Of whom Antoninus thus writeth, that he was much giuen to warres, as may well declare his conflicts and fighting with the Romans: also the battels betweene the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the councell of Basill, which councell Martine his predecessour had before intended, according to the institution of the councell of Constance. Notwithstanding, the said Eugenius perceiuing afterward, this councell of Basill not to fauour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtill practise to dissolue and interrupt the said councell, and from Basill to translate it first to Ferraria, then to Florentia, more néere to his owne sée of Rome. Concerning the which councell of Basill, for so much as we haue begun héere to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principall matters thereof shall séeme sufficient or necessarie to be knowne.

¶ Here followeth the order and maner of the councell of Basill, touching the principall matters concluded therin, briefly collected and abridged here in this *present booke: the rest whereof we haue referred vnto our former edition, wherein the full discourse of the whole disputation is to be seene more at large, for such as haue list and leasure to see more therof.*

IN the thirtie ninth session of the councell of Constance (as is before mentioned, page 547.) it was decred and prouided concerning the order and times of such generall councels as should hereafter follow. The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth yere after the said councell of Constance: The second to be holden the seuenth yere after that, and so orderly all other to follow successiuely from ten yére to ten yére. Wherefore, according to this decrée, followed a generall councell, fiue yéres after the councell of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, vnder pope Martine, an. 1424. but it soone broke vp. After the which councell, the terme of seuen yéres being expired, another councell was holden at Basill, in the yere of our Lord 1431. The which councell is noted to haue béen the most troublesome, and to haue endured longer then anie other councel before time celebrate and holden in the church. This councell continued almost the space of fourtéene yéeres: wherein it was concluded, as before in the councell of Constance, that the generall councels were aboue the pope, and both of these two councels did attribute the chiefe authoritie in decréeing and determining vnto the generall councell: which is the cause that the contrarie part doth derogat so much from the authoritie of this present councell.

The councell of Basill. Ex Aenea Silvio. Ex Cocleo in hist. Hussi. Ex eu peralipom. Abbat. Vrsperg.

When as pope Martine the fifth had appointed Iulian, cardinall and deacon of Saint Angell, his legat, to celebrate and hold a generall councell at Basill for the reformation of the church, and rooting out of heresies, within short space after pope Martine died, in whose seat Eugenius the fourth succeeded, who confirmed vnto the said cardinall Iulian, the same authoritie which his predecessour before had giuen him. Vnto this councell of Basill being begun, came the emperour Sigismund, who during his life time, with his presence and authoritie, did protect and defend the said Synode. After the emperors death, pope Eugenius altering his former mind and purpose, would transport the councell vnto Bononie, and thereby hindred the successe of the councell of Basill. And first he held a contrarie councell at Ferraria, and afterward at Florence: For after the death of the emperor Sigismund, there were no princes or noble men, that had any care or regard of the councell. Eugenius the pope pretended causes, as touching the Greekes, which should come vnto the councell, and the vniting of their church vnto the West church, the which Greekes would in no wise passe the Alpes: Also as touching his owne incommoditie, that he could not come vnto Basill, being so long a iourney, and that all his men might haue easie accesse vnto Bononia, and that amongst the Germains (which in their owne countrie are so intractable) nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he citedcardinall Iulian, and the fathers of the councel vnto Bononia, vnder great penalitie. They againe cited the pope, that either he should come himselfe vnto the councell, or send Ambassadors vnder the like penalitie. For this cause the ambassadours of Albert king of the Romaines and of the other princes of Germanie, assembled together first at Norenberge, and when as they could determine nothing there, they assembled againe at Frankford, to appeale the dissention betweene the councell and the pope: for it was thought, that the Electours of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the meane time the emperours ambassadours, and the ambassadours of the Electors, went vnto Basill, and hauing conference with the ambassadours of the others princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the councell, that they would embrace and receiue the bnitie, which they would offer. The requeste of the princes was,

Pope Eugenius sendeth to dissolue the councell of Basill.

Dissention betweene the councell of Basill, and pope Eugenius.



was, that the fathers would transport the councell, and go vnto another place: the which only thing pope Eugenius feared alwaies to seeke and desire, that thereby he might either diuide the fathers of the councell, or take away their libertie.

The prelats of the councell refused the popes request.

Notwithstanding, this sacred Synode thought good neither to denie the princes requeste, nor to grant that which pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the emperours ambassadours, the bishops of Iadatania and Augusta, (being much required and sturred thereunto) appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrade Weinsperge, by the kings commandement, to be protector and defender of the councell, and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceiued the emperours minde to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the councell vnderstood his good will towards them, for so much as he would not haue sent them a protector, if he had not iudged it a lawfull councell: neither againe would he haue iudged it a councell in Basill, if he had giuen credit to pope Eugenius. But by meanes of a great pestilence which began to grow, the assemblie that should haue béen holden at Frankford, was transported vnto Wentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any meanes of vnitie, wherebey they might vnite and knit the pope againe vnto the councell.

The princes assembled at Wentz, to make vnitie betweene the councel and the pope.

The assemblie was verie famous: for there were present the archbishops of Wentz, Collen, and Treuers, Electours of the sacred empire, and all the ambassadours of the other Electours. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Collen was the chiefe fauourer of the councell in this assemblie, who with all his labour and diligence went about to bring the matter vnto a godend. Rabanus the archbishop of Treuers shewed himselfe somewhat more rough. The sacred Synode also thought good to send thither their ambassadours, and appointed out the Patriarke of Aquileia, the bishop of Vicene, and the bishop of Argen: diuinea, Iohn Segouius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with diuers others. There was no man there present which would name himselfe the ambassadour of Eugenius: Albeit there were many of his fauourers and friends come thither, both from the councell, and also out of Florence, the which albeit they had sworne to the contrarie, yet fauoured they more Eugenius then the councell. But the chiefe Hercules of all the Eugenians, was Nicolas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned, and of great experience. After diuers consultations had, the Electours of the empire, and the ambassadours of the other princes of Germanie, thought good to giue out commandement throughout their whole nation and countrie, that the Decrees of the councell of Basill should be receiued and obserued.

Whilest these things were thus debated at Wentz, there sprang a certaine verie doubtfull question amongst the diuines which remained at Basill, whether Eugenius might be called an heretike, which had so rebellioully contemned the commandements of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselues together, disputing long amongst themselues, some affirming, and other some holding the negatiue part. Vpon this their disputation, there arose three seuerall opinions, some affirming that he was an heretike, othersome, not only an heretike, but also a relapse. The third sort would neither grant him to be an heretike nor a relapse. Amongst these Diuines, the chiefe and principall both in learning and authoritie, was the bishop of Ebzun, ambassadour of the king of Castile, and a certaine Scottish abbat: which, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent vnto their arguments, or gaue place vnto them, and so their determination take place, and Eugenius was pronounced both an heretike and relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the Diuines, which they called verities: the copie whereof they did diuulgate throughout all christendome.

Three opinions touching the pope.

The death of pope Martin. Pope Eugenius the fourth.

When the ambassadours of the councell were returned from Wentz, and that certaine report was made of the allowing of their decrées, the fathers of the councell thought good to discusse the conclusions of the diuines more at large. Whereupon by the commandement of the deputies, all the masters and doctors and clergie, were called together, with all the residue of the prelats, into the Chapterhouse of the great church, there openly to dispute and discusse Eugenius heresie. The which thing sore grieued the bishop of Millaine, fearing lest this disputation would worke the deposition of Eugenius, the which, as he said, he had alwaies letted for feare of a schisme. Wherefore he called not by all manner of waies to labour, to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the last, there was a great assemblie in the Chapterhouse, some comming thither to dispute, and othersome to heare. This disputation continued fiue daies, both forenoone and afternoone, amongst whom cardinall Lodouicus archbishop Arelatensis, was appointed as Iudge and Arbiter of the whole disputation: who beside many other notable vertues, was both valiant and constant. Nicolas Amici, which was also a proctor of the faith, a famous man amongst the diuines of Paris, demanded of euery man what their opinion was. *Iohn Deinleffil*, publike Notarie, wrote

The ambassadours returne from Wentz.

The popes herefie discussed.

The bishop of Millaine rather hath Eugenius part for feare of a schisme.

euery mans sentence and iudgement. The conclusions of the Diuines which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these héere following.

Conclusions of the disputation.

1 It is a veritie of the catholike faith, that the sacred generall councell hath power ouer the pope, or any other prelate.

2 The pope cannot by his owne authoritie, either dissolue, transport, or prorogue the generall councell being lawfully congregate, without the whole consent of the councell: and this is of like veritie.

3 He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted an heretike.

4 Pope Eugenius the fourth hath resisted these verities, when as at the first, by the fulnesse of his Apostolike power he attempted to dissolue or to transport the councell of Basill.

5 Eugenius being admonished by the sacred councell, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.

6 The dissolution or translation of the councell attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the forsaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

7 Eugenius in going about to dissolue and transport the councell againe, is fallen into his before reuoked errors.

8 Eugenius being warned by the Synode, that he should reuoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted: after that his contumacie was declared, persuering in his rebellion, and erecting a councell at Ferraria, shewed himselfe thereby obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the Chapterhouse before the fathers of the councell. Vpon the which, when they were desired to speake their minds, they all in a manner, conformed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panormitane archbishop disputed much against them. Likewise did the bishop of Burgen the king of Aragons Almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane as he was subtill, so did he subtilly dispute against the last conclusions, indeuouring himselfe to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, and had great contention with the bishop of Argens, John Segouius, and Francis de Fure, Diuines. He diuided the articles of the faith into three sorts: Frailty, as in the Creed: largely, as in the declarations made by the church: most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premisses; affirming, that Eugenius did by no meanes violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the Creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolue the councell: and that it séemeth not vnto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the decrées of the councell of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserued for the pope to be discussed, for so much as in the chapter beginning Frequens, it appeareth that the place where the councell should be kept, ought to be chosen by the pope, the councell allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if peraduenture Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the councell of the cardinals, representing the church of Rome: whose authoritie hee said to be such, that the iudgement thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there béen any sacred councell found to haue proceded against Eugenius as an heretike, and that is an euident signe, that the councell hath not thought him to haue swarued from the faith, neither to haue any occasion that he should be called heretike for his errors reuoked: and that he himselfe hath read the whole text, that the pope did not reuoke the dissolution as contrarie vnto the faith, but as hauing offence: Also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, for so much as likewise he had done it by the councell of the cardinals, and for the vniting of the Greekes, that he might not be compelled in a criminall cause, to answere by his procuratas, when as he being letted by sickenesse, could not come personally. So, for as much as in the first dissolution Eugenius hath fallen into no errour of faith, he cannot be perswaded that he can be called a relapse, for so much as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second dissolution did violate his faith.

Panormitane preferreth the iudgement of the cardinals of Rome, before all the world.

This Oration of Panormitane was more praised then allowed of all men. Notwithstanding, this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the conclusions, and in stead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panormitane himselfe, altogether excuse Eugenius of heresie, but defended more the first dissolution, then the second: yet departed he not without anchore: for John Segouius an expert Diuine, rising vp, answered him concernly as was comely for such a prelat. He said, he granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the diuision of the Articles of the faith into three points, for because it made for his purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the Church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the Church: that is to say, of the councell of Constance: for, if therein the pope be made subiect vnto the generall

The pope pretendeth the vniting of the Greekes, when he meaneth another thing.

The pope no relapse, but prolapse.

John Segouius answereth Panormitane.

councell, who is it that will say that the pope hath power ouer the councell which is aboue him: or that Eugenius ought to remaine pope, because hee could not dissolue the councell which is aboue him, without the consent thereof? The which article vndoubtedly, he hath violate and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violate, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which so thinketh, thus vnderstand: that the bishop of Rome ought not onely to know the plaine and manifest, but also the secret and hidden things of the faith; for hee being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be hee will not, then hee shall be constrained for being head, because hee continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the councell, neither did consent vnto the determination of the church; and therefore, if peraduenture hee did not erre in the faith, in dissoluing of the councell, yet did he erre in persuering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement oftentimes alleaged by Panormitan, wherein it is said, that hee which liueth rebellionsly, and neglecteth to doe good, is rather a member of the diuell then of Christ, and rather an infidell then a true beleeuer: so that Eugenius by disobeying the church, may worthily be called an infidell. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith: For sith much, as well in that am where which beginneth Cogetanti, as also in the answ re which beginneth Speranz, made vnto the popes ambassadours, these words are manifest: this article concerneth faith, and wee had rather die then through cowardlines to giue place. By the which saying it is euident, the Synode to haue sufficiently admitted the pope that hee did against the faith, and therefore if he erred p afterward when as Eugenius reuoked the dissolution, hee also reuoked the errour of faith contained in the same. There are also diuers offences spring and risen through the errour of faith: for some say that the pope is vnder the councell, other some deny it, and this diuersitie of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expedite against the authorite of the councell, that the pope did reuoke the affections made in their name.

And albeit in such reuocations, the stile and order of iudgements is not obserued, notwithstanding it doth suffice in such case, when as the councell doth proceede against the pope, in which case onely the truth is to bee obserued, neither is the councell subiect vnto any positiue law, that it ought to obserue any ceremonies or iudicall orders. Also hee said that he vtterly condemned that singular glose which did preserue the pope before all the world, so that it might well be calle d singular, which decreed so foolish and fond things and vnworthie to be followed of any man: and that he did much marueil of Panormitane, and other Doctors of those daies, which wished they were about to extoll the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto: for that glosse is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteeme a glosse constantly written and agreeable in all places, then that which in any one place teacheth any thing which may seeme to bee an errour; and that as touching the verity and truth? Saint Hyerome a graue and ancient Doctor is contrary to this glosse, who doubteth nothing at all but that the words as touching authority, is aboue the city it selfe, that is to say, Rome.

Segouius could scarcely saith this his Oration without interruption; for Panormitane oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argen rising vp, a man not onely eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose: yet they proceeded so farre, that they passed the manor of disputation, and did not abstaine from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argen chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that: insomuch that hee so forgot himselfe that day, and his knowledge (which other wise was great) did so faile him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirme, that the pope was lord ouer the church. Whom Segouius answered: Marke (saith hee) O Panormitane, what thou saiest: for this is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himselfe the seruant of the seruants of God. Which is gathered vp in this point, when as Christ said vnto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know hee answered them: The princes of the people haue rule and dominion ouer them, but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein hee doth vtterly prohibite lordship and dominion: and Peter which was the first vicar of Christ, saith: Feede the flocke of Christ which is committed vnto you, prouiding for them not by compulsion, but to liuing in. And immediately after hee said, not as lords ouer the clergie. For if Christ the Sonne of God came not to bee ministred vnto, but to minister and to serue, how then can his vicar haue any dominion or bee called lord, as you Panormitane will affirme? forsomuch as the disciple is not aboue his master, nor the seruant aboue his lord. And the Lord himselfe saith: Ye are not called masters, forsomuch as your only master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall be your seruant. Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answere, the councell brake vp and departed.

The next day, there was a generall congregation, and they return. d all againe vnto the chapter house after dinner, where as the archbishop of Lions, the kings Orator being required to speake his mind, after he had by diuers and sundrie reasons proued Eugenius to be an heretike, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignauie of those that had preferred such a man vnto the papacie, and so moued all their hearts which were present, that they altogether with him did bewaile the calamities of the vniuersall church.

Then the bishop of Bergen, the ambassadour of Spaine, diuided the conclusions into two parts, some he called generall, and otherwhile personall, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions, affirming that he did in no point doubt of them, but only þ the addition which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtfull vnto him. But vpon this point he staied much, to proue, that the councell was aboue the pope. The which after he had sufficiently proued both by Gods law and mans law, he taught it also by physicall reason, alledging Aristotle for witnesse. He said, that in euery well ordered kingdome, it ought specially to be decreed, that the whole realme should bee of more authority then the king; which if it happened contrary, it were not to bee called a kingdome, but a tyrannie: so likewise doth he thinke of the church, that it ought to be of more authority then the prince thereof, that is to say, the pope. The which his Oration hee vttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truely, that all men depended vpon him, and desired rather to haue him continue his Oration, then to haue an end thereof.

But when as he entred into the other conclusions, hee seemed to haue forgotten himselfe, and to bee no more the same man that he was: for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither grauity in oration, or constantnes of countenance, so that if he could haue seene himselfe, he would peraduenture greatly haue marualled at himselfe. Euery man might well see and perceiue then the power and force of the truth, which ministred copy of matter vnto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof. But when as hee began once to speake against her, she tooke away euen his naturall eloquence from him. Notwithstanding Panormitane, and the bishop of Bergen, shewed this example of modestie, that albeit they would not confesse or grant the last conclusions to bee verities of faith: yet they would not that any man should follow or leane vnto their opinion, which were but meane diuines; but rather vnto the opinions of the diuines. But the king of Arragons Anner, being a subtill and craftie man, did not directly dispute vpon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certaine arguments, sought to let and hinder the councell. Against whom, an abbat of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much: and Thomas de Torcellis, a famous Diuine, alledged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred councell, with a certaine modell shamefastnes, alwaies beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

But now to auoid tediousnes, I will onely proceed to declare arguments, whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed not minding to intreate of the fiue last conclusions, which concerne the person of Eugenius, but onely vpon the three first, whereunto I will adioyne certaine probable arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the fathers. In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed: touching the which, two things are to be required, and examined. The one, whether the generall councell haue authority ouer the pope. The other, whether the catholike faith commandeth it to be beleeued. As touching that the pope is subiect to the generall councell, it is excellently well proued by the reason before alledged, by the bishop of Bergen. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdome: and for a king to be of more authority then his kingdome, it were too absurd: Ergo, neither ought the pope to bee aboue the church. For like as oftentimes kings which doe wickedly gouerne the common wealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprined of their kingdomes; euen so it is not to bee doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the generall councels.

Neither do I herein allow them, which attribute so ample and large authority vnto kings, that they will not haue them bound vnder any lawes: for such as so doe say, bee but flatterers, which doe talke otherwise then they thinke. For albeit that they doe say that the moderation of the law is alway in the princes power: that doe I thus vnderstand, that when as reason shall perswade, he ought to digresse from the rigour of the law: for he is called a king, which careth and prouideth for the common wealth; taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of the subiects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodities of those, ouer whom he ruleth: which if he doe not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is only to seeke his owne profit: for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other onely his owne. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alledged, wherefore kings were ordained.



At the beginning (as Cicero in his Offices saith) it is certaine, that there was a certaine time when as the people liued without kings. But afterward, when lands and possessions began to be deuided according to the custome of euery nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause, but only to exercise iustice. For when as at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ranne by and by to some good and vertuous man, which should defend the poore from iniurie, and ordaine lawes, wherevnto the rich and poore might dwell together. But when as yet vnder the rule of kings, the poore were oftentimes oppressed, lawes were ordained and instituted, the which should iudge neither for hatred nor fauour, and giue like eare vnto the poore as vnto the rich: whereby we do vnderstand and know, not only the people, but also the king to be subiect to the lawes. For if we do see a king to contemne and despise the lawes, violently rob and spoile his subiects, deflowre virgins, dishonest matrones, and doe all things licentiously and temerariously: do not the nobles of the kingdome assemble together, depose him from his kingdome, set vp another in his place, which shall sweare to rule and gouerne vprightly, and be obedient vnto the lawes? Verily as reason doth perswade, euen so doth þ vse thereof also teach vs. It seemeth also agreeable vnto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the councell, which is done in any kingdome. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we haue before said, that the pope is subiect vnto the councell.

But now to passe vnto the arguments of Diuinitie, the foundation of the matter which we do intreate vpon, are the words of our Sauiour Iesus Christ in diuers places, but especiallie where as he speaketh vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferni non præualebunt aduersus eam: that is, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Vpon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, for so much as some were wont to alleage these words, to ertoll the authoritie of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by and by appeare) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning then diuers of them do thinke, for by saith: and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it. Verilie this is a great pramise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance. For what greater word could there haue been spoken, then that the gates of hell should not preuaile against the Church? These gates of hell, as Saint Hyerome saith, doe signifie sinnes. Wherefore if sinnes cannot preuaile against the Church, neither can any maligne spirits preuaile against the same, which haue no power at all ouer mankind, but only through sinne. And for that cause, where as it is said in Iob, that there is no power vpon the earth that may be compared vnto the power of the maligne spirit, where by it followeth that the power of the Church is aboue all other power.

We may also vpon the same saying, reason after another sort: for so much as the gates of hell, that is to say, sinnes, cannot preuaile against the Church, the Church thereby is declared to be without sinne: the which cannot be spoken of the pope which is a mortall man, for so much as it is written, Seuen times in the day the iust man doth offend: If the Church bee without spot because it cannot be defiled with sinne, who is it that will preferre a sinfull man before an vndefiled Church? Neither let vs giue eare vnto those which will not referre these words of Christ vnto the Church, where as he saith, Oraui pro te Petre, vt non deficiat fides tua: That is to say, Peter I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faile thee. For as Saint Augustine saith in the exposition of the Psalmes, Certaine things are spoken as though they seemed properlie to pertaine vnto the Apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they haue no eudent sense but when they are referred vnto the Church, the person whereof he is vnderstood figuratiuely to represent. Whereupon in another place in the questions of the new and old Testament, vpon the words, Rogaui pro te Petre, I haue prayed for thee Peter: What is doubted? Did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for Iames and Iohn, beside the rest? It is manifest that vnder the name of Peter, all other are contained. For in another place of Saint Iohn he saith: I pray for them whom thou hast giuen me, and I will that hereafter I am, they shall be also with me. Whereupon we do oftentimes by the name of Peter vnderstand the Church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place: otherwise the truth could not consist, for so much as within a while after, the fault of Peter failed for a time by the denyall of Christ, but the faith of the Church, whose person Peter did represent, did alwaies persuere inuiolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer vs, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either haue been heretikes, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant how that Marcellinus at the emperours commandement, did sacrifice vnto Idols, and that another (which is more horrible) did attaine vnto the papacie by a diuelish fraude and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimonie of Paul vnto the Hebrewes shall suffice vs at this time, who saith, euery bishop to be compassed in with infirmitie, that is to say, with wickednesse and sinne. Also the testimonies of Christ himselfe do approue that the Church remaineth alwaies without sinne: for in Matthew hee saith, I am with you euen vnto the end of the world. The which words were not only spoken vnto the Apostles (for they continued not vnto the end of the world) but also vnto their successours: neither would Christ then signifie that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceiued to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certaine gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserue the holy Church consisting amongst his Apostles and their successors, alwaies immaculate and vndefiled.

And againe in another place; I (saith he) will pray, and he shall giue you another comforter, that he may remaine with you for euer, euen the Spirit of truth whom the world cannot receiue, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him, but you shall know him, because he shall remaine with you. The which words being spoken vnto the Disciples of Iesus, are also vnderstood to be spoken vnto their successours, and so consequently vnto the Church. And if the Spirit of truth be continuallie in the Church, no man can denie, but that the Church ought to continue vndefiled. By the same authoritie also that Christ is called the spouse of the Church, who seeth not, but that the Church is vndefiled? For the husband and the wife (as the Apostle saith) are two in one flesh, and (as he doth also adde) no man hateth his owne flesh: thereby it commeth to passe, that Christ cannot hate the Church, for so much as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himselfe: Ergo, the Church doth not sinne; for if it did sinne, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought with the Apostle to confesse that the Church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he writing vnto Timothie, affirmeth the Church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth: wherevpon in this song of the spouse it is said: Thy friend thou art altogether faire and beautifull, neither is there any spot in thee.

These words peraduenture may abash some, that I do go about to proue the Church to be without sinne. For when as the Church doth containe all men which are called Christians, which also doe agree and come together in one beliefe of faith, and participation of the Sacraments, I doe feare lest some men will thinke, that I do affirme all men to be without sinne: which is so farre from my meaning, that I doe verily thinke the contrarie to be mall time. For I suppose, that there is no man in the Church being clothed in this mortall flesh, without sinne. Neither doe these things varie or dilfent among themselues: For the Church hath this gift, that albeit euerie part and member thereof may sinne, yet the whole bodie cannot sinne. For there be alwaies good men in the Church, the which, albeit that they be subiect vnto humaine fragilitie, notwithstanding they haue so perfect a gift of sincere and pure vertue, that subduing all carnall desires and affections, they keepe themselues a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice vnto God. Neither do I consent or agree vnto the opinion of diuers, which affirme that the virgin Marie onely persuered in faith at the Lords passion. Wherevpon diuers haue not been ashamed to say that the faith might be so debilitate and weakened, that it should returne to one only old woman. Whose opinion or rather madnesse, Saint Paul seemeth openly to reiect, writing thus vnto the Romans: Do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture witteth of Helias, how incessantly he called vpon God against the children of Israel, (saying) O Lord, they haue slaine thy Prophets, and digged downe thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seeke after my soule? But what answere receiued he of God? I haue left vnto my selfe yet seuen thousand men, which haue not bowed their knees vnto Baal. What other thing doth this answere of God declare, than that it is a faithfull opinion of them which thinke the church of God to be brought vnto so small a number? We ought to beleeue the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant vnto those men who affirme that the Virgin only did persuere in faith. For Iesus said vnto his Father, O holy Father, saue them in thy name, whom thou hast giuen mee, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I haue kept them that thou gauest vnto me, and none of them perished, but onely the sonne of perdition. And I doe not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserue them from euill.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserued from euill, and he so praying, without doubt is heard: for he saith in another place, I know that thou heardest me. Whereby is to be heard, if all those for whom he praieth, swarued at the time of his passion? As for example: by what meanes did Christ hanging vpon the crosse, commend his dearely beloued mother vnto Iohn, if so be he were either then swarued, or should by and by after haue swarued from the faith? Moreouer, did not the Centurion by and by crie out and say, truly this is the Sonne of God? The Iewes also which at that time were farre distant from Ierusalem, might both be called faithfull, and also saued by their faith: seeing that (as the Apostle saith) men are bound vnto the Gospell, after it is once knowne and reuealed vnto them. But let vs leaue these men, and speake of that which is more likely, and let vs iudge that

there hath been and is a great number of good men in the Church, and by them as by the more worthie part, let vs name the Church holy and immaculate, the which both comprehend as well the euill as the good. For the Church is compared vnto a net, which is cast into the sea, and gathereth together all kind of fishes.

The church compared vnto a net. Matth. 13.

And againe it is compared vnto a king, which made a marriage for his sonne, and sent forth his seruants to call those which were bidden vnto the wedding, and they gathered together good and euill, as many as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirme, that only good men be comprehended in the Church: the which if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we vnderstand or know where the Church were. But for so much as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthie of loue or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithfull in the Church: of whom, although a great part be giuen to palpituousnesse and auarice, yet some notwithstanding are cleane from deadly sinne. The which part, as it is the most worthie, it giueth the name vnto the church, to be called most holie: which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our Creed, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, that is to say, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church: the which article the Synode of Constantinople added vnto the rest: Wherefore if the Church be holie, it is also without spot. But to returne to our former purpose, this word Sanctum, which signifieth holie (as Macrobius alleaging Trebatius, affirmeth) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for cleane and vncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, as the Apostle Peter calleth it immaculat, as we reade in the famous Epistle of Clement.

This saying of Ecclesiastes is not to be misunderstood, and also seemeth to another sense, to them is here meant.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by Saint Paul, that Christ is the head of the church: For if the church should vnholie sinne, she should not agree with her head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himselfe would signifie vnto vs in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded vpon the strong rocke, against the which, neither the windes, neither the flouds could preuaile. In the house of God (saith the Apostle) which is the Church builded vpon the strong rocke, which rocke (as the said Apostle declareth) is Christ. Who then is so vnshamefast, that he will affirme the church, which is founded vpon Christ, to be subiect to sinne? and will not rather crie out with the Prophet and say, Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ: That is to say, O Lord, I haue loued the beautie of thy house? Hereupon wrote Iohn Chrysostome this golden sentence: The church neuer ceaseth to be assaulted, neuer ceaseth to be laid in wait for: but in the name of Christ it hath alwaies the vpper hand, and ouercame. And albeit that other doe lie in wait for it, or that the floods doe beate against it, yet the foundation which is laid vpon the rocke, is not shaken. Saint Hilarie also saith, that it is the propertie of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to vnderstand when it is reproued, to be in safetie when it is forsaken, and to obtaine victorie, when as it seemeth almost ouercome. Thus by manie reasons and testimonies, it is proued that the church both not erre: which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subiect vnto the church, for it is conuenient, that the lesse perfect be subiect vnto the more perfect. There be also manie other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now speake that more intreate.

Christ is the rocke whereupon the church is builded.

The church neuer ceaseth to be assaulted.

He proueth by authoritie of the pope to be vnder the Councell.

If authoritie be sought for, saith Saint Hieronie (for I willingly accupie my selfe in his sentences, as in a most fertill field) the world is greater then a citie. What then I pray you Hieronie? Is the pope neither because he is head of the church of Rome? His authoritie is great, notwithstanding the vniuersall church is greater, which both not only comprehend one citie, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all faithfull, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her sonne: otherwise, as Saint Augustine saith, he can neuer haue God for his father, which will not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus vnderstanding, called the vniuersall church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Caius titus saith: As a sonne he came to do the will of his Father, so we doe the will of our mother, which is the church. Wherby it appeareth, that how much the sonne is inferiour to the mother, so much the church is superiour ouer the bishop of Rome.

If the church be the mother, the pope must be her sonne.

Also we haue said before, that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar: but no man doth so ordaine a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subiect vnto him, but that the spouse is alwaies thought to be of more authoritie, then the vicar, for so much as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here passe ouer the words of Saint Paul vnto the Romans: Let euerie soule (saith he) be subiect vnto the higher powers: Neither doth he herein except the pope: For albeit that he be aboue all other men, yet it seemeth necessarie that he should be subiect to the church. Neither let him thinke himselfe hereby exempt, because it was said vnto Peter by Christ, Whatsoeuer thou bindest, &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he representeth the person of a church, for we find it spoken afterward vnto them: Quodcunque ligaueritis super terram, ligatum erit in cœlis: that is, Whatsoeuer ye shall bind vpon earth, shall be also bound in heauen. And furthermore, if all power be giuen of Christ, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Corinthians, it is giuen for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof: why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keyes, and bring all things vnto ruine?

The exposition of this place, vpon Matthew 16. Gen. xxviii.

The church may depose the pope if he abuse the keyes.

Adde hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is lesser then the Angels, for we reade in Matthew of Iohn Baptist, that he which is least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then he. Notwithstanding Christ saith in another place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater then Iohn Baptist. But to proceed: men are forced by the example of Zacharias, to giue credit vnto Angels, lest through their misbeleefe they be stricken blinde as hee was. What more? The bishop of Rome is a man: Ergo, he is lesse then the Angels, and is bound to giue credit to the Angels. But the Angels learne of the church, and doe reuerently accord vnto her doctrine, as the Apostle writeth vnto the Ephesians: Ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is lesse then the Angels, and lesser then the church, whose authoritie is such, that worthily it is compared by Saint Augustine vnto the Sunne: that like as the Sunne by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the church is aboue all other authoritie and power. Wherevpon Saint Augustine writeth thus: I would not beleeue the Gospell, saith he, if the authoritie of the church did not moue me thereunto: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who reuerencing the church, and being manifest thereof, is not to be thought greater or equall to his Lord and master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saniour Christ doe specially proue the bishop of Rome to be subiect to the church, as we will hereafter declare: For he sending Peter to preach vnto the church, said, Go, and say vnto the church. To the confirmation of whose authoritie, these words doe also pertaine: He that heareth you, heareth me. The which words are not only spoken vnto the Apostles, but also vnto their successours and vnto the whole church.

The church and not the pope compareth to the Sunne.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and giue eare vnto the church, hee doeth not giue eare vnto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an Ethnicke and Publican. For as Saint Augustine affirmeth, when as the church doth excommunicat, hee which is so excommunicate is bound in heauen, and when the church loseth, hee is loosed. Likewise if he be an heretike, which taketh away the supremacie of the church of Rome, as the Decrees of the councell of Constance doth determine, how much more is he to be counted an heretike, which taketh away the authoritie from the vniuersall church, wherein the church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now euident, that it is the opinion of all men before our daies (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by graue authors) that the pope is subiect vnto the vniuersall church. But this is called into question, whether hee ought also to be iudged of the generall councell. For there are some, which, (whether it be for desire of vaine glorie, or that through their flatterie they looke for some great reward) haue begunne to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the iurisdiction of the generall councell. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not onlie this present Schisme, but also all other Schismes euen vnto this day haue had their originall. For as in times past the greedie desire and ambition of the papacie, brought in that pestiferous head, which through Arrius then first crept into the church, euen so they do specially nourish and maintaine this present heresie, which are not ashamed to begge. Of the which number, some crie out and say, the workes of the subiects ought to be iudged by the pope, but the pope to be referred only vnto the iudgement of God. Others said, that no man ought to iudge the high and principall seat, and that it cannot bee iudged either by the emperour, either by the clergie, either by any king or people. Other affirme, that the Lord hath referred vnto himselfe the depositions of the chiefe bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirme that the bishop of Rome although hee carrie soules in ocuer so great number vnto hell, yet he is not subiect vnto any correction or rebuke.

Whether the pope is to be iudged by the generall councell, &c.

These are the canons and the Friers Mendicants, and begging Friers.

Diuersitie of iudgements touching the bishop of Rome.

And because these their words are easilie resolued, they run straightwaies vnto the Gospell, and interprete the words of Christ, not according to the sense and meaning of the holie Ghost, but according to their owne will and disposition. They do greatly esteeme and regard this which was spoken vnto Peter: Tu vocaberis Cephas; that is, Then shalt be called Sephas: by the which word, they make him the head of the church. Also I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth, &c. I haue prayed for thee Peter, that thy faith should not faile. And againe, Feede my sheepe: Cast thy net into the deepe: Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men: Also that Christ commanded Peter as the prince of the Apostles, to pay toll for them both: and that Peter drew the net vnto the land,

They foolishly make the church of Rome both iudge and be iudged of seuerall courts.



neglecting the expositions of the Fathers.

land, full of great fishes: so that only Peter drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatlie estroll, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers: the which if (as reason were) they would consider, they should manifestly perceiue by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not aboue them when they are gathered together in councell, but when they are separate and diuided.

But these things being passed ouer, forsomuch as answer shall appeare by that which hereafter shall follow, wee will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men vpon this question. But first wee would haue it knowne, that all men which are of any name or estimation, doe agree, that the pope is subiect to the Councell, and for the proofe thereof they repeate (in a manner) all those things which were before spoken of the Church: for they suppose all that, which is spoken of the Church, to serue for the generall Councell: And first of all, they alleage this saying of the Gospell, Die Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church. In the which place it is conuenient to vnderstand, that Christ spake vnto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. Hee saith, if thy brother offend or sinne against thee, rebuke him betweene thee and him alone. If hee giue eare vnto thee, thou hast won thy brother: but if he doe not giue eare vnto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not giue eare vnto thee, Die Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church.

Those things which were spoken of the Church, serue also for the generall Councell.

Peter representeth the double person.

Now it shall be vnderstand by the church in that place: shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole world? My yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is light. But how is it light, if Christ command vs to doe that which is impossible to bee done? For how could Peter speake vnto the Church which was dispersed, or to seeke out euery Christian scattered in euery towne or citie? But the meaning of these words is farre otherwise, and they muste be otherwise interpeted: for which cause it is necessarie first we remember the double person, which Peter representeth, as the person of the high bishop, and a priuat man. The sense and meaning of his words are euident and plaine enough of themselues, that they need no supplement or alteration. Wee muste first marke and see, what this word Ecclesia signifieth, the which we do find but only to be twice spoken of by Christ since in this place, and againe when as he said vnto Peter: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam: That is: Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke will I build my Church. Wherefore the Church signifieth the conuocation or congregation of the multitude. Die Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the Church. That is to say, tell it vnto the Congregation of the faithfull: the which forsomuch as they are not accustomed to conuene together, but in a generall Councell, this interpretation (I thinke) is very good. Die Ecclesiæ, tell it vnto the church, that is to say, Die generali Concilio, tell it vnto the generall Councel.

Christ nameth the Church but twice in the Gospell.

What the Church is.

The interpretation of this place, Die Ecclesiæ.

In this case I would gladly heare if there be any man, which doth thinke these words to be more properly expressed in any prelate, then in the Councell, when as they must put one man for the multitude: which if it be admitted in the Scriptures we shall from henceforth find no firme or stable thing therein. But if any man doe marueil at this interpretation, let him search the old writers, and hee shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holie fathers and old doctors, which haue first giuen light vnto the Church, as pope Gregorie witnesseth (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holinesse of his life, and his singular learning) whose words are these, written in his Register vnto the bishop of Constantinople: And we (said he) against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldnesse, doe obserue and keepe that which the truth both commaund vs, saying, Si peccauerit in te frater: that is, If thy brother doe offend against thee, &c. And afterward he addeth more, If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I doe seeke helpe of the Church. The which words do manifestly declare the Church here to bee taken for the generall Councell. Neither did Gregorie say, that he would seeke help of the Church that is dispersed abroad in euery place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the generall Councell; for that which is dispersed abroad, cannot bee had, except it bee gathered together. Also pope Nicolas reproouing Lotharius the king for adultery, said: If thou doest not amend the same, take heed that wee tell it not vnto the holy Church.

The Church taken for the generall Councell.

In the which saying pope Nicolas did not say, that hee would go throughout the world to certifie euery one, man by man: but that he would call the Church together, that is to say, the generall Councell, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he which had contemned the popes commandements, should feare the reuerence of the generall Councell. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend into one end: but this one testimonie of the Councell of Constance shall suffice for them all, wherein it is said, that not onelie the pope in the correction of his brother is remitted vnto the Councell, when as hee cannot correct him of himselfe: but also when as any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himselfe, the matter

The Councell of Constance decreeth the pope to be vnder the Councell.

ought to be referred to the Councel. Whereby it appeareth our intr[illegible]pretation to be most true, which doth expound the Church to be in the generall Councel. Hereupon in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden, were called the Church. Also in the Councell of Nice, and in other Councels, when as many should bee excommunicated, abuses in manner, this sentence was adioyned: Hunc excommunicat Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia: The Catholike and Apostolike Church doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is giuen vnto the Councels wherein we do say, that the generall Councell doth represent the vniuersall Church. Wherefore the lawes and decrees of the Councell are called the lawes of the Church, for that the Church doth not set forth any lawes in any other place, then in the generall Councell: except wee will call the popes constitutions the lawes of the Church, which cannot be properly said but of the councel: since as, albeit all those which are of the Church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the Church both consist: Whereupon we reade in the Acts of the Apostles: It pleased the Apostles and Elders with all the Church. For albeit that all the faithfull were not there present (because great number of them remained at Antioch) yet notwithstanding it was called the whole Church, because the whole power of the Church consisted in the Councell. Thus for this present it is sufficient that wee vnderstand by the Church the generall councell.

The heades of the Apostles. The Councell of Nice.

The title of the Councels.

The constitutions of the bishops of Rome are not the lawes of the Church.

And now to returne vnto our purpose, let vs heare what our Saniour saith vnto Peter: If thy brother doe offend against thee, vnto this text following, tell it vnto the church: and let vs vnderstand the councell by the Church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent vnto the councell, or the councell, whereunto Peter was sent? The veritie doth remit the bishop of Rome vnto the generall councell. And why so? verily because the bishops of Rome should not disdaine to acknowledge some power in earth, to bee aboue them, the which they should consult withall in matters of importance, and agree vnto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name Simon, the which, as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, obedience, that all men might vnderstand obedience to be necessary, euen in the bishop of Rome.

By the Church he vnderstandeth the councell is vnderstood.

Simons obedience necessary in the bishops of Rome.

The authoritie of the councell of Constance might suffice vs in this point, but we thinke it good to stay a little vpon this matter, and to leaue no place open for any aduersaries: which vnlesse they go about to maintaine the vnstable willfulnesse of one man, preferring a priuate wealth before a common commoditie, it is incredible how great errors they doe stirre vp. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly striue: Who in the great and sacred Synode of Chalcedon, when as the sentence of the bishop of Rome was obiected vnto him, that the canon of pope Nicolas and other patriarchs was aboue the councell, he replied against it. And Zosimus the pope saith thus as touching the decrees of the general councell: The authoritie of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth hee here speake of the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wildernesse, for they doe not bind the pope: but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the generall councell. For the more manifest declaration thereof, the words of pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annered, who wrote vnto Anatholius, that the decrees of the councell of Nice, are in no part to be violate and broken: thereby (as it were) excluding himselfe and the high patriarke.

The fauourers and maintainers of the pope go about to maintaine and preferre the pleasure and profit of one before a common commoditie.

The authoritie also of Damasus vpon this sentence, is more manifest, writing vnto Aurelius the archbishop, as Iohannes Beleth in the booke of councels, whose worthy saying as touching the authoritie of the Synode is this: That they which are not compelled of necessitie, but of their owne will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to doe any thing, or willingly consent vnto those which would doe any thing contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthilie thought and iudged to blaspheme the holy Ghost. Of the which blasphemy, whether Gabiel which called himselfe Eugenius, be patently partaker, let them iudge which haue heard him say, that it is so farre from his office and dutie to obay the generall councels, that he saith hee doth then best merite and deserue, when as hee contemneth the decrees of the councell. Damasus addeth yet moreouer. For this purpose, saith hee, the rules of the sacred canons, which are confecrated by the spirit of God and the reuerence of the whole world, are faithfully to be knowne and vnderstood of vs, and diligently obeyed vpon, that by no meanes, without a necessitie which cannot be eschued (which God forbid) we do transgresse any of the decrees of the holy fathers. Notwithstanding, we daily see in all the popes bulles and letters, these words, Non obstante: that is to say, notwithstanding: which no other necessitie hath brought in, then onely vnsatiable desire of gathering of mony. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

The pope can not dispense against generall councels.

Non obstante in the popes bulles.

But now to returne againe vnto Damasus, mention is made

The Councell to be above the pope.

made in the Epistles of Ambrose bishop of Syllaine of a certaine Epistle, which is said to be written by Damasus, unto the iudges deputed by the Councell of Capua, where hee declareth that it is not his office, to meddle with any matter which hath been before the Councell. By the which saying he doth manifestlie reprooue all those which affirme and say the bishop of Rome to be above the Councell. The which if it were true, Damasus might haue taken into his hands the cause of Bonifatius the bishop to determine, which was before begun by the Councell: but for so much as the Councell is above the pope, Damasus knew himselfe to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius also acknowledging the Synode to be about him, would haue his decrees confirmed by the Councell. Also the famous doctor S. Augustine in his epistle which he did write unto Glorius and Eleutius, and Felix the Grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchiades the pope with certaine other bishops absolued Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishoprick. They being moued with those doings, made a schisme in the parts of Africa. S. Augustine reprooueth them, which hauing another remedie against the sentence of the pope did raise a schisme, and doth inuey against the sentence of the pope did raise a schisme, and doth inuey against them in this manner: Behold, let vs thinke those bishops which gaue iudgement at Rome, not to haue been good iudges: there remained yet the iudgement of the vniuersall Church, whereas the cause might haue been pleaded euen with the iudges themselues, so that if they were content not to haue giuen iust iudgement, their sentence might be broken.

The full iudgement of the Church is not to be found, but in the generall Councell.

Whereby it appeareth, that not onelie the sentence of the pope alone, but also the pope with his bishops toyned with him, might bee made fruitfull by the Councell: for the full iudgement of the vniuersall Church is not found elsewhere, then in the generall Councell. Let not any man doubt, in that S. Augustine semeth here onelie to speake of bishops: for if the tert of his epistle bee read ouer, hee shall find the bishop of Rome to bee comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the Councels of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should not receiue or heare the appeales of any which did appeale from the Councell: which altogether declare the superioritie of the Councell. And this appeareth more plainlie in the Acts of the Apostles, where as Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the Apostles, because hee went in to Cornelius a Heathen man, as if it had not been lawfull for him to attempt any great matter without the knowledge of the congregation: and yet it was said unto him as well as others: Ite & Baptizate, &c. Go and baptize. But this seemeth to make more vnto the purpose, which S. Paul writeth vnto the Galathians, where as he saith, he resisted Peter euen into his face, because hee did not walke according to the veritie of the Gospell. Which words if they be well vnderstood, signifie none other thing by the veritie of the Gospell, then the Canon of the Councell decreed amongst the Apostles: for the Disciples being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon S. Paul doth speak, that Peter ought to haue obayed the generall Councell.

No appeale to be made from the Councell to the pope. Acts 15.

Gala. Peter constrained to obey the generall Councell.

The Decree of the Councell of Constance.

But now to finish this disputation, we will here adioyne the determination of the Councell of Constance, the which Councell aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguitie and doubts, and to prouide a certaine order of liuing, declared by a solemne decree that all men of what estate or condition so euer they were, yea, although that they were popes themselues, bee bound vnder the obedience and ordinances of the sacred generall Councels. And although there be a certaine restraint, where as it is said, in such things as pertaine vnto the faith, the extirpation of schisme, and the reformation of the Church, as well in the head as in the members: notwithstanding this amplificatiue clause which is adioyned, is to be noted, Et in pertinentibus ad ea, that is to say, withall the appertenants. The which addition is so large, that it contayneth all things in it, which may bee imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus vnto his Apostles, Goe ye & teach and preach all people. He did not say in these points onelie, but teach them to obserue and keepe all things whatsoeuer I haue commanded you. And in another place he saith, not this or that, but whatsoeuer ye shall bind, &c. which all together are alleaged for the authoritie of the Church and generall Councels. For the preferment thereof, these things alleaome in place: He that heareth you, heareth me. And againe: It it is giuen vnto you to know the mysteries of God. Also, Where 2. or 3. be gathered in my name &c. Again, Whatsoeuer ye shall aske, &c. Of like sort, saue them whom thou hast giuen mee, &c. And, I will be with them euen vnto the end of the world. Also out of Saint Paul these places are gathered: We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made vs apt ministers of the new testament, &c. And he appointed some Apostles and some Prophets, &c. In all which places both Christ and the Apostles spake of the authoritie of many, which all together are alleaged for the authoritie of the vniuersall Church.

The Councell to be above the pope.

Diuers places reported out of the Gospels and Apostles, for authoritie of the Church and generall Councels, about the pope.

But for so much as that Church being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordaine any thing: therefore of necessitie it is to be said, that the chiefe and principall authoritie of the Church, both consist in the generall Councels, where as they assemble together. And therefore it was obserued in the primitiue Church, that hard and waightie matters were not intreated vpon, but only in the generall Councels and congregations. The same is also found to bee obserued afterward. For when as the Churches were diuided, general Councels were holden. And in the Councell of Nice, we do find the heresie of Arrius condemned. In the Councell of Constantinople the heresie of Macedonius. In the Councell of Ephesus, the heresie of Nestorius. In the Councell of Chalcedon, the heresies of Eutychius were also condemned: for so much as they thought the iudgment of the bishop of Rome, not to suffice to so great, and waighty matters: and also they thought, the sentence of the Councell to bee of greater force, then the sentence of the pope, for so much as he might erre as a man: but the Councell, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided with the holy Ghost, could not erre. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus the Emperor, which setteth for that purpose, whose words are these: Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will seeke to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madnesse, at the same time and faire day light, to seeke for a fained light: for her which hauing found the truth, desireth to discusse any thing further, seeketh but after banishes and lies.

Weights matters intreated but only in generall Councels.

Now I thinke it is euident enough vnto all men, that the bishop of Rome is vnder the Councell. Notwithstanding some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the Councell or not: For albeit it be proued that he is vnder the Councell, yet for all that, will they not grant, that he may bee also deposed by the Councell. Therefore, it shall bee no digressing at all from our purpose, sometimes to say vpon that matter: and first of all, to speake of these rasers, which are yet so carnell for the defence of the bishop of Rome: which being vanquished in one battell, still renewe another, and contend rather of obstinacie then of ignorance. They would haue here recited againe, that which we haue before spoken, as touching the preeminence of the bishop of Rome, of the patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words then eloquent, they slap much of this point, whereas Christ said vnto Peter: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum; I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, and whatsoeuer thou shalt binde vpon earth shall be bound in heauen: as though by these words he should be made head ouer the other. And again they doe amplifie it by this: Pasce oues meas: Feed my sheep, which they doe not find to be spoken to any other of the Apostles. And because it is said that Peter was the chiefe and the mouth of the Apostles, therefore they iudge it well spoken, that no man shall iudge the chiefe and principall see: being all of this opinion with Boniface, which said, that the pope ought to bee iudged for no cause, except he be perceiued or knowne to fearne from the faith, although he doe carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could not open the kingdome of heauen to others, if any other could shut it against him, neither that he could fede other if he himselfe lacked pasture.

Whether the pope may be deposed by the Councell or not.

The places, Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum, Pasce oues meas, make nothing for the popes supremacie.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For S. Augustine in the Sermon of the natiuitie of Peter and Paul saith in this wise: Our Lord Jesus Christ before his Passion, chose his disciples (as pe do know) whom he called brethren. Amongst those, Peter alone almost in euery place representeth the person of the Church, and therefore it was said vnto him, Tibo dabo claues regni cœlorum: That is to say, Vnto the will I giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen. These keies did he not receiue as one man, but as one bee receiued them for the Church. And in another place, where hee treateth of the Christian agonie, he saith: The keies of the kingdome of heauen were giuen vnto the Church, when as they were giuen vnto Peter: And when as it was spoken vnto him: Amas me? Pasce oues meas: That is to say, Louest thou me? fede my sheepe: it was spoken vnto them all. And Saint Ambrose in the beginning of his Pastorall, saith, Which sheepe and which flocke, the blessed Apostle S. Peter tooke no charge of alone, but together with vs, and we all together with him. By which words the foundation and principall arguments of those flatterers, are vtterlie subuerted and ouerthrowne. For if Peter represented the person of the Church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words vnto Peter but vnto the church.

Peter representeth the person of the Church, and not of the pope.

The keies giuen to the Church, and not to one man.

Neither do I see how that can stand, which Boniface doth affirme, for it is farre distant from the truth, except it bee vnderstood otherwise then it is spoken.

Pope Boniface erreth.

But if may peraduenture seeme a great thing vnto some, that it is said, the bishop of Rome to be the head of the militant Church. For as in the bodie of man, Physitions do neuer giue counsell to cut off the head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be neuer so full of vlcers, or infected: so in this mysticall bodie of the Church, the head ought alwaies to be kept: and albeit it be neuer so wicked, yet is it to be sufferred and borne withall. But now conuert this argument: If it were possible in the bodie of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the church, (and not heads then be oftentimes changed for diuers diseases. Moreouer, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be in respect of his body, as the head of man

The pope may be deposed by the Councell or not.

The bishop of Rome improperly called the head of the Church.



man in respect of the body of man: then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man: So should it grow into an absurditie to confesse that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead: the which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoeuer other men say, I am not of opinion with them, which affirme the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except peraduenture they doe make him the ministeriall head: for wee doe reade that Christ is the head of the church, and not the pope: and that he is the true head, immutable, perpetuall, and euerlasting, & the church is his body, whereof the pope himselfe is also a member, and the vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroier of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, because he doth not that he was ordained to do: and we ought, as pope Leo saith, to be mindfull of the commandement giuen by in the Gospell; that if our eye, our foote, or our right hand doe offend vs, it should be cute from the body. For the Lord saith in another place: Euery tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut downe and cast into the fire. And in another place also it is said vnto vs: Take away all euill and wickednesse from among you. It is very iust and true which is written in the Epistle of Clement, vnto James the brother of our Lord. that he which will be saued, ought to be separate from them which will not be saued.

They doe not which say, that the pope cannot be deposed for any other cause, then for heresie.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, wee must haue recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of John: I am the true vine, saith the Lord, and my father is the husbandman, and ye are the branches: euery branch there- fore that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my father will cut off. These words were spoken vnto the Apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would haue cut off, if hee brought not forth his fruit. Also Saint Hierome vpon these words of Matthew: Vnsauory salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and troden of swine. Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul, he saith thus: It is no easie matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keepe the chaire of them which raigne with Christ. This vnsauory salt, that is to say, a foolish prelat, vnsauory in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be troden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which haue dominion ouer the wicked and naughty prelates, as their owne flocke and heard. Behold, this testimonie of Hierome is plaine and eudent. Let him be cast out, saith he.

Fruitlesse branches are to be cut off.

If the pope be vnsauory salt, he is to be cast away.

The popes supremacie confuted.

He expounded and speaketh it of the prelat, which vsurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who being vnsauory in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Hierome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither as some doe dreame, is he to be deposed for heresie only. All doubts in the bodie of Councels, rehearseth a certaine Epistle of Clement the successor of Peter, written vnto James the Apostle, where as the said Clement reciteth the words of Peter vnto himselfe, saith thus: If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceiue thy selfe, and those which shall giue eare vnto thee: for thou canst not fully distribute vnto euery man those things which pertaine vnto saluation: whereby it shall come to passe, that thou as a man for not teaching those things which pertaine vnto saluation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance. Notwithstanding in another place, in stead of this word deposed, it is found, thou shalt be punished: which two words, if they be well vnderstood, doe not much differ, for deposition is often times vsed in the place of punishment. But peraduenture some will here obiect, that this Epistle is not to bee iudged Clements, because it is said to bee written vnto Iames, who as the ecclesiasticall history affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might thinke that Iames was aliue when as he wrote: which was farre distant alunder, and messengers of the christians came not often vnto Rome. Moreouer, there is mention made of this Epistle in diuers places of the decretals, as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same Epistle; where hee saith, that he which liueth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learne and to doe good, is rather a member of the diuell then of Christ, and doth shew himselfe rather to be an infidell then a faithfull christian. Upon which words, the glose which Panormitane calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, Ergo also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed: otherwise he should be accused in vaine.

The keies given to the Church, and not to one man.

The epistle of Clement to James doubted.

The popes supremacie confuted.

The keies giuen to the Church, and not to one man.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our aduersaries, but that the pope may be deposed. Notwithstanding it is not yet euident whether hee may be deposed by the councell or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And first of all, the aduersaries will grant this vnto vs, that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, for so much as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord

The pope may be deposed by the councell or no.

Whether the pope may be deposed by the councell or no.

The popes supremacie confuted.

may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure: neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church, then of Christ. But if the church may depose the pope, Ergo the councell also may doe the same. Also the glose which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence: that the generall councell is iudge ouer the pope in all cases. Likewise the most sacred synode of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishop of Rome to be vnder the iudgement of the councell: and the councell to iudge and determine of euery doubtfull matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt hereof, because this word deposition is not mentioned: for it is said of euery doubtfull matter or question: for if the synod doe iudge of euery doubt; Ergo it shall also iudge, whether the pope shall be deposed or no: for that may also come in doubt. And because wee will not seeke examples farre off, Iohn 23. whom all the world did reuerence, was deposed of his papacy by the councell of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any heresie, but because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him: and euer since continually, the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirme that the pope cannot be deposed but only for heresie.

Pope Iohn 23. deposed, but not for any heresie.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certaine men doe affirme the generall councels to be of no effect, except the pope doe call and appoint them, and his authority remaine with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Palchalius the bishop of Sicili, and legat of pope Leo, because that he did enterpalle without the authority of the Apostolike see, to call a councell at Ephesus. They also alledge another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon: where as when mention was made of the councell of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying: We ought not to call it a councell, because it was neither gathered by the Apostolike authority, neither rightly kept. By the which authorities, they which say that the councels cannot bee holden without the consent of the pope, doe thinke themselues marueilously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prenaile as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruine and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we finde, if that a wicked pope doe disturbe the whole church, destroy soules, seduce the people by his cruell examples, if finally he preach contrary vnto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies, shall wee pronide no way or stop for him? Shall we suffer all things to runne on vnto and decay with him? Who would thinke that the bishop of Rome would congregate a councell for his owne correction or deposition? for as men are prone vnto sinne, so would they also sinne without punishment. But when as I doe peruse ancient histories, and the acts of the Apostles, I doe not finde this order, that councels should be gathered only at the will of the pope: for the first councell of all, after that Matthias was substituted in the place of Judas, was not congregate at the commandement of Peter, but at the commandement of Christ, who commanded the Apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but looke for the promise of the father.

Gala. Peter constrained to obey the generall Councell.

The Decree of the Councell of Constance.

They are true Catholikes which say, the pope ought only to do any thing in the Church with the consent of the generall councell.

Make where lose the pope is with him: no generall councell.

The 1. councell of the Apostles.

The second councell as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelue Apostles: for it is written; The twelue Apostles calling together the multitude, &c.

They 2. councell of the Apostles.

The 3. councell of the Apostles.

The third councell, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a generall inspiration: for it is written The Apostles and Elders came together, &c.

The 4. councel of the Apostles.

The fourth councell, where as certaine things contained in the law are permitted, semeth to be gathered by Iames: and so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitiue church, whereby it should appeare that the authority of congregating of councels, should pertaine only vnto the bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantinus Magnus, and other emperors, was the consent of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councels: and therefore it is written thus of the synod of Chalcedon: The sacred and vniuersall synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chiefe citie of the prouince of Bethunia, according vnto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and christian emperors Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there.

Generall councels in times past, congregated by emperors, and not by popes.

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would haue no councell congregate, yet if the greater part of the church doe iudge it necessary to haue a councell, the councell may be congregate whether the pope will or no. The councell holden at Pisa, was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when as Gregory did condemne it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be said of the councell of Constance, which was assembled by the authority of pope John. Who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And if the councell of Pisa were no true councell, pope John was no true pope: Wherevnto his consent to the congregation of the councell of Constance, was of no effect. Moreouer, it is more then folly to affirme, that when the pope hath once giuen his consent

If the greater part of the church doe desire a councell may be holden whether the pope will or no.

consent, if it should be called backe, that the Councell should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to reuoke his consent: And of necessitie he must be obedient vnto the Councell, whereof he is a member, and giue place vnto the greater parte: and if he separate himselfe from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the vnitie of the Church, he maketh himselfe a schismaticke.

How the pope is a schismaticke.

Now, to come vnto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is vnder the Councell, how can the pope then dissolue, after and transport the Councel, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power ouer the superior? How can the Synode correct the pope, if the pope may dissolue the Synode contrarie to the will thereof? Admit that the pope be bidibidinous, couetous, a louer of warre and discord, and a most mortall enemie vnto the Church, and the name of Christ, how can the councell represse him, if he haue authoritie to dissolue the Councell? For allsome as euer that the bishop of Rome shall vnderstand that in the Councell they doe intreat of talke of his correction or punishment, straightwaies he will seeke remedie by dissoluing the Councell. For as Sacrobius saith: he that hath libertie to doe more then is fit or necessarie, will oftentimes doe more then is lawfull. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himselfe from correction by dissoluing or transporting the Councell, it followeth that the Councell is not aboue him. Therefore we must either denie that which is afore said, that the pope is vnder the Councell: or else denie that the pope hath power to dissolue the Councell, contrarie to the will and determination of the Councell.

The pope cannot dissolue a generall Councell against the will of the same.

The saying of Sacrobius.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are al other conclusions false, which seeme to impugne the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the diuines is also manifest: albeit that some do admit it in certaine cases, and in other some exclude it againe. For if we do admit, that so certaine causes the pope may dissolue the Councell contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope iudge of the Councell, it was a cleane contrary vnto the first conclusion.

Whether the pope in certaine cases may dissolue the Councell.

Now it is proued that the Councell is aboue the pope, and cannot be dissolued by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to beleeue it: which matter hath respect vnto the third conclusion. For there haue been many, which albeit they did confesse these two conclusions to bee true, yet they doubted whether it were a veritie of the Catholike faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an article of faith that the pope be vnder the Councell. Which being prooued, it shall also appeare to bee an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolue the Councell without the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all therefore we must inquire what faith is, that we may thereby the better vnderstand, what pertaineth thereunto.

The definition of faith.

Faith, as the diuines do define it, is a firme and stedfast cleauing vnto things, beleeued by the authoritie of him that beareth it. If then we beleeue, as is afore said, that the pope of Rome is vnder the Councell, some authoritie doth moue vs thereunto: so is it the faith of him which beleeueth it. But the question is not whether it bee an article of faith only, but whether it bee an article of the Catholike faith. Wherefore we must againe enquire what the catholike faith is. This word catholike is a Greeke word, and signifieth vniuersall. The Catholike faith, that is to say, the vniuersall faith, is not called because that euery man holdeth it, but because euerie man ought to beleeue it. For all men doe not beleeue that God is incarnat, but euery man ought so to beleeue. And albeit that many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be vniuersall. For what writeth the Apostle vnto the Romans? If some of them haue not beleeued, doth their vnbeleefe make the faith of God vaine? God forbid. Verily God is true, and euery man is a lier. Therefore to beleeue that the pope is vnder the Councell, is a point of the catholike faith, although some thinke the contrary: for we are bound to beleeue it, forsomuch as it is taken out of the Gospell. For we are not bound only to beleeue those things which are noted to vs in the Creed, but also all those things which are contained in the holy scriptures, whereof we may not denie one iot. And those things which we alleage for the superioritie of the generall Councell, are gathered out of the sayings of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, and the Epistles of S. Paul: Ergo, we are all bound to beleeue it. And to proue that these things are taken out of the Gospel, the Councell of Constance doth witnes, the which groundeth his authoritie vpon these words: Dic Ecclesiæ, that is to say, Tell it vnto the Church. And, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, Whatsoeuer ye shal bind, &c. with other such like terts.

Rom. 3. Catholicke what it is.

The Councell of Constance. Chap. super ea. sess. 5.

Wherevpon pope Martine the fourth being yet at Constance, vnder the licence of the Councell, sent out his bulles, which doe reckon vp the articles, whereupon they ought to be examined, which had fallen into any heresie: amongst the which articles he putteth this article: whether he doe beleeue the sacred generall Councell to haue power immediatelie from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to bee receiued of all faithfull Christians: which if any man would denie, hee should bee counted an heretick. Wherefore, when as the sacred Synode of Constance doth set forth this veritie, as touching the superioritie of the generall Councell, what should let, but that wee also should confesse the same to bee a verity of the catholicke faith? For the catholicke Church being congregate at Constance, received that faith, that is to say, beleeued it by the authoritie of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his Saints.

The words of the Councell of Chalcedon, whereby he is declared an heretick that holdeth any opinion contrary to the Councell.

To this purpose also serue very well the words of the Synode of Chalcedon, written in this manner: It is not lawfull for him that is condemned by the whole Synode to nominate any bishop. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary vnto this, is an heretick. And againe, it is a rule, that it is not lawfull to appeale from the elect and chosen Synode.

Marke the manifest witnesse of this most sacred Synode, which said, that hee is an heretick, which holdeth any opinion contrarie vnto the Councell: But he is no heretick, except he refuse the catholicke faith: Ergo, it was the catholicke faith to beleeue that it was not lawfull to appeale from the sacred Councell. But how was the same any point of the catholick faith? Verily forsomuch as the sacred Synode perusing ouer the holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the bookes of Christ and other holy fathers. And like as the Synode of Chalcedon tooke their conclusion out of the holy Scriptures, so did the Councell of Constance, this we now reason vpon. And like as the one is an article of the catholike faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrarie to either of both, is an heretick.

Furthermore, they seeme vnto mee to dreame and dote, which confessing them to bee verities, will not confesse them to bee verities of faith. For if they bee verities, I pray you whereof are they verities? Truly not of Grammar, much lesse of Logike; and from Astronomie and Physicke they are farre distant. Neither is there any other man but a diuine, that will grant this verite, whom Scripture doth force vnto it of necessitie, if hee doe beleeue Christ, or his Apostles. Therefore this is a verite of the catholicke faith, which all men ought to embrace: and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be iudged an heretike, as the third conclusion doth affirme. Neither let any man thinke it hard to credit, that hee should be called an heretick which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the generall Councell, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitan alleageth S. Hierome, saying: He which vnderstandeth the Scripture otherwise then the consent of the holy ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church may be called an heretick.

Panormitan is noted, and ouer well nipped by his owne supposition.

Wherevpon it followeth, that he which vpon the words of Christ, saying vnto Peter, Dic Ecclesiæ. i. Tell it vnto the church, doth not vnderstand by the church the generall councell: vnderstandeth it otherwise then the sense of the holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as an heretick. And to prooue that the sense of the holy Ghost is otherwise then he doth iudge it, the councel of Constance doth declare: For he which interpreting those words, Dic Ecclesiæ. i. Tell it vnto the church, spoken by the holy Ghost, vnderstandeth them to be spoken of the generall councel. By these and many other waighties reasons the 3. aforesaid conclusions, seemed true vnto the diuines, and vpongh them they also allowed the residue.

Tell the church, that is to say, the generall Councell.

The third part of Panormitans oration.

Now haue we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised: neither doe I thinke any man now to be in doubt of these 3. first conclusions. Now to returne againe into our storie, it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusions of the diuines: for there are many things worthie of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable vnto the posteritie.

The bishop of Burgen.

Euen the disputation was ended and a finall conclusion of these matters euen at hand, the archbishop of Spillaine and Panormitane with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Spillaine, armed themselues with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomackes.

Panormitans oration.

The bishops of Castile, and their followers.

And first of all, allsoone as the congregation was assembled together, the bishop of Burgen exhorted them to deferre the conclusion, and to tarry for the Ambassadors of other prouinces, which would returne from Sentz.

After him Panormitane with a graue and Rhetoricall Oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth.

I haue (said he) had a commandement by the Prophet, to crie without ceasing: Which Prophet said: Cry out, ceasse not, lift vp thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time it be, he ought to haue cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and crying out, when as the state of the vniuersall Church is intreated vpon, either to be preserued, or vtterlie ouerthrowne: and that hee hath cried so much in this matter, that hee doubted not, but the saying of Dauid was fulfilled in him, where hee saith: Laboraui clamans, rauce sunt fauces mee: I haue laboured, crying out, that my iawes are become hoarce.

Notwith-



Notwithstanding that hee would both now, and as often as need should require, without ceasing still crie out, and specially now in this most difficult and waightie matter: therein he required the sacred Councell gently to heare both him, and the Ambassadours of other princes: Adding moreouer foure things to bee considered in all requests made of any man. The which he also required the fathers now presentlie, to marke and consider: Who it is that maketh the requeste. What is required. Why it should be required: and what effect would come by the requeste either granted or denied. As touching the first point he said: That not onelie kings and excellent princes with their prelats to be of great power: and then reckoned vp the king of Castile, the king of Arragō, the duke of Spillaine, and the bishops of the same princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Spillaine. But when as hee came to make mention of the prelats, he could not refraine himselfe, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelats were on his part. For if the bishops & abbats were counted, it were not to be doubted, but the greatest part of them would haue this present matter deferred: and forsomuch as the whole power of the Councell doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded, which pleased the greater part of the inferiors: For the heics (said he) were giuen to the apostles, and to their successors, which are the bishops: also, that there are three kinds of Synods, episcopall, prouinciall, and generall, and none of all these without bishops.

Foure things to be considered in euery requeste.

The woorde of Councell would haue dignitie to be considered in Councell, and not voices.

Wherefore the manner and order of the present Councell seemed vndecent, where as things were not waighed according men excell in dignitie, but by most voices: Notwithstanding according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillers and heics of heauen, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them: wherefore there would bee a great offence in this behalfe, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops: in which matter not onely the bishops, but also the secular princes ought to be admitted. And so to much as they, in the name of their princes desired to bee admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more sutle, he complained greatly how vniustly a thing it was that they should be contemned or despised.

Panormitane feareth to be lay the process against the pope.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed ouer to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required: not gold, nor siluer, neither pretious stones, neither prouinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done, but that only the delay of the sacred Councel was required, and that the fathers would stay in the processe against the pope, and in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only vntill the returne of the Ambassadors from Sentz, whom he knew well would returne very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and to be small intreatie, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seeme iniurious, not to tarrie for the ambassadors of the princes which were then at Sentz, whenas they were not absent for their owne priuate commoditie, but about the affaires of the common wealth, and the commoditie of peace: neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence, there should be nothing renued concerning the matters of Eugenius.

Then immediatly adioyning the third part of his oration, where the time should be required, he concluded, that it was not required for the priuate commoditie of any one man, but for a common wealth: not to cause any trouble or vnquietnes, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might passe with peace and quietnesse, that the matter might be so much the more firme and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so hee proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider and waigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or denie this requeste. For, said he, if ye shall denie this small petition of the princes, they all will be agreeued therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they bee obedient vnto you, or receiue your decrees. In baine shall yee make lawes except the princes doe execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vaine: yet would I thinke this to be borne withall, if I did not feare greater matters to ensue. What if they should ioyne themselues with Eugenius, who not onely beseeth to holde you of your liuings, but also of your liues: Alas, what slaughter and murther doe the eies of my mind behold and see? Would God my opinion were but vaine. But if you do grant and consent vnto their petitions, they will thinke themselues bound vnto you: they will receiue and embrace your decrees, and whatsoeuer you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your aduersary, they will speak euill of him and abhorre him: but you they will commend and praise, you they will reuerence: vnto you they will wholly submit themselues: and then shall sollow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillitie of the Church. And thus he required the matter to bee respited on all parts. At the last hee said, that except the Ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

Bishops only to haue determining voice in Councels.

The praise of Lodouicus the Protonotary.

When Panormitan had made an end of his oration, Lodouicus the protonotarie of Rome rose vp, a man of singular wit and memorie, that he was thought not to be inferior vnto any of the famous men aforetime. In somuch that he had alwaies in memorie what soeuer he had heard or read, and neuer forgat any thing that he had seene. This man first commending Panormitan, said: that he came but the day before from the baths, & that it seemed vnto him a strange thing which was now brought in question: wherein hee desired to heare other mens minds, and also to bee heard of others, and that those prelates which were at Sentz should be called for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalfe of their princes, which prelats were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mightie princes.

It is no maruel why he alleageth some men, as better matter for of naught he feareth no man can make a good shooe. And more here how Gods truth is sought by his enemies, when men dissemble and close the truth.

Truth seeketh no corners.

Hee allowed also the saying of Panormitane touching the voices of the inferiours, that it seemeth not to bee against the truth, that only bishops should haue a deciding or determining voice in Councels. And albeit that some in this disputation doe thinke that, which is written in the 15. chapter of the acts, to be their force or defence: notwithstanding he was nothing moued therewith, nor take it to be of any effect, albeit it was said: It seemed good vnto the holy Ghost and to vs; whereas both the Apostles and the elders were gathered together: where by it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the Apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marueiled at, then to be followed: and that it doth not appeare there, that the Apostles called the elders of their owne head, but that it is onelie declared that they were there present: whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed vnto him, that the inferiours in the councell of Basill, were admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and fauour onelie, because the bishops may communicate their authoritie vnto others. He alleaged for testimonie, the bishop of Tuscen, a man of great authoritie, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore, neither any inferior, neither himselfe, which as yet was not made bishop, to haue any deciding voice in the Councell. Wherefore forasmuch as the matter was waighty, which was now in hand, and that the bishops spake against it, he required the Councell that they would of necessitie stay and tarrie for the Ambassadors of the princes comming from Sentz.

The patience and answere of Arelatensis.

His oration was so much the more grieuous, in that manie were touched with his words, and specialliie in that point, that hee said, the Apostles were not to be followed: for that all men did impugne as a blasphemy. But here a man may maruell, that a man of such excellencie, alleaged no more or better matter. But in this point the memorie of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speake in this matter, and desired nothing sonuch, as not to obtaine that which he intreated for. After him many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and deferre the conclusion of these matters.

Then Lodouicus the cardinall Arelatensis, a man of marueilous constancie, and borne for the gouernance of generall Councels, gathering together the words of all the orators, spake in this wise: Most reuerend fathers, this is no new or strange businesse, nor begun to day or yesterday. For it is now many weekes agoe, since the conclusions were disputed vpon amongst the diuines, and sent into Sentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this, they were disputed vpon fiue daies continuallie, and fully discussed, and after that not without great delay appointed by the deputies, and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publikely and openlie. Neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelats or Princes contemned: For wee called all that were present at Basill, and exhorted all the rest so to bee present. And forsomuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile: who is it that is ignorant, that the kings Maiorus were there present? The bishop of Burgen and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also Panormitane your selfe, which here represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present your selfe in the chapter house, and disputed twice most subtillie, and there declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What doe you desire any more? Also out of the territorie of the duke of Spillaine, there was present the archbishop of Spillaine, who albeit, he be no Ambassadour, yet how famous a prelate here is, you are not ignorant. When he had spoken these words, the archb. being sometthat moued, said vnto him: My lord cardinall, you supplie the roome of a president no better, then I do the place of a dukes orator, and began to taunt him with many words. But the Cardinall, (as hee was a man most patient, and would not be prouoked to anger by any meanes) said: this is it that I euen now desired. For if the archbishop bee an Ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complaine, which had his orator present at the discussing of those matters.

I passe ouer other princes, because they do not complaine.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding, the most Christian K. of France, had there the bishop of Lyons, a grave and sober man, his Ambassadour at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be carried for, which knowing the Councels to be congregate for such matters as pertaine unto faith, see not thinke it absurd, that the doubtfull matters of faith should bee declared in the Councell: There unto if they had been willing to come, they would have been prefent ere this.

Why this matter should needs so much discussing, as some will have, I do not understand. For if I be well remembred, Panormitane and also Ludouicus, have oftentimes affirmed in this place, even the very same thing which the conclusions signifie. And if any of them now will goe about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them, as it did unto Didimus. To whom, when as on a time, hee repugned against a certaine bishop, as vaine and frivolous, his olone booke was deliuered unto him, wherein the same was written: So likewise these two men (meaning Panormitane and Ludouicus the Protonotary, although they be excellently learned, and eloquent: yet may they be confuted by their owne writings. Besides this: there are Synodall epistles and decrees of this Councell, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon an any difficultie can bee raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall wee now bring that against in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the princes and Ambassadors are absent, which are bishops, by whose prefence the decrees should bee of more authoritie. Well, they are not onely absent which are gone to Bentz; but almost an infinit number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world: whom if we should tarry to looke for, nothing at any time should be decred. They are all called unto the Councell: they might have come if they would. As those that are present, power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent, are about the affaires of the common-wealth: truely we see them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the Councell, then with the consent thereof.

And admit that they had been sent by the Councell: yet were not our power to much restrained, but that we might reprome the Church, for otherwise there should neuer any thing be done in the Councell: for so much as allwaies some are sent out by the Councell, and some are allwaies to be looked and tarried for, and therefore wee must either doe nothing at all, or send out no prelats from the councel. Whereas he said, that prelats, and specially bishops are contemned, that is most far frō the truth, for they haue the chiefe and first places. They speake first, and giue their voices first of all unto all things: and if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors without any gainesaying did some follow their mind.

Neither peradventure shall it be found untrue, that there was neuer any Synode, which did more amplifie the power and authoritie of bishops then this. For what haue the bishops been in our daies, but only shadowes? Might they not well haue been called shepheards without the sheepe? What had they more then their miter and their staffe, when as they could determine nothing ouer their subiects? Verily in the primitive Church, the bishops had the greatest power and authoritie: but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common sort of priests onely in the habit and tonsure. But we haue reformed them againe to their old state, we haue reduced the collation of benefices againe unto them: we haue restored unto them the confirmation of elections: we haue brought again the causes of the subiects to be heard into their hands: haue made them bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say, they are contemned of the Councell? Or what iniurious thing haue we at any time done unto them? But Panormitan saith, that forsomuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclution is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors: but let Panormitan remember himselfe, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

This order of proceeding, the Councell ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order Panormitane in times past hath pleased you well enough, when as the multitude did follow your mind. But now, because they doe not follow your mind, they doe displease you. But the decrees of the Councell are not so mutable, as the wils of men. Know yee moreouer, that the very same bishops which doe consent with you in word, doe not consent with you in mind, neither speake the same secretly, which they now doe openly. They doe feare that which you told them at home in their countrie, that except they would follow your mind, they should displease the king. They feare the power of the prince, and to bee spoiled of their temporalties: neither haue they free libertie to speake as is requisite in Councels. Although they were true bishops, and true pastors of soules, they would not doubt to put their liues in venture for their sheepe, neither bee afraid to shed their bloud for their mother the Church.

But at this present (the more is the pitie) it is too rare to find a prelate in this world, which doth not preferre his temporalties before his spiritualties: wilh the love whereof, they are so withdrawne, that they study rather to please princes then God, and confesse God in corners, but princes they will openly confesse. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his Gospell: Euery one, saith he, that confesseth me before men, I will confesse him before my father which is in heauen. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confesse him before his father which is afraid to confesse the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitan saith, most bishops to be on his part; for here are many bishops present whom hee doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignitie of the fathers, to be respected in the Councell, as he saith, but onely reason, nor any thing more to be lookt for then the truth: neither will I for my part, preferre a lie of any bishop, be he never so rich, before a veritie or truth of a poore priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdaine, if he be rude or vnlearned, that the multitude doth not followe him, or that the voice of a poore learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdome dwelleth often times under a bare and ragged cloke, then in rich ornaments and apparell.

Wherefore I pray you my Lord bishops, do not so much contemne your inferiors, for the first which died for Christ, the which also opened unto all other the way of martyrdome, was no bishop but only a Leuite. As for that which Ludouicus and Panormitane doe alleage touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they haue it. Wherefore I desire them that they would tell me, where they haue found it. But if we repeat the examples of old Councels, we shall find that the inferiors were alwaies present with the bishops. And albeit that Ludouicus doe forbid vs the examples of the Apostles, I pray my selfe most vpon their doings. For what is more comely for vs to follow, then the doctrine and customes of the primitive Church? It is said therefore in the 1. chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, If seemed good vnto the holy Ghost, and to vs. The which word (to vs) is referred vnto them which are before named, the Apostles and the Elders. Neither this word, (it seemed good) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth, that other beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, when as the Apostles should intreat vpon any waighty matter, they durst not determine by themselues, but the rest called together the multitude.

Here Ludouicus saith, that it doth not appeare that the Apostles called other of necessitie: but I say vnto him, how know'st thou that they did not call them of necessitie? But forsomuch as both parts are uncertain: nothing doth prohibit vs to follow the Apostles. For seeing that all things were written for our learning, it appeareth that the Apostles would giue vs example, that in waightie matters we should admit our inferiours. And therefore in all Councels which were celebrate and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present: as in the Councell of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but onely a priest, withstood the Arrians, and inforced their arguments: Albeit, there were also other priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred thirtene tho bishops, yet it is not denied, but that the inferiors were there, whom I thinke to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable: for as pou know well enough, the denomination for the most part, is taken of the most worthie.

In the Synode of Chalcedon (which was counted one of the foure principall Synods) it is said that there were present 600. priests: the which name is common both vnto bishops and priests. In other Councels the name both of bishops and priests is omitted, and mention made onely of fathers, which hath the same signification that this word Elders had in the Acts of the Apostles. We haue also a testimonie of the eccleastical historie, how that there was a Councell gathered at Rome of fr. bishops, and as many priests and deacons against the Nouatians, which called themselues Cathari. Also, when Paul ꝑ bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galerie the emperor, preached that Christ was a man of common nature, the Councell assembled against him in Antioch: wherevnto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other bishops, priests and deacons: and it is said, that for that cause the Councell was often holden.

And at the last, in the same place, vnder Aurelius the emperour, Paul was condemned of all Christian Churches which were vnder heauen: neither was there any man, which did more confound the said Paul, then Malchion a priest of Antioch, which taught Rhetorike in Antioch. But to make no long digression from the matter, wee haue most euident testimonies, for the defence of the inferiours. For the chiefe and principall amongst all the diuines, Saint Austen vpon the words of Matthew, where as Christ saith vnto Peter, I will giue thee the keies of the kingdome of heauen, saith, that by those words the iudiciall power was giuen, not onely vnto Peter, but also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church: the bishops and priests. If then priests haue a iudiciall power in the Church, what should let that they haue not also a determining voice in the Councels? The famous doctor Saint Hierom doth also agree with Saint Austen, whose words are these vpon



vpon the epistle of Paul vnto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the instigation of the diuell, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the churches were gouerned by the common consent and counsell of the priests: for a priest is the verie same that a bishop is. Wherefore all bishops ought to vnderstand, that they are of greater power then priests, rather by customs then by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. And this wee doe also gather out of Paul vnto Titus, which maketh so much concordance betweene bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops; whereby it doth euidently appeare, that priests are not to be excluded from the conuentions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit as Saint Hierome writeth, that bishops only by custome are preferred before priests, it may be, that a contrarie custome may take away that custome: For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is euident that it also pertaineth vnto them to decide and determine the doubtfull matters of the church.

Wherefore the testimonie of Saint Paul is euident: for (as he writing vnto the Ephesians, saith:) If Christ instituted his Apostles, Prophets, Pastours, and Teachers to the worke of the ministerie, for the edifying of his church vntill such time as we should meet him, for this purpose that there should be no doubt in the diuersitie of doctrine, who doubteth then, but that the gouernance of the church is committed vnto others together with the Apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seeme to be no lesser then they ought to be. The memorial of the councell of Constance, is yet fresh in memorie, where as diuers of vs were present, and I my selfe also which was neither cardinall nor bishop, but only a doctor, where I did see, without any maner of doubt or difficultie, the inferiours to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtfull matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of that most sacred and great councell, which also followed the examples of the councell of Pisa, and the great councell at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did iointly iudge together with the bishops.

Howsoeuer, if abbats, as we do see it obserued in all countels, haue a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ: why should not priests haue the same, whose order Christ ordained by his Apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should haue a determining voice, nothing should be done, but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth exceed all other nations, or at the least is equall with them, in number of bishops. And howsoeuer it be, I iudge it in this behalfe to bee a worke of God, that the inferiours should be admitted to the determinations: for God hath now reuealed that vnto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

Behold you do see the zeale, constancie, vprightnesse, and magnanimitie of these inferiours. Where should the councell now be, if only bishops and cardinals should haue their voice? Where should the authoritie of the councels be: where should the catholike faith be? where should the decrees and reformation be? for all things haue now a long time been vnder the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughtie purpose, except these inferiours, whom you now contemne, had withstood him. These are they which haue contemned the pituation made by Eugenius. These, I say, are they which haue not regarded his threatnings, ꝓmis and perfecution. These are they which being taken, imprisoned and dismembred, haue not feared to defend the truth of the councell: yea, even these are they, who albeit they were by Eugenius deliuered ouer for a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred councell, and feared not to suffer warre, famine, and most cruell pestilence: and finally, what thing is it, that these men haue not willingly suffered for the right and equitie of the councell? you might haue heard this inferiour for euen in the middest of their tribulatiōs, with a lond voice crie out and say, Albeit that al men become obedient into that subuerter of the church Eugenius, and that euery man do depart from the veritie of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting vnto the commandements of Eugenius, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers, the which indeed they haue done. Neither could they be feared with threatnings, or discouraged with any spoiles, neither could any feare or hope turne them from their most blessed purpose: And (to speake somewhat of mine owne order) whether arte cardinals haue done the like or no, that iudge you.

As for bishops, whom Panormitan alone would haue to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and euen they which are here present, are not able, by vertue to ouercome iniquitie, they feare the tereene power, and commit offence with their hurt. Haue you not heard how they all said, they would consent vnto the kings will and pleasure? But the inferiours are they which haue had truth, righteousnesse, and God himselfe, before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for shewing themselues such men vnto the church of God. But why doe I defend the cause of these inferiours? When as some will also exclude those bishops which are but bishops by name and title, and haue no possession of the church, from our companie, not vnderstanding that whilest they go about to put backe those men, they do condemne Peter, and the other Apostles, who (as it is euident) were long without any great flocke, neither was Rome vnto Peter, nor Jerusalem vnto James, at any time wholy obedient: for at that time no great number of people, but a small flocke beleeued in Christ.

For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They haue no flocke: but that is not their fault. They haue no reuenues: but money maketh not a bishop, and as the Lord saith, Beati pauperes spiritu: that is, Blessed are the poore in spirit. Neither was there any rich bishops in the primitiue Church, neither did the ancient Church reiect Dionysius bishop of Millaine, Eusebius bishop of Vercelles, or Hilarie bishop of Pictauia, although they were neuer so poore, and banished without a flocke. But if we will grant the truth, the poore are more apt to giue iudgement then the rich, because that riches bring feare, and their pouerte causeth libertie. For the poore men do not feare tyrannie as our rich men do, which being giuen ouer vnto all kind of vanities, idlenesse and sloth, will rather denie Christ, then lacke their accustomed pleasures: whom not their flocke, but their reuenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they iudge all poore men vnhappie. But, as Cicero saith; Nothing can happen better vnto a wise man, then mediocritie of substance. Wherevpon it is written in the Gospell, It is easier for a Camell to passe through a needles eye, then for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of heauen.

But now to returne to a more full declaration of Panormitans words, I determine to passe ouer two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is: Quis petant, & cur petant, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirme) that they haue deserued good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moued thereunto, with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon, which he spake of; it is not to be enquired. A delay (saith he) is required: a delay for a few daies. A small matter: a matter of no importance: a matter easie to be granted. Notwithstanding let Panormitan here marke well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are alreadie declared: they be alreadie discussed and determined. I know there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay: for oftentimes the delay of one moment, is the losse of a whole yeere; hereof we haue many examples. Hannibal when he had obtained his victorie at Cannas, if he had gone straight vnto Rome, by all mens iudgements, he had taken the citie. But for so much as he did deferre it vntill the next day, the Romans hauing recouered their force againe; he was thut out, and deserued to heare this opprobrie:

*Vincere scis Hannibal, victoria nescis.*

Hannibal thou knowest victorie to get,
But how to vse it thou knowest not yet.

Likewise the French men, after they had taken Rome and besieged the Capitoll, whiles that they greedilie sought to haue great summes of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus comming vpon them did most shamefully driue them out againe. But what need I to rehearse old stories, whenas our owne examples are sufficient for vs? We know your selues how often these delayes haue been hurtfull vnto you, and how often the delay of a few daies hath growne to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth yeere that you haue spent in delaies: and you haue seene that allwayes of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I do require, that Panormitan should consider, that the conclution being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to passe hereafter againe or no: manie impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth Panormitan say, that this delay being obtained, he would afterward consent with his fellowes vnto the conclusions: for he denieth that he hath any commandement thereunto; and (which is more to be considered) he hath cast the ambaslabours at their returne from Bentz, may bring such newes, whereby these conclusions may be omitted: as though any thing were more excellent then the truth.

The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seeke delayes for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugne the conclusions the more stronglie. Neither do I agree with Panormitan, as touching the effects which he said should rise either of the denial, or granting of the requests: For I see no cause why the princes should so greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come vnto vs as touching such request, neither is there anie man latelie come from them, neither is it greatlie materiall vnto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But

this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitan hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of thole moll godly princes, where as hee saith, if once they opplease them, they will take out part. Ifcontrariwise, they will decline into Sugerinus, and wholly resist and rebell against vs. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderfull conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the councell of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soeuer they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of the generall councels. But Panormitans words do not tend to that effect, for he would not haue the princes obedient vnto the councell, but the councell to be obedient vnto the princes.

The decrees of the councell of Constance.

Alas, most reuerend fathers, alas, what times and daies, what manners and conditions are these? Into what miserie are we now brought? How shall we at any time bring to passe, that the pope being Christs vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in earth, should be subiect vnto the councell of the christians, if the councell it selfe ought to obey worldly princes? But ears, if he councell it selfe ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you look for no such things at the princes hands. Do not beleeue that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not thinke them so farre alienate from the truth, that they would haue it oppressed.

If these things seeme so unutterable, what shall we say, when as they make the pope a God?

The conclusions whereupon the controuersie is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they do not resist against vs, but against the holy Scriptures, yea and against Christ himselfe: which you ought neither to beleeue, neither was it comely for Panormitan so to say. Panormitan (by your licence be it spoken) you haue vttered most cruell words, neither do you seeme to go about any other matter, then to inculcate terror and feare into the minds of the fathers: for you haue rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit our selues vnto the princes.

But you most reuerend fathers, shall not be afraid of them which kill the bodie, the soule they cannot kill: neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blod for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slacke in the maintell of our mother the church, and the catholike faith, then those most holy martyrs, which haue established the church with their blod. For why should it be any grieuous matter vnto vs to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruell and grieuous death? Who when he was an immortall God, void of all passions tooke vpon him the shape of a mortall man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments vpon the crosse. Set before your eyes the princes of the Apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew (and not to speake only of bishops) sparke what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented with most cruell and grieuous torments suffered for Christs sake. I pray you for Gods sake let vs follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let vs not feare martyrdome. Alas what effeminate hearts haue we? Alas what faint hearted people are we? They in times past by the contempt of death, conuerted the whole world, which was full of gentilitie and idolatrie: and we through our sluggishnesse and desire of life, do bring the christian religion out of the whole world into one corner: and I feare greatly, lest the little also which is left, we shall lose through our cowardlinesse: if that be followed by following Panormitans mind, we do commit the whole gouernance and defence of the church into the princes. But now place the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and feare not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the citie of Rome: which Mencetheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly take vpon them.

They which denie this doctrine, are here taxed and sharply reproued.

A christian exhortation to martyrdome.

This came to passe when the three orders of religion (the Domenicke Dominicans, the Franciscke Minorites, and the Carmelites) were sent into the Realme.

Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles might moue and stir vs to cast off all the feare of death. What is to be said of Thrasimus the Athenian (with how vnfull heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drinke the poison? What say you vnto Socrates that most excellent Philosopher? did he either weepe or sigh, when he supped vp the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certaine of: Not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

Examples of gods men dying for their Countrie.

Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea and redeemed with the pretious blod of Christ, so greatly to feare death.

Sato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which haue cheerefully and courageously gone vnto those places, from whence they knew they should not returne. With like courage did the Lacedemonians giue themselues to death at Thermopylis, of whom Simonides writeth thus:

*Dic hoffper Spartanos te hic vidisse iacentes,*
*Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.*

Report thou stranger, the Spartaines heere to lie,
Whiles that their countrie lawes they obeyed willingly.

The noble Lacedemonians.

Neither iudge the contrarie, but that the Lacedemonians went euen of purpose vnto death: vnto whom their captaine Leonidas said: O ye Lacedemonians, go forward couragiously, for this day we shal sup together with the infernal Gods. But I moll reuerend fathers, do not inuite you vnto the infernals as he did his Lacedemonians, but vnto the celestiall and euerlasting ioyes of Paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truths sake, and patiently abide the threatnings of these princes, if there be any threatnings at all. I call you vnto that eternal glorie: where as there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth: where all gods and pure: all things be assounde: where as no man inuieth, no man enuieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth, and finally no man dieth. Where as all men are blessed and happie, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortall, all are of like estate, and that all men haue euery man hath, and that euerie man hath, all men haue. Which things if we will consider, we shall truly answere Panormitan, as Theodorus Cyzenus is said to haue answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatned to hang him: his said, I pray you threaten these horrible things vnto your courtiers, as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rot about the ground or vnder the ground. Solike wise let vs answere vnto the princes, if there be any that doe threaten vs, and let vs not feare their tormentes.

The blessed state of the life to come.

The worthie answere of Theodorus Cyzenus.

What doth a longer life preuaile to helpe vs? No man hath liued too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of vertue. And if the death which a man sustereth in the quarrell of his countrie, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the Rhetoricians, but also happie and blessed, what shall we say for these deathes which are sustained for the countrie of all countries, the church? Truely, most reuerend fathers, it is too much that our aduersaries do perswade themselues of vs, for they iudge vs fearefull, faintly, and faint hearted: and therefore they do obiect princes vnto you, because they thinke that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile in the quarrell and defence of the church. But I thinke you will esteeme it no hard matter, for the obtaining of euerlasting life, to do the same which Cyprian did for the obtaining of transitorie riches, to put themselues in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruell stormes.

No death to be feared for Christs church.

The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hils and woods, and are tormented with cold: yet haue they none other reward, but some vnlde beast of no value or price. I pray you that ought you then to do, whose reward shall be Paradise? I am ashamed of our ignauie, when as I reade that women, yea euen yong maidens haue violently obtained heauen through their martyrdome, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This riuer of Rheine which runneth along by the citie, in times past hath carried eleuen thousand virgins vnto martyrdome. In India (as Cicero writeth) when anie man was dead, his wiues (for there they had many wiues) came into contention who should be burned with him: and the whom he loued best, hauing vanquished the other, all the rest ioyfully following her, was cast into the fire with the dead carcase of her husband and burnt. The other which were ouercome, departed full of heauinesse and sorrow, wishing rather to haue died then liue.

Example of Martiners and Hunters.

Example of the eleuen thousand virgins.

The which courage we now taking vpon vs for Christs sake, will answere Panormitan euen as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who when as by his letters he threatned them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him whether he would also let them to die. Therefore as you are excellent men, so vse your vertue, which is alwaies fras, and remaineth alwaies inuincible. For you doe know that power is giuen you of the Lord, and strength from the most highest: who will take account of your workes, and examine your thoughts: vnto whom ye should be carefull to render a good account, iudging rightly and keeping the law of righteousnesse, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

Humilitie sister to nobilitie.

And whereas the ambassadours of Eugenius, do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome aboue the vniuersall church, to the end that ignorant soules be not snared, ye shall not cease or leaue to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of the Apostle Paul, which would in no point giue place vnto Peter when he walked not according to the Gospell. As for the other matters, which do respect the only person of Eugenius (because Panormitan and the other Ambassadors of the princes, shall not say that we doe passe our bounds) ye shall deferre them for this present.

Amodeus archbishop of Lions.

Anno 1438

When as cardinall Arelatensis had made an end of his oration, there was a great noise, crying out and brawling euery where. The Presidents commandements were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order obserued: for sometimes they spake vnto Panormitan, sometime vnto Lodouicus: na man was suffered to speake, but in haste the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiours with their fellowes. All was full of contention and debate: which when as Lodouicus the Patriarch of Aquileia perceiued, a man of no lesse courage and stomacke, then of nobilitie and birth, being also a bishe, fo the scale which he bare vnto the vniuersall church, turning himselfe vnto Panormitan and Lodouicus the Protonotarie, said: Doe not thinke the matter shall so passe, you know not

Lewis Patriarch of Aquileia duke of Dacke in Sclauonia.



not yet the manners of the Germaines, for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be lawfull for you to depart out of this countrey with whole heads. With which words Panormitan, Ludouicus, and the archbishop of Sillaine, being stricken (as it were with lightning from heauen) rose vp and said: Is our libertie thus taken from vs? What meantly it that the Patriarch doth threaten vs, that our heads should be broken? And turning themselues vnto Iohn earle of Dierstein, which then supplied the protonos place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the councel, and preserue all men in their libertie, or no?

The earle of Dierstein.

The praise of the citizens of Basill.

The citizens also and Senatours, were present to prouide and foresee that no offence should rise, for the citizens obserued alwaies this order, that they would be present in all affaires, which they supposed would breed diffension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise then with words. They vsed alwaies such a marcellous foresight and prouidence, that no man vnto this day, could haue any cause against them, to complaine for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any citizens haue deserued wel at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be giuen vnto the Basilians. These men together with Iohn earle of Dierstein, being present in the assemblie of the fathers, gaue a signe of preseruation of their libertie. The earle (albeit he was moued at the strangeneſſe of the matter, for he would not haue thought so great contentions could haue risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, that they all should bee of good chere. For the emperours safe-conduct should be obserued and kept euen to the vttermost: neither should the Patriarch, nor anie other once violate the libertie, or take away the assurance granted by the emperour. Notwithstanding he desired the Patriarch that he would call backe his words againe, and not to speake anymore in such sort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moued, or troubled, committed his whole mind vnto Iohn de Wachesellene, auditor of the chamber, a man both graue and eloquent, to be declared. Who affirmed that the Patriarchs mind was not to threaten anie man, or disturbe the libertie of the councell, but to moue the fathers vnto constancie, that they should be mindfull of the reformation, which they had promised vnto the whole world, and not to lay one thing to day, and another to morow: for if they would so do, it were to be feared, lest the laitie seeing themselues deluded, and despairing of reformation should rise against the clergie.

Ambrose. ad Valentinianum.

Therefore he moniteth the fathers to forsee and prouide for the perill, that they should not depart from the councell, nothing being determined or done: and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the councell, Panormitane, or anyother man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, that humilitie is the sister of nobilitie: both which did verie excellently appeare in this man. Yet for all this, could not the humilitie of the Patriarke stop or stay their noise or cries: for as often as mention was made of reading the Concordaum, great noise and rumours were still made, for to stop the same. Then Amodeus archbishop of Lions, and primate of all France, a man of great reuerence and authoritie, being touched with the zeale of faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said: Most reuerend fathers, I haue now a great occasion for to speake: for it is now seuen yeares or more, that I haue been amongst you, yet haue I neuer seene the matter at that point which it is now at, most like vnto a miracle; for euen presently I doe behold most wonderfull signes of miracles; for it is no small matter that the lame doe walke, the dumbe doe speake, and that poore men preach the Gospell. Whereupon I pray you commeth this sudden change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenlie start vp? Why hath giuen hearing to the deafe, and speech to the dumbe? Who hath taught the poore men to preach the Gospell? I doe see here a new sort of prelats come in, which vnto this present haue kept silence, and now begin to speake. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugne iustice.

Bishops that lie at home, haue tongues here to speake for the pope.

Marke how they are turned backe which sometime taxed the truth and were now become fleers and flatterers.

Constancie lacked in diuers of this councell.

But this is more to be marueiled at then any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all, impugne our conclusions which are most certaine and true: And they which now reproue them, in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Lodouicus the Protonotarie preached these verities at Louaine and at Colen, and brought them from thence, confirmed with the authorities of the Vniuersities. Wherefore albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not giue eare vnto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet haue they no constancie in them: which doth adorne all other vertues.

When he had ended his oration, Lodouicus the Protonotarie rising vp, said: It is most true that I brought those verities, but you doe call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth verie doubtfull vnto me. When he had spoken these words cardinall Arelatensis required that the Concordaum of the timelne men should be read, and many whispered him in the eare, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitan, as tone as the Concordaum began to be read, rising vp with his companions and other Arragons, cried out with a loud voice, saying: You fathers do contemne our requests, you contemne kings and princes, and despise prelats; but take heed lest whilest that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men: You would conclude, but it is not your part so to conclude. We are the greater part of prelats, we make the councell, and it is our part to conclude, and I in the name of all other prelats do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed. With this word, there sprang such a noise and rumour in the councell as is accustomed to be in battell with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when as two armies ioine. Some curling that which Panormitan went about, othersome allowing the same: So that diuerslitie of minds made diuers contentions.

Panormitan speaketh like himselfe.

Then Nicolas Amici, a Diuine of Paris, according vnto his office, said: Panormitan, I appeale from this your conclusion, to the iudgement of the councell here present, neither do I affirme any thing to be ratified which you haue done, as I am readie to proue, if it shall seeme good. The contrarie part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seene how they could conclude amongst so great cries and vproares. Notwithstanding amongst all this troublous noise, Iohn Segouius, a singular Diuine of the Vniuersitie of Salamantine lacked not audience: for the whole councell was desirous for to heare him: wherefore all men as soone as he rose vp kept silence, and he perceiuing that they were desirous to heare him speake, began in this sort.

Nicolas Amici, a Diuine of Paris.

The oration of Segouius.

Most reuerend fathers, the zeale and loue of the house of God moueth me now to speake: and I would to God that I had been either blind, this day, not to haue seene those things which haue happened, or that I had been deafe, that I should not haue heard those words, which haue been spoken. Why is it that is so stonie or hard hearted, which can abstaine from teares, when as the authoritie of the church is so spoiled, libertie taken away both from vs and the councell, and that there is no place giuen vnto the verities? O sweet Iesu, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse? Behold and looke vpon thy people, and helpe vs if our requests are iust.

We come hither to prouide for the necessitie of the church, we require nothing for our selues, and our desire is only that truth might appeare. We trusted now to haue concluded vpon the verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred deputations. The Orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deserred. But we be not vnmindfull of those things which Ambrose wrote vnto Valentinian the emperour in this manner: If we shall intreate vpon the order of the holy Scripture and ancient times past: who is it that will denie but that in case of faith (I lay in case of faith) the bishops ought to iudge vpon christian emperours, and not emperours vpon bishops? Neither do we admit their petition but vpon most vrgent causes: Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilest that they did speake, euen so long as they would.

How farre and wherein bishops ought to iudge vpon emperors.

But now if any of our part would speake, by and by he is interrupted, troubled and letted. What honestie is this? what modestie or grauitie? is it lawfull so to do in the councell? Where is the liberty of the councell of Epsole now become? (where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also all small bablings and talke?) They say, it is because we contemne them: but they are they, which not only contemne the councell, but also resist the same. The Patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no euil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their libertie was broken: but they, when as they do enforce the councell, when as they forbid the President to speake, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not iudge that they do any thing contrarie to the libertie of the councell. They say, they are the councell themselues, and yet they intreat the councell. These things do not I vnderstand: for if they be the councell, why do they intreate themselues? If they be not the councell, why do they not suffer the councell for to speake? Why doe they not take for an answere of him to whom they make their petitions?

He meaneth Panormitan, which did conclude without the examination of twelue men.

Truly this is to too much violence, and certes our patience is also to much, to suffer such excelle euen in the face of the church. But this doth most of all grieue me, and this do I most muruell at, that Panormitan, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any disculling or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelue men, or anie rite or order. The which except mine eyes had beheld and seene, I would scarcely beleeue, if any other man should report it vnto me, or him: Neither do I yet know, whether I may sufficiently credit my selfe, the matter seemeth so horrible: for I doe not see by what authoritie his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authoritie of his king, whom he saith will haue it so. But you most reuerend fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custome: for so it shall come to passe, that in all matters, a fewe froward prelats shall haue one to conclude for them.

And albeit Panormitan hath proued (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet not-

Paul wrote giue to feare for figure when he warned a-wiues.

notwithstanding I dare require you most reuerend fathers to follow the example of the Apostle, who (as Arelatensis hath well declared) would not giue one houres respite vnto Peter, when he swarued from the truth of the Gospell. The faith is precious to be reteined and holpen, neither doth any thing sustaine more danger by delaies, then faith doth. For heresies except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once growne, are hardly taken away. Therefore I desire you speedily to helpe and aide. Hoise vp your sailes, and launch out your oares. What should we tarrie looking for either the prelats or the princes? You are now in conflict: I onely desire that you would hasten vnto the victorie. Regard not the threatnings of those princes, neither the oppressies of those contumelious persons: for you are blessed, saith the Lord, when as men curse you and persecute you, speaking all euill against you, making lies and flanders vpon you for my sake; reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. That is not our Lord God able to take vs out of the furnace of hote burning fire, and deliuer vs out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you most reuerend fathers and louing brethren, haue no lesse hope in Iesus Christ, then Sidrach, Misach, and Abednago had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodonosor: and let the princes know, that the most high ruleth ouer the kingdoms of men, and giueth them vnto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all things from aboue; he is (I say) in the middest amongst vs; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of god courage, and shew your selues as a strong wall for the church of God: suffer not the faith to perish vnder your handes. The almightie God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Feare not them which seeke onely to kill the bodie. Vse iustice and equitie, and be assured that he will not deliuer you ouer into the handes of the backbiter and slaunderer. Against I say vnto you, shew your selues valiant and stout: Defend your mother the church. And vnto thee, O thou president I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God then man, for if thou depart thence without a finall conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait iudgement of God. And thus without any more words, hee sate downe in his place.

Marke the great constancy and christian zeal of a reuerend man.

Exhortation to constancie.

In the meane time, many graue and ancient men haderhasted Panormitan that he should giue ouer his conclusion. The bishop of Burgen was verie instant and earnest with him, that he should make vnitie and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make an vnitie with al men. But neither the fathers of the councell were determined to depart without a conclusion, neither Panormitan was minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the prelats sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as euery mans affection led him. Some went to the cardinall Arelatensis, some vnto Panormitan and exhorted them, as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatensis knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no readie way to make a conclusion, thought to vse some policie, to appease the tumult.

The bishop of Burgen verie louingly concyled.

How men be prone to leane vnto princes.

Note the godly policie of the Cardinall.

Most reuerend fathers, said he, we haue receiued now letters out of France, which declare vnto me marueilous things: that there are mereable newes sprung vp there, which if you will giue me willing audience, I will declare vnto you. By this meanes there was a sodden silence throughout the whole councell, and by this marueilous policie he made all men attentiue to heare. Whom as he saw he had free libertie to speake, vnfolded euery fable or historie of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and as it is requisit in an Oratour, came by little and little to the principall point, saying; that Sugenius his messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, aboue the generall councels: against whom, except speedie remedie were found, it would come to passe, that many would giue credit vnto them, and therefore the sacred councell ought of necessitie, to prouide remedie, and of necessitie to conclude vpon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temeritie of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, although they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers intent to conclude vpon them all, but only the three first: euen as I also (saith he) here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

The conclusion of the councell.

The holy Ghost working against the pope.

The sorowe of Panormitan for impugning thereof.

When he had finished his Oration, with a cheerefull and merrie countenance rising vp, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisedome, that being a French man borne, had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great policie. Howbeit this was all mens opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the holy Ghost, then by the cardinals owne power. The other of the contrarie faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging downe their heades, departed euery man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another: so that their countenances declared vnto euery man that they were ouercome. Something more also is reported of Panormitan, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone vnto his chamber, he complained with himselfe vpon his king, which had compelled him to striue against the truth, and put both his soule and good name in danger of losing; and that in the middest of his teares and complaints he fell asleepe, and did eat no meat, vntill late in the euening for verie sorowe for that he had neither ignorantly, neither vnwillingly impugned the truth.

The bishop of Concen spitefully.

The bishop of Lions and Burgen.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugentians, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought god to depart and leaue the councell; other some thought it meeter to tarrie, and with all indeuour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians: and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of Aprill, the archbishop of Lions and the bishop of Burgen, calling together the prelats into the chapter house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgen perswaded that there should be deputations appointed that day, vnto whom the archbishop of Lions should giue power to make an agreement. Vnto whom answere was made, as they thought, verie roughly, but as other iudged, gently, but notwithstanding iustly and truly: For, they said there could be no vnitie or concord made, before the aduersaries confessed their fault and asked pardon therefore.

The first assemblie of the councell.

Marke what the truth must suffer.

The day following, the said bishop of Burgen, with the other Lombards and Cathelans, went vnto the Germaines, and from thence vnto the Senate of the citie, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schismes. The Germaines referred themselues to those things which the deputation should determine. The Senate of the citie (as they were great men of wisdome, which would do nothing without diligent aduice and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertained not vnto them, but vnto the councell: the fathers whereof were most wise men, and knew not ignorant what pertained vnto the christian faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared vnto the councell and not to the Senate: For they beleeue that the Elders of the councell, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the Senate of the citie, it was their dutie only to defend the fathers and to preserue the promise of the citie. With this answere the bishop of Burgen departed.

The answers of them both.

Dimarueilous despite and contumelie in a bishop for if Arelatensis had kept whores or concubines, he would haue passed him: but to maintaine learned me was a great offence.

In the meane time the fathers of the councell had drawne out a forme of a decree vpon the former conclusions, and had appointed the same in the last deputations. By the time the princes oratours were returned from the assemblie at Spentz, and holding a councell among themselues, they had determined to let the decree. The ninth day of May there was a generall connocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himselfe vnto the conflict.

The forme of the decree is written and approued.

The fathers of the councell slandered by Panormitan. Foure signes to know the good from the bad.

The princes Ambaldadours were called by the bishop of Lubecke and Conrade de Winsperg the protectour, into the quier, and there kept: where as they intreated of a vnitie and by what meanes it might be had, and there they tarried longer then some thought to be: the which matter gaue occasion to bring things well to passe, beyond all expectation. The only forme of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day; whereupon, as some as cardinall Arelatensis perceiued the congregation to be full, and that the twelue men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for feare of tumult, but commanded by and by the publike concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the cardinall Arelatensis might appoint a Session whensoeuer he would. Which being read, he being desired by the promotors, concluded according as the manner and custome is. The ambaldadours & princes being yet in the quier, as soone as they vnderstood how the matter passed, being verie much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talke, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubeck, which of purpose had kept them in the quier and protracted the time. Whereupon they entring into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

The policie of the cardinall Arelatensis.

Looke if it be not spoken of light in the Gospell, where mention is made of the dead which is fallen into the dirch.

What is to the ambition will not doe

Abbat Virgiliacensis.

Lubonteus the Protonotarie in labouring to stone learned, diligent to be good.

The Apostles principally gathered the Creed.

The bishop of Turnon.

First of all, the Orator of Lubecke complained both in his owne name and the name of the protector, as touching the conclusion, and required that the councell would reuoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to intreat a peace, and to bee a prodour betweene the councell and the ambaldadours of the princes. But the archbishop of Turnon said, that it seemed vnto him euery man to haue free libertie to speake against that law which should be promulgate, vntill the Session, when the canons should be consecrated and receiue their force: when as the bishops in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the Session, should answere that it pleased them: otherwise the demand which was made by the promoters in the Session to be but vaine: and for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the Session, therefore he said that he might without rebuke speake somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit by in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but euen now: notwithstanding that hee being an archbishop ought to haue knowne the matter, that at his returne home, he might informe the king and also instruct those which were vnder him. And that hee and his fellowes before



before any Session should be: would both heare and be heard of others. Neither doth it seeme good vnto him that the Session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambaldadors of the princes had done at Spentz, which would peraduenture be such as might alter and change the minds of the fathers. Then the bishop of Conce ambaldadour of the king of Castille, which was also lately returned from Spentz, a man of great vnderstanding, but lacking vtterance, gricuously complained that the prelats were contemned. Neither had it been (said he) any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expences, went to Spentz, not for their pleasure, but of necessitie. And afterward as it were smiling, he said, how mad am I that would haue the prelats to be tarried for, vntill they returne from Spentz, when as they are not taried for, whilest they came out of the quier of the church: do therefore as ye list. If there rise any offence or mischiefe hereupon, neither are we the ambaldadours of Castile to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble king.

Here were it long to repeate, with what rebukes and taunts they inueighed against the cardinall Arelatensis: but especially the bishop of Millaine railed most cruelly vpon him, saying y he fostered & maintained a rable of Sophisters and Scholemasters, and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them: calling him also another Catalin, vnto whom all desperate and naughtie persons had refuge, that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them: and that he would not giue care vnto the ambaldadours of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelats in this most waighty matter. Albigunensis a bishop and a man of great nobilitie, descended of the emperours blod, albeit he had neuer alienate his mind before from the councell: yet left he should seeme to dissent from other ambaldadours of the princes, made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the prelats. After this it came vnto Panormitan to speake, who as he had a greater vehemencie in speaking, so also he did declare a more angrie stomacke and mind: for in the beginning of his Oration, he seemeth not to goe about according to the precept of Oratours, to get the good will of the hearers, but rather their hatred: for he said that our Sauiour shewed foure signes in the Gospell, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate: for he which is of God (saith he) heareth the words of God, but you heare not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And againe, he that doth euill hateth the light. And in another place also, by their fruits you shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth euill fruit.

Panormitan his reference vnto the last. But vnto Ludouicus the Protonotarie, which desired to be instructed: he said, he willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken vnto the bishop of Turnon.

To Ludouicus the Protonotarie.

All which sayings hee wrested against the fathers of the councell, because they would not heare the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambaldadours had spoken, because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambaldadours, priuily concluding, and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day but had concluded thereupon, also because they had the vpper hand in the foresaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said that the fathers themselues should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselues were not good: and that hee did see another councell at hand, where as he feared lest these conclusions should be reuoked, as the fruit of an euill tree: and therefore, they ought not so suddenlie to proceed in so waighty matters: and that he would be yet more fullie heard before the Session, as well in his owne name, because he was an archbishop, as in the name of his prince, which reigned not ouer one kingdome alone but ouer many: Also he said that he heretofore by his words, deeds and writings, hath extolled the authoritie of the councell: and that he feared, left by these meanes, the authoritie thereof should be subuerted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the councell, for so much as verie sorowe and griefe forced him to speake so.

Nicolas Picenius an Italian.

The Abbat Virgiliacensis would haue made answere to those things which Panormitan had touched, concerning his deputation: but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrarie part should speake first, amongst whom, last of all Ludouicus the Protonotarie, the Honour of lawyers rose vp. And albeit that he spake vnwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refraine his words. And whiles he went about to seeme learned and eloquent, he vtterly forgot to be good. He said that the councell ought to take heed, that they intreated no matter of faith, against the prelats, lest any offence should follow, for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelue Apostles and seuentie Disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the Creed, onlie the Apostles were present, thereby (as it were) giuing example, that the matters of faith did pertaine onely vnto the Apostles, and so consequently vnto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be clerely diffined, for so much as Peter affirmeth the tryall of faith to be much more pretious then gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the bishops be contemned, which are called the pillars and keyes of heauen, the faith cannot seeme to be well proued or examined. But at length he confessed,

Articles of the Creed or of all put in by the Apostles, but some by the councels.

The article of the holy Ghost put in by the councell of Nicene.

that the inferiours might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiours might determine any thing. From thence he passing to the matter of faith, said, that those verities whereupon question was now had, are articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And for so much as euerie man should be bound for to beleeue those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should beleeue as an article of faith. Neither should it be comely for the councell to denie him his requell, which according to the rule of the Apostle, ought to bee readie to giue account vnto euerie man which shall require it, touching the faith, which it holdeth.

The oration of the cardinall Arelatensis, to the imperiall ambaldadors.

After euery man had made an end of speaking, the cardinall Arelatensis calling his spirits together, made an Oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the Imperiall ambaldadours, which offered to entreate a peace and vnitie; but neither necessitie, nor honestie (he said) should suffer those things which are concluded to be reuoked. He answered also, that the petition of the ambaldadours of France is most iust, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith: and that the councell would grant their requell, and send vnto them certaine Diuines, which should instruct them at home at their lodgings: but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought in question, that the Session was onelie holden, rather to beautifie the matter, then to confirme the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greeuously complained of, he doth not much marueil: for he could not know the procelle of the matter, when he was absent, who being better instructed, he supposed would speake no more any such words, for so much as a full man would require no vniust thing. Also that his protestation had no euill sense or meaning, in that he would not haue it imputed, neither vnto him, neither vnto his king, if any offence should rise vpon the conclusions. Notwithstanding it is not to be feared that any euill should spring of good workes. But vnto the bishop of Millaine he would answere nothing, because he saw him so moued and troubled, for feare of multiplying of more grieuous and ruinous words. As for Panormitan he referred vnto the last.

To the ambaldadours of France.

To the bishop of Concen.

Notwithstanding, he left not this vntouched which Ludouicus had spoken concerning the Apostles Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed, the Apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they only were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes that princes are commended and praised as chiefe authors and doers of things, whereas notwithstanding they haue other helpers; as it appeareth in battels, which although they are fought with the force of all the soulders, yet the victorie thereof is imputed but vnto a few. As in these our daies, they do ascribe all things which the armie doth either fortunately or wisely, vnto Nicolas Picenius, that most valiant captaine, which hath obtained so manie famous victories: albeit that oftentimes other haue been the inuenters of the policie, and workers of the feate. And therefore Ludouicus ought to know and vnderstand, that they are not only articles of faith which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the councels, as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now vse in the church, that were not put to by the Apostles, but afterward by generall councels: as that part wherein mention is made of the holy Ghost, which the councell of Lions did adde; in which councell also it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiours did iudge together with the bishops. But for so much as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But comming vnto Panormitan, he rehearsed his words Qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit, Ioh. that is of God, heareth Gods word, which is very well taken out of the Gospell, but not well applied vnto the councell (said he:) for he firmely beleeued, that his predecessors haue indged, the holy Ghost to be in the middell of the councels, and therefore the words of the councels to be the words of the holy Ghost: which if any man do reiect, he denieth himselfe to be of God. Neither doth the councell hate the light, which both all things publikely and openly, whose congregations are cuident vnto all men, neither doth it as the conuenticles of the aduersaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreouer, the thing which is now in hand, was begun to be intreated of fiue or two monethes ago, and first the conclusions were largely disputed vpon in the Diuinitie schooles, and afterward sent vnto Spentz and other places of the world.

The article of the holy Ghost put in by the councell of Nicene.

Panormitan wounded with his owne dartes.

After all this, the fathers were called into the Quyer house of the great church, to the number of an hundred and twenty: amongst whom Panormitan which now complaineth, was also present, and according to his manner, did learnedlie and subtilly dispute, and had libertie to speak what he would. Likewise in the deputations, euery man spake his mind freely,

and in the deputation where Panormitan was, the matter was three daies discussed. After this the twelue men did agree vpon it, and the generall congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly, and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did sit vpon a holy day, there is no hurt in that, neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they haue often beldon their Session vpon festiuall daies, what as the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of faith hath no holy daies. And further he said, that he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully, in the congregation, as Panormitan hath reported, but publikely and openly at the request of the Promoters. Neither hath any man any iust cause to complaine vpon him, for so much as when he was made president, he was sworne that alwaies when three or foure of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And for so much as he had alreadie concluded in diuers causes touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith, for that he was a cardinall, and did weare his red hat for this purpose, that he should bold his blood in the defence of the faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the pope, for that omitting the fiue conclusions touching Eugenius, hee had concluded but onely the generall conclusions: which except he had done, the fathers should haue had iust cause to complaine against him (in that they trusting in his fidelitie and faithfulnesse, had chosen him President) if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessarie cause of faith. And turning himselfe vnto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, for so much as he would neuer forsake them, yea although he should suffer death for, he had giuen his faith and fidelitie vnto the councell, which he would obserue and keepe: neither should any mans flattery or threatnings put him from his purpose: that he would be alwaies readie to do whatsoeuer the councell should command him, and neuer leaue the commandements of the deputies by any meanes vnperformed.

Arelatensis concluded not, but at the request of the protectors.

These foure deputations were foure seats of chosen men, which did discusse and determine those things which the fathers did conclude vpon. Clerify this is no Babylonical cardinall, but of the immaculate spouse Jesus Christ. He speaketh to the whole councell.

As touching that Panormitan had extolled the authoritie of the councell, he said that he was greatly to be thanked. But yet he ought to vnderstand and know the authoritie of the councell to be such, as cannot be augmented or increased by any mans praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobrie or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the forme of the decree to be read. Then Panormitan and those which take his part, would needs haue a certaine protestation to be first read. There was great contention on euerie side. Notwithstanding at the last Arelatensis preuailed, and the forme of the decree was read vnto this word, Decernimus, that is to say, we decree. Then Panormitan rising vp, would not suffer it to be heard any further: And the bishop of Catania cried out saying, that it was vncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those which fauoured Panormitan. The cardinall of Terracona also (whilst there was that time had bolden his peace) did seriously rebuke his partakers, that as men being asleepe or in a dreame, they did not reade the protestation, and commanded by and by one of his familiars to reade it. But like as the aduersaries before did perturbe the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the councell now giue place to the reading of the protestation. Which when Albiganensis did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought vnto him, and as he began to speake, suddenly Arelatensis rose vp, with a great number of the fathers to depart: which thing pleased the cardinall of Terracona and Panormitan verie well, for that they hoped that they alone with their adherents, should remaine in the church. Wherefore he reuoked Arelatensis to reuoke the conclusion, and to make another.

Euerie man may determine in matters of faith hauing the Scripture on his part.

Contention in the councell about reading of the protestation.

There was in that congregation in his place George the Protonotarie of Barbarina, sitting somewhat beneath his vncle, the cardinall of Terracona, a man but yong of age, but graue in wisedome, and noble in humanitie: who as soone as he saw the cardinall Arelatensis rise, he determined also to depart, and when as his vncle called him, commanding him to tarrie, he said; God forbid father that I should tarrie in your congregation, or do any thing contrarie to the oth which I haue taken. By which words he declared his excellent vertue and nobilitie, and admonished our men which remained, of those things which they had to do. His voice was the voice of the holy Ghost, and words more necessarie, then could bee thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the councell had peraduenture departed, and gone their way, and the other remaining in the church, had made another conclusion which they would haue affirmed to haue been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many being warned by the words of the Protonotarie, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councels before, called backe againe the multitude which were departing, and cried vpon the cardinall and the Patriarch to sit downe againe, and that they should not leaue the church void and quiet for their aduersaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sate downe, and the gates were shut againe. In the meane time Matthews Albiganensis a bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himselfe alone, for it could not be heard for noise: which being ended the Lombardes and the Cathelanes confirmed the protestation. When the cardinall of Terracona said that he did agree to that distinction, they marualled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him: What, said he, ye fooles do ye mocke me? do not the ambaslaadours of my king dissent from you? What do you marueil then if I do say I consent vnto their distinction: And with these words, he and almost all the Aragons, Lombardes and Cathelanes departed, all the other taried still. And albeit it was somewhat late (for it was past two at afternoone) Arelatensis seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affaires of priuate persons to be read, as the manner is: which being ended, hee commanded also the publike affaires to bee read, and willed the conclusions and the forme of the decree to be read againe. There remained in the congregation, the ambassadours of the empire and of France, talking together of their affaires. Notwithstanding the bishop of Turnon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himselfe to the bishop of Lubecke, said: Loe, the matters of faith are now in hand againe, let vs go hence I pray you that we be not an offence vnto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadours. To whom the bishop of Lubecke answered: Tarrie father, tarrie here, are not the conclusions most true: Why are you afraid to be here for the truth? These words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly betweene themselues. Notwithstanding I heard it, for I sitting at their feet, did diligently obserue what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read, which he thought necessarie, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, both great difficulty Arelatensis concluded, for so much as neither the matter, nor the forme could be concluded without dissention: and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all mens hope, but were obtained by the industrie of Arelatensis, or rather by the speciall gift of the holy Ghost.

The affaires of the councell are read.

They papists enroll that which maketh for their purpose, but the contrary they contemne, whether it be scripture or prophane.

Eneas Syluius being present collected this. Arelatensis concluded here, as he did also before, not without the consent of the deputies according to the order of the councell.

After this, it was determined betweene the Lombardes and Aragons to abstaine from the deputations for a certaine time, which they did not long obserue, notwithstanding the deputations were then verie quietly for a certaine space, neither was there any thing done worthie of remembrance vntill the fifteenth day of May, during which time, all meanes possible were sought to set a concord betweene the fathers, but it would not be. Then Nicolas Amici promoter of the faith, was called into the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the daies before, and declared how that Arelatensis might point a session. Wherefore, for so much as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, he required that a session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the cardinall for his dignities sake, in that he was called the principall of the church, and the other bishops, that (as they had promised in their confectation) they would not now shrinke from the church in this laudable enterprise, and suffer the faith to be oppressed: but the other inferiours he required for their oth which they had taken, to shew themselues faithfull and constant herein. Then against there fell a great contention vpon these words: for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a Session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubecke rising vp, made a protestation in his owne name, and also in the name of his protector, that he would not consent, that there should be any Session, if it should in any part derogate from a agreement had at Mentz. Gregorius Spica also, his fellow ambassadour, consented to this protestation. When as the proctor of the councell appointed by the emperor, vnderstood himselfe to be named by the bishop of Lubecke, he marueiled a while what the matter should be. But being certified by an interpreter, he answered that he would in no case consent vnto the protestation of the bishop of Lubecke, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz: also that he was sent by the emperour to the sacred councell, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Concense, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitan. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would marueil that I make mention so often of Panormitan: for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

Saint Hierome vnto Nepotianum de vita clericali.

Marke how politikely and sincerely he doth confute his aduersaries.

The bishop of Lubecke.

Conrade Wintzpergen Baron.

It happened in these matters, euen as it doth in warlike affaires: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and doe most worthie feats, obtaine most fame, as in the battell of Troy, Achilles and Hector: so in these spirituall wars and contentions, those which most excell in learning and eloquence, and do most then other, should be most renowned and named: for on the one part Panormitan was prince and captaine; on the other, Arelatensis: but his owne will made not the one captaine, but onely necessitie, for it behoued him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding he was not ignorant of the truth and veritie, neither did he resist willingly against it: for I haue seene him oftentimes in his librarie complaine of his prince, that he followed other mens councell. When as his time came to speake, he said that he did not a little marueil why the protectors of the faith, should require the prelats to haue a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to vsurpe the presidents place. And againe, he complained touching the contempt of the prelats, for the matter did presently touch the state of the apostolike see, and for that cause he see ought to be heard before any Session bee holden. Neither it is to be regarded (said he) that the councell of Constance saieth to haue decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forsomuch as pope Iohn was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speake for the see, by which words he seemed both to contemne and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most great and sacred Synode of Constance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying: that the Synode of Constance is holy, and the authoritie thereof ought to be inuiolate. But he being still instant, with a stout and haughtie courage, affirmed, that the matter could not be finished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And againe, that the ambassadours themselues cannot consent, forsomuch as in the Colloquie holden at Mentz they had promised during the treatie of peace by them begun, they would receiue and allow nothing that the pope should either doe against the councell, or the councell against the pope: and that he doubted not, but that the three first conclusions declared Eugenius an heretike, insomuch that it was euident, that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore forsomuch as the Session was not perholden, and that it was lawfull for euery man before that Session to speake what he will, he desired and required them most instantly, that there might be no Session as yet holden. Vnto whom Arelatensis answered, that it was not to be doubted, but that the promoter of the faith, by his office might call the prelats to determine a matter of faith, and specially forsomuch as the deputation of the faith and the whole councell, had so giuen him in commandement.

Arelatensis answere to Panormitan. This deputation of faith, was the company of chosen men which did determine matters of faith.

No man hath heretofore more then Panormitant published the errours of Eugenius; whom he now so greatly defendeth.

The Session proclaimed.

Panormitan the Achilles of the Eugenianes, and Arelatensis the Hector of the councell.

As touching the prelats, hee saith, that albeit without all doubt bishops haue chiefe authoritie: yet notwithstanding it is accustomed in councels, not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole councell: and the vniuersall Church hath decreed certaine lawes in this councell, which should remaine inuiolate. Neither let the bishops thinke the presence of the inferiours grieuous vnto them, whenas oftentimes vnder a bare and torne coat, wisedome lieth hid: and vnder rich vestures and ornaments, follie lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindfull of the saying of Domitius, which (as Saint Hierome reporteth) said: Why should I esteeme thee as a prince, if thou doest not regard mee as a Senator? For the bishops ought to esteeme priests as priests, if they will haue reuerence done vnto them as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be loked for, to the deciding of this matter, forsomuch as the Church is not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not receiued his power from princes, but immediatly from God: for to the defence thereof, he should perceiue the inferiours to be no lesse encouraged then the bishops, for that hee did well vnderstand and know, that they would not only spend their temporall goods, but also their liues for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather then they will lose any part of their temporalities, they will sell the libertie of the Church vnto the princes, and make them iudges and lords ouer the councell. As touching the acts at Mentz, hee doth not regard them, forsomuch as (as it is said) they accounted without their host: for hee saith, he doth not vnderstand how this can bee, that they had decreed neither to obay the pope, nor the councell. The one or the other they must needs bee obedient vnto: for there is no third tribunall, whereunto any obedience is due in these matters which concerne the faith and the saluation of soules: And finally, that the church would not suffer, that their affaires and matters of faith should bee determined by the iudgement of princes: for the holy Ghost is not subiect vnto princes, but princes vnto him: and vpon this conclusion hee would not feare, neither the losse of his goods, neither any death or martyrdome. And whereas Panormitane doth now shew himselfe so great a defender of Eugenius, he saith, that hee doth not a little marueil at it, for that in times past, no man hath more published Eugenius his errors then hee, whose especiall labour and counsell, both a decree monitorie, and also the suspension was admitted and set out against Eugenius: And now, whereupon this sudden change should come: hee saith, that he was bitterly ignorant, forsomuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in such a schisme. Wherefore hee desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not: for (saith he) the conclusions which now shall bee decreed, are most generall: neither is there any mention in them of the pope: and moreouer the veritie of faith is contained in them: against the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meet that the pope should bee corrected, then the veritie omitted. And thus he making an end all were wanting to come the next day vnto the Session. The protector also desired the sacred councell, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the Session. Forsomuch as he was readie to obserue the safe-conduct of the emperour, and together with the Senate of the citie, to prohibite all quarellers for doing of iniurie.



When the 16. day of May was come, all they whom the Session contented and pleased, assembled at the houre. The ambassadours also of the princes were come together into the quier of the Church, to attempt further what they could doe; and sending the bishop of Lubecke & Concense, and the deane of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themselues to be present at the Session, if that the deposition of Eugenius might yet be deferred foure moneths. Who, when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatensis, and the other principals, returning again vnto the ambassadors, they would onely haue the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent againe vnto Arelatensis: vnto whom answere was made, that the chiefe force did consist in the two other conclusions, and that the councell would specially determine vpon them. If the ambassadours would not be present, they should vnderstand, that the concord was broken by them, which would not obserue that which they had offered. With which answere they departed, and the Session began to bee celebrate. There was no prelat of the Aragone present at it, neither out of Spaine, and out of Italie, onely the bishop of Bosticane, and the abbat of Dena, which for their constancie and stedfast good will toward the vniuersall church, could not be changed from their purpose: but of bodies and other inferiors, there were a great number of Aragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spaine and Italie, (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did) and then the worthy stoutnesse of the Aragons and Cathelanes appeared in the inferiour sort, which would not thinke away in the necessitie of the church. Of the two other nations there were onely present twentie bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouthes. Arelatensis considering afore what would come to passe, caused prayers to be made, and after their prayers made vnto almighty God, with teares and lamentation, that he would send them his holy spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops, prodors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests and doctors of both lawes, which I iudged to be about the number of 400. or more: amongst whom there was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the Church. The bishop of Massilia a noble man, read the decree, which was attentiuely hearkened vnto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, Te Deum laudamus was sung with great ioy and gladnes, and so the session dissolued, which was in number the xxxij. session, and amongst all the rest the most quiet and peaceable.

Among 400. because that were present, there was not one all wroth.

The 33. Session.

The day following, being the xxij. of May, the princes ambassadors without all mens expectation, came vnto the generall congregation, by that their doing at the least, giuing their assent vnto the Session before passed. In celebrating wherof, if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawfull for the princes and ambassadors, to haue holden the councell with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and euen now to detest and abhorre that which they had done: as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the Empire and France. For the bishop of Lubecke said, that the cause of his absence was, for that hee was appointed by the emperours commandement, to intreat a peace: Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any businesse, thereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be intreated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the Session before holden, and beleeued the decree therein promulgated to be most good and holy, and the veritie therein contained to be vndoubted; and said, that he would sticke thereunto both now and euer, euen to the death. But the bishop of Mannon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellowes, said, that he heard how that they were euil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured their king in that most sacred session, whom it becomned specially to exalt and defend the faith: which also for that cause aboue all other kings was named most Christian: notwithstanding, he said that they had a lawfull excuse, in that it was conuenient that they, which were sent to intreat peace, should doe nothing therby by their ambassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of iniustice (said hee) whereby either things are done that should not bee done, or things that should bee done are not done. The first doth not alwaies bind, because it is conuenient to haue respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth alwaies bind, wherein he said, they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might seeme none to haue erred, because they were not present at the session: but yet in this point they had sufficient to answere, forsomuch as if they had been present at that session, they should haue been bunnet to haue intreated any peace with Eugenius: And therefore albeit they were wanting at so holie a business in that point they followed the example of Paul, which albeit he desired to be dissolued, and to be with Christ, yet for the further profit and aduancement of the Church, it was deferred. So likewise

In all Italy there were scarse the two prelats found which fought the commodities of the vniuersall Church, in Sigismunds time was none. Prayers made with teares.

Two kinds of iniustice.

wise he said, that they had now done, for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would sticke euen unto the death) but because they would not be blamed: for the treatie of peace for which they came and yet that which they had not done in their owne persons, they had fulfilled (said he) by the seruants and houshold, whom altogether they commanded to reuerence that Session. I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelat; surely they should not haue gone unpunished, which thought to haue plaied so pope. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treatie of peace? Or if it doe hurt, why is hee not counted as great an offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which both declare it? That shall we need any further testimonie for: now the ambassadors of the princes haue declared Eugenius to be an enemie unto the truth. But to passe ouer these things, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward unto the king of France, that hee did vnderstand the bishop of Tournon to become his enemie.

Arelatensis commendeth the ambassadors.

After that the bishop of Tournon had made an end, cardinall Arelatensis gaue thanks unto God, which had so defended his Church, and after great stormes and cloudes, had sent faire and cleare weather: and commending the good will of the emperour and the king of France toward the Church, he also praised the bishop of Lubeck and Tournon, for that oftentimes in the councell, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authoritie of the councell. But specially hee commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestred themselues from the faith of the Church.

This councell was enstructed to take away the ambition of the bishops of Rome, that they should not think they may do all things according to their owne pleasure: and withdrawe themselues from the care of temporall things, which they regarded not.

Afterward, he entring into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at Pysis and at Constance, and neuer saw a more quiet or deuout Session then this; affirming that this was not necessarie, to oppresse the ambition of the bishops of Rome, which exalting themselues aboue the vniuersall Church, thought it lawfull for them to doe all things after their owne pleasure, and that no one man from henceforth should transpost the councell from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to doe, now to Bonomia, now to Florentia, then againe to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that againe to Florentia: and that hereafter the bishops should withdraw their minds from the carefulnes of temporall goods, (which as he himselfe did see) had no mind at all on spirituall matters: and therefore by how much this session was most holy and necessarie, by so much more the assent of the ambassadours was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers. These words thus spoken, hee rose vp, and the congregation was dissolued.

The councell doth deliberate vpon the popes election.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was deposed from the bishopricke of Rome, the principall fathers of the councell being called together in the chapter-house of the great Church consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should bee done with speed, shewed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head: also what a pestiferous sickines was on to be without a head: also what a pestiferous sickines was in all the citie, which not onely consumed young men and children but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers vnto the poze of the citie, and so infected the rich, and now was come vnto the fathers of the councell: amplifying moreouer, and encreasing the terros thereof, and making the thing worse then it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the decree (and they) any thing let or hinder, wherein it is prouided that there should be delay of 30. dates after the sees void: for that is to bee vnderstood when as the see is void, at such time as there is no councell holden: neither ought hee to tarrie or make any delay, lest the princes being perswaded by Gabriel, should resist: Unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, is to be certified all vnder one message. The other thought good that there should bee a delay said: that the councell did lacke no head, forsomuch as Christ was the head thereof: neither did lacke a ruler, forsomuch as it was gouerned by the presidents and other officers: and that no mention should bee made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that, unto stout and strong men, death is not to bee feared, neither can any thing daunt or feare them which contend for the christian faith. As for that pestilence which doth now encrease and grow in the citie, forsomuch as iudgement is now giuen, it is to be hoped that it will asswage, which was thought to haue come for the neglecting of iustice. Also that in so doubtfull a matter, they ought rather to vse the princes against their will, then to neglect them: and that it is not to be feared, but that in this case, God will helpe those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds, as there were men) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to chuse the bishop by and by, but most honest to deferre it.

Eu. Pius in vit. Eugenij.

Thereupon Iohn Segouius, a man of excellent learning said: God reuerend fathers, I am diuerly drawne by sundrie reasons, to this side and that. But as I waigh the matter more deepely in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedie election, it seemeth good, to speake after mans iudgement: but to delay it for two moneths, to speake after Gods iudgement, it seemeth much better. I doe iudge that not onelie the words, but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be obserued. Wherefore, if we will giue any credit vnto me, follow rather dangerous honestie, then secure vtilitie: albeit that indeed, vtilitie cannot be discerned from honestie. This opinion of delay take place among the fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two moneths.

Dangerous honestie preferred before secure vtilitie.

In the meane time, messengers were sent vnto the princes to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the Synode, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the corrupt aire was nothing at all purged, but the mortalitie daily increasing, many died and were sicke. Whereupon a sudden feare came vpon the fathers. Neither were they sufficiently abused that they might not see: they thought it not to be without danger, either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding they thought it good to tary, and also they caused other to tarrie: that since they had ouercome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seeme to shunke for the persecution of any plague or sickines. But forsomuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politikly prouided, that the councell should not seeme to be dissolued for any mans departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certaine things read before the fathers, which they called De stabilimento, whose authoritie continued long time after. When as the dog-daies were come, and that all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the coses hourely caried thorough the streets, when on euery side there was weeping, wailing and sighing. There was no house void of mourning: no mirth or laughter in no place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, & the husbands their wiues. Men and women went thorough the streets, and durst not speake one to another. Some tarried at home, and otherseme that went abroad, had perfumes to smell vnto to preserue them against the plague.

A great pestilence in Basil.

The common people died without number: and like as in the cold Autumne, the leaues of the trées doe fall; euen so did the youth of the citie consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should haue met a man merry in the street now, and within ten houres heard that hee had been buried. The number of the dead coses was such also that they lacked place to burie them in: insomuch that all the Churchyards were digged vp, and filled with dead coses, and great holes made in the parish churches, where as a great number of coses being thrust in together, they couered them ouer with earth. For which cause the fathers were to afraid, that there appeared no bloud in their faces: and specially the sudden death of Lodouicus the Protonotarie did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both lawes: whom the same enuious and raging sickneste take away in a few houres. By and by after died Lodouicus the Patriarke of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought vp always in troubles and aduersitie, neither could he see the day of the popes election which he had long wished for: Notwithstanding hee take partly a consolation in that hee had seene Gabriel deposed before his death. This mans death was grieuous unto all the fathers, for now they said that two pillers of the councell were beraied and ouerthrowne, meaning the Protonotary and the Patriark, whether of the one by the lawe, and the other with his deeds defended the veritie of the councell.

Lodouicus the protonotary died of the plague.

About the same time also died the king of Aragons anner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Ebzon. The abbat of Vergilia died at Spyze, and Iohn the bishop of Lubeck, betweene Vienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, euen at the point of death, did this thing worthie of remembrance. When as they perceiued the houre of their death approch, calling vnto them certaine graue and wise men, said: That they be here present, pray to God that he will conuert such as knowledge Gabriel for high bishop, for in that state they cannot be saued: and professing themselues that they would die in the faith of the councell of Basill, they departed in the Lord. In Bohemie also departed the bishop of Constance, which was ambassadour for the councell. There was great feare and trembling throughout all the councell. There had been also in the councell, by a long time, the abbat of Dona, of the diocesse of Cumana, a man poze vnto the world, but rich vnto God, whom neither flatterings nor threatnings could turne away from his good purpose and intent, shuning rather to begge in the truth of the fathers, then to abound in riches with the false flattering aduersaries.

The obsequies of those which died.

The bishop of Constance dieth.

The abbat Donan true abbat.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed, which gaue him his lining, he remaining still, was stricken with y plague and died. Likewise a great number of the registers and notaries died: and such as fell into that disease, few or none escaped. One amongst all the rest, AEneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, by Gods helpe escaped. This man lay three daies euen at the point of death, all men being in despaire of him: notwithstanding it pleased God to grant him longer life.

Eneas the historiographer escaped deadly sickne.



life. When as the pestilence was most feruent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great intreatie made vnto cardinall Arelatensis, that hee would goe to some other towne or village neere hand: for these were the woods of all his friends and household: What doe you most reuerend father? At the least void this wane of the moone, and saue your selfe: who being safe, all we shall also bee safe: if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppresse you, unto whom shall we flee? Who shall rule vs? or who shall be the guide of this most faithfull flocke? The infection hath already inuaded your chamber. Your secretarie and chamberlaine are already dead. Consider the great danger, and saue both your self and vs. Neither the intreatie of his houshold, neither the cries of those which were dead could moue him, willing rather to preserue the councell with perill of his life, then to saue his life with perill of the councell: for he did know that if he should depart, few would haue tarried behind, and that deceit should haue been wrought in his absence.

The immouable constancie and fortitude of the cardinall Arelatensis.

Wherefore, like as in warres the souldiers feare no danger, when as they see their captaine in the middest of their enemies: so the fathers of the councell were ashamed to flie from this pestilence, seeing their president to remaine with them in the middest of all dangers. Which their doings did vtterlie subuert the opinion of them, which babled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basill to seeke their owne profit and commoditie, and not the veritie of the faith: for there is no commoditie vpon the earth which men would change for their liues: for that all such as do serue the world, do preserre before all other things. But these our fathers shewing themselues an inuincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the craftie deceits which Gabriel vsed, and ouercomming all difficulties, which this most cruell and pestiferous yere brought vpon them, at the length all desires of life also being set apart, they haue ouercome all dangers, and haue not doubted with most constant minds to defend the veritie of the councell, euen vnto this present.

At the time of the decree being passed, after the deposition of Gabriel, it seemed good vnto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another bishop. And first of all they nominated those that together with the cardinals, should elect the pope. The first and principall of the Electos was the cardinall Arelatensis, a man of inuincible constancie, and incomparable wisedome: vnto whose vertue I may iustly ascribe what soeuer was done in the councell: for without him, the prelats had not persuered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince haue so defended them. This man came not to the election by any fauor or denomination, but by his owne proper right. The rest of the Electours were chosen out of the Italian, French, Germaine and Spanish nations, and their cels and chambers appointed to them by lots, without respect of dignitie or person, and as the lots fell, so were they placed: Whereby it chanced a doctor to haue the highest place, and a bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very strange, or rather a diuine dispensation, reprooning the deuices of man, wherens the prelats had determined to haue the best chambers appointed for themselues, and had earnestlie contended before to haue their chambers appointed according to their dignitie.

The commendation of Arelatensis.

The councell of Darius.

The next day after, there was a Session holden, wherein Barrus a famous diuine, made an Oration vnto the Electors, wherein he reckoned vp the manifold crimes of Gabriel, which was deposed. He endeuoured to perswade the Electors to chuse such a man, which should in all points be contrarie vnto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices: that as hee, through his manifold reproches, was hurtfull vnto all men: so he which should bee chosen, should shew himselfe acceptable vnto all men, through iustice: and as Gabriel was couetous and full of rapine, so this man should shew himselfe continent.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the Church, neither in the streets, any man could passe. There was present Iohn earle of Dierstein, who supplied the place of the emperours protector: also the Senators of the citie, with many other noble men, to behold the same, whereof you shall heare (if it shall willing) more largely hereafter. The citizens were without in armor, to prohibit that there should bend poze made. The Electors receiued the communion together, and afterwards they receiued their oth: and the Cardinall Arelatensis opening the booke of decrées, read the forme of the oth in the audience of all men, and first of all, he taking the oth himselfe, began in this manner.

The other Electors take their oth.

The godly oth of Arelatensis.

Most reuerend fathers, I promise, sweare and vow, before my Lord Iesus Christ (whole most blessed bodie I beleeue the truer haue receiued: vnto whom in the last iudgement I shall giue account of all my deeds) that in this businesse of election, whereunto now by the will of the councell wee are sent; I will seeke nothing else, then the only saluation of the Christian people, and the profit of the vniuersall Church. This shall be my whole care and studie, that the authoritie of the generall councels be not contemned, that the catholike faith bee not impugned, and that the fathers which remaine in the councell, bee not oppressed. This will I seeke for: this shall bee my care: unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend my selfe: neither will I respect any thing in this point, either for mine owne cause, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the Church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart will I take mine oth before the councell.

His words were liuely and fearefull. After him all the other Electors in their order, did sweare and take their oth. Then they went with great solemnitie vnto the Conclaue: where they remained seuen daies. The manner of their election was in this sort. Before the cardinals seat was set a bezle, whereupon there stood a basen of siluer: into the which basen all the Electors did cast their schedules: which the cardinall receiuing, read one by one, and foure other of the Electors wrote as hee read them.

A scrutinie is a plaine election by voices. Amedeus duke of Sauoy.

The tenor of the Schedules was in this maner: I Scotte, bishop of Aleene do chuse such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome, and peraduenture named one or two: euery one of the Electors subscribed his name vnto the Schedule, that he might thereby know his owne, and say nay, if it were contrarie to that which was spoken: whereby all deceit was vtterly excluded. The first scrutinie thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacie: yet none had sufficient voices, for that they there were xvii. of diuers nations nominate. Notwithstanding, Amedeus duke of Sauoy, a man of singular vertue, surmounted them all: for in the first scrutinie he had the voice of xvi. Electors, which iudged him worthie to gouerne the Church.

Prayer for direction and counsell.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the councel touching those which were named of the electors, and as euery mans opinion serued him, he did either praise or disco mmend those which were nominate. Notwithstanding there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutinie, which was holden in the Nones of Nouember, the said Amedeus had 27. voices, and likewise in the 3. and 4. scrutinie 27. voices. And forsomuch as there was none found in all the scrutinie to haue 2. parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And forsomuch as there lacked but onelie one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell vnto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to an vnitie and concord, worthie to elect and chuse him which should take the charge ouer the flocke of God. Forsomuch as Amedeus seemed to be neerer vnto the papacie then all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a holy man ought not so suddenlie to be chosen for it would seeme a strange thing for a secular prince to be called vnto the bishoppicke of Rome: which would also too much derogate from the ecclesiasticall state, as though there were none therein meet or worthie for that dignitie. Other some said, that a man lately was married and had children, was vnmeet for such a charge. Otherlome againe affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

Let lying Poggius be admitted of his faithfull imitatour against Amideus.

When these words were spoken, other some rising vp, spake farre otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forsomuch as all his whole youth he had bestowen in learning and studie, and had sought not the name, but euen the ground of learning. Then said another: If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this princes life, I pray you giue eare vnto me, which doe know him thoroughly. Truly this man from his youth vpward, and euen from his young and tender yeeres, hath liued more religiously then secularly, being alwaies obedient to his parents and masters, and being alwaies indued with the feare of God, neuer giuen to any baretrie or wantonnesse: neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Sauoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardnesse; whereby all those which did behold and know his manners, iudged and foresaw some great matter in him: neither were they deceiued. For if ye desire to know his rule and gouernance, what and how noble it hath been: First know ye this, that this man hath raigned since his fathers decease, about fortie yeeres.

During those time, suffice, the table and quéene of all other vertues, hath alwaies flourished: For he hearing his subiects himself, would neuer suffer the poze to be oppressed, or the weake to be deceiued. He was the defender of the fatherlesse, the aduocate of the widowes, and protector of the poze. There was no reprine or robberie in all his territorie. The poze and rich liued all vnder one law, neither was he burthenous to his subiects, or impotune against strangers throughout all his Countrie: there were no grieuous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himselfe rich enough, if y inhabitants of his dominions did abound and were rich: knowing that it was the point of a good shepheard to cheare his shéepe, and not to deuoure them. In this also was his chiefe studie and care, that his subiects might liue in peace, and such as bordered vpon him might haue no occasion of grudge.

By which policies he did not onely quietly gouerne his fathers dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselues vnto him. Ner never made warre vpon any, but resisting against such as made warre vpon him, hee studied rather to make peace, then to seeke any reuenge, desiring rather to ouercome his enemies with benefits, then with the sword. He married onely one wife, which was

thus a noble virgin, and of singular beautie and chastitie. She would haue all his family to keep their hands and eies chast, and continue it, and throughout all his house, honestie and integritie of manners was obserued. Then as his wife had changed her life, and that he perceiued his duchie to be stablished, and that it should come without any controuersie vnto his posteritie, he declared his mind, which was alwaies religious, and declare vnto God, and shewed that will and affection hee had long borne in his heart. For hee contemning the pompe and state of this world, calling vnto him his deare friends, departed and went into a wildernesse: where as building a goodly abbey he addicted himselfe wholly to the seruice of God, and taking his cradle vpon him, followed Christ. In which place hee being conuersant by the space of many yeeres, shewed forth great examples of holinesse, wearing no other garnements then such as could withstand the cold, neither tasting any kind of daintie fare, but only to resist hunger, watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore this prince is not meanly come vnto the Church (as some doe suppose) but being a Christian borne of progenitours, a thousand yeeres and more being Christians, doth now serue God in a monastery.

Conuersation of Amedeus pope elect.

So haue a wife is no let for a good man to be elected pope. Popes haue been married. Read the fifth epistle of Ignatius: and you shall see that the Apostles had wiues, and Baptista Mantuanus maketh mention how that Dionysius bishop of Heraclea had a wife.

But as touching that also which is spoken concerning a wife, I doe not regard it: whereas not onlie hee which hath had a wife, but hee also which hath a wife may bee elect and chosen pope. Wherefore why doe the doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen pope, ought to performe his dutie toward his wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For as you know well enough, there were many popes that had wiues: and Peter also was not without a wife. But what doe we stand about this? for peraduenture it had been better that more priests had been married, for many should be saued through marriage, which are now damned through their single life. But hereof we will (saith he) speake in another place. But this seemeth vnto me, rather to be laughed at, then worthy any answer, which is obiected touching his children: for what can children (speciallie being of great age) be impediment or let vnto the father, being a bishop? Doth not the Scripture say, Woe be vnto him that is alone, for if he fall, he hath none to helpe him vp again? This cannot be imputed vnto the prince, for he hath two sonnes, both comelie and wise. Whereof the one is prince of Piemont, the other earle of the Gebennians: these men will rule the countrie of Sauoy in the absence of their father, and will helpe him, if he haue need, for they haue alreadie learned to rule ouer that people. I pray you what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome, to haue valiant children, which may helpe their father against tyrants? O most reuerend fathers, the more I doe behold the storme of this most peruerse and froward time, the more I doe consider the deuations and troubles which the Church is now tormented withall; I doe so much the more thinke it profitable, yea and necessarie, that this man should bee chosen prince and head: I will thinke that God hath shewed his mercie vpon vs, if I may see him haue the gouernance ouer this boat. I pray you consider into what straits wee are now driuen, with what perils wee are now vexed and tossed. What princes is it that is obedient vnto this councell? For some will not confesse that the councell is here, neither receiue our decrees: other some confesse it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by their words and letters, they doe not denie that the Church is here, yet doe they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel, which is deposed. This is the state of the Church: with these stormes and tempests the ship is shaken and broken: wicked children haue risen vp against their mother, which being vnmindfull of their mothers labours and kindnesse toward them, despise her, contemne her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we chuse a bare man, which shall rather be deuided of our princes, then had in reuerence? The dates are not now, that men haue respect onely vnto vertue: for (as the Satyricall poet writeth) vertue is praised, but is coldly followed. A poore man speaketh, and they aske what he is? Truly vertue is good: but for our purpose, it must bee marked and loked vpon, whether it bee in a rich man, or a poore man: you must chuse a gouerner, which may rule the ship not onelie by counsell, but by power also. The wind is great: Wherefore except the counsell be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be broken, and all put in danger. The memorials (as yet fresh) before our eies, that the princes do neglect the authoritie which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantnesse shewed in this point, in that you fearing no perill or danger, either of life or goods, haue so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mightie and high God loketh downe from on high, and will resist this their pride. I haue often contended vnto their opinion, which said it was expedient, that the temporall dominions should be diuided from the Ecclesiasticall state: for I did thinke that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the diuine ministerie, and the secular princes more obedient to the clergie: But for so much as at this present, the Churches of the world are for so much as at this present, the Churches of the world are possessed, partly by Eugenius, and partly by other tyrants, we must prouide that we chuse such a one, which may recouer against the patrimonie of the Church, and in whom the office of Christs vicar may not bee contemned: through the shield of whose power, their contumacie may be suppressed, which contemne both vertue and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth vnto me more apt or meet, then Amadeus duke of Sauoy, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italie, and the other in France: Vnto whom all Christian princes are allied either by consanguinitie, or ioyned by amitie and friendship, and whose vertue, how famous it is, I haue alreadie declared. Why doe we then stay or doubt to chuse him: then whom Gabriel feareth no man more. Let him therefore perish with the sword wherewithall he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pacifie the Church then he. Doe you require deuotion in a bishop: there is no man more deuout then he. Doe you require prudence: Behold we vnderstand by his former life, what manner of man he is. If you seeke for iustice, his people are a witnes thereof: if that whether you seeke for vertue or power, al are here present before you. Wherefore doe you stay: Goe to I pray you: chuse this man. He will augment the faith, hee will reforme manners, and preserue the authoritie of the Church. Haue ye not heard these troubles of the Church to haue been afore spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles: Haue ye not heard that about this time, there should a pope be chosen, which should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? And tho I pray you should he bee that should fulfill these things, except we thinke this man: Beleeue me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will moue your mindes thereunto. Notwithstanding, doe what soeuer ye shall thinke meet good and holy.

Good it were that temporall dominions were diuided from the Church.

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the Electors seemed to consent vnto him, and his words tooke such effect, that in the next Scrutiny, the matter was finished and ended, and when the Scrutinie was opened, it was found that Amedeus, the most deuout duke of Sauoy, according to the decree of the councell, was chosen pope. Whereof so suddenlie there was great ioy and gladnesse amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the cardinall Arelatensis published vnto them the name of the elect bishop. After this, all the prelats in their robes, pontificalibus, and miters, and all the clergie of the citie comming vnto the concliane, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought them vnto the great Church, where as after great thanks giuen vnto God, and the election againe declared vnto the people, a Hymne being sung for ioy, the congregation was dissolued.

Amedeus Sylvius epist. 183.

Amedeus duke of Sauoy chosen pope.

This Amedeus aforesaid, was a man of reuerent age, of comelie stature, of graue and discret behauiour: also before married. Who thus being elected pope about Nouember, was called Felix the fifth, and was crowned in the citie of Basill, in the month of July. There twelue present at his coronation Lewes duke of Sauoy: Philip earle Gebennes. Lewes marques of Saluzze: The marques of Rotelen: Conrade of Winsperghey, chamberlaine of the Empire: The earle of Dierstein: The ambassadors of the cities of Strasbrough, Berne, Friburge, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beside, to the viewe of 50000. persons. At this coronation, the popes two sons did serue and minister to their father. Lewes cardinall of Hostia did set on his head the pontificall diadem, which was esteemed at 30. thousand crownes. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnitie of the procession, or the popes riding about the citie. First proceeded the pope in his Camahie of cloth of gold, hauing on his head a triple crowne, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marques of Rotelen, and Conrade of Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle. The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted foure full houres, being excellitely sumptuous: where the popes two sonnes were butlers to his cup: The Marques of Saluzze was the seward, &c.

Pope Felix the fifth.

The number of people at the coronation of pope Felix.

The popes two sons serueing at the coronation.

The valuation of the popes crowne.

Of this Felix, thus writeth Aeneas Siluius in his third booke, that he being desired of certaine of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds to them: he willed them the next day to repaire vnto him, for he would then vnto them such as he had. When the ambassadours according to the appointment were come, hee shewed vnto them a great number of poore people and beggers sitting at his tables at meat, declaring, that those were his hounds, which he euery day vsed to feed: hunting with them (hee trusted) for the glorie of heauen to come.

Aeneas Syluius lib. 3.

A note for our gentlemen and lords, to learne how to hunt, and what dogs to keepe.

And thus you haue heard the state of this councell hitherto, which councell endured a long season, the space of seuentene yeeres.

About the sixth yeere of the councell, Sigismund the emperour died, leauing but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdomes: vnto whom he had married to Albert the second duke of Austrich, which first succeeded in the kingdome of Hungarie and Boheme, being a foe aduersary to the Bohemians: and afterward was made Emperour, an. 1438. and raigned Emperour but two yeeres, leauing his wife which was Sigismund his daughter, great with child. After which Albert, succeeded his brother Frederike the third duke of Austrich, in the empire, &c. whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

The death of Sigismund the emperour. Albertus the 2. emperour. Anno 1438. The death of Albertus.

In the meane time, Eugenius hearing of the death of Sigismund aboue recited, began to worke the dilatation of the councell of Basill, and to transferre it to Ferraria, pretending the comming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding the councell of



The plague at Basill in the time of the councell.

Aeneas Syluius fleeth of the plague at Basill.

The constant zeale of Arelatensis to the truth.

The wealthy prelats slide away from the councell.

Arelatensis prelats afraid of ruth. Fide quam pleb. cauere malunt.

Pio motions shake the clergie.

Quid enim saluis infamia nummis? That is to say: What matter maketh the name of a man, so his monie bee safe? Haec Aeneas.

Moreouer in one of the sessions of the said councell, the worthie cardinall Arelatensis is said thus to haue reported, that Christ was sold for thirtie pence: but I (said he) was sold much more deare. For Gabriel, otherwise called Eugenius pope, offered the same for thirtie thousand crowns, who so would take me, and present me vnto him. And they that take the said cardinall, afterward caused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the cardinals brother, what time the Armilues wasted Alsatia, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands vpon a Frenchman, wheresoeuer they might take him. At length by the bishop of Strasbrough, Rupert, and the said citie, the matter was taken vp, and he released. Wherein no doubt, appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope his aduersary. Ex Paralip. Abbata. Vrsper.

50. thousand crownes offered by pope Eugenius for the keeping of Arelatensis.

Arelatensis released. Gods defence toward his seruants. Ex paralip. Abb. Vrsper.

And thus farre hauing proceded in the matters of this foresaid councell, vntil the election of Amedeus, called pope Felix the fifth, before we prosecute the rest, that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withall the residue pertaining to the matters concluded betweene this councell and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of y ambassage, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said councel, then in their owne countrie with the councels ambassadours: also with their petitions and answers vnto the same.

The zeale of the Bohemians flickered.

Touching the zeale of the Bohemians, how they being sent for, came vp to the councell of Basill, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed, pag. 604. Now as leisure serueth from other matters, to returne againe vnto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, to shew as both breuitie may be obserued, and yet the Reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthie in the same to be noted and knowne.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) hauing alwaies the vpper hand, albeit they were accused by the new bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called vnto Basill, where as the councell was appointed. Whereupon cardinall Julian sent thither before, John Pulkmair doctour of the law, and John de Ragusio, a diuine. Who comming into Basill in the moneth of August, anno 1431. called by their letters vnto the councell, John, abbat of Selbrun, and John Gelhusius, monke of the same cloyster: which men for dexteritie of their wit, and experience and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessarie for ambassages.

Within a few daies after, Julianus also came thither, as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gelhusius, and Hannum Offenbourg, a Senatour of Basill, first vnto the emperour Sigismund being at Feldurch, and afterward vnto Frederike duke of Austrich, for the appeasing of the warres betweene him and Philip, duke of Burgonie. This done, to the intent that peace being had, not onely the ecclesiasticall prelats, but also the merchants might haue safe accesse vnto Basill, and so lying in all things necessarie for sustentation.

The Bohemians inuited to come to the councell.

They going on this ambassage, received letters from the Synode to be deliuered vnto the emperour Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Morauians, were called vnto the councell. These letters he by and by, caused to be carried into Boheme. But for so much as he himselfe went into Italie, to receive the Imperiall crowne of the bishop, hee left William duke of Bauaria, as his deputie, to bee protector vnto the councell. Furthermore, when as the Synode vnderstood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shamefull flight, they sent John Piderius a diuine, and John Gelhusius, to conduct the people which ioyned vpon Boheme, and sarnestlie to moue the Morauians and Bohemians, which were before called, to come vnto the councell.

They departing from Basill about the end of October, took their iourne toward Monacum, a towne of Bauaria: where, after they had saluted William duke of Bauaria and his brother Ernestus, and Albert the sonne of Ernestus, and had declared the communion of their ambassage, and had shewed vnto duke William, how that affaire as he should come vnto Basill, the protection of the councell should bee committed vnto him by the emperour: they exhorted Frederike, marques of Brandenberg, and John duke of Bauaria, the Senate of Noremberge, and other princes and lords, partly by letters from the councell, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no meanes take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtfull vnto the Church, and said they should haue aid out of hand. They desired them also in the name of the councell, that if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors vnto Basill, they would guide them, euery man though his countrie in safetie: which they promised to doe. It is incredible how all men reioyced, that the Bohemians were sent for.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians, and of the councell meet together at Egra.

After this, when as they counselled with the Senat of Noremberg, touching the sending of the councels letters vnto Boheme, it seemed best, first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answere to the former letters of the councell which they had sent. The rulers of Egra being aduertised by these letters, sent him which preached the councels letters into Boheme, vnto Noremberg. He reported holo reuerently the councel of the greater city of Egra, to haue read the letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon they conceiued great hope of the good successe of the ambassage. Therefore the ambassadours biing the councell of the Senat of Noremberge, and diuers others, sent the messenger backe againe into Egra, with their owne private letters, and with letters of the councell: for there was no better meane to send the letters into Boheme. Much trauell was taken by them of Egra, Frederike marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, in this matter, for that they were very desirous that peace might bee had amongst all Christians. The copie of those letters, whereby the Synode did call the Bohemians into the councell, and other letters exhortatorie of the ambassadours, and the Bohemians answere vnto the same, for breuities cause wee haue here preterminted. The Bohemians not in all points trusting into the ambassadours, required by their letters, that the councels ambassadors with the other princes, would come into Egra, where as their ambassadours should also be present, to intreat vpon the safe conduct and other matters.

The Bohemians labour to come to the councell.

The day was appointed for the meeting, the sunday after Easter, which was the twentie seuen day of Aprill. Then came the ambassadours of the councell into Egra, with the noble princes, Frederike Marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of 500. horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsana, and the lord Swamberginus had not sent their safe conduct. When they vnderstood this by their letters, they brought to passe that the ambassadours of the Bohemians, Nicolaus Pumpeltzius, secretary of the greater citie of Prage, and Matthew Clumpezane, president of Pisela, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Glenbogenses, and so they came into Egra with nineteene horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Toegre receiued the Bohemian ambassadours before the marquelle, with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the Gospell for his Theame. Pax vobis. i. Peace bee with you. Then they propounded what great inuries they had hitherto receiued at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either partie, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should bee heard.

After

The Bohemians require pledges.

After this, they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing, forsomuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and that the matter should so be put off, the common people of Egra began to crie out that it was long of the ecclesiasticall princes, that a concord was not made with the Bohemians: Then Frederiche marquesse of Brandenberge, and John duke of Bauaria, bound themselues of their owne good will. The like also did William duke of Bauaria, at the request of the councell. Likewise also did the councell and the emperour Sigismund. Furthermore promise was made, that all the princes and cities, should doe the like, thorough whose dominion they should come, and the citie of Basill also. The copie of which safe-conduct was afterward sent vnto Prage. This also was required by the Bohemians, that if it were possible, the emperour should be present at the councell.

Princes bound to the Bohemians.

The Bohemians require the emperour to be present at the councell.

This convention at Egra continued iij. daies. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the councels ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully giue credit vnto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicolas Pelgolitius, and John Zacensis, which should goe to Basill, and diligently enquire out all things. These men, Conrade bishop of Ratisbone, and Conrade Segelauer Deane of Stetin brought vnto Cattelspurge, where as the marques diuelt, being sent out by the Synode a little before, to enquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Viberacke, one being ouercurious inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadors, of what countrie he was. He answered that he was a Zacyen. There (said he) are most detestable heretickes and naughtie men, &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should haue suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbat of Ebera, had not interated for him. When they came vnto Basill, they were honorably receiued with wine and fish. They tarried there fiue daies and a halfe. The tenth day of October, they came vnto the Synode, which was assembled at the Friers Augustines.

The Bohemians send two ambassadors to the councell.

Good instruction vpon a dissolute railing matter.

The gentlenes of the Bohemian ambassadors.

These ambassadors when as they were returned home with the charter of the Synode, and declared those things which they had seene, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent vnto the councell, both for the kingdome of Bohemie, and the marquesdome of Moravia, which comming vnto Eulca, were brought from thence, with xxvti. horse, and diuers noble men, vnto Gambia. From thence they came to Sivenkendorph, and so vnto Norenberge, where as beside their entertainement of wine and fish, xvti. horsemen accompanied them vnto Ulmes: from thence they of Ulmes brought them vnto Viberacke, and Sulgoria: there Iames Tuches a knight receiuing them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bandes of the duke of Bauaria, brought them vnto Schafhuse. There they taking ship the fourth day of Ianuarie, came vnto Basill the ninth day of the same month. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, which were brought by with three hundred horse, and how they were received at Basill, mention is made before, pag. 604. When as they came vnto the Synode, cardinall Iulian madeas Oration, that he that euer was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authoritie of the councell, forsomuch as all men are bound to submit themselues to the iudgement of the holy Church, which the generall councell doth represent. Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

The ambassadors of the Bohemians remoue hence.

The Bohemians is send by to the councell three ambassadors.

The oration of the cardinall Iulian to the Bohemians. Take fo. pa. 624

Then Rochezanus made an Oration, requiring to haue a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the xvi. day of the same month. Vpon which day, John Rochezanus hauing made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to bee ministred vnder both kinds, and disputed vpon the same by the space of three daies allwaies before mone. Then Wenceslaus the Thabozite disputed vpon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sinne, by the space of two daies. After whom Ulbaricus priest of the Orphanes propounded and disputed vpon the third article by the space of two daies, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

The first article of the Bohemians by the first ambassadour.

The second article of the Bohemians by the second ambassadour.

The third article of the Bohemians by the third ambassadour.

Last of all, Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three daies vpon the fourth article, touching the ciuill dominion of the clergie, and afterward gaue copies of their disputations in writting vnto the councell, with heartie thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inueigh against the councell, commending John Hus and John Wicklife for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Ragusio a diuine, rising vp, desired that he might haue leaue to answer in his owne name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The councell consented thereunto: so that by the space of viti. daies in the forenoone, he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answere, John the abbat of Sifferia made an oration vnto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselues to the determination of the holy Church, which this councell doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus a diuine, after schollers fashion, in his answer spake often of heresies and of heretickes. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising vp with an angrie stomach, complained openly to the councell of this iniurie. This our countrie man (saith hee) doth so great iniurie, calling vs oftentimes heretikes. Then vnto Ragusinus answered: forsomuch as I am your countreyman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you againe vnto the Church. Hee was a Dalmatian borne, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians going into Bohemie, take their name by their country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence, the Bohemians would depart from Basill, and could scarsse bee appeased. Certaine of the Bohemians would not heare Ragusinus finish his disputation.

The Bohemians displeased with Ragusinus.

The comming of the legates to Prage.

After him a famous diuine, one Egidius Carlerius, deane of the Church of Cambray, answered vnto the second article, by the space of foure daies. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum ferrum, three daies together. Last of all, one Johannes Polomarius, master of the requests of the palace, answered vnto the fourth article likewise by the space of three daies, so that the long time which they bled in disputations, seemed tedious vnto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answere, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and specially the first, insomuch as John Rochezanus did strongly impugne Ragusinus answer by the space of three daies. But forsomuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceiued how that by this meanes any concord could be made; the prince William duke of Bauaria, protector of the councell, attempted another remedie, that all disputations being set apart, the matter should bee friendly debated.

Egidius Carlerius answereth against the second article.

Henry Colbyan answereth to the third article.

John Dallocmanus answereth to the fourth article.

Ex Cochleo, hist. lib. 7.

There were certaine appointed on either part to intreat vpon the concord: who comming together the eleuenth day of March, those which were appointed for the councell, were bidden to say their minds. It seemeth good, said they, if these men would be united vnto vs, and bee made one bodie with vs, that this bodie might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diuersities of opinions and sects, what is to bee beleeued or done in them.

Certaine chosen on both sides to determine the matter.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, said: this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all, the foure articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with vs, for otherwise it would be but a friuolous matter, if they now being united, againe disagree in the deciding of the articles. Here answere was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly united, and the aid of the holy Ghost called for, they should not erre in the deciding of the matter, forsomuch as euery Christian ought to beleeue that determination: which if they would doe, it should breed a most firme and strong concord and amitie on either part. But this answer satisfied them not, insomuch, that the other three rose vp, and disputed against the answers which were giuen. At this time cardinall Iulian president of the councell, made this Oration vnto the Bohemian ambassadors.

The oration of cardinall Iulian.

This sacred Synode, saith he, hath now by the space of ten daies, patiently heard the propositions of your foure articles; and afterward hee answered: you haue propounded, saith hee, foure, articles, but wee vnderstand that beside these foure, you haue many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from vs. Wherefore it is necessarie, if that a perfect vnitie and fraternitie shall follow betweene vs, that all these things be declared vnto the Councell, to the end that by the grace of the holy Ghost, which is the author of peace and truth, due prouision may be made therein. For we haue not gathered these things of light coniectures, but haue heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present, which haue seene them with their own eies in Boheme, and partly we doe gather it by your owne report: For master Nicolas, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things alleaged, that I. Wicklife was an euangelicall doctor. If we beleeue him to be a true doctor, it followeth, that you must repute his workes as authentike: If ye doe not so thinke, it is reason that it should be opened vnto vs.

Nicolas the second propounder, charged by the cardinall, for commending of Iohn Wicklife.

Wherefore we desire you, that you will certifie vs vpon these and certaine other points, that you doe beleeue, or that credite you doe giue vnto them. But we doe not require that you should now declare your reasons, but it shall satisfie vs, if you will answer vnto euery article by this word, Credimus, aut non credimus: that is, We beleeue, or beleeue not: Which if you will doe (as we trust you will) then we shall minister vnto you all things necessarie, that you desire that wee should conceiue a good estimation of you. If it be any thing, wherein you would be certified by vs, arise it boldly, and we will giue you an answere out of hand: For we are readie according to the doctrine of Saint Peter, to render account vnto euery man which shall require it, touching the faith which we hold. Hereunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound these foure articles, not in their owne name, but in the name of the whole kingdome of Boheme, and speake no more. Whereupon, William the noble protector of the councell, calling vnto him foure men on either part, intreated touching the pacifying of the matter, whose aduice, the councell decreed to send a famous ambassade, with the Bohemian ambassadours vnto Prage, where as the people should assemble vpon Sunday. But they would not receiue these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon the foureteenth day of Aprill, there were ten chosen out of the councell, to go with the Bohemian ambassadours vnto Prage.

John Rochezanus replieth against the first article.

The ambassadours of the Bohemians returne without agreement.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done vnto these ambassadors, all the way in their iourney, and specially when they came vnto Boheme, by the citizens of Prage, when as a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prage at the day appointed, both of the clergie, nobility and common people.

After the comming of those ambassadours, much contention began to rise betweene the parties. First began John Rochezanus: who speaking in the publike person of the communalty, laboured to commend and preferre the foure berities of the Bohemians before propounded: charging also the prelates and priests for their slanderous obtrectations, and vndeserued contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdome of Boheme, complaining also that they would not receiue those christian veritics, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus, now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalfe of the whole nation, that they would leaue off hereafter to oppresse them in such sort, that they would refraine to frame against their Iosephs bedsure, that is, the ornament of their god fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies had spoiled them, &c.

Polomar answereth to the Bohemians.

To this Polomar maketh answere againe, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and vnity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments (said he) should bee soone removed, promising also that this their bedsure of honour and fame, should be surely reposed againe: and afterward, if there were any doubtfull matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

The Bohemians reply against Polomar.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, vnlesse they might first haue a declaration of their foure articles, which if they might obtaine, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace (said they) began first to bee broken by themselues, in that the councell of Constance by their vniust condemnation, burned John Hus, & Hierome of Prage, and also by their cruell bulls and censures, raised vp first excommunication, then warre against the whole kingdome of Boheme.

Polomar extolleth the councels. Generall councels may erre and haue erred.

Heeremto Polomar reclaiming againe, began to aduance and magnifie the honour and dignity of generall councels. To conclude, as much as the said Polomar did extoll the authority of the councels, so much did the aduocate of the Bohemians extenuate the same: saying that the latter councels which are not expressed in the law of God, haue erred, and might erre, not onely in faith, but also in maners. For that which hath chanced to the greene wood, may also chance vnto the drie: But of other, the most strong pillers of the militant church, the apostles I meane: seeme all to haue erred, and the catholicke faith to haue remained three daies sound and incorrupt onely in the virgin Mary. No christian man therefore ought to bee compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the councell, except it be in that, which is plainely expressed in the law of God. For it is euident that all the generall councels which haue beene of long time, haue reformed very fewe things as touching the faith, peace, and maners of the church: but haue alwaies both in their life and decrees, notoriously swarued, and haue not established themselues vpon the foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not simplie and plainely (God being their good Lord) yeeld themselues to their doctrine, not to such rash and hastie decrees: lest through that their hastie and vncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life, contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Iesus. In sum, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their foure articles which they conceiued for euangelicall veritics, were first accepted and approued. Which being obtained (said they) if they would condescend with them in the verity of the Gospel, so would they ioyne together, and be made one with them in the Lord, &c. Ex Cochleo hist. Lib. 7.

The Bohemians reclaime against Polomar.

Ex Cochleo hist. lib. 7.

When the ambassadours saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to passe, they required to haue those articles deliuered vnto them in a certaine forme, which they sent vnto the councell by three Bohemian ambassadors.

The ambassadours of the councell and the Bohemians could not agree.

Afterward the councell sent a declaration into Boheme, to be published vnto the people, in the common assemblies of the king dome, by the ambassadours, which were commanded to repost vnto the Bohemians, in the name of the councell, that if they would receiue the declaration of those three articles, and the vnity of the church, there should be a meane found whereby the matter touching the fourth article, of the communion vnder both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietnesse.

A declaration of 3. articles promised to the Bohemians by the councell.

A prudent answere of the Bohemians to the cardinall Iulian.

They propounded in Prage, in an open assemblie of the nobles and commons, the declarations of the three articles in forme following.



A declaration of the councell to the Bohemians, concerning the first three articles.

Forsomuch as touching the doctrine of the verity, wee ought to proceed soberly and warely, that the truth may be declared, with words being so orderly conceiued and vttered, that there be no offence giuen to any man, whereby he should fall or take occasion of errour, and (to vse the words of Isidore) that nothing by obscurity be left doubtfull: whereas you haue propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sinnes in these words: All mortall sinnes, and specially open offences ought to bee rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duety it is so to doe, reasonable and according to the law of God: here is to be marked and vnderstood, that this word (whose dutie it is) is too generall, and may be an offence: and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling stocke before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed vp, that our neighbours ore doe not fall therein: all occasion of offences is to be taken away. Therefore wee say that according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, it is thus vniuersally to be holden: that all mortall sinnes, especially publicke offences, are to be rooted out, corrected and inhibited, as reasonable as may be, according to the law of God, and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders, doth not pertaine onto any priuate person, but onely vnto them which haue iurisdiction of the law ouer them, the distinction of law and iustice, being orderly obserued.

The 2 proposition propounded by the Bohemians, with the declaration from the councell.

Punishing of publike offence how and by whom.

As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you haue alledged in this forme, that the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord: left by this word (freely) occasion may be taken of disordred liberty, which as you haue often said you doe not meane) the circumstance thereof is to be vnderstood: and we say, that (according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy Fathers) it is thus vniuersally to be beleeued: that the word of God ought freely, but not euery where, but faithfully and orderly, to be preached by the priests and Rectors of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors, into whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the bishop alwaies reserued, who is the prouider of all things according to the institution of the holy fathers.

The 3. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the councell.

Liberty of preaching, how fine and to whom it extendeth.

As concerning the last article expressed vnder these words, It is not lawfull for the christian clergie, in the time of the law of grace, to haue dominion ouer temporall goods: we remember that in the solemne disputation holden in the sacred councell, he which was appointed by the councel to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort.

The 4. article of the Bohemians with the declaration from the councell.

Temporall possessions in the clergie mens hands.

First, that such of the clergie as were not religious, and had not bound themselues thereunto by a vow, might lawfully haue and possesse any temporall goods: as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left vnto him, or any other goods iustly gotten by meanes of any gift or other lawfull contract, or else some lawfull act.

The second conclusion: The church may lawfully haue and possesse temporall goods, moueable and immoueable, houses, lands, townes, and villages, castles and cities, and in them a priuate and ciuill dominion. Your ambassadour which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying that they did not impugne the sense of his article, being well vnderstood, forsomuch as he vnderstandeth this article, of ciuill dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be vnderstood, that those words, to haue secular dominion expressed in the foresaid article, seemeth to bee referred to some speciall maner or kind of dominion. But forsomuch as the doctrine of the church is not to bee intreated vpon by any ambiguous or doubtfull words, but fully and plainely: therefore we haue thought good more plainely to expresse that, which according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy Doctours, is vniuersally to be beleeued: that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergie ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers: and that the disrpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other then by them, into whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacriledge.

The Bohemians stand hard for their temporall iurisdiction.

Thus the sacred councell (said they) hath diligently gone about according to the verity of the Gospell, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three foresaid articles. Wherefore, if there doe yet remaine any doubt according to the information which we haue receiued in the sacred councell, we are ready by Gods helpe (who is the principall verity) to declare the truth vnto you: If ye doe receiue and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded vpon the verity of the holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually haue a pure, simple, and perfect vnity, touching the libertie of the communion vnder both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully haue, without the licence of holy church: wee haue authority from the generall councell, by certaine meanes, to intreate and conclude with you, trusting that you will shew your selues as you will continue.

The Bohemians take a deliberation of the fourth article.

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said that they would giue no answere

A declaration of the councell touching the fourth article of the communion.

Consecrat. dist. 2. quia passus.

This is to be set by the cleared sense of the Scripture.

The holy communion requireth amendment of life.

Holie things moouing prophe the wicked.

The receiuing of the sacraments.

Receiuing in both one kind, for auoiding two perils.

Great grounded vpon error.

Causes why to minister vnder one kind.

vnto the premisses, before they vnderstood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessarie to declare the matter, as it was written in forme following.

In the name of God and our Sauiour Iesus Christ, vpon the Sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall intreate, that he which hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of vnitie and peace, will vouchsafe to worke this effect in vs, to make vs that we may be one in the said Lord Iesu our head, and that hee will subuert all the subtilties of the diuell, which through his enuious craftinesse, hath made the sacrament of peace and vnity, an occasion of warre and discord, that whilest Christians doe contend touching the maner of communicating, they be not depriued of the fruit of the communion. Whereupon saint Augustine in his sermon vpon infants, in the decrees Decons. distinct. 2. Quia passus, saith thus: So the Lord Iesu Christ certified vs and willed, that wee should appertaune vnto him, and consecrate the mysterie of our peace and vnitie vpon the table. He that receiueth the mysterie of vnitie, and doth not keepe the bond of peace, doth not receiue a mysterie for himselfe, but a testimony against himselfe. This we thought good aboue all things to bee premised, that the generall custome of the church, which your fathers and you also in times past haue obserued, hath along time had and still vseth, that they which do not consecrate, continue their order vnder the kind of bread. Which custome being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time obserued, it is not lawfull to reiect, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore to change the custome of the church, and to take in hand to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds, without the authority of the church, is altogether vnlawfull. For holy church vpon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds. And euery communion, which, being attempted without the authority and licence of the church, should bee vnlawfull, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawfull; if other things let it not: because (as the apostle saith) he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily, eateth and drinketh his owne damnation.

Whereupon saint Iohn in the second distinct. vpon the consecration, writeth thus: They which line wickedly and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learne that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sinnes. And saint Augustine in the same distinction saith. Holy things may hurt the euill, for vnto the good they are saluation, but vnto the euill, damnation. There are besides this, many other authorities. The apostle Iudas was amongst them which did first communicate, but forsomuch as hee receiued vnworthily, hauing that sinne of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing, but the diuell by and by entred into the more power and authority ouer him. This is declared by a great reason: Which of you is it, that if you should receiue your Lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care studie to make cleane and adorne his house, that he may receiue the lord honestly? much more he that shall receiue the Lord and Sauiour into the house of his soule, ought diligently to make cleane and decke his soule, to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humblie, purely, and truely confessing his sinnes, and receiuing due satisfaction and penance, to adorne and decke the same with the purple or rich array of deuotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with feruent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world vnto him.

Wherefore, the most sacred Synode admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should vse all their care and endeauour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he bee duely prepared with great reuerence and deuotion, lest that which is receiued for the saluation of the soule, redound to the condemnation, through the vnworthy receiuing thereof.

Moreouer, Doctors doe say, that the custome of communicating vnto the people, onely vnder the kind of bread, was reasonablie introduced by the church and holy fathers, for reasonable causes, specially for the auoiding of two perils: of error and vnreuerence. Of error, as to thinke that the one part of Christs body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which were a great error. Of vnreuerence, forsomuch as many things may happen, as wel on the one part of the minister, as on the part of the receiuer: As if is said that it happened when as a certaine priest carrying the sacrament of the cup vnto a sicke man, which he should haue ministred, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such like chances. We haue heard moreouer, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrate in the cup, hath not bin sufficient for the number of communicants, wherevpon a new consecration must bee made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and also that oftentimes they doe minister vnto vnconsecrate for consecrate wine, which is a great perill. By this meanes then it shall be brought to passe, that if you will effectually receiue the vnity and peace of the church, in all other things besides the vse of the communion vnder both kinds, conforming your selues to the faith and order of the vniuersall church, you that haue that vse and custome, shall communicate still by the authority of the church vnder both kinds, and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred councell, where you shall see that as touching this article, is to be holden as an vniuersall verity, is to be done for the profit and saluation of the christian people, and all things being thus throughly handled, then if you persuere in your desire, and that your ambassadours do require it, the sacred councell will graunt licence in the Lord, vnto your ministers, to communicate vnto the people vnder both kinds: that is to say, to such as be of lawfull yeeres and discretion, and shall reuerently and deuoutly require the same, this alwaies obserued, that the ministers shall say vnto those which shall communicate, that they ought stiffely to beleeue not the flesh only to be contained vnder the forme of bread, and the blood only vnder the wine, but vnder each kind to be wholie and perfect Christ.

Receiuing in both kinds permitted to the Bohemians.

The condition annex. 2.

Thus hitherto we haue declared the decree of the councell. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moued by the maisters and prelats of Boheme, the ambassadours of the councell answered thus.

Doubts & questions of the Bohemians.

Answere. Permission of both kinds granted to the Bohemians, not of sufferance, but by full authority.

First they said, that it was not the meaning of the sacred councell, to suffer the communion vnder both kinds by toleration, or as the libell of disagreement was permitted to the Iewes: forsomuch as the councell intending euen to open the bowels of motherly charity, and pity, vnto the Bohemians and Bozaians, doth not meane to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sinne, but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Iesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may bee lawfull, profitable and healthfull vnto those which worthily receiue the same. Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth vp the hearts of priuate persons to the correcting and punishing of sinnes, and so it should seeme lawfull vnto the inferiours to correct and punish their superiours: they answered, alledging the text of saint Augustine in the 24 and 33 tirth decree: He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he which without any publike administration or office murthereth or maimeth any wicked theefe, sacrilegious, adulterous or periured person, or any other offender, shall be iudged as an homicide, and so much the more charpely, in that he dares not to abuse and vsurpe the power not granted him of God: and truely, this city would take it much more grieuously, if any priuate man should attempt to punish an offender, and set vp a gallowes in the street, and there hang him, then if one man should kill another in brawle or quarrell. They alledged also other texts of saint Ambrose and saint Hierome agreeable to the same. They said that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simple written, Thou shalt not steale. And notwithstanding by the commandement of God the children of Israel carried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same law it is plainely written, thou shalt do no murther. Whereupon saint Austin in his first booke De Ciuitate Dei, prooueth that it is not lawfull for any man to kill himselfe: when as he maketh example of Samplon, he answereth with these words: when as God commandeth and doth affirme himselfe to command without any doubt, who is he y will not obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God?

Punishing of offences considered.

How and by whom offenders ought to be punished.

To do that God commandeth is obedience and no sin, though he be reprooued.

The Israelites did steale from the Egyptians without sinne. Samplon killed himselfe without sin.

Here in this proposition, you haue the words of saint Austin for answere. But let euery man well foresee, if God doe command, or that he do intimate the commandement without any circumstances, and let him proue the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no lawes to be giuen, neither are they much to be talked of, for thereby there should easily occasion rise to make sedition, and for the inferiours to rise against the superiours. For when any man had stollen any thing, or killed any man: he would say that hee was moued thereunto by the spirit of God: but without manifest proofe thereof he should be punished.

Of extraordinary commandements no generall lawes to be made.

Againe, they said that there were certaine cases wherein the laity had power ouer the clergie. It was answered, that there were certaine cases in the law, wherein the laity hath power ouer the clergie, and oftentimes ouer cardinals. For if the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclaue to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord of secular power may compell them: but in these cases hee is now no priuate person, but vseth his iurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be vnderstood of all other cases expressed in the law.

Obiection. Answer. How the laity hath power ouer the clergie, and wherein. The pope will be iudged by his owne law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or iuriſdiction except Gods law doe allow the same.

Obiection.

It was answered that no common law hath right or iurisdiction, if it bee against the law of God, for because the law of God is the rule of all other lawes. But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diuersitie in the thing made by the rule, when there is none in deede: but the

Answere.



Obiection.

Answere. Abuse of prelats in inhibiting true preachers.

Remedy of appeale.

Obiection.

Answere.

Acts of secular dominion to be exercised of the clergie, after a double request vsed without fruit.

Obiection.

Answere.

Canctis: pastors, whether it belongeth to the clergie, and how.

The goodes of the church in whose possession they be properly. 3. q. 7. cap. expedit.

The clergie be administrators, and lords of the temporalties of the church.

The agreement betweene the Bohemians and the councell. Anno 1438.

the defaut is in the applying, because their rule is not duely applied to the thing made by it.

As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moued, that oftentimes some prelats, through their owne enuie and malice, without any reasonable cause, doe inhibite a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholickly and well.

Answere was made, how that they vnderstood wel enough that the abuse of certain prelats, which did inordinately behaue themselues, gaue a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they neuer heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the prelats do fauor good preachers, and stirre them by toppreach by intreaty, fauor, and promotion. In all such causes, there are remedies already prouided by the law: for when any man is so prohibited to vse his right, hee hath remedy to appeale: if he do trust his appeale to be iust, he may vse his right, all violence both of the spirituall and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if hee had iust cause to appeale. When shall be declared that the superior hath done cuill in prohibiting, and the plaintiffe iustly in doing, and the superior for his vniust prohibition shall bee punished. But if he be iustly prohibited, and that through his temerity, he do contemne the iust commandement of his superior, he is worthie to be punished iustly condigne punishment.

Where it was moued concerning the third article, whether it were lawfull for the ecclesiasticall prelats to exercise in their proper person, the acts of secular dominion, hereunto it was answered, that if by this word, Acts of secular dominion, are vnderstood Acts which a secular lord may doe or exercise, then is to be said, that a prelate may lawfully exercise some such Acts in his proper person, as to sell, to pawne or pledge, to infeoffe by manor and forme ordained by law: but there are some Acts, which it is not lawfull for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to haue afterward a vicegerent or proctor, to doe the same: whereupon there is prohibition made in the law in the Rubrike, Ne Clerus vel Monachus secularibus negotijs se immisceat, & in alijs rebus.

It was also moued, whether that coactiue power, which ought to be exercised by a steward, &c. bee in the hands of an ecclesiasticall prelate.

Whereupon Iohn Polomair answered, that this question presupposeth another: whereof there are diuers opinions amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion of the church should be: and furthermore, whether the actions bee in the person of the tutors or proctors, of if they bee not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any acts or proctors (whose exercising of those actions do giue authority vnto the acts or proctors) they be: with other difficulties, whereof it is not needfull to speake at this present. But forsomuch as hee was vrged to say his opinion: hee said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would bee contented to giue the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters should be in the power of Christ: and the prelats, with the other clergie, are but canonicall administrators in maner of tutors: but they haue more power and administration then tutors, and by constituting a steward or vicegerent, &c. Their constitution being duely made, the steward or vicegerent hath the same coactiue power and exercise of iurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these words, Iuste & equisita. i. iustly gotten, alledged therein, determine all things contained in the same:

Also as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus: The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church, and diuers other opinions there be amongst the doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be, as it is noted in the Glos. Cap. expedit xij. quæst. i. they do not intend to constraine any man to any of those opinions; neither to exclude any of them, but that euery man should haue liberte, probable to maintaine which of them he thinketh best.

Moreouer, the Bohemians said, that they did beleeue that the clergie are but administrators of the temporalties of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors and canons. Also the Bohemians said, that in all occasions which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the iudge, agreed vpon in Egra, with one consent. In this manner did the ambaſſadours make answere vnto the Bohemians. At the last, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and vnity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The Bohemians promised to receiue the peace and vnity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done in the yeere of our Lord 1428. About the feast of saint Martine, it was afterward agreed both by the ambaſſadours of that councell, and of Boheme, that what soeuer remained, should be determined and agreed vpon, first at Ratisbona, afterward at Vsuna in the diocese of Olymutz: then at Alba in Hungary, before the emperour Sigismund: but the matter could not be ended in any place.

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seales at Inglauia, a city of Bozauia, the fifth day of Iuly, in the presence of the emperor.

## ¶ Certaine petitions, which the Bohemians put vp last of all in the sacred councell of Basill, An. 1438. in the moneth of November.

Certaine petitions of the Bohemians put vp to the councell. Anno 1438.

VNto the most reuerend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords. Wee the ambaſſadours of the kingdome of Boheme, do most humbly and darely require you, that for the perpetuall preseruation of peace and concord, and for the firme preseruation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemencie, to giue and grant vnto vs all and singuler our requests, here vnder written, with effectuall execution of the same.

First and aboue all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of diuers dissensions and controuersies, which will vndoubtedly follow amongst our people vnder the diuersitie of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite euils, which we are not able to expresse as wee haue conceiued them, that you will gentlie vouchsafe of your goodnesse and liberalitie, to giue, grant and commaund, vnto our kingdome of Boheme, and marquesdome of Bozauia, one vniforme order of the communion vnto all men, vnder both kinds: that is to say, vnto the archbishop of Prage, the bishop of Luth zaus, Olmutz, and other prelats of the kingdome and marquesdome, hauing charge of soules, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subiects, and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambaſſadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole councell, written in the chap. Pro firmitate, where it is thus said, and all other things shal be done, which shall be meet and necessarie for the preseruation of peace and vnity. For this done by your benefit, the whole kingdome shall be comforted aboue measure, and established in brotherly loue: thereby an vniforme subiection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed vnto holy church.

The communion in both kinds to be generally graunted.

Item, we require and desire (as before) that for the auoiding of all false suspition and doubtfulnesse of many, which suppose that the sacred councell hath granted the said communion vnder both kinds vnto vs but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libell of disagreement: that you will vouchsafe, according to this chapter alledged in the compositions: First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred councell, &c. wholesomely and speedily to prouide for our safety and your grant in this behalfe, and with the buls of your letters, to confirme that chapter together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambaſſadors.

To haue a good and lawfull prince, and bishop.

Item, we beseech you (as afore) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergie, and for the finall defence and obseruation of all things determined and agreed vpon, and for the good order in spiritualties, yee will vouchsafe effectually to prouide for vs a good and lawfull paſtor, archbishop and bishops, which shall seeme vnto vs most meet and acceptable for our kingdome, to execute those offices and duties.

Free communion vnder both kinds to be permitted to all publicke.

Item, we require you (as afore said) that your fatherly reuerences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdome and marquesdome, to declare and shew our innocencie, in that they haue communicated, doe, and hereafter shall communicate vnder both kinds; to giue out, ordaine and direct the letters of the sacred councell, in maner and forme most apt and meete for such declaration, vnto all princes, as well secular as spirituall, cities and communalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambaſſadours are bound vnto to pay to doe.

Item, we desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the communion vnder both kinds, and of the commandement thereof giuen vnto all faithfull, yee will not proceed otherwise then according to the concordatum agreed vpon in Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his apostles, the generall councels, and the minds of the holy doctours, truely grounded vpon the law of God.

The gospels and epistles to be read in the Bulgar tongue.

Item, we desire that your fatherly reuerences, considering the great affection of our people, will giue vs the desired liberty to communicate vnto the yonger sort, the Sacrament of the Supper. For if this vse of communicating should bee taken away, which our kingdome being goblyn, moued by the writings of most great and holy Doctours, and brought in by examples, hath receiued as catholicke, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise vp an intollerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grieuously vexed and troubled.

The Scriptures read in the Sclauine congue also.

Item, we require you (as before) that for like causes your fatherly reuerences, would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the gospels, epistles, and creed to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to moue them vnto deuotion: for in our Sclauon language it hath beene vsed of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdome.

Item, we require you in the name of the said kingdome, and of the famous Vniuersity of Prage, that your fatherly reue-

Prouisions to be granted to Bishops for their visitation and diocesan synod.

trances would vouchsafe to shew such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that Vniuersity, that according to the manor and forme of other Vniuersities reformed by the church, prebends and collations of certaine benefices of cathedrall and parish churches, may be annexed and incorporate vnto the said Vniuersity, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

A request for certaine reformation and discipline.

Item, we beseech you (as before) as heartily as we may, and also, leaning authorities your fatherly reuerence) require you, and by the former composicions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeauours, and with all care and studie, your reuerences so ill watch and seeke for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and Christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all publicke euils, as well in the head, as in the members, as you haue often promised to do in our kingdome, in the compositions, and as our fourth article touching the auoiding of all publicke euils, both exact and require.

There were certaine answers prouided by the councell, to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not deliuered vnto them but kept backe, to what purpose & intent we know not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to auoide prolixity, we haue lodged it heere at this present to omit them. Thus haue ye heard compendiously the chiefe and principall matters intreated and done in this famous councell of Basill. And here, to conclude withall) we haue though: good to declare vnto you, for the aid and helpe of the ignorant people, which iudge many things to bee of longer time and continuance, then indeed they be; and thereupon haue established a great part of their opinions) how that, toward the latter end of this councell, that is to say, in the xxxvii. Session of the same, holden the xxv. day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1439. the feast of the conception of our Lady, was ordained to be holden & celebrate yeerely. In like sale do, was ordained to be holden & celebrate yeerely. In like sale also in the xxxv. Session of the same councell, holden the first day of July, An. 1441. was ordained the feast of the Visitation of our Lady, to be celebrate & holden yeerely in the moneth of July. We haue also thought it good, before we doe end this storp, to annex hereunto certaine decrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said councell, against the inordinate gising of the ecclesiasticall benefices and liuings by the pope, with certaine other constitutions also, fruitfull for the behalfe and edification of the church.

The councell of Basill brought into the church.

The visitation of our Lady brought in.

During the time that the generall councell at Basill was so diligent and carefull about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good vnto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that thereby euery church, apt and meete ministers might bee appointed, which might shine in vertue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ, and the healthfull edifying of the christian people: wherevnto the multitude of expectative graces hath beene a great impediment and let, in that they haue beene found to haue brought grieuous troubles, diuers disorders, and many dangers vpon the ecclesiasticall state. For hereby oftentimes scarcely apt or meete ministers haue beene appointed for the churches, which are neither knowne nor examined: and this expectation of void benefices (as the old lawes do witnesse) doth giue occasion to desire another mans death, which is greatly preiudicial vnto saluation: besides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moued and mingled the seruants of God: raine and malice nourished: the ambition and greedy desire of pluralities of benefices maintained: and the riches and substance of kingdomes and prouinces marueilously consumed. Poore men suffer innumerable vexations, by running vnto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way: troubled and afflicted with diuers plagues, and hauing spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to liue in extreme poverty. Many do challenge benefices, which (without any iust title, yea such indeed as ought not to haue them) obtaine and get the same: such I say as haue most craft and subtilty to deceiue their neighbour, or haue greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes that vnder the intrication of these pretogratiues antecations, and such other as doe allociate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also oftentimes the ministery is taken away from yong men, by their ordinary giuers, whiles that by the trouble of those contentions, and diuers discourses running to and fro by meanes of those graces, they are vexed and troubled, the ecclesiasticall order is confounded, whiles that euery man his authority and iurisdiction is not preserued: and the bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking vpon them to much the office of the inferiours, are withdrawne from more weighty and fruitfull matters, neither doe they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiours, as the publike vtility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion vnto the clergie, and ecclesiasticall state, to the great preiudice and hinderance of Gods true worship, and publike saluation.

Expectatiue graces.

Incommodities that rise by vacation of benefices.

In the same councell also diuers other constitutions were made, not vnprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certaine abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to bee brought by and

No controuersies to bee brought to Rome depend

translated to the court of Rome: Wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controuerses should bee brought from other countries, to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond 4. daies iourney distant from the said court of Rome, a few principall matters only excepted. Also, that no frutelous appeales should be made to the pope hereafter. It was moreouer in the same councell decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of 24. besides them that were already, and that they should bee freely taken out of all countries: and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for Annates or first fruits, or halfe fruits, it was there prouided, that no such Annates or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should be paid or reserued any more to the pope, for the first yeeres voidance. All which things there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles 7. with the full consent of all his prelats, in his high court of parliament in Bitorrs, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio: Anno 1438. whereupon great vtility ensued afterward to the kingdome of France. Albeit in processe of time, diuers friers there were which wrote against the same. Ex lib. Pragm. Sanctionis.

Frutelous appeales to be made to the sea. Against the multitude of cardinals.

Against the popes first fruits.

Pragmatica Sanctio per Carolum 7.

An mighty many decrees of the said councell of Basill, in the 19. Session, there was also a decree made touching the converting of Iewes and yong nouices in religion, vnto the christian faith.

Also that all ordinaries should yeerely at appointed times, preuide certaine men well learned in the holy Scriptures, in such places where Iewes and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholicke faith, that they acknowledging their errour, might forsake the same: vnto the which preaching, the said ministers should compell them to resort, and to heare, vnder paine of excluding them from occupying any more in that place: prouided that the said Minorites and preachers should behaue themselues towards them, mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not onely by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

An act made for the conuersion o the Iewes.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitfull, and that the preachers might bee the better instructed in the tongues, it was also in the same councell prouided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the councell of Vienne for learning the Hebrew, Chaldey, Araby and Greek tongues should by all meanes be obserued and kept, and ordinary stipends prouided for them that should teach the same tongues.

An act for learning the Hebrue, Caldey, Arabye and Chaldey.

An other decree moreouer in the 20. Session was enacted, that whosoeuer was knowne or publikely noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestred from all fruits of his benefices, for the space of 3. monethes; which fruits should be conuerted by y Ordinary, to the reparations, or some other vtility of the church: and if he did not so amend, it was by the Synode decreed that he should be clerely deposed from al his benefices.

Against priests that kept concubines.

Furthermore, the said Synode did greatly inueigh against them, which hauing the institution of the church, did not shame to take such vnpreuailes for bribes and money. Bill to continue in their filthinesse, &c.

By these decrees of the councell aboue specified, it is to be seene, what corruption had beene then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop and court of Rome. For the more expresse declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to inser the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Aeneas Syluius, touching and noting the said corruptions: the tenour of whose epistle here ensueth.

An epistle of Martine Meyre to Æneas Syluius, translated into English, the time where of is to be seene in the former edition of this booke. Ex Orth. Gra.

## Vnto the reuerend father, the lord Æneas cardinall of Seme, Martine Meyr, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

I Haue vnderstood by certaine of my friends letters, that you are created cardinall. I am glad for your part, that you haue receiued so worthie rewards for your vertues. I reioyce also for my owne part, that my friend hath attained vnto such a dignity wherin he may in time to come, both helpe me and my friends: But this is a griefe vnto me, that you haue happened vpon those daies, which seeme to bee troublesome vnto the apostolicke see. For there are many complaints made vnto my lord the archbishop vpon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the councell of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himselfe bound to the couenants of his predecessours, and seemeth vtterly to contemne our nation, and to seeke the vtter ruine thereof. For it is euident that the election of prelats, is euery where reiected: benefices and dignities, of what sort soeuer they be, are refused for the cardinals and chiefe notaries: and you your selfe haue obtained the reseruation of three Prouinces of Germany, vnder such a forme as hath not beene accustomed or heard of. Vowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number: yeerely stipends and halfe the reuenues are exacted without delay, and it is euident that there is more extorted then is due. The regiments of churches are not cōmitted vnto such as best deserue them, but vnto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape

The corruption of the church of Rome detected.

The ambassadors of the councell are returned from Egra.

## An exhortation of cardinall Iulian to the pope, not to dissolue the councell of Basill. 641

scrape and gather together money. Tithes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelats, for the Turkish war, and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now caried vnto the apostolike see of Rome. A thousand waies are inuented and deuised, how the see of Rome may by subtilty and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from vs, euen as it were of the Turkes or Barbarians: wherby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood, conquered the Romain empire, and was once the lady and queene of all the world, now being brought vnto pouerty, is made a handmaid, and become tributarie, and being now in extreme miserie, hath of long time bewailed her cruell fortune and pouertie. But now our nobles being (as is were) wakened out of their sleepe, haue begun to consider and deuise with themselues, by what meanes they might withstand this calamity, and vtterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and haue determined with themselues, to challenge againe their former libertie. This will be no small losse vnto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bring to passe that which they haue deuised. Wherefore as much as I do reioyce of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moued & grieued that these things happen in your daies. But peraduenture Gods determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You in the meane time be of good cheere, and deuise according to your wisedome, by what meanes the vehemency of these flouds may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

From Hafthaffenberge the last day of August.

The authority of the councell of Basill expended.

Concerning the authority of this generall councell of Basill, what is to be esteemed, by the acts and fruits thereof may be vnderstood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented vnto it: But after the pope began to draw backe, many other followed, especially of the richer sort of prelats, which had any thing to lose: wherof sufficiently hath been said by Arelatensis the cardinall before. In the number of those inconstant prelats, besides many other, was first cardinall Iulian, the first collector of this councell, and Vicegerent of the pope, as by his seruent and vehement letter written to pope Eugenius in defence of this councell, may well appeare: Wherin he most earnestly doth expostulate with the foresaid pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolue the councell, and declareth in the same many causes, why hee should rather reioyce, and giue God thankes, for the godly proceedings and toptull agreement betweene the councell and the Bohemians, & so exhorteth him with manifold persuasions, to rester to the councell himselfe, and not to seeke the dissolution of the same. The copie and tenor of whose Epistle to the pope, if any be disposed to peruse the same, wee thought here good to set downe to be seene.

The epistle of cardinall Iulian to the pope, in the commendation of the councell of Basill.

## The copie of an epistle, which Iulian cardinall of S. Angen, and the popes ambassador into Germany, wrote marueilous boldly and freely vnto Eugenius B. of Rome, for that he went about to dissolue the councel of Basil.

Most blessed father, after the deuout kisses of your blessed feet.

NOw shal the whole world vnderstand and know, whether that your holines haue in you the bowels of fatherly loue and charity, and the zeale of the house of God, whether you be sent to make peace or discord, to congregate or disperse, or whether you be that good shepheard, which giueth his life for his sheepe. Behold the doore beginneth now to bee opened, whereby the lost sheepe may returne againe vnto their owne fold, now is there good hope euen at hand, of the reconciliation of the Bohemians. If that your holinesse, as it is your duety, do helpe and further the same, you shall obtaine great glory, both in heauen and earth. But if peraduenture you goe about so let the same (which is not to be hoped for at your hands) all men will reproue you of impiety; heauen and earth will conspire against you, all men will forsake you. For how is he to be followed, which with one word may restore peace and quietnesse to the church, and refuseth to do it? But I conceiue a better hope in you, how that your holinesse without any excuse, will with your whole heart and mind, fauour this most sacred councel, & giue thanks vnto almighty God for his great goodnesse, that this congregation hath not departed. Behold the ambassadours of this sacred councell are returned with great ioy and gladnesse from Egra, reporting how that through the grace of the holy Ghost, they haue firmely concluded with the ambassadors of the Bohemians, that is to say, of the Prages, Orphants and Thaborites, amongst whom was also present the captaines of their enemies, and specially Procopius; That a solemne ambassade of all the estates of the realme should come vnto the councell of Basill: After that a safe-conduct is sent vnto them by the said councell in forme conditioned, which shall be done with speed, this sacred congregation is marueilous exhilarate and ioyfull. For those our ambassadours affirme, that all things there handled with such charity at Egra, and that they did see such things amongst the Bohemians, that not without cause, they doe conceiue great hope of their reconciliation.

And at the last gently imbracing one another, euen with teares of gladnesse, they departed from Egra: the Bohemians requiring our ambassadors, that the matter might bee ended with all expedition. They report also, that many things happened in that treaty, which if any man heard, and did not weepe for ioy, he might well thinke himselfe to bee but finally affectioned vnto Christ. As for three of the foure articles, they seeme not to make any great difficulty vpon. As touching the 4. that is, of the communion vnder both kinds, there is good hope that they will follow the iudgement of the councell. Who is it then that dare counsell your holinesse to perseuere any longer in the purpose of dissolution? for if the councell had not bin appointed at all, for so great hope and necessity; it ought to haue bin appointed in this place. How worthie praise & commendation should your holinesse do, if that you would leaue Italy and all other affaires, and come hither in your owne person, although you should need to bee caried in a wagon or litter? The keeping and defence of the temporall patrimony of the church, may well be disposed and done by legats and vicars. This is the true patrimony of the church, to win soules. For the church is not an heap of stones & walles. Christ hath not made you a keeper of castles and forts, but a pastor of soules. Therefore you should do that in your owne person, which is most necessarie and acceptable vnto Christ, and al other things by your substitutes. For so did the apostles, which to the intent they might the more freely attend to the preaching of the word of God, did institute 7. to serue the tables, and for the ministration of other inferior things. I heare that by the grace of God, your holines doth daily recouer and amend; and if so be, as it is said, you do visit some churches on foote, ye may also come hither on horseback, for you cannot goe vnto any thing more profitable or concordant to your office, then to goe vnto the place, where as innumerable benefits & goodnesse may spring. Let your holinesse vnderstand and consider wherein Christ whose vicar you are, and S. Peter whose successor you are, and the apostles and holy bishops, did exercise and occupie themselues; and as you do succeed them in office, so succeede them in maners. But if peraduenture your holines cannot come hither, I doe counsell you, that for so great a benefit, you would send the more part of the reuerend lords cardinals of the court of Rome, and command all other prelates to come hither. Do not let or hinder them that are willing to come, as it is reported you do, but rather allure them to come hither.

What the church is.

Eugenius reproued the church.

A strong argument against Eugenius.

Your holines may beleeue me, that onely charity moueth me to counsell you in this sort: bee yee not separate from your members, nourish your children as the hen doth her chickens vnder her wings. And if so be, that you will doe nothing else, yet speake this only word, *Placet*: that is to say, that it pleaseth you, that the councell of Basill should goe forward. For a few dates past, there came newes hither, for the which your holines ought altogether to cease from your dissolution. The reuerend father the archbishop of Lions, hath written vnto the councel, and vnto me also, how that the prelats of France haue assembled together in the city of Bituria, and there after long and exact examination haue concluded, that the councell is lawfully congregate in this place. And that it is necessary that it should be holden and celebrate here at this present; and how the prelats of France should come vnto it: hee also directed hither the cause which moued them so to conclude, the copie whereof I suppose is sent vnto your holines by some other. Whereupon then doth your holinesse stay? You haue gone about as much as in you lay, by your messengers, letters and diuers meanes to draw backe the prelats, and haue laboured with all your endeauor to dissolue the councell; yet notwithstanding as you do see, it is encreased day by day. And the more it is forbidden, the more are al mens minds enflamed to the cōtrary. Is not this then to resist the will of God? Why doe ye prouoke the church to anger? Why do ye stir vp the christian people? vouchsafe I pray you so to doe, that ye may get the loue and fauor of the people, and not the hatred: for all nations are greatly offended when they heare these your doings. Suffer not your holinesse to be seduced by any man, which peraduenture shall inculcate feare vnto you, whereas there is nothing at all to be doubted; or that do perswade you this to be no lawfull council. I know I should offend your holinesse if I should go about to proue the contrary; but it is better that I doe offend you a little in words, and profit you in my deeds: for a physition layeth a burning corrosiue vnto the disease, and healeth the sore: For the medicine cannot profit except it be sharpe and bitter in tast. Vnder this hope and confidence I will not feare to declare the truth: that is being knowne, your holines may the better prouide both for your selfe and the church. It dependeth vpon the councell of Constance whether this councell be lawfull or not. If that were a true councel, so is this also. No man seemeth to doubt whether that councell were lawfull, and likewise whatsoeuer was there decreed to be lawfull: for if any man will say, that the decrees of that councell are not of force, he must needs grant, that the depriuation of pope Iohn, which was done by the force of those decrees, to be of no effect. If that depriuation were not of effect; neither was the election of pope Martine of any force, which was done he being yet aliue. If Martin were no true pope, neither is your holines, which was chosen by the dcardinall that he

Doo iij. made

made, wherefore it ſtandeth no man more vpon to defend the decrees of that councell, then your holines; for if any decree of that councell be called into doubt; by like meanes may all the reſt of the decrees be reuoked. And by like meanes, ſhall the decrees of any other councell bee of no force and effect: for by like reaſon, as the faith of one councell is weakened, all the reſt ſhal alſo be weakened, according to S. Auguſtines ſaying in the 9. diſtinction capitulo, *Si ad ſcripturas*: Then, faith be, both the faith and all other ſacraments ſhall be put in doubt, if that there be once any doubt made of the force and power of any councell lawfully congregate. There was a decree made in the councell of Conſtance, intituled *Frequens*. Whereby it was ordained, that the firſt councell after that, ſhould bee holden within 5. yeeres, and another within 7. yeeres after that againe. The councell of Conſtance being ended, and the 5. yeeres paſſed, the councel of Papia or Sene was holden, after which 7. yeeres being alſo run ouer, this councell is begun to bee celebrate. To what end then is it expreſſed in the bull of the diſſolution, amongſt other cauſes, that the 7. yeere is already paſt? When as of neceſſity it ought to be paſſed before the councell can be celebrate. For theſe words, from 7. yeere or 5. yeere, ſignifie according to the law, that all parts of time ſhould be paſſed, and the laſt day looked for. Wherefore it behoued that 7. yeeres to be fully complete, before this councell of Baſil ſhould begin. Like as 5. yeeres were fully expired, before that the councel of Papia did begin. But peraduenture ſome man will ſay, that it ought to haue begun the firſt day after the 7. yeer was expired. For otherwiſe the terme of the councell is paſſed. But hereunto we may anſwere, that it is not contained in the chapter *Frequens*, that except it were holden the firſt day, it ſhould not bee holden at all, neither can it be gathered either by the words or meaning. For it is only required that it ſhould be holden after 7. yeeres expired, but whether it be the 2. or 3. day, or the 3. or 4. moneth after the 7. yeer, it doth ſatisfie the chapter *Frequens*. For when the firſt day is come, then beginneth the power and liberty to celebrate the councel, but not afore, but it is not prohibited to celebrate it after; neither doth this word, *Inquinquennium*; that is to ſay, againſt 5. yeere, next following, which is alledged in the chapter *Frequens*, and ſeemeth to be repeated alſo for the 7. yeeres, for it is not vnderſtood that it is neceſſary to be holden the firſt day preciſely after the 7. yeer, but becauſe it ſhould not be vnderſtood of other 7. yeeres to come. For in ſpeaking ſimplie of 7. yeere, it is vnderſtood of 7. yeere next enſuing. Admit alſo that in the chapter *Frequens*, any of theſe words had bin ioyned with immediately following, as by and by, out of hand, immediately, or ſtraight waies after, or ſuch other words: yet ought they to be vnderſtood with a certaine moderation, & diſtance of time, that aſſoone as might be conuenient; as theſe words are expounded by the lawyers and doctors, for they are inlarged and reſtrained, according to the ſubiect and diuers circumſtances of the matters and affaires. For it is not by any meanes likely that it was the mind of thoſe which made the decree, that conſidering the long iourneys and hard preparation of ſuch affaires, and alſo the manifold impediments which may happen, that they would reſtraine ſo preciſe a time, euen at the firſt day, that if it were not then celebrated, it ſhould not be holden at all: for by ſuch ſubtill meanes it ſhould alſo be holden euen in the firſt moment and very inſtant after the ſame yeere.

But forſomuch as words are ciuilly to bee vnderſtood, this ſenſe or vnderſtanding is too far diſagreeable. For if any man will ſay, then it is commanded to be prorogued, that is alſo forbidden in the chapter *Frequens*. He that doth ſo argue, doth not vnderſtand himſelfe, nor the force of the words. It is not prorogued if it bee begunne, the ſecond or third moneth, but rather a continuation or execution of that which is in their power. For if it were a prorogation, then forſomuch as a prorogation doth fauor of the nature of the firſt delay, it could not bee begun before the time prorogued; but this happeneth not in our caſe: for albeit it were not begun in the firſt moneth, but in the ſecond and third, it is not thereby concluded that it could not be begun in the firſt: but if there had bin any prorogation made till the ſecond moneth, then it could not haue been begun in the firſt: as for example, I promiſe to giue an 100. pounds after Eaſter, afore Eaſter it cannot bee required, but by and by after Eaſter it may be required: and albeit that I beene not vrged for it, notwithſtanding I doe not ceaſe to be bound and if ſo be I be demanded it in the 2. or 3. moneth after, it is not thereby vnderſtood that there is any prorogation made: Neither doth it follow, but that it might haue beene demanded in the beginning, which could not haue beene done, if that there had bin any prorogation made. Alſo it is the nature of prorogation to be made before the firſt terme or day be paſſed. For otherwiſe it is no prorogation, but a new appointment. And albeit it may be ſaid, that then it may be long delaied; it is anſwered, that in this point, we muſt ſtand vnto the iudgement of the church, which conſidering diuers circumſtances would thinke the time meete. For the liberty of celebrating of councels was inſtituted for the profit and fauor of the church. What if it ſhould happen that when the time commeth, in the place where a councell ſhould be kept, there be a great plague, or ſome ſiege, which ſhould continue by the ſpace of 3. or 4. moneths, and the pope in the meane time doth not change the place according to the forme of the chapter *Frequens*, and that through ſuch impediments, the prelats did not come the firſt day vnto the place, or if any were comming and were taken by the way, which if they had not beene taken, had beene preſent at the firſt day in the place appointed: is it therfore to be ſaid that the power of the councell is paſſed or that the impediment ceaſing, and the prelats comming thither, the councell cannot be holden? that truely were greatly abſurd and too much preiudiciall to the church of God: but in this our caſe, the cauſe is probable why that the prelats did deferre to come at the beginning of the time appointed: for ſo much as when the time drew neere, pope Martine died the 20. of February. For which cauſe, the prelats might well doubt vpon ſome impediment of the councell. Alſo they taried looking that ſome ſhould come thither in the name of the pope, becauſe they would not tarie in that place in vaine without a preſident. As for the legate which was appointed for the councell, whoſe preſence all men taried for, before hee would prepare himſelfe to that iourney, he came not at the time appointed vnto the councell, but went vnto Norenberge, to perſecute the Bohemians, according to the commandement of pope Martine, which had enioyned him to goe firſt thither before he went to Baſil. The cauſe of the long delay of the prelats.

And the ſame legate being oftentimes required at Norenberge, that he ſhould goe to Baſil to hold the councell, hee anſwered, that he would not goe before he had the conſent of the new biſhop. This was the cauſe of the prelats delay, neither is it greatly to be imputed vnto the prelats, which ſuſpected that pope Martine would not haue holden the councell, and feared to bring themſelues in trouble: and good cauſe had they ſo to feare, through thoſe things which happened in the councell of Sene. For there were many things ſpoken which cauſed great ſuſpition. It was reported vnto me that many had ſaid, I came vnto Germany to diſturbe the councell. The counell of Sene.

Alſo this was pope Martines mind and intent, that albeit the councell was not begun at the beginning of March, notwithſtanding the authority of holding the councell ſhould not be voyd. For he ſaid, as the time of the councell approached, told me that I ſhould firſt go vnto Boheme, before I went vnto the councell: whereof alſo mention is made in the bull of the conſiſtory diſſolution.

But what needs we any other proofe, then by your holines letters? which by your letters dated the 2. Kalends of June, and were deliuered vnto me long after the time, by the ſpace of 3. moneths, you doe command me that my buſineſſe being done in Boheme, I ſhould take my way vnto Baſil to hold the councell, and there to foreſee vnto all things as it was enioyned me, and ordained in the councell of Conſtance. The ſame alſo yee repeate in the bull of the diſſolution brought vnto me by the lord Parentine, the words whereof are theſe. Vnto your circumſpection. Since your going into Germany no prelats haue aſſembled in Baſil for the celebrating of the councell: wee gaue you in commandement that in the meane time you ſhould be diligent about the expedition againſt the Bohemian hereticks, which is committed to your charge, and afterward you ſhould come vnto Baſil the place appointed for the councell, & there to rule in our place in the name of the church. What is more euident then this? If any thing were doubtful, by the tenor of theſe letters it were euidently taken away. If any man would ſay, that neither P. Martin nor Eugenius could confirme the councell by writing of ſuch letters, becauſe there was a prorogation which is prohibited by the chapter *Frequẽs*, it is anſwered, that there is no prorogation, but execution of that which is in power, or a declaration that it is not neceſſary to hold the councel preciſely euen at the beginning. Alſo it is no prorogation. For a prorogation is made before the terme is expired & not after: for after, it is rather called a new indiction or appointment. And if any man will ſay that there can bee no new indiction made, then may this be obiected: How could the councell of Bononia be newly appointed? If they wil anſwere, that the appointment of the councell of Bononia was of force, becauſe the councell at Baſil was diſſolued by your holines, then I haue my intent. For if it were diſſolued; *Ergo*, it was a councell before, becauſe it preſuppoſeth the habit. If it were a councell before, then, as hereafter ſhal be proued, it could not be diſſolued without the conſent of the councell: what can bee more anſwered hereunto? For the greater declaration and euidence of the matter, the abbat of Virgilia euen vpon the ſame day of the time appointed or afore, gathering together the prelats of the great church and many other prelats and notable men, made a ſolemne proteſtation, how the time was come to celebrate and hold the councell, and that he was come vnto Baſil for the ſame purpoſe, requiring them that they would conſerre and intreate together, vpon matters touching the councell, and hereupon there is a publike inſtrument or a teſtimonial.

Within a moneth after the ambaſſadors of the Vniuerſity of Paris came thither, and began to entreate of matters touching the councell, writing alſo vnto the emperor, and to the other princes of Germany, that they ſhould ſend vnto the councell; which letters I my ſelfe did ſee; neither doth the ſmall number of men let; for where as authority is, a great number is not required, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, where as 2. or 3. are gathered



gathered together in my name, I am in the midſt of them. Vpon the which authority, the councels are grounded. Now therfore your holineſſe doth manifeſtly ſee the ſaid obiection to be but friuolous. For to what end ſhould any diſſolution be made, if it had not been a councel? Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that it was a lawful councell, and canonically congregate. And peraduenture it is fcarſly found where any councell hath been confirmed by ſo many authorities as this, that is to ſay, by the two councels before paſſed, of Conſtance and of Sene, and confirmed by two biſhops of Rome.

Beſides this, I haue heard that ſome do report at Rome, that I could not call the prelats vnto the councell, becauſe that clauſe was not added in the bull of pope Martin. I greatly maruell why this ſhould be obiected, ſpecially ſeeng that not I alone haue called them, but I together with the reſt which are here aſſembled in the councell. It is a maruellous matter, pope Martin gaue me authority by the aduice of the councell to roote out hereſies, to pacifie kingdomes, to reforme the manners of euery ſtate of Chriſtendome, and yet they will ſay that I cannot cite them. Power is giuen me to iudge and to condemne, and haue I not alſo power to cite? The law doth ſay; vnto whom any power or iuriſdiction is committed, all things ſeeme to be committed vnto him, without the which he cannot exerciſe his iuriſdiction; for how could all the premiſſes be done, if the prelats or others ſhould not come hither? Alſo why is it ſaid in the chapter, *Ego enim de iureiurando*, I will come vnto the ſynod if I be called, if he cannot be called? By whom then is it preſuppoſed that he ſhould be called, but only by the councell, or by him which ruleth the councell? Alſo the whole eighteenth diſtinction intreateth of no other matter, but that the biſhops being called vnto the councell, if they come not, that they may bee excommunicat and ſuſpended. Let theſe men reade the booke of councels of S. Iſidore, and they ſhall finde how that in many councels, the prelats haue been called by the ſynod. Now it remaineth, that we ſhould declare, whether the diſſolution be of force or no. Wherein I doe againe feare to moue your holineſſe vnto anger. But charity forceth me thereunto; for peraduenture your holineſſe doth thinke the diſſolution to be effectuall, and therefore doe perſeuere in it; whereby, forſomuch as many offences may riſe, my conſcience doth moue me, not to hold my peace. Firſt of all the chapter *Frequens*, declareth, that it is not of force, for if prorogation be forbidden and prohibited, which is a ſmall matter, much more is diſſolution; which is a greater matter: for it is a greater matter to take away, then to defer; for by proroging, a thing is but deferred, and by diſſoluing, it is vtterly taken away. Alſo theſe men ſay, that the ſaid conſtitution in the chapter *Frequens*, may be made void, forſomuch as ſoone as the councell is begun, it may bee diſſolued without any thing done, as it is ſaid that it was done at Senes; and now they ſay alſo that your holineſſe hath been peruerſly informed touching the diſſolution. They ſay alſo, that the ſaid diſſolution doth manifeſtly tend to the ſubuerſion of faith, the ruine of the church, & the trouble of the chriſtian people. Therefore it cannot be done, neither obeied.

They ſay moreouer, that the ſaid diſſolution could not be made, by meanes of a certaine decree of the councell of Conſtance in that behalfe prouided. That in ſuch matters as appertaine vnto faith, the extirpation of ſinne, and reformation of the church in the head and in the members, that all men of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they be, yea the pope himſelf, ſhould be bound to obey the ſtatutes, precepts, and ordinances of euerie generall councell, and except they did obey, to puniſh them. Marke how that theſe things, to haue power to determine vpon any man, to command him and puniſh him, if he be not obedient, are ſignes of ſuperiority, in thoſe matters which he doth decree, command or puniſh: and to be bound to obedience, to be ſubiect and obey the ſame, are ſignes of inferiority in the ſaid caſes. *Ergo*, in the foreſaid caſes, ſeeing that the pope, as they ſay, is vnder the councell, which alſo hath been: in that for one of the ſaid three caſes, the councell did depriue Iohn, and for the other Benedict, neither could the pope diſſolue the councell; in that he is inferior vnto the councell, cannot binde or compell the ſuperior: As is in the chapter *Cum inferior*, otherwiſe it ſhould containe in it a contradiction, that hee is bound to obey, and is not bound to obey, becauſe he may diſſolue; for how ſhould he be obedient vnto the ordinance and decree of the councell, if he may annihilate and take away the ſame ordinance and decree? This councell is congregate for the rooting out of hereſies, for the making of peace, and reformation of manners; and in the firſt ſeſſion it did ordaine, that their whole intent and reſpect ſhould be thereunto, and that he which ſhould procure to let the councell, to prorogue or alter it, ſhould be puniſhed, and haue proceſſe againſt him as againſt a common diſturber of the peace, &c. If it may be diſſolued, it is euident that they doe not obey the ſaid ordinance, whereby this alſo muſt of neceſſity be granted, that if it may be diſſolued, the decree of the councel of Conſtance is of no force.

This is alſo proued by another reaſon. No man doubteth but if any controuerſie of hereſie ſhould be moued againſt any biſhop of Rome, that he could not diſſolue the councell: For if he might diſſolue the councell, he could not be iudged, which were contrary to the chap. *Si Pa. diſt.* 40. *Ergo*, like as it is in hereſie, ſo is it in the two other caſes. For theſe three were pacified by the councell of Conſtance: for thus ſpeaketh the councell: as it is in the chapter, *Si Papa in illo vno*. And as I haue before ſaid, the councell of Conſtance allowed this decree, through the which they depriued Peter de Luna, for making of a ſchiſme, and pope Iohn for the deformity of his life.

And albeit there be certaine lawes that ſay, the principall ſeat cannot be iudged of any man: and againe, no man iudgeth the chiefe ſeat: and, no man ſaith vnto himſelfe, why doeſt thou ſo? There are to be vnderſtood in theſe three caſes: firſt, that there was prouiſo made for the faith in the chapter *Si Papa*, and in the other two points, by the decree of Conſtance. Otherwiſe it ſhould be vnderſtood, without any exception, that the firſt ſeat, &c. and then the chapter *Si Papa. 40. diſtinct.* and the ſaid decree of Conſtance ſhould be falſe. If the chapter *Si Papa* had added cauſes of hereſies, no man would haue doubted vpon theſe two caſes, touching the ſaid ſentence; ſo likewiſe no man ought to doubt of the decree of the councell, that it was made by the authority of the pope, and repreſenteth the vniuerſall church. And if any man would ſay, that in all councels the authority of the pope is excepted: I anſwer, that it is true, when as the perſon of the pope is not ſpecially included. But if he be ſpecially included, he cannot be excepted, becauſe it ſhould fauor of contradiction. Moſt bleſſed father, God is my witneſſe, that I haue ſpoken theſe things with great anguiſh and ſorrow of mind, but I am forced ſo to ſpeake, that your holineſſe may ceaſe from the ſaid diſſolution, leſt there might happen infinite euils in the church of God. If your holineſſe did ſee my pure mind, my vpright conſcience, and entire affection towards you, whereby I am moued to write thoſe things, euen for verie loue you would imbrace and kiſſeme, and without doubt loue me as your owne ſonne. I haue often ſaid, and now do ſay and proteſt before God and man, that you will be the cauſe of ſchiſme and infinite miſchiefs, if you doe not alter and change your mind and purpoſe. Almighty God preſerue your holineſſe in the proſperity of a vertuous man. Vnto whoſe feet I doe moſt humbly recommend me. From Baſil the 5. day of June.

**Thus endeth the epiſtle of cardinall Iulian, written vnto pope Eugenius. Wherein, forſomuch as mention is made, how that the Bohemians had promiſed to ſend their ambaſſadors vnto the councell, and as before is partly touched in the Bohemian ſtory, their comming into Baſil, and propounding of certaine articles, wherein they diſſented from the pope, we doe not thinke it any thing differing from our purpoſe, to anner a briefe epitome, declaring the whole circumſtance of their ambaſſage, their articles, diſputations and anſwers which they had at the ſaid councell of Baſil, with their petitions and anſwers vnto the ſame. Faithfully tranſlated out of Latin by F. W.**

**In like maner Aeneas Syluius alſo with his owne hand and writing, not only gaue teſtimony to the authority of this councell, but alſo beſtowed his labor and trauell in ſetting forth the whole ſtory thereof. Notwithſtanding, the ſame Syluius afterward being made pope, with his new honor, did alter & change his old ſentence. The epiſtle of which Aeneas, touching the commendation of the ſaid councell, becauſe it is but ſhort, and will occupy but little rome, I thought hereunder, for the more ſatisfying of the readers mind, to inſert.**

## ✻ An epiſtle of Aeneas Syluius, to the Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Colen.

An epiſtle of Aeneas Syluius, in defence of the councell of Baſil.

TO a chriſtian man, which will be a true chriſtian indeed, nothing ought to be more deſired, then that the ſincerity and pureneſſe of faith, giuen to vs of Chriſt by our fore-fathers, be kept of all men immaculate: and if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted againſt the true doctrine of the Goſpell, the people ought with one conſent to prouide lawfull remedy, and euery man to bring with him ſome water to quench the generall fire: neither muſt we feare how we be hated or enuied, ſo we bring the truth. We muſt reſiſt euery man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walke not directly to the truth of the goſpell. Which thing I am glad, and ſo are we all, to heare that your Vniuerſity hath done in this councell of Baſil. For a certaine treatiſe of yours is brought hither vnto vs, wherein you reprehend the rudeneſſe, or rather the raſhneſſe of ſuch, which do deny the biſhop of Rome, and the conſiſtory of his iudgement, to be ſubiect vnto the generall councell, and that the ſupreame tribunall ſeat of iudgement, ſtandeth in the church, and in no one biſhoppe. Such men as deny this, you ſo confound with liuely reaſons and truth of the ſcriptures, that neither they are able to ſlide away like ſlippery Eeles, neither to cauill or bring any obiection againſt you. Theſe be the words of Syluius. The tribunall ſeat ſtandeth not in one biſhop.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the foreſaid councell, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigiſmund the emperor, no man reſiſted this councell. Alſo, continuing the time of Charles the ſeuenth, the French king, the ſaid councell of Baſil was fully and wholly receiued throwout all France. But after the death of Sigiſmund, when Eugenius was depoſed, and Felix duke of Sauoy was elected pope, great diſcords aroſe, and much practiſe was wrought. The authority of the councell of Baſil maintained by the emperor and the french king, ſo long as they liued.

The practise of pope Eugenius, to vndoe the councell of Basil.

wrought. But especially on Eugenius part, who being now excommunicate by the counsell of Basil, to make his part more strong, made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his Orators vnto the Germans, laboring by all perswasions to dissolue the councell of Basil. The Germans at that time were so diuided, that some of them did hold with Felix, and the councell of Basil: othersome, with Eugenius and the councell of Ferraria: and some were Neuters. After this, the French king being dead, which was Charles the seuenth, about the yeere of our Lord 1444. the pope beginneth a new practise, after the old guise of Rome, to certific (as is supposed) the Dolphin of France by force of armes, to dissipate that councell collected against him. Who leading an army of fiftene thousand men into Alsatia, did cruelly waste and spoile the country: after that, laid siege vnto Basil, to expell and driue out the prelats of the councell. But the Heluetians most stoutly meeting their enemies with a small power, did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight: like as the Lacedemonians only with three hundred did suppresse, and scattered all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

The pope after this vp in war.

The Dolphin beaten away by a few Swisses.

Although Basil thus by the valiantnes of the Heluetians was defended, yet notwithstanding the councell through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the princes ambassadors, which thunke alway and would not tary: So that at length Eugenius brought to passe, partly through the helpe of Frederike (being not yet emperor, but laboring for the empire) partly by his orators (in the number of whom was Eneas Sylnius aboue mentioned) that vnright the Germans) that they were content to giue ouer both the councell of Basil, and their neutrality.

The dilusion of the councell of Basil.

Fredericke of Austrich crowned emperor, great grandsire to this Ferdinando.

This Fredericke of Austrich being not yet emperor, but towards the empire, brought also to passe, that Felix, which was chosen of the councell of Basil, to be pope, was contented to renounce & resigne his papacy to Nicolas the fifth, successor to Eugenius, of the which Nicolas, the said Fredericke was consecrated at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, anno 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the meane season, pope Eugenius brought to passe in his consocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarke of Constantinople, with the rest of the Grecians there present, were perswaded to receiue the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost: also to receiue the communion in vnleauened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yeeld themselues to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding, the other churches of Grecia would in no wise assent at their comming home: Insomuch, that with a publike execration, they did condemne afterward all those legats which had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in christian buriall: which was, anno 1439. Ex Casp. Peucer.

The legates of the Greeke church condemned & hated by the pope at home.

The Greeke churches refuse the popes doctrine.

And thus endeth the story, both of the councell of Basil, and of the councell of Florence, also of the emperor Sigismund, and of the schisme betweene pope Eugenius, and pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults aboue said, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord, partly betweene the two preachers of the old and new citie of Prage, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captaines, taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselues. Albeit afterward, in processe of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could neuer yet to this day, remooue the Thaborites and citie of Prage, from the communion of both the kinds, nor could euer cause them to keepe the conditions, which in the beginning of the councell was enioyned their priests to obserue, as Cochleus, lib. 8. hist. Hus. With whom also accordeth Antoninus, tit. 21. part. hist. saith: That the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Thania, did take so deepe rote with them, and grew so fast, that afterward, neither by fire nor sword, it could be extinct. Anton. 3. part. hist. tit. 22. cap. 10.

The inconuenience of diuision.

Ex Cochleo, lib. 8 hist. Huss.

Ex Antonin. 3. part. tit. 22. c. 10.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a generall sum, to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they in their owne defence, and in the quarrell of Iohn Hus, and Jerome of Prage, prouoked by their catholike aduersaries to war, fighting vnder Ziska their captaine, had eleuen battels with the popes side, and euer went away victors. Ex Paral. Abb. Vrsp. in Epitaphio Ioan. Zisc. Moreouer, in the history of Peucer it is testified that pope Martine sending for the bishop of Winchester then cardinall, had leuied 3. maine armies, intending to ouerrun all the Bohemians: one army of the Saxons vnder the prince elector, the second of the Franconers, vnder the marquesse of Brandenburge, the third of Renates, Bauarians, and Suechers, vnder Otto archbishop of Treuers. With these, Sigismund also the emperor and cardinall Iulian the popes legat (who at last was slaine in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) ioyned all their force. Who ioyning together fiue times (saith the story) with fiue seuerall battels, assailed and inuaded the Bohemians: at euery which battell, fiue times the said aduersaries struchen and daunted with a sudden feare, ran away out of the field, leauing their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was giuen. Ex. Casp. Peuc. lib. 5. Whereby it may appeare, the holy angels of God to fight for them which imbraced the sincere doctrine of Christs Gospell.

Mainardus feare fallen vpon the popes army.

God the holy Angels pitch their tents about them which feare him. Psal. 34.

Thus the Bohemians through the mighty protection of almighty God, continued a long time inuincible, during all the life of Ziza, and also of Procopius, till at length through discord growing betweene them and their captaines Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued into their enemies.

And here by the way, is not to be omitted the wicked and cruell fact of Mainardus, who after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realme of Boheme of those theefe and principall soudiers, which had been long expert and trained vp in warre, found meanes by a proclamation made, as though he would warr against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to traine all them which were disposed to take wages, into certaine barnes or houses prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doores vpon them, the wicked dissembler set fire vpon them, and burnt of them diuers thousands, and so brought the rest by that meanes vnder subiection to the emperor; during his life time, which after that continued not long. Ex Aene. Syl. The which soudiers, if they had fought so much for the catholike liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marueil if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruell deceit of Mainardus, is worthy of all mens detesting.

The cruell deceit and wicked fact of Mainardus against the soudiers of Boheme.

Certaine thousands of the Bohemian soudiers burnt.

Ex Aenea Syl. lib. de hist. Boem. cap. 56.

During this busines among the bishops beyond the sea, in the meane time our bishops here also in England were not vnoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giueth, or whether the great liuings and wealthy promotions of the clergy doe draw with them a more insensible towardnesse in Gods religion, hard it is to say: this is manifest to all them which will reade and marke our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning & slaying for religion and for all other matters, more blood shed among vs, then in any other land or nation in Christendome besides. After the burning of Richard Houeden, of Nicolas Canon, and of Thomas Bagby priest, aboue recorded, pag. 612. whom the bishops condemned to death, anno 1431. not long after, about the yeere of our Lord, 1439. which was the eighteenth of the raigne of king Henry the fifth, they had another pore man by the backe named Richard Wiche priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English chronicle boxsized of one Perminger. What his opinions were, they doe not expresse. This they record, that this Richard Wiche first was degraded, then burned at the toiner hill for heresie. Some do affirme, that he before his death reuoked, but that slaunch by his burning not to be true.

England noted of cruelty.

Burning and slaying in England.

{Anno 1439 Richard Wiche priest burned.

Ex Regist. Heur. Chicheſtr. part. 7. Ex antiqua alia Chronico.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake (as prophecying) that the posterne of the tower should stinke, which also afterward came as he said to passe, wherefore many of the people he was counted for an holy man: Insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations & praiers, and areared a great heape of stones, and set vp a crosse there by night: so that by this meanes a great clamor ran vpon the church-men, and especially vpon such as put him to death. Then to cease the rumor, the king gaue commandement to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage. The copie whereof is here to be seene as followeth.

Richard Wiche after his death taken for a saint.

*Rex vicecomitibus London. & Midd. salutem.* Albeit Richard Wiche late clerke, who before long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publikely preach certaine heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realme of England: And for the same many yeeres now past being iudicially conuicted, did before a Iudge in that behalfe sufficiently abiure all hereſie generally, and afterward as a dogge returning to his vomit, did presume to maintaine, teach, and publikely preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adiudged a Relapse: And againe, being impeached for the same before the reuerend father in God Robert bishoppe of London, his lawfull Ordinary, was called forth to iudgement, and being before him, did iudicially confesse his errors and heresies: for the which cause the said reuerend father, vpon mature deliberation by him in the said reuerend father first had with the aduice of the learned in the law, his assistants lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitiue, pronounce and adiudge him to be a Relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and depriued him of all priestly function and priuiledge (according to iustice) and last of all, turned him ouer to the secular power as the manner is: and afterwards you, by our princely commandement and warrant, did according to the law of our realme for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a Relapse conuict, and degraded as a notorious traytour, not onely against God, but also against vs and our crowne



crowne and dignity. All which notwithstanding, certaine our subiects, as we haue been sundry times informed, being pricked forward with a diabolicall spirit, practising of all likelihood not only sedition, but also idolatry within our realme, are not afraid publikely to affirme, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of hereticall prauity. Nay rather they doe most shamefully with their vaine deuices, and wickedly conceiued imaginations, blaze abroad that he was, and died, a good, iust, and an holy man, and that he doth many miracles, (whereas indeed no such miracles be done by him.) Which disordinate persons, we may well and vpon probable causes repute and deeme culpable, not only of hereticall prauity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, Maiestie, and violators of the peace and dignity of our realme, as with all breakers and trespassers against the sacred canons of the church, who dare so presumptuously aduenture to worship the said Richard as a Saint, whereas it is not lawfull to worship any manner of person, be he neuer so holy, before he be canonised by the authority of the bishop of Rome. We therefore being very carefull for the good preseruation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out al the coasts of the same all maner idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certaine places within your liberties, where you shall thinke most conuenient; you cause forthwith proclamations to be made on our behalfe, straitly charging, that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed vnder colour of Pilgrime, or for any other cause of deuotion whatsoeuer, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, nor adiudge, esteeme, repute, name, or talke of him, as otherwise iustified or innocent, then such as the said reuerend father by his former definitiue sentence hath pronounced him to be, vpon paine and penalty to be taken and reputed for an heretike, or a fauorer of heretikes, and to receiue condigne punishment prouided for heretikes. And that you arrest all and euery person whom you shall finde to doe any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the same so arrested, commit to our prison, there to remaine vntill we shall thinke good to send countermaund for their deliuerance. Witnesse the king at his Manor of Estampsted, the 15. day of July, in the 18. yeere of his raigne.

*Per ipsum Regem.*

Like writs, and to the same effect were directed to all the Sheriffes throw all the realme, bearing all one and the same date. By the vertue of which letter, the Maior and Sheriffes did bse such diligence, that shortly after, that concourse and sieing of the people was left off.

Ex Regist. Heur. Chicheſtr.

The bishops consult to abolish the law of præmunire facias.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same yeere about Nouember, a conuocation was called by Henry archbishop of Canturbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to consult with themselues that it was best to be taken, for the removing away the law of Premuniri facias; for so were the hearts then of the temporalte set against the ecclesiasticall sort, that where any vantage might be giuen them by the law, they did nothing spare, by reason whereof, the churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the said law of Premuniri, and by the kings writs, and other indictements, to their no small annoiance. By long consultation and good aduisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawne and presented to the king, for the abolishing of the foresaid law of Premuniri facias, and also for the restraining of other briefes, writs, and indictements, which seemed to lie heauy vpon the clergy. This bill or supplication being contriued and exhibited by the archbishop of Canturbury and of Yorke, vnto the king standing in need the same time, of a subsidie to be collected of the clergy: this answer was giuen to their supplication on the kings behalfe: That forsomuch as the time of Christmas then drew neere, whereby he had as yet no sufficient leasure to aduise vpon the matter, he would take therein a farther pause. In this meane time, as one tendering their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realme, that no such briefe of Premuniri, should passe against them or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next parliament, anno 1439. Ex Regist. Cant.

The kings answere to the bill of the clergy, touching the law of Præmunire.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments, (so haskily rashed by at that present, in such shortnesse of time, as in the said booke thou maiest see gentle reader) declared and signified: among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchesse of Glocester, and of sir Roger Onley knight (priest, if I should haue been partiall,) which two persons, about the yeere of our Lord 1440. or the next yeere following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetuall prison. Of this little short matter, maister Cope the popes scout, lying in priuy wait to spie faults in all mens workes, wheresoeuer any may appeare, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth againe into his old barking against me, for placing these foresaid persons in my booke of Martyrs; but especially he thinketh to haue great vantage against me, for that in the same story, I doe ioyne withall one Margaret Iourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also with the thirtie same time, and burned for practising the kings death by an image of wax, &c. To answere hereunto, first I say (as I before said) that I professe no such title to write of Martyrs, but in generall to write of acts and monuments passed in the church and realme of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walke of a story writer, more then other that haue gone before me?

These foresaid persons in the same booke.

Secondly touching my commendation of sir Roger Onley, and the lady Cleanor, if master Alane be therewith offended: I answere, that I commended them for labouring and fauoring of the truth of Gods doctrine: For the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long carrying vpon it, nor yet altogether vpon mine owne head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well beleeue John Bale, as M. Alane beleeue M. Fabian: especially seeing I doe know, and was priuy, that the said John in recognising his centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland. De Catalogo virorum illustrium; which booke being bestowed of master Cheeke, I my selfe did see in the hands of the foresaid John Bale, that time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady duchesse of Richmond. Wherefore if he thinke me so leude to speake without mine authors, he is deceiued. And if he thinke mine authors not to be beleeued, then let this Nomotheta, or lolly Dictator, come forth and prescribe vs a law, what authors he would haue vs to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale, and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian, and Edward Hall, especially seeing they had seene his bookes and works left behind him, whereupon they might better iudge, and so did neuer these?

To the first obiection.

Briefly, for the name of Roger Onley; if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Wolingbroke, &c. hereby it may appeare, that either his prompter out of England deceiued him, or else that he going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect sycophant. And admit the said name of Onley could not be found in those writers, yet were it not vnpossible for a man to haue two names, especially if he were a religious man, to beare the name of the towne where he was borne, beside his owne proper surname. But now what if I (master Cope) can auouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of sufficient record, which you seeme not to haue yet read? Haue ye not then done well, and properly (thinke you) so bitterly to flie in my face, and to backe so eagerly all this while at meware shine in the water, hauing no more cause almost against me, then against the man in the moone? And now lest you should thinke me so much vnprouided of all authority for my defence, as if see you vnprouided of modesty and patience: write you to your prompter or suborner (where soeuer hee lurketh here in England) to send you ouer vnto Louaine the booke of Iohn Harding a chronicler, more ancient then either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Graston, anno 1543. where turne to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19. and there shall you finde and reade these words:

To the second obiection.

Againe, the Church and the king cursedly,
By helpe of one maister Roger Onley, &c.

Why the which words, ye must necessarily confesse Roger Onley to be the name of the man, either else must ye needs deny the author. For otherwise, that maister Roger Wolingbroke was the onely helper to the duchesse in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, which say, that foure other besides him were condemned for the same crime, &c. And moreouer, though the said sir Roger Onley was no knight (as I haue said in my former edition) yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that haue seene his works, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knights fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of maister Roger Onley.

Ex Vnd. Censur. 8. Baleo. 4.

To the third obiection.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Iourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say that I make her a martyr, which was a witch: whereas I here professe, confesse, and ascertaine both you, and all English men, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Iourdeman I neuer spake of, neuer thought of, neuer dreamed of, nor did euer heare of, before you named her in your booke your selfe. So far is it off, that I either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Ex Copend. lets warrant a cause.

Furthermore, I professe and denounce in like maner, that neither haue you any will or congrue occasion in my booke so to iudge, much lesse to raile of me. For where in expresse words I doe speake of the mother of the lady Young, what occasion haue you therby to hinder me and my booke with Margaret Iourdeman: which Margaret, whether the was a witch or not, I leaue her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I meane of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, because thee was the mother of a lady, I thought to ioyne her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet notwithstanding I doe so couple the said mother with the duchesse, in such distinct difference of yeres, that you maister Cope might easily ha ue vnderstood, or belike you, no man else would haue thought

This answere hereunto.

thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neither here in my booke, nor yet in my memento. For the words of my story are plaine, where as the condemnation of the lady Eleanor, and of the mother of lady Young, being referred to the yeere of our Lord, 1441. I doe also in the same story, though the occasion of that lady inferre mention of the mother of the lady Young, declaring in expresse words, that she followed certaine yeeres after, and in the end of that chapter, doe name also the yeere of her burning to be 1490. which was fifty yeeres after the death of Onley, and Margaret Jourdeman: by the computation of which yeeres it is plaine, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the lady Youngs mother.

See the former edition, pag. 371.

But M. Cope continuing still in his wrangling mode, obiecteth against, for that in my Calendar the said lady Youngs mother hath the next day in the Catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret Jourdeman, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the ladies mother, &c.

What other was taken in placing the names and dates, what is that to me? The which had the disposing of the Catalogue, dis place them so in moneths, as he saw them coyned in chapters, not perusing peraduenture nor aduising the chapters, that doth nothing preiudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth cleere it selfe in distinguishing them rightly in names and also in yeeres, as is afore declared.

The fifth obiection.

Fifthly and lastly, hauing thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times (M. Cope) I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime obiected to the lady Duchesse, and to the rest with this protestation before premised vnto the reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not here deale withall, nor speake of the matter, but vtterly to haue pretermitted, and dispunged the same. But forsomuch as the deed and offence laid and giuen forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of euill will compacted, rather then true indeed: therefore I doe but only moue a question by way of historie, not as defending, nor commending, nor condemning the fact, if it be true, but only moouing the question, whether it is to be iudged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged, and so hauing briefly propounded certaine coniecturall suspicions or suppofals concerning that matter, to passe it ouer, neither medling on the one side nor on the other.

The story of the first Duke of Glocester and Roger Onley his chiefe counsellor.

A question whether Eleanor the Dutchesse was culpable of treason against the king.

Certaine coniectures of the crime not to be true.

1. Coniecture.

The first coniecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason laid to the charge of the Duchesse, and Roger Onley, against the king, may be untrue, is this: that the said Onley (otherwise named Bolingbroke) toke it vpon his death, that they neuer intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

2. Coniecture.

The second coniecture: for that the lady Eleanor, and Onley seemed then to fauor and fauor of that religion set forth by Wickliffe, and therefore like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practise of papists can doe, it is not vnknowne.

3. Coniecture.

The third coniecture: for that the said master Roger Onley falsly noted and accused of Necromancy, wrote a booke in purgation of himselfe, entituled, de Innocentia sua. Also another booke entituled, Contra vulgi superstitiones, recorded in Cenu. 8. Bal. cap. 4. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was ouertaken with that filth of Necromancy himselfe.

4. Coniecture.

The fourth coniecture: because this accusation against the Duchesse of Glocester, duke Humfreies wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled betweene the cardinall of Winchester, and duke Humfrey her husband.

5. Coniecture.

Another coniecture may be hereof, for that, if the duchesse had intended any such hainous treason against the kings life, as by burning of a wax candle to consume him, it is not like (neither was there any such need) that she would haue made so many priuy to such a pernicious counsell, as the witch of Eye, master Roger Bolingbroke, master Thomas Southwel, and John Hume.

6. Coniecture.

Sixthly, it is not to be supposed, if any such hie treason had been wrought or pretended against the kings person by these, that either the duchesse should so escape with bearing a taper and punishment, or that John Hume should be pardoned his life, the fact being so hainous, that neither any durst aske his pardon, nor if it had been asked, it had not been like to bee granted.

7. Coniecture.

To these we may also adde another suppofall, rising vpon the words & forme of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polydor, Fabian, and other mo, wherein they were accused to working sorcery and inchantments against the church and the king. Now what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of christians, let the reader iudge, and by the truth of this consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if by this church is ment the cardinall of Winchester, as like it is, then it may be coniectured, that all this matter rose of that cardinall, who was then a mortall enemy to the house of Glocester, &c.

8. Coniecture.

Eighthly: and that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinall of Winchester, the witch concerning Eye, maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that towne of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was neere beside Winchester, and see of that bishop.

9 Coniecture.

Moreouer, for so much as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man as may be supposed, rather fauouring the cardinals part then the dukes, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence thereof may minister matter not only to muse, but also to coniecture, that he had found nothing which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is to bee thought he would haue so moued vp the matter, and passed it ouer without some mention.

10. Coniecture.

Finally and briefly: the frequent practises and examples of other times, may make this also more doubtfull, considering how many subtill pretences, after the like sort haue bin fought, and wrongfull accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeate the like forgeries against the lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.) why may not this accusation of the duchesse and Onley, be as false as that in the time of king Edward the fifth, which was laid to the charge of the queene and Shores wife by the protector, for enchanting & bewitching of his withered arme: which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrell made, only to oppresse the life of the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley, &c. And thus maieft thou see, gentle reader, according to the Sibilline mans saying: Nihil nouum esse sub sole: Nihilque dictum, quod non sit dictum prius, &c.

Although these with many mo coniectures, may be alledged in some part of defence of this duchesse, and of her chaplaines and priests, yet because it may not be impossible against the matter laid against them to be true, I leaue it therefore at large as I finde it: saying as I laid before, that if it be true which the stories say in this matter, thinke I beseech thee gentle reader, that I haue said nothing hereof. Only, because y matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I haue but moued thereof a question, and brought my coniectures, leauing the determination and iudgement hereof to thy discreet and free arbitrement. And if M. Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments, I durst name the lady Eleanor, Cobham, and Roger Onley: let him take this for a short answer, because my leasure serueth not to make long brawles with him, that if I had thought no imperfections to haue pafled in my former edition before, I would neuer haue taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, thereby to sponge away such motes, as I thought would seeme great stumbling blocks in such mens walks, which walke with no charity to offe, but with malice to carpe and reprehend neither admonishing that they see amisse in others, neither tarying while other men reforme themselues, and finally finding quarrels where no great cause is iustly giuen. And here an end with M. Cope for this time.

Abseles answer to matter Copes cauillations, concerning duke Dunmeres wife.

Forsomuch as in the processe before, mention was touched concerning the grudge betweene the cardinall, called the rich cardinall of Winchester, and the good duke Humfrey duke of Glocester, the kings vncle, and protector of the realme, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein this first is to be vnderstood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out betweene these two. For as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinall, so much against the cardinall in like manner sore enuied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Glocester. Notwithstanding, by the means of the duke of Bedford, the bralling out betweene them was before appeased and cured: yet not so, but that vnder vnperfect amity, priuy hatred, as sparkes vnder the imbers, did still remaine. So that the cardinall, ioyning with the archbishop of Yorke, attempted many things of their owne presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king (being then vnder age) but also of the protector and gouernor of the realme. Wherevnto the duke (like a true hearted prince) being not without iust cause offended, declared in writing to the king certaine complaints contained in 21. articles, wherein the cardinall and archbishop had transgressed, both against the king and his lawes. The tenor whereof more at large is in other stories expressed, the briefe abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seene.

The contention between the cardinall of Winchester and duke Humfrey, lord protector. ∫Anno 1440∫

Ex Polychron.

¶ Certaine points or articles obiected by duke Humfrey, against the cardinall of Winchester.

Winchester presumeth to be cardinall against the minde of his king.

FIrst, complained to his soueraigne prince his right redoubted lord duke Humfrey, his vncle & protector of the realme, that the bishop of Winchester, in the daies of his father king Henry the fifth, toke vpon him the state of a cardinall, being denied by the king, saying, that see had as liefe set his olme crowne beside him, as to see him weare a cardinals hat: and that in parliaments, he not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spirituall persons, presumed aboue his order; which the said duke desired to be redressed.

Winchester incurreth the pain of præmunire.

2. Item, whereas he being made a cardinall, was voided of his bishoppricke of Winchester, hee procured from Rome the popes bull, vnknowing to the king, whereby he take against his bishoppricke, contrary to the common law of this realme, incurring thereby the case of præmunire, and forfeiting all his goods to the king, by the law of premuniri facias.

Winchester incurreth himselfe to be the kings gouernor.

3. Item, hee complained that the said cardinall, with the archbishop of Yorke, intruded themselues to haue the gouernance of the king, and the doing vnder the king of temporall matters, excluding the kings vncle, and other temporall lords of the kings kinne, from hauing knowledge of any great matter.

The Cardinall defeasible by the kings iewels.

4. Item, whereas the king had bozowed of the cardinall foure thousand pounds, vpon certaine iewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his iewels: the cardinall caused the treasure to conuert that money to the paiment of another army, to keepe the iewels still to his owne vse and gaine.

The Cardinall deliuereth the King of Scots vpon his owne authoritie.

5. Item, he being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, deliuered the king of Scots vpon his owne authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his niece afterward to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should haue paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinall procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

The Cardinall played the marchant.

6. Item the said cardinall, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his seruants to be the customers, woll and other marchandise was, vnder that cloke, exported, not so much to his singular bantage, being the chiefe merchant, as to the great preiudice of the king, and detriment to his subiects.

7. Item, the cardinall in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delated the loane thereof, that comming out of season, the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinderance.

The Cardinall a defeader of the king.

8. Item, where iewels and plate were pzised at eleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall forfeited to the king: the cardinall for loane of a little pèce, gat him a restorement thereof, to the kings great dammage, who better might haue spared the commons, if the summe had remained to him cleere.

9. Item, where the kings father had giuen Elizabeth Bewchamp three hundred marks of lineloode, with this condition, if thee wedded within a yeere, the cardinall, notwithstanding the was married two or three yeeres after, yet gaue her the same, to the kings great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

The Cardinall taketh vpon him like a king.

10. Item, the cardinall hauing no authority nor interest to the crowne, presumed notwithstanding to call before him, like a king to the kings high derogation.

11. Item, that the cardinall sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all dimes, due to the king by the church of Winchester, giuing thereby example to the clergy, to withdraw their dimes likewise, and lay all the charge only vpon the temporalitie and poze commons.

12. 13. Item, by the procuring of the said Cardinall & Archbishop of Yorke, great goods of the kings were lost and dispended vpon needles Ambassades, first to Arras, then to Calice.

14. Item, it was laid to the charge of the said Cardinall and Archbishop, that by their meanes, going to Calice, the two enemies of the king, the Duke of Orleance, and Duke of Burgoyne, were dedriced together in accord and alliance, who being at warre before betweene themselues, and now confederate together, ioined both together against the kinges townes and countreys ouer the sea, to the great danger of Normandy, and destruction of the kings people.

The Cardinall traitor to the crowne.

15. Item, by the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Cardinall, persuasions were moued openly in the kings psence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leaue his right, his title, and honour of his crowne, in nominating him king of France, owing certaine yeares, and that hee should vtterly abstaine, and bee content onely in writing, with Rex Angliæ, to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitours.

16. 17. Item, though the sleight and subtlety of the said Cardinall and his mate, a new conuention was intended betweene the king, and certaine aduerfaries of France, alfo the deliuerance of the Duke of Orleance was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dissworship and inconuenience was like to fall, rather of the kings side, then of the other.

The Cardinall a purchaser of the kings lands

18. Item, that the Cardinall had purchased great lands and tenements of the king, the Duke being on the other side the sea occupied in warres, which redounded little to the worship and profite of the king: and moreouer had the king bound, to make him as sure estate of all those lands by Easter next, as could be deuised by any learned counsell, or else the said Cardinall to haue and enioy to him and his heyres for euer, the lands of the Duchie of Lancaster in Northfolke to the value of 7. 0 3 8. hundred markes by the yeare.

Vntruste counsell of the Cardinall.

19. Item, where the Duke the kings vncle, had often offered his seruice for the defence of the Realme of France, and the Duchie of Normandie, the Cardinall euer laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after this singular affection: whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost,



20. Item, seeing the Cardinall was risen to such riches and treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his Church, nor by inheritance (which he then had) it was of necessitie to be thought, that it came by his great deceites, in deceiuing both the King, and his subiects, in selling offices, preferments, liuelodes, captainryships; both here, and in the realme of France and in Normandy, so that what hath bene there lost, he hath bene the greatest cause thereof.

The Cardinall of Winchester, a pardon and his remnant.

21. Furthermore, when the said Cardinall had forfeited all his goods by the statute of præmunire, he hauing the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realme, purchased from the Pope a charper of pardon, not only to the defeating of the lawes of the Realme, but also to the defrauding of the king, who otherwise might and should haue had wherewith to sustaine his warres, without any tallag of his poze people, &c.

Partage betweene the Duke and the Cardinall.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his Counsell, whereof the most part were spirituall persons. So, what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was twitched at, and nothing said, and nothing laid thereunto, and a faire countenance was made to the Duke, as though no displeasure had bene taken, nor matter borne in these spirituall stomaches. But shortly after, the smoke hereof not able to keepe in any longer within the spirituall hells of these charitable churchmen, hast out in flames of mischiefe: For vpon the necke of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall which followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Duches and her Chaplaines, as ye haue heard before. Where by it may appeare, the said Duches more of malice then any iust cause, thus to haue bene troubled. Also within few yeares after, followed the lamentable destruction of the Duke himselfe, as hereafter more is to be declared.

Matter hard but cleare.

Powles steeple set on fire by lightning.

About which time, or not long after, An. 1443. the Steeple of Paules was set on fire by lightning, and at last by diligent labour of helpers, the fire was quenched.

∫Anno 1445∫ The death of Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Canterbury.

And after the condemnation of Lady Eleanor the Duches aforesaid, within few yeares, An. 1445. followed the death of Henry Chichesley Archbishop of Cant. by whome the was condemned in S. Stephens chappell at Westminster, for penance to beare a taper through cheapside three sundry times, and afterward outlawed to the Ile of Man, vnder the custody of Sir John Stanley knight. This Henry Chichesley builded in his time, two Colledges in the vniuersitie of Oxford, the one called Allsoule Colledge, the other named Bernard Colledge.

The building of Allsoule Colledge and Bernard Colledge in Oxford.

Proceeding now to the yeare, wherein suffered Humfrey that good Duke of Gloucester, which was y yeare of our Lord 1447. first we will begin in few words to intreate of his life and conuersation: then of the manner and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this Duke: first, hee was the sonne of Henry the fourth, brother to king Henry the fift, and vncle to king Henry the sixt, assigned to be the gouernour and protector of his person. Of matters he seemed meete and gentle, louing the common wealth, a fauourer of the poze commons, of wit and wisdome discreet and studious, well affect to religion, and a friend to veritie, and no lesse enemie to pride and ambition, especially in haughty Prelates, which was his vndoing in this present euill world: And which is seldome and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himselfe, and no lesse giuen to studie, as also a singular fauourer and patrone to them which were studious and learned. And that my commendation of him may haue the more credit, I will produce the testimonie of learned writers, who liuing in his time, not onely doe commend his fauous knowledge, and ripenes of learning in him, but also commit and submit their workes to his iudgement to be examined. Of which writers, one is Petrus de Monte, writing De virtutum & vitiorum differentia: who in his Epistle dedicatory beginning with the singular commendation of this Duke, & afterward speaking De optimarum artium, liberaliumque scientiarum peritia, saith thus: Cuicu quidem omni conatui omni ingenio, atque studio incumbis: adeo & nihil tibi sine librorum lectione, iucundum, gratum aut certe delectabile videatur, &c. And in further procelle of his worke, thus hee further declareth, saying: Delectaris autem non vna tantum arte, aut scientia, quanquam & id quidem esset satis: verumtamen omnibus, earumque codices magna quadam auiditate legisti, &c. Besides this Petrus de Monte, let vs heare also the iudgement of another writer of the same age, named Lapis Castellius, who likewise dedicating to the said Duke Humfrey, his booke intituled Comparatio studiorum & rei militaris. Among st diuers other workes commendatory, hath these as follow: Ad te potissimum mitto quod horum te optimum, & sapientissimum iudicem fore existimo, qui vt ex integerrim, o patre domino Zenone Baiocensi episcopo, homine tuæ laudis cupidissimo, accepi: ita in his humanitatis studiis inuigilares, vt nullus toto terrarum orbe princeps, nec doctrina, nec eloquentia, nec humanitate tecum comparandus sit, &c. Many other arguments and places may bee brought to declare that is to bee esteemed of the learning and studious wit of this noble Prince.

Duke Humfrey commended for his learning.

Petrus de Monte, De virtutum & vitiorum differentia, ad D. Humfredum.

Lapis Castellius De comparatione studiorum & rei militaris ad D. Humfredum.

Furthermore, as the learning of this Prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreete wisedome and singular prudence in him no lesse to be considered: as for the more manifest

fell proffe thereof, I thought here good amongst many other his godly doings, to recite one example reported as well by the pen of M. Thomas Moore, as also by M. William Tindall, the true Apostle of these our latter daies, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of false miracles in the clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the foresaid duke Humfrey, may giue us the better to vnderstand what man he was. The story lieth thus.

In the young daies of this king Henry the fifth, being yet vnder the gouernance of this duke Humfrey his protector, there came to S. Albons a certaine beggar with his wife, and there was walking about the towne begging, fiue or six daies before the kings comming thither, saying that he was borne blinde, & neuer saw in his life, and was warned in his dreame, that he should come out of Warwicke, where he said he had euer dwelled, to seeke saint Albon, and that he had been at his shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would goe and seeke him at some other place: for he had heard some say, since he came, that S. Albons body should be at Colen, and in deed such a contention hath there been. But of truth as I am surely informed he lieth here at S. Albons, sauing some reliques of him, which they there shew shrined. Barre ye vpon forth my tale, when the king was come, and the towne full, suddenly this blind man at S. Albons shrine had his sight againe, and a miracle solemnly rung, and Te Deum sung, so that nothing was talked of in all the towne, but this miracle. So hapned it then, that duke Humfrey of Glocester, a man no lesse wise then also well learned, hauing great ioy to see such a miracle, called the poore man vnto him, and first shewing himselfe ioyous of Gods glory, so shewed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekenesse, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himselfe, nor to be proud of the peoples praise, which would call him a god and godly man thereby: at last, he looked well vpon his eyne, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himselfe affirmed fastly no, then he looked additely vpon his eyne again, and said: I beleeue you very well, for me thinketh ye cannot see well yet. Yes sir, quoth he, I thanke God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man. Yea can (quoth the duke) what colour is my gowne? Then anon the begger told him. What colour (quoth he) is this mans gowne? He told him also, and so forth without any sticking, he told him the names of all the colours that could be shewed him. And when the duke saw that, he bad him walke traitor, and made him to be set openly in the stockes: for though he could haue seene suddenly by miracle the difference betweene diuers colours, yet could he not by the sight so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had knowne them before, no more then the names of all the men that he should suddenly see.

A false miracle wrought.

Dissimulation is ill punished.

By this may it be seene how duke Humfrey had not only an head to discerne and discusse truth from forged and fained hypocrisie, but freely also and diligence likewise was in him, to reforme that which was amisse.

Commendation of duke Humfrey.

And thus much hitherto for the noble prowesse and vertues, ioyned with the like ornaments of knowledge, and literature shining in this princely duke. For the which, as he was both loued of the poore commons, and well spoken of all men, and no lesse deseruing the same, being called the good duke of Glocester, so neither yet wanted he his enemies and pitty enuiers, whether it was through the fatall and vnfortunate lucke of the name of that house, which is but a vaine and friuolous obiection of Polydor and all which followeth him, bringing in mention of Polydor and all which followeth him, bringing in the crauyles of Hugh Spenser, of Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne of king Edward the third, of this duke Humfrey, and after of king Richard the third, duke likewise of Glocester: or whether it was that the nature of true vertue commonly is such, that as the flame euer beareth his smoke, and the bodie his shadow, so the brightnesse of vertue neuer blazeth, but hath some disdaine or enuy waiting vpon it: or else whether it was rather for some vnwoonesse from his wife, or for some other vice or trespasse done (as seemeth most like truth) which God as well in dukes houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where hee loueth. But howsoeuer the cause is to vs vnknowne, this good duke of Glocester, albeit being both the kings sole vncle, and hauing so many kinsmen throwen the whole realme, yet lacked not his foemen, lacked not his secret maligners. Of whom, specially was Henry Beuford cardinall, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, who of long time disdaining and enuying the rule & authority of this duke, first had disposed and appointed himselfe, to remoue the kings person from Sthan vnto Windsor out of the dukes hands, and there to put in such gouernors as him liked. After that, intending the dukes death, he set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge, and fore-barring the high way with a draw-chaine, set men in chambers, cellers and windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the purposed destruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turne his tourney another way. Besides other manifold iniuries and molestations, the ambitious Cardinall seeking by all meanes to be pope, procured such trouble against him, that great diuision was thereby in the whole realme: insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for feare of the fauourers of these two great personages, for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canturbury, & the duke of Quinbrer, called the prince of Portingale, rode 7. times in one day betweene those two aduersaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous diuision within the realme, and all by the excitation of this vnquiet cardinall.

The enemies of the duke of Glocester.

The malicious workings of the cardinall against the duke of Glocester.

Duer and beside this cardinall afore mentioned, an other capitall enemy to the said duke, was William de la Pole, first earle, then marquesse, at last duke of Suffolke, a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not only the organ and instrument of this good mans death, but also to be the nourance of the common wealth, and ruine of the realme. For by him and his onely deuice, was first concluded the vnprofitable and vnhonorable mariage betweene the king and lady Margaret daughter of the duke of Angeow: where as the king had concluded and contracted a mariage before with the daughter of the earle of Arminis, vpon conditions so much more profitable and honorable, as more conuenient it is for a prince to marrie a wife with riches and friends, then to take a maid with nothing, and disherit himselfe, and his realme of old rights, and ancient inheritance, which so came to passe. And all this the good duke did well foresee, and declared no lesse, but his counsell would not be taken. Wherupon followed first the giuing away the duchy of Angeow, and the city of Paine, with the whole countrey of Paine, to Reiner duke of Angeow and father of the damsell, called then king of Sicile, and of Jerusalem, hauing therof no peny profit, but only a vaine name to play withall.

M. de la Pole duke of Suffolke, the cause of the duke of Glocesters death.

The vnprofitable mariage betweene king Henry the 6. and queene Margaret.

William Wanflet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen colledge in Oxford builded.

Queene Margaret mortall enemy to the duke of Glocester.

Another great enemy and mortall plague to this duke, was the queene her selfe, latelie before married to the king: Who being of haucie stomacke, and all set vpon glorie, of wit and willes lacking nothing, and perceiuing hir husband to be simple of wit, and easie to be ruled, tooke vpon her to rule and gouerne both the king and kingdome. And because the aduice and counsell of Humfrey duke of Glocester, was somewhat a stay that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed, and partly because the said duke before did disagree from that mariage, this manly woman and couragious queene ceased not by all imaginations and practises possible, to set forward his destruction, hauing also for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

Gods punishment vpon the Quenes of Suffolke.

The malice of a woman.

These being his principall enemies and mortall foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a prince so neere the kings blood, and so deare to the people, and of all men so beloued, should be openly executed and put to death, deuised how to trap him, and circumuent him vnknowing and vnprouided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof, a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, Anno 1447. farre from the citizens of London, as William Tindall in his booke of practise writeth, where resorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Glocester, thinking no harme to any man, and lesse to himselfe. Who on the second day of the Session, was by the lord Beamond high constable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and vpon the same all his seruants discharged and put from him, of whom 32. of the principall being also vnder arrest, were dispersed into diuers prisons, to the great murmuring and grieuance of the people. After this arrest thus done, and the duke put into ward, the night after (saith Hall) fiue nights after (saith Fabian and Polychron) hee was found dead in his bed the 24. of Februarie, and his body shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had beene taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be seene, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be iudged, that he died of no naturall pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled, some that a whole spit was priuily forced into his body; some affirme that he was stifled betweene two featherbeds. After the death of this duke, and his body fered interred at saint Albones, after hee had politickly by the space of 15. yeeres gouerned this realme, fine of his household, to wit, one knight, 2. esquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and conuict to be hanged, drawne and quartered. Who being hanged and cut downe halfe aliue, the marques of Suffolke there present shewed the charter of the kings pardon, and so they were deliuered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying that the saying of the seruants, was no amends for the murthering of the master.

A snare to catch the innocent.

{Anno 1447} A parliament at Bury.

The cruell death of martyrdome of the good duke of Glocester.

The duke of Suffolke degaine accused.

The iudgement of God vpon them which persecuted the duke of Glocester.

Example of Gods iudgement and of blood reuenged.

The duke of Suffolke beheaded.

In this cruell fact of these persons, which did to conspire and consent to the death of this noble man, and which thought thereby to worke their owne safety, the marueilous works of Gods iudgement, appeareth herein to be noted, who as in all other like cruell policies of man, so in this also turned all their policies cleane contrary. So that where the queene thought most to preserue her husband in honor, and her selfe in state, thereby both the lost her husband, her husband lost his realme, the realme lost Angeow, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitane, with all her parts beyond the sea, Calice onely except, as in the sequell of the matter, who so will reade the stories, shall right well vnderstand.

The



{Anno 1448} The death of the cardinall, and maner of the same.

The words of the cardinall of Winchester at his death.

William Wanflet bishop of Winchester. Magdalen colledge in Oxford builded.

Gods punishment vpon the Quenes of Suffolke.

The false glose of mans heart fayning himselfe in sorrow. The commons discontent. The duke of Suffolke accused by the commons.

The queene, albeit she tenderly loued the duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower; where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a moneth, which being expired, hee was deliuered and restored againe vnto his old place, and former fauour with the king: whereat the people more grudged then before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Blewbeard, that the parliament was for that time adiourned to Leicester, thinking to the queene, by force and vigor of late to represse there the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appeare. Wherefore it was againe retourned vnto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole companie, and a full appearance with the king and queene, and with them the duke of Suffolke, as chiefe counsellor. The commons not forgetting their old grudge, renewed againe their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisburie, and sir Iames Finies, lord Say, and other. When the king perceiued that no glosing nor dissimulation would serue to appease the continuall clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first hee sequestred from him the lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices. Then hee put in exile the duke of Suffolke, for the terme of fiue yeeres, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltlesse blood of Humfrey duke of Glocester, to bee vnreuenged, or that flagitious person further to continue. For when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to be transported into France; he was encountred with a ship of war belonging to the Tower: whereby he was taken, and brought into Douer rode, and there on the side of a ship boate, one strake off his head: which was about the yeere of our Lord. 1450.

And thus haue ye heard the sully stop and discourse of duke Humfrey, and of all his aduersaries; also of Gods condigne punishment vpon them for their bloodie cruelty. But before I remoue from the said storie of the foresaid duke, and of the proud cardinall his enemie, I will here by the way, annex a certaine instrument by the king and aduice of his counsell, made against the said cardinall, taking vpon him to enter into this realme, as legate from the pope, contrary to the old lawes and customes of this realme, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latine may well appeare.

Bull cum instrumento reuocatorio in materia Regni.

IN Deinomine Amen. Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat euidenter, quod An. Dom. 1428. Indictione septima, pontificatus Sancti in Christo patris D. nostri D. Martini, &c.

Ego Richardus Candray procurator & nomine procuratorio christianissimi principis Domini Henrici, Dei gratia Regis Anglie & Francie, & domini Hibernie, domini mei supremi, de assensu pariter & adiuamento Illustris & potentis principis Humfridi ducis Glocestria, Comitis Penbrochie, protectoris & defensoris regni Anglie & Ecclesie Anglicane, & ceterorum dominorum meorum de consilio sua Regie celsitudinis, ac consiliorum eisdem facientium & hac vice regni tantum, dico, allego, & in his scriptis propono, quod dictus Christianissimus princeps, dominus meus supremus, fuisque inclytissimi progenitores dicti regni Anglie reges, fuerunt & sunt, tam speciali priuilegio, quam consuetudine laudabili legitimeque prescripta, nec non a tempore & per tempus (cuius contrarij memoria hominum non existat) pacifice & inconcusse obseruata, sufficienter dotati, legitimeque muniti, quod nullus Apostolice sedis Legatus venire debeat in regnum suum Anglie, aut alias sua terras & dominia, nisi ad Regis Anglie pro tempore existentis vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, inuitationem, seu rogatum: Fuerunique & sunt dicti Christianissimus princeps dominus meus supremus & suiscliy progenitores huiusmodi Reges Anglie, in possessione quasi iuris & falti priuilegy, & consuetudinis predictorum, absque interruptione quacunque, toto & omni tempore supradicto, pacifice & quiete Romanis pontificibus per totum tempus supradictum, premissa omnia & singula scientibus, tolerantibus, & ipsdem consentientibus tam tacite quam expresse, ac extra omnem & omnimodam possessionem, quasi iuris & falti, Legatus huiusmodi (vt prefertur) in regnum Anglie aut alias suas terras & dominia mittendi, nisi ad vocationem, petitionem, requisitionem, et rogatum Regis Anglie, pro tempore existentis. Et quia reuerendis. in Christi pat. & D.D. Henricus Dei gratia, &c. Sancti Eusebij presbyter, Cardinalis sancte sedis Romane, Legatus se affirmans, more legati, insignijs apostolice dignitatis vtens, absque vocatione, petitione, requisitione, inuitatione, aut rogatu Christianissimi domini nostri regis predicti, inclytum regnum Anglie de facto est ingressus, protestor igitur palam, & publico in hu scriptis nomine & vice quibus supra, ac omnium ipsius Domini nostri regis subditorum, quod non fuit, aut est intentionis, prefati christianis. principis, domini mei supremi, ac dictorum dominorii meorum de consilio in derogationem legum, iurium, consuetudinum, libertatum & priuilegiorum dicti D. nostri regis ac regni, ingressum huiusmodi dicti reuerendiss. patris, vt legati in Anglia, authoriter ratificare, vel approbare, seu ipsum vt Legatum sedis apostolice in Angliam, contra leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates & priuilegia predicta quouismodo admittere seu recognoscere: aut exercitio legationis seu huiusmodi, aliquibusque per ipsum, vt Legatum sedis apost. actis seu agendis, attentatis, seu attentandis aduersus premissa, leges, iura, consuetudines, libertates, & priuilegia, in aliquo consentire, sed dissentire: sicque dissentit dictus dominus noster rex, atque dissentiunt dicti domini mei de consilio, per presentes, &c.

An instrument by the king against the admitting the popes legate.

The sum and effect whereof in English is this, that in the yeere of our Lord 1428. as the king with duke Humfrey lord protector, and the rest of the councell, were in the dukes house in the parish of S. Bennets by Pauls wharfe, one Richard Canday procurator, in the kings name and behalfe did protest and denounce by this publike instrument, that whereas the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realme of England haue beene heretofore possessed time out of mind, with speciall priuiledge and custome vsed and obserued in this realme from time to time, that no legate from the apostolike see should enter into this land or any of the kings dominions, without the calling, petition, request, inuitement or desire of the king, and forsomuch as Henry bishop of Wint. and cardinall of S. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the king: therefore the said Richard Candray in the kings name doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the kings mind or intent, by the aduice of his councell, to admit, approue, or ratifie the comming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the rights, customes and lawes of this his realme: or to recognise, or assent to any exercise of this his authority legantine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect contrary to the foresaid lawes, rightes, customes, and liberties of this realme, by these presents, &c.

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of D. Humfrey, and the cardinall of Winchester extract out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of master William Bowyer.

## The benefit and inuention of printing.

§ Anno § 1450 § Time of printing inuented.

In following the course, and order of yeeres, wee find this foresaid yeere of our Lord 1450. to be famous and memorable, for the diuine and miraculous inuention of printing. Naucclerus, and Wimfelingus following him, referre the inuention thereof to the yeere 1440. In paralip. Abbatis Vrsp. it is recorded this faculte to be found, An. 1446. Auentinus and Zieglerus doe say, Anno 1450. The first inuenter thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a Germane, dwelling first in Argentine, afterward in Mens, named Iohn Faustus, a Goldsmith. The occasion of this inuention first was by engreauing the letters of the Alphabet in metall: who then layng blacke inke vpon the metall, gaue the fourme of letters in paper. The man being industrious and actiue, perceiuing that, thought to proceed further, and to proue whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceiued to come well to passe, hee made certaine other of his counsell, one Iohn Guttenbergo and Peter Schaffard, binding them by their oth, to keepe silence for a season. After ten yeeres, Iohn Guttenbergo compartner with Faustus, began then first to broch the matter at Strausbourgh. The art being yet but rude, in processe of time, was set forward by inuentiue wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, Iohn Mentell, Iohn Pius, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latine called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof the epigram was made:

*Carmen Ant. Caspard.*

Anser Tarpeij custos, vigilando quòd alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit, victor adest
Viricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in vsum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Notwithstanding, what man seeuer was the instrument, without all doubt God himselfe was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, then he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turne the Iewes: so now, when the holy Ghost speaketh to the auncients in innumerable sorts of bookes, yet they will not be conuerted, nor turne to the Gospell.

*Painting came of God.*

*Painting likened to the gifts of tongues.*

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath giuen this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great brutlty and necessity it serueth, it is not hard to iudge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequell which thereof ensueth.

*The time conteined when printing was found.*

And first, touching the time of this faculty giuen to the vse of man, this is to be marked: that when as the bishop of Rome with all the whole and full content of the cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, fatipeers, doctors, prouosts, deanes, archdeacons, assembled together in the councell of Constance, had condemned poore Iohn Hus, and Hierome of Prage to death for heresie, notwithstanding they were no heretickes, and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world vnder the supreme authority of the Romish see: and had made all christian people obedientiaries and bondslaues vnto the same, hauing (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not onely the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recouered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where mans power could doe no more, there the blessed wisedome and omnipotent power of the Lord began to worke for his church, not with sword and target to subdue his cruell aduersary, but with printing, writing, and reading to conuince darkenes by light, errour by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this meanes of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped vpon that proud kingdome a double confusion.

*Double confusion vpon the pope by printing.*

For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned Iohn Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacie, nor yet his popish masse, but said masse, and heard masse themselues, neither spake against his purgatorie, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but onely exclaimed against his exesse and pompe, pride, his vnchristian or rather antichristian abominacion of life: thus while he could not abide his wickednesse onely of life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least matter of death, whatsoeuer was spoken against his detestable conuersation and maners. God of his secret iudgement, seeing time to helpe his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conuersation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast downe the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine also, & institution, and not detestable in such sort, that though his life were neuer so peruerse, his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but may see, that either the pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is nere come to the pope. And all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by printing.

*The fruit and profit of printing.*

The cause whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are knowne, knowledge groweth, iudgement encreaseth, bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is seene, the doctours be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falshood detected, and with finger pointed, and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seeke a new hauen to refuge vnto: for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtlesse will abolish him. But the pope, and all his colledge of cardinals, must this vnderstand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to haue eyes to see, and heads to iudge: he cannot walke so inuisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of Iohn Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdome sure: yet in stead of Iohn Hus and other, God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voice the pope is neuer able to stop with all the prelature of his triple crowne. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organe of the holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospell soundeth to all nations and countries vnder heauen: and what God reuealeth to one man, is dispersed to many, and that is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

*Good counsell to the pope.*

The first and best vse for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learne and know the truth. If hee will not, let him well vnderstand, that printing is not set vp for nought. To striue against the streame, it auaileth not. What the pope hath lost since printing and the presse began to preach, let him call his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was giuen to all friers and monkes in the world! And who seeth not, that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by printing, hath set the triple crowne so awry on the popes head, that it is like neuer to be set straight againe?

*So preached the diuel of Croydon in king Henry the 8. Daies.*

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might vnderstand the counsell and purpose of the Lord to worke against him, hauing prouided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many blockehouses there be against the high castle of saint Angell: So that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wisely consider the pold and slanting of the pope, thus hee may reputt with himselfe, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lacke of knowledge and ignorance of simple christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacie so much as reading, preaching, knowledge and iudgement, that is to say, the fruit of printing: Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (the Lord before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues are not speake, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) bee inflamed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope hold now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all vnder his possession: yet neither must he thinke, that violence will alwaies continue, neither must he hope for, that now, which he had then: forsomuch as in those former daies, bookes then were scarce and also of such excessiue price, that few could attaine to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof: which bookes now by the meanes of this art, are made easie vnto all men. We heard before, pag. 611. how Nicolas Belward, bought a new Testament in those daies for foure markes and fortepence, where as now the same price will serue well fortie persons with so many bookes.

*The speeding of printing.*

*The lamentable losing of Constantinople.*

*The tyranny of the Turke toward his owne men.*

Moreouer, in the pag. 379. col. 1. it was noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authours, both Vniuersities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friers scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped vp all bookes that could be gotten, into their owne Libraries: where either they did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly vse them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would haue perused them.

*The towardnes of Duke Iustinian.*

In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good bookes, when neither they which could haue bookes, would well vse them, nor they that would, could haue them to vse, that marueil if the greedinesse of a few prelates did amate the blindnes of those daies, to the aduancement of themselues? Wherefore almighty God of his mercifull prouidence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedie the same, for the aduancement of his glory, gaue the vnderstanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all bookes diminished. Secondly, the speedy helpe of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plentie of all good authors enlarged: according as Aputinus, both truely report:

*Tefore ceremony by printing.*

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno. i.
The presse in one day will doe in printing,
That none in one yeere can doe in writing.

*When Sunnes were first inuented.*

By reason whereof, as printing of bookes minished matter of reading: so reading brought learning, learning shewed light, by the brightnesse whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, errour detected, and finally Gods glory, with truth of his word aduanced. This faculty of printing was after the inuention of Guns, the space of 130. yeares: which inuention was also found in Germany an. 1380. And thus much for the worthie commendation of printing.

## The lamentable losing of Constantinople.

§ Anno § 1453 §

*The losing of Constantinople*

Anno 1453. Constantinus Paleologus, being Emperour of Constantinople, the 29. day of the moneth of May, the great citie of Constantinople was taken by the Turke Mahometes, after the siege of 54. daies, which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the citie, besides the citizens were but onelie 6000. refuses of the Greekes. And 2000. of the Venetianes and Genues. Against these, Mahometes brought an armie of 400. thousand, collected out of the countries and places adioyning neere about, as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaris, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Cecilia, and such other: which places had the name yet of christians. Thus one neighbor for lucre sake, helped to destroy another.

The citie was compassed of the Turkes, both by the Sea and land. Mahometes the Turke diuided his armie into three sundrie parts, which in three parts of the citie, so beat the walls and brake them downe, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the citie. But the valiantnesse of the christians therein was much commendation, whose duke was called Iohn Iustinianus, of Genua. But for so much as the assaults were great, and the number of the christian souldiors battle decreased, fighting both at the walles and at the hauen, against such a multitude of the Turkes, they were not able long to hold out. Beside, the armies which late battering at the walles, the Turke had vpon the sea his nauie of 200. and 50. saile, lying vpon the hauen of the citie, reaching from the one side of the hauens mouth vnto the other, as if a bridge should be made from the one banke to the other. Which hauen by the citizens was barred with yron chaines, whereby the Turkes were kept out a certaine space. Against which nauie 7. ships there were of Genua, within the hauen, and three of Creta, vnder cuerne of Venice, which stood against them. Also the souldiors shining out of the citie, as occasion would serue, did manfullie gainstand them, and with wilde fire, set their shippes on fire, that a certaine space they could serue to no vse. At length the chaines being braft, and a waie made, the Turkes nauie entred the hauen, and assaulted the citie, whereby the Turke began to conceiue great hope, and was in forwardnesse to obtaine the citie. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahometes the tyrant stood vp vpon an hil, with his warriours about him, crying and hooling out vnto them to scale the walles and enter the fowne; otherwise, if any recule, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his souldiers in their repulse and retire, were slaine by the Turkes owne, being sent by his commandement to slay them: and so they were inflie serued, and well payed their hire.

*The Emperour of Constantinople slaine.*

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the citie, the Turkes retinue so confirmed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after by rage of warre, it happened Iustinian the Duke aboue named, to be hurt, who notwithstanding that he was earnestlie desired by Paleologus the emperour, not to leaue his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could hee not be intreated to tarrie, but left his standing, and his foe dis-furnished, setting none in his place to awarde the same. And so this doughtie duke, hurt more with his false heart, then with force of weapon, gaue ouer and fledde to Chius, where shortly after for sorrow, rather then for sorenes of his wound, he died. Many of his souldiers seeing their Captaine flie, followed after, leauing their port vtterly destitute without defence. The Turkes vnderstanding that bantage, some hault into the citie. The emperor Paleologus seeing no other way but to flie, making toward the gate, either was slaine, or else troden downe with the multitude. In the which gate eight hundred dead

*Constantinople won of the Turkes.*

*The bloudy liccuse of the Turkes.*

mens bodies were found and taken vp.

The citie of Constantinople thus being got, the Turkes sacking and ranging about the streetes, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most vnmercifullie, whomsoeuer they found, both aged and young: matrons, virgins, children and infants: sparing none, the noble matrons and virgins were horrible rauished: the gods of the citie, the treasuries in houses, the ornaments in Churches were all sackt and spoyled, the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoyle and hauocke of the citie lasted three daies together, while the barbarous souldiers murdered and rifeled what them listed.

*The horrible tyranny of the Turks.*

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three daies, Mahometes the Turke, entreth into the citie, and first calling for the heads and ancients of the citie: such as he found to be left aliue, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in peeces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the streets of the Turkes, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the kings stocke, after other contumelies, were hewen and cut in peeces for their disport.

And this was the end of that princelie and famous citie of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantinus, and ending also with Constantinus: which for the princely royaltie thereof, was named and euer honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the citie of Rome, and called also by the name thereof new Rome, and so continued the space of 1120. yeares. I pray God that old Rome may learne of new Rome, to take heed and beware betime.

*Constantinople called new Rome.*

This terrible destruction of the citie of Constantinople, the Queene of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelte of these filthie rakehelles and mercilesse murderers: as specially for this, that we being admonished by the dolefull ruine and miserie of these our eiuer christened, may call to minde the plagues and miseries deserued, which seeme to hang no lesse ouer our owne heads, and thereby may learne betime to inuocate and call more earnestlie vpon the name of our terrible and mercifull God, that hee for his sonnes sake will keepe vs, and preserue his Church among vs, and mitigate those plagues and sorowes, which we no lesse haue deserued, then these aboue minded, before vs. Christ grant it. Amen. Ex Hist. Wittenbergica Peucer.

*A warning to all Christendom by Constantinople.*

## The historie of Reynold Pecocke bishop of Chichester, afflicted and imprisoned for the Gospell of Christ.

*The story of Reinold Pecocke.*

After the death of Henry Chichesley before mentioned, an. 1447. next succeeded Iohn Stafford, anno 1445. who continued eight yeares. After him came Iohn Kempe, anno 1453. who sate but three yeares. Then succeeded Thomas Barscher. In the time of which archbishop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, affliated by the popes prelats for his faith and profession of the Gospell. Of this bishop, Hall also in his Chronologie toucheth a little mention, declaring that an ouerthwart iudgement (as he termeth it) was giuen by the fathers of the spirituall state against him. This man (saith he) began to moue questions not pertinent, but appertile in the Vniuersities, concerning the Annates, Peterpence, and other iurisdictions and authorities pertaining to the see of Rome, and not onlie put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same: wherefore he was for this cause abiured at Pauls crosse: Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of saint Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as he was suffered liue (by whom he was promoted and much made of) was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) diuers bookes and treatises. But after that good Duke was thus (as ye haue heard) made away, this good man lacking his backestaie, was open to his enemies, and matter soone found against him. Whereupon he being complained of, and accused by priuie and malignant promoters vnto the archbishop, letters first were directed downe from the archbishop, to cite all men to appeare that could say any thing against him, the fourme of which citation here ensueth.

*The citation of the archb. Tho. Bourchier, alias Bouchier.*

### The Copie of the citation sent by the Archbishop.

THomas by the permission of God, archb. of Canturburie, primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolicke see, to all and singuler, parsons, vicars, chaplaines, curates, and not curates, clerkes and learned men, whatsoeuer they be, constitute and ordained in any place throughout our prouince of Canturbury, health, grace, and benediction.

We haue receiued a greeuous complaint of our reuerend fellow brother, Reinold Pecocke bishop of Chichester, conteining in it, that albeit our said reuerend fellow brother, the bishop, deliuered vnto vs certaine bookes written by him in the English tongue, by vs and our authoritie to be examined, corrected, reformed and allowed: notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the saide bookes depending and remaining before vs vndiscussed) haue openly preached and raught at Pauls crosse in London, and in diuers other places of our prouince of Canturburie, that our said fellow brother the bishop, hath propounded, made and written, and resused to be written in the said bookes, certaine conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching & teaching, the state and good name and fame of the said Lord Reynold the bishop, are greeuously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marueilously burdened. Wherfore we charge you all together, and seuerally apart do command you, firmely enioyning you, that openly and generally you do warn or cause to be warned, all and singuler such persons, which will obiect any thing contrary & against the conclusions of our said reuerend fellow brother the bishop, had or conteined in his books or writings: that the 20. day after such monition or warning had, they do freely of their own accord appeare before vs & our commissaries in this behalfe appointed, wherefore we shall then be in our city, dioces, or prouince of Canturburie, to speake, propound, alledge, & affirme fully & sufficientlie in writing, whatsoeuer heretical or erroneous matter they will speake, propound, or obiect against the said conclusions contained in the said fayd books: and both to satisfie and receiue, whatsoeuer shal seeme

meete and right in this behalfe by the holy institutions and ordinances.

And forsomuch as this matter depending yet vndetermined and vndiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed: we charge you that by this our authoritie, you inhibit and forbid all and euery one so to preach and teach hereafter. Vnto whom also we by the tenour of these presents, do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the conclusions & books aforesaide, depending before vs and our Commissaries vndiscussed, they doe not presume by any meanes, without good aduice and iudgement, to preach, iudge, and affirme any thing to the preiudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold the bishop: and if so be you doe finde any in this behalfe, gainesaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you doe cite or cause them peremptorilie to be cited, to appeare before vs or our Commissaries, in this behalfe appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, wheresoeuer we shall then be, in our citie, dioces, or prouince of Canturbury, to make further declaration by forme of lawe of the cause of their disobedience, and to receiue such punishment as iustice and equitie shall determine in that behalfe: and that by your letters you doe dulie certifie vs or our Commissaries, what you haue done in the premisses at the day and place aforesaide: or that he which hath so executed our commandement, doe so certifie vs by his letters. Dated at our Manour of Lambeth the xxii. day of October, an. 1457. and in the fourth yeare of our translation.

Pecock appeareth at Lambeth before the archb.

This citation being directed, the bishop vpon the summon thereof, was brought, or rather came before the iudges and bishops, vnto Lambeth, where the foresaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishops court. In which conuention also the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishops of Worcester, and of Lincolne. What were the opinions and articles against him obiected, after in his reuocation shall be specified. In his answering for himselfe in such a companie of the popes friends, albeit he could not preuaile: notwithstanding he stoutlie defending himselfe declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could haue preuailed.

Great labour to reduce Pecock from his opinions.

But they on the contrarie part, with all labour and trauell, ettended themselues, either to reuoke him, or els to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terrour and threatning, so also manie faire flattering words and gentle persuasions, were amist withall. Briefle, to make a short narration of a long and busie trauerse, here was no stone left vnturned, no waies vnpassed, either by faire meanes or by treate him, or by terrible menaces to terrifie his minde, till at the length, hee being vanquished and ouercome by the bishops, began to faint and gaue ouer. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put vnto him by the Bishops, which hee should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

## The forme and manner of the retractation of Reynold Pecocke.

The retractation of Bishop Pecocke.

IN the name of God, Amen. Before you the most reuerend Father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canturbury, primate of England and Legate of the Apostolicke see, I Reynold Pecocke, vnworthy Bishop of Chichester, doe purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confesse and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twentie yeares last past and more, haue otherwise conceiued, holden, taught and written, as touching the sacraments and the articles of the faith, then the holy church of Rome and vniuersall Church: & also that I haue made, written, published and set forth many and diuers pernitious doctrines, books, workes, writings, heresies, contrary and against the true catholicke and apostolicke faith, containing in them errours contrary to the Catholicke faith, and especially these errours and heresies here vnder written.

His articles.

1 First of all, that we are not bound by the necessitie of faith, to beleeue that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into hell.

2 Item, that it is not necessarie to saluation to beleeue in the holy catholicke church.

3 Item, that it is not necessarie to saluation, to beleeue the communion of saints.

4 Item, that it is not necessary to saluation, to affirme the body materially in the sacrament.

5 Item, that the vniuersall church may erre in matters which pertcine vnto faith.

6 Item, that it is not necessarie vnto saluation, to beleeue, that which euery generall councell doth vniuersallie ordeine, approue, or determine, should necessarilie, for the helpe of our faith, and the saluation of soules, be approoued and holden of all faithfull Christians.

Wherefore I Reynold Pecocke wretched sinner which haue long walked in darknesse, and now by the mercifull dispositi-on and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought againe into the light and way of truth, and restored vnto the vnity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errours and heresies aforesaid.

Notwithstanding (godly reader) it is not to be beleeued that Pecocke did so giue ouer these opinions, howsoeuer the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policie and play of the bishops, that when they doe subdue or ouercome any man, they carrie him whither they list, as it were a yong steere by the nose, and frame out his words for him before hand, as it were for a Parat, that he should speake vnto the people not according to his owne will, but after their lust and fantasie. Neither is it to be doubted, but that this bishop repented him afterward of his recantation: which may easilie bee iudged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and deteined captiue, whereas it is vncertaine, whether he was appressed with priuie and secret tyrannie, and there obtained the crowne of martyrdome, or no.

The Dictionarie of Thomas Gascoigne, I haue not in my hands presently. But if credit be to be giuen to such as haue to vs alledged the booke, this we may finde in the 8. Centurie of Iohn Bale, chapter 79. that the said Thomas Gascoigne in his third part of his said Dictionarie, inuiting of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles contending in them matter of soze herelie. First (saith he) Reynold Pecock at Pauls crosse preached openlie, that the office of a christian prelate, chiefly aboue all other things is, to preach the word of God. That mans reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the old and new Testament. That the vse of Sacraments, as they be now handled, is woze then the vse of the law of nature. That bishops which buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sinne. That no man is bound to beleeue and obey the determination of the church of Rome. Also that the riches of bishops, by inheritage, are the goods of the poze. Item, that the Apostles themselues personallie were not the makers of the Creed: and that in the same Creed, one was not the article he went downe to hell. Item, that of the foure senses of the Scripture, none is to be taken, but the verie first and proper sense. Also, that he gaue little estimation in some points, to the authozitie of the olde Doctors. Item, that hee condemned the wilfull begging of the Friers, as a thing idle and needlesse. This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also adding this moreouer, saith: that he, not contented to follow the catholicke sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not thinke soundlie (as he iudged it) of the holy Eucharist.

The articles of Reynold Pecocke mentioned by Thomas Gascoigne. Ex Ioan. Gasneig. lib. de Dictionar. Theolog. cap. 3.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Pecocke, was condemned for an heretike, by the archbishops and bishops of Yoke, Lincolne, and Winchester, with other Diuines moe. Whereupon he being driuen to his recantation, was notwithstanding deteined still in prison. Where some saie, that he was priuilie made away by death.

B. Pecocke deteined in prison.

Hall addeth, that some say, his opinions to be, that spirituall persons by Gods law, ought to haue no temporall possessions. Other write, that he said, that personall tithes were not due by Gods law. But whatsoeuer the cause was, he was caused at Pauls crosse to abiure, and all his bokes burnt, and hee himselfe kept in his owne house, during his naturall life. I marruell that Polydore, of his extremitie of the bishops handling, and of his articles in his historie, maketh no memzyall.

Polydor curteth.

Belike it made but little for the honestie of his great maister the Pope.

From persecution and burning in England, now out of the way, to digresse a little, to speake of soraine matters of the church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter ende of the councell of Basil, how Sagenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martiall affaires, how he made warre against Sforzia a famous captaine of Italie, and what other warres he raised beside, not onelie in Italie, but also in Germanie, against the citie and councell of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsall. After his deposition, ye heard also how Foelix duke of Sauoy was elected Pope. Whereupon another great schisme followed in the church, during all the life of Eugenius.

Sagenius warred against Sforzia and diuers others.

Pope Foelix.

After his death, his next successor was pope Nicolas the fift, who (as you before haue heard) brought to to passe with the Emperour Frederike the third, that Foelix was contented to renounce and resigne his papacie to Nicolas, and was therefore of him afterward receiued to the roome of a cardinall. For his submission: & Frederike for his working was confirmed at Rome to be the Emperor, & there crowned, an. 1451. For emperors before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no Emperors, but only called kings of Romaines.

N. Nicolas 5.

Emperors are but kings of Romaine before they be crowned by the Pope.

This pope Nicolas here mentioned, for to get and gather great summs of money, appointed a Jubile in the yeare of our Lord 1450. at which time there resorted a greater number of people vnto Rome, then hath at any time before been seene. At which time, we reade in the storie of Platina to haue happened, that I thought here not vnworthie to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people repairing vp to the mount Auentine to behold the image of our Sauior, which there they had to shew to pilgrimes, the people being thick going to and fro betweene the mount & the citie, by chance a certaine Pole of the Cardinals of Saint Sparke,

Ex Platina in vita.

The example of Iubelarie giuen.



came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to auoide the way, one or two falling vpon the mule, there was such a preasse and throng vpon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men, and thus horses, were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell ouer into the water and were drowned.

The fruit of Idolatrie.

By meanes of which occasion, the pope afterward caused the small houses to be plucked downe, to make the way broder. And this is the fruit that commeth by idolatrie. Ex Platin.

In the time of this pope, one Mat. Palmerius wrote a boke De Angelis, in defending whereof, he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Coana, An. 1448. Ex Tritemio.

Mat. Palmerius, a Florentine martyr.

After him succeded Calixtus the third, who amongst diuers other things ordained, both at noone and at euening, the bell to tole the Aues, as it was vsed in the popish time, to helpe the soulders that fought against the Turkes: for the which cause also he ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnising it with like pardons and indulgences, as was Corpus Christi day.

Tolling of Aues.

S. Edmund of Canturbury canonised.

Also this pope proceeding contrary to the councels of Constance and Basill, decreed that no man should appeale from the pope to any councell. By whom also saint Edmund of Canturbury with diuers other, were made saints.

Pope Pius 2.

Next after this Calixtus, succeeded Pius secundus, otherwise called Æneas Syluius, who wrote the two bokes of Commentaries vpon the councell of Basill before mentioned. His Æneas, at the time of the writing of those his bokes, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tollerable iugement and doctrine, from the which hee afterward being pope, seemed to decline and swarue, seeking by all meanes possible, how to deface and abolish the bookes which heretofore he had written.

Promotion choketh religion.

## Sentences attributed vnto this Pius.

The diuersity of Pius.

THe diuine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, then by disputation.

Christian faith is to bee considered, not by what reason it is proued, but from whom it proceedeth.

Neither can a couetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

Learning ought to be in poore men, in stead of siluer, to noble men in stead of gold, and to princes in stead of precious stones.

An artificiall oration moueth soules, but not wise men.

Suters in the law, be as birds, the court is the baite, the iudges be the nets, and the lawyers be the fowlers.

Men are to be giuen to dignities, and not dignities to men.

The office of a bishop is heauie, but it is blessed to him that doth well beare it.

A bishop without learning may be likened to an Asse.

An euill physition destroyeth bodies, but an vnlearned priest destroyeth soules.

Marriage of priests allowed by Æneas Siluius.

Marriage was taken from priests, not without great reason, but with much greater reason it ought to bee restored again.

Like sentence to this he vttereth in his second booke of the councell of Basil before specified, saying, Peraduenture it were not the worse, that the most part of priests had their wiues: for many should be saued in priestly marriage, which now in vnmaried priesthood are damned. The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolued certaine orders of nunnes, of the order of saint Bridget and saint Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burne no more, nor couer a harlot vnder the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godlines, as he brought learning into his popedome, had excelled many popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Æneas, called Pius, the pope, writeth touching the peace of the church, vnto Casper Schlick, the emperors Chancellor, in his 54. Epistle.

Ex epist. 54. Æneæ Syluii ad Gaspar. Schlick.

All men do abhor and detest schisme. The way to remedy this euill Charles the French king hath shewed vs both safe and briefe, which is, that Princes or their Orators should conuent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude vpon matters amongst themselues. To bring this to passe, it were needfull, writings to bee sent againe to all Kings and Princes, to send their Oratours to Strawesborow, or to Constance, with their full authoritie, there to entreate of matters appertaining to the peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses: For as much as wee see the yeere before 1400. gildens to be sufficient. Constance the emperour bestowed not much more in the congregation of the councell of Nice. And this way could not be stopped: neither could the pope or the councell withstand it, or make excuse: as though this might not easily bee done without them. For why? the secular princes may conuent and assemble together, will they, nill they: and yet notwithstanding, vnity may there bee concluded: For hee shall bee an vndoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither doe I see any of the clergie so constant to death, which will suffer marrydome either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold; which if they would woorship Idols, we would also do the same, and not only denie the pope, but God also, if the secular power straine vs thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. How soeuer it be, let vs all desire and seeke for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a councell, or by assemblie of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not vpon the terme, but vpon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you giue it me to asswage my hunger. Whether you call it a councell or a conuenticle, or an assemblie, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schisme may be excluded & peace established. Thus much out of the Epistle of Pius.

The way to resolue schisme, is conceiued of princes.

The popes clergy but not able for the flesh, either for princes or pope.

By this it may appeare, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the councell of Basill, before he was made pope. But as our common prouerbe saith, Honors change maners; so it happened with this Pius, who after he came once to be pope, was much altered from that he was before. For when as before hee preferred generall councels before the pope, now being pope, hee did decree that no man should appeale from the high bishop of Rome, to any generall councell.

The death of this pestilent Arte corrupted at that time, whatsoeuer they were before.

And likewise for priests marriage, whereas before he thought it best to haue their wiues refused, yet afterward hee altered his mind otherwise: Insomuch that in his booke intreating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of August, by occasion he inueyed against a certaine epistle of Huldericke once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth, how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This epistle of Huldericke, is before expressed at large in the pag. 124.

Æneas Syluius now puft vp with worldly pompe and glorie, impugneth the same which he did before both know and professe.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diotherus, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred vp in Germany vpon the same betweene Frederike the Palatine, and the duke of Wittenberge, with others, by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free before, lost their freedome and became seruile.

Discord betweene pope Pius and the archbishop of Mentz.

The causes of the discord betwixt pope Pius and Diotherus were these:

First, because that Diotherus would not consent vnto him in the imposition of certaine tallages and taxes, within his countrey.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not bee bound vnto him, requiring that the said Diotherus being prince Elector, should not call the other electors together, without his licence, that is, without the licence of the bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the popes Legats, to connocate his clergie together after their owne list. This pope Pius began his see, about the yeere of our Lord 1458.

§ Anno § 1458 § Pauli 2. Ex Stanislao Ruthen. vide Cent. 8. Bal.

After this Pius secundus, succeded Paulus secundus, a pope wholly set vpon his belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, which because he saw her to be had in reproch, for that she was gotten in fornication, began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reforme the same, had not death preuented him. Ex Stanislao Rutheno.

After this Paulus, came Sixtus the fourth, which builded vp in Rome a stewes of both kindes, getting thereby no small reuenewes and rents vnto the church of Rome. This pope amongst his other acts, reduced the yeere of Iubily from the fiftie vnto the twentie fiue. Hee also instituted the feast of the conception, and of the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Ioseph. Also he canonised Bonauenture and saint Francis for saints.

The feast of the conception and presentation of our Ladie.

Beades brought in.

By this Sixtus also, beads were brought in, and instituted to make our Ladies psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse: Hi filo insertis numerant sua murmura baccis: That is, These men putting their beades vpon a string number their praiers. This Sixtus the pope made two and thirtie cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who for that time that he was cardinall, which was but two yeeres, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed two hundred thousand florences, and was left 60000. in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certaine treatise of his de indulgentijs papalibus, writing of this pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the request of the foresaid Peter cardinall, and of Hieronie his brother, the said pope Sixtus permitted and granted vnto the whole familie of the cardinall of saint Lucie, in the time of the solemnities of Summer, Iune, July, and August, (a horrible thing to be spoken) free leaue and libertie to vse Sodomitrie, with this clause, Fiat vt petitur: That is, Be it as it is asked.

Wesselus Groningensis.

The pope testifieth the whole family of a certaine cardinall, to play the Sodomites there amongst the priests.

Next after this Sixtus, came Innocentius the eight, as rude and as farre from all learning, as his predecessour was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope, this was one, that in the towne of Polus apud AEquicolos, he caused 8. men and five women, with the lord of the place to bee appended

Pope Innocentius 8. Anno 1484.

Women condemned of heresie by pope Innocentius 8.

p p p iij.

George king of Bohemme deposed.

prebended and taken, and iudged for heretickes, because they said that none of them was the vicar of Christ which came after Peter, but they which followed onely the pouerty of Christ. Also he condemned of hereste, George the king of Boheme, and deprined him of his dignity, and also of his kingdome, and procured his whole flocke to be vtterly reiected and put downe, giuing his kingdome to Matthias king of Pannnia.

Now from the popes to defend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperours incident to this time, with matters and grieuances of the Germaines, as also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home, pertaining to the ouerthrow of this king Henry and his seate, now following to bee shewed. And briefly to contract long processe of much tumult and businesse, into a short narration, here is to bee remembred, which partly before was signified, how after the death of the duke of Glocester, mischiefes came in by heapes vpon the king and his realme. For after the giuing away of Angeow and Maine, to the Frenchmen, by the vnfortunate marriage of queene Margaret about mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiuing now by the death of the duke of Glocester, the stay and pillar of this common-wealth to be decayed, and seeing moreouer the hearts of the nobility, among themselues to bee diuided, forslacked no time, hauing such an open way into Normandie, that in short time they recouered the same, and also gat Gascoine, so that no more now remained to England, of all the parts beyond the sea but only Calis. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realme onely rest in this: For the king now hauing lost his friendly vncle, as the stay and staffe of his age, which had brought him vp so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more emboldened, to set vpon him: As appeared first by Iacke Cade the Kentish captaine, who encamping first at Blackheath, afterward afsayed to London, and had the spoile thereof, the king being driuen into Warwickshire. After the suppressing of Cade, ensued not long after the duke of Yorke, who being accompanied with these earles, set vpon the king here to saint Albones, where the king was taken in the field captiue, and the duke of Yorke was by parliament declared protector, which was in the yere of our Lord, 1453. After this followed long diuision and mortall warre betweene the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke, continuing many yeres. At length about the yer of our Lord, 1459. the duke of Yorke was slaine in battell by the queene neare to the towne of Wakefield, and with him also his sonne earle of Rutland. 159 the which queene also shortly after, in the same yere, were discomfited the earle of Warwicke, and duke of Northfolke, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of Yorke, and so the queene againe deliuered her husband.

Wilfulnes to England after the death of the duke of Glocester.

Angeow, Maine, Normandy, and Glocester, recouered of the Frenchmen.

Iacke Cade.

The D. of Yorke against king Henry.

Anno 1459

After this victorie obtained, the northren men aduanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take vpon them great attempts, not onely to spoile and robbe churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended partly by themselues, partly by the inducement of their lords and captaines, to sacke, waste, and vtterly to subuert the citie of London, and to take the spoile thereof: and no doubt (saith my historie) would haue proceded in their conceiued greedie intent, had not the opportune fauour of God prouided a speedy remedie. For as these mischiefes were in hatching, suddenly commeth the noble prince Edward into London, with a mightie army, the 27. day of February, who was the same and heire to the duke of Yorke aboue mentioned, accompanied with the earle of Warwicke, and diuers mo. King Henry in the meane time, with his victorie, went vp to Yorke: vpon as Edward being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certaine articles concerning his title to the crowne of England, which was the second day of March.

The Northren men aduanced the subuersion of London. Ex Hist. cuiusdam Monachi Ebor. de rebus suis temporibus, Scala mundi.

London refuse to the prince Edward.

Anno 1461

Wherevpon the next day following, the lords both temporall and spirituall being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approued. The fourth day of the said month of March, after a solemne generall procession (according to the blind superstition of those dares the bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Pauls crosse, wherein he commended and proued by manifold euidences, the title of prince Edward to be iust and lawfull, answering in the same, to all obiections which might be made to the contrarie.

The title of Edward to the crowne proued at Paules crosse.

This matter being thus discussed, prince Edward accompanied with the lords spirituall and temporall, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster hall, and there by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, tooke his possession of the crowne, and was called king Edward the fourth.

King Edward elected by the full consent of the estates.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being minister of the people and commons, with most readie and willing minds, for the necessarie furniture of his warres: he with the duke of Northfolke, and earle of Warwicke, and lord Fauconbridge, in all speede wise, take his iourney toward king Henry: who being now at Yorke, and forsaken of the Lanceners, had all his refuge onely reposed in the Northern men.

When king Edward with his army had passed ouer the riuer of Trent and was come nere to Ferebridge, where also the host of king Henry was not far off, vpon palme sunday betweene Ferebridge and Tadcaster, both the armies of the Southern and Northern men ioyned together in battell. And although at the first beginning, diuers footemen of king Edwards side, turned their backes, and holded the king of carriage and victuals: yet the contagious paine, with his captaines little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their aduersaries. The which battell on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slaine to the number, as is reported, beside men of name, of 20000. of the poore commons. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on king Edwards part, so that king Henry hauing lost all, was forced to flie into Scotland, where also he gaue vp to the Scots the town of Warwicke, after he had reigned 38. yeres and a halfe.

The fierce and cruell battell betweene king Henry the fifth and king Edward the fourth.

King Henry the sixth conquered. Warwicke giuen to the Scots, by king Henry the sixth.

The claime and title of the duke of Yorke, and after him of Edward his son, put vp to the lords and commons, wherevp they challenged the crowne to the house of Yorke, is thus in the story of Scala mundi, word for word, as hereunder is conteined.

## The title of the house of Yorke to the crowne of England.

The title of the house of Yorke.

EDward the third right K. of England, had issue first prince Edward the 2. W. Hatfield. 3. Lionell, 4. John of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the second, which died without issue, W. Hatfield died without issue. Lionel duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot, Philip his only daughter and heire: the which was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earle of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer earle of March and heire: Which Roger had issue Edmund earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Alienor; Edmund and Alienor died without issue, and the said Anne by lawfull matrimony was coupled vnto Richard earle of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and law fully bare Richard Plantagenet now duke of Yorke; John of Gaunt gate Henry, which vnrightfully entreated king Richard: then being alsse Edmund Mortimer earle of March, son of the said Philip, daughter to Lionell. To the which Richard duke of Yorke and son to Anne, daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, son and heire to the said Philip, daughter and heire to the said Lionell, the third son of king Edward the third, the right & dignity of the crown appertaining and belonged, after any iffe of the said Iohn of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of Yorke, the said Richard defiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that king Henry the sixth, should be had and taken for king of England during his naturall life, from this time without hurt of his title.

Richard Plantagenet.

Wherefore the king vnderstanding the said title of the said duke to be iust, lawfull, true and sufficient, by the aduice and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for iust, good, lawfull and true, and thereto giueth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberte. And ouer that, by the said aduice and authority, declareth, calleth, stablisheth affirmeth, and repeteth the said Richard of Yorke very true and rightfull heire to the crowne of England and France: and that all other statutes & acts made by any of the Henries late, contrarie to this aduice, bee annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, voide, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented, that the said duke and his heires shall after his naturall life enioy the crowne, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of Yorke shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principall act be voide and of none effect, &c. Ex Scala mundi.

And thus much for the reigne of king Henry the sixth. Who now lacked his vncle and protector, duke of Glocester, about him. But commonly the lacke of such friends, is neuer felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London called Leaden hall, founded by one Simon Eyre, Maior once of the said city of London, An. 1445. Leaden hall builded.

Also the standard in Cheap builded by Iohn Wels, An. 1442. The standard in Cheape.

the conduit in Fleetstreet by William Taffield, An. 1438. Item Aldgate builded by gods of Rt. Whittington, An. 1422. The conduit in Fleetstreet. Aldgate builded.

Moreouer the said Henry the 6. founded the colledge of Eton, and another house, hauing then the title of S. Nicolas, in Cambridge, now called the kings colledge. Ex Scal mundi. The colledge of Eton, and the kings colledge in Cambridge founded.

In the reigne of this Henry the 6. it is not to be passed ouer in silence which we find noted in the parliament rolles, how that Lewis archbishop of Rhoen, after the death of the late bishop of Sis, had granted vnto him by the popes bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishoprike, by the name of the administration of the said bishoprike. Lewis the aforesaid archb. therwith his bulls to the king, who vtterly refused his bulls. Notwithstanding for his seruice done in France, the K. granted to him the administration aforesaid the which to all intents at the petition of the said Lewis should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties and habilitie. The K. refuseth the popes bulles.

Neither againe is here to be ouerpast a certaine tragicall act



Ex vetusto codicis manuscripto, Nouum cognomen, &c. & ex Fabian.

act done betweene Easter and Whitsontide of a false Britton, anno 1427. Which murthered a good widow in her bed, (who had brought him vp of almes, without Algate in the suburbes of London) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he take succor of holy church at S. Georges in Southwarke: but at the last he take the crosse and forswore the kings land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and cancll dung, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no further: notwithstanding the Constables and other men also which had him vnder gouernance to conduct him forward: for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.

Example of Godwod and iudgement.

## King Edward the fourth.

Anno 1461 King Edward the fourth.

KIng Edward, after his conquest and victory atchieued against king Henry, returned againe to London, where, vpon the Vigil of S. Peter and Paul, being on Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and raigned twenty two yeres, albeit not without great disquietnesse, and much perturbation in his raigne.

King Edward taken prisoner by the earle of Warwicke.

Queene Margaret fled the land.

Queene Margaret hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also faine to flie the land, and went to her father duke of Angeow: from whence the next yere following she returned againe to renew warre against king Edward, with small succour and lesse lucke. For being encountred by the earle of Warwicke, about November she was driuen to the sea againe, and by tempest of weather, was driuen into Scotland.

Anno 1462 King Edward sitteth his own person in the kings bench iudging.

In this yere we reade that king Edward in the cause of a certaine widow for rape, sate his own person in Westminster hall vpon his owne bench, discussing her cause. Ex Scal. mundi.

Anno 1463 King Henry the sixth againe repulsed in the battell of Exham.

The yere following, king Henry issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the North country to recouer the crowne, vnto whom the lord Radulph Percie, 3 lord Radulph Gray hping from king Edward, did adioyne themselues: but the Lord so disposing, king Henry with his power was repulsed in the battell of Exham by the lord Mountacute, hauing then the rule of the North: where the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Rose, with certaine other were taken. The lord Radulph Percie was slaine, the residue fled. Albeit the history of Scal. mundi, referreth this battell to the yere 1464. the fifteenth day of May. In the which month of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerset, lord Hungerford, lord Rose, lord Philip Wentworth, lord Thomas Hully, lord Thomas Fiudern, beside twenty one other belonging to the retinue and houshold of king Henry the sixth. Queene Margaret finding no resting place here in England, take her progresse againe from whence she came, learning in her owne country to drinke that drinke, which she her selfe had brewed here in England.

The rebellion in Lincolnshire repressed.

The earle of Warwicke and the duke of Clarence the into France.

And not long after, the next yere, an. 1465. on the day of Saint Peter and Paul, king Henry being found and knowne in a wood by one Cantlow (as they say) was arrested by the earle of Warwicke, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the tower of London.

King Henry 6. taken, arrested, and committed to the tower.

Anno 1465

In this meane time, king Edward (after the motion of marriage for him being made; and first the lady Margaret sister to Iames the 4. king of Scots thought vpon, but that motion taking no effect, afterward a lady Elizabeth sister to Henry king of Castile, being intended; but the being vnder age, the earle of Warwicke turning then his legation and voyage to the French king Lewes the eleuenth, to obtaine lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Sauoy, and sister to Carlot the French queene, and obtaining the same) had cast fauor vnto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of sir John Grey knight, slaine before in the battell of S. Albons, daughter to the duchesse of Bedford, and lord Riuers, and first went about to haue her to his concubine: But she, as being vnworthy (as she said) to be the wife of such an high personage, so thinking her selfe to be too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the kings heart, that incontinent before the returne of the earle of Warwicke, he married her: at the which marriage, were no mo then onely the duchesse of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest and clerke. Vpon this so hasty and vnlucky marriage, ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloudshed to the realme, vndoing almost to all her kindred, and finally confusion to king Edwards two sonnes, which both were declared afterward to be bastards, and also depriued of their liues. For the earle of Warwicke, who had been the faithfull friend and chiefe maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so greeuously moued and chafed in his mind, that he neuer after sought any thing more, then how to worke displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathfull mode, till he might spie a time conuenient, and a wealth to set forward his purpose, at last finding occasion somewhat serning to his mind, he beareth his hart to his

The kings raddish marriage with Queene Elizabeth.

The first falling out betweene king Edward and the earle of Warwicke.

Sundrie newes against king Edward.

two brethren; to wit, the marquesse Mountacute, and the archbishop of Yorke, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to proue a farre off, the mind of the duke of Clarence, king Edwards brother, and likewise obtained him, giuing also to him his daughter in marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of this conspiracy began to appeare in the North country. Where the Northerne men in their place gathering themselues in an open rebellion, and finding captaines of their wicked purpose, came downe from Yorke toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, Wi. lord Herbert earle of Penbroke, with the lord Stafford, and certaine other captaines to encounter. The Welshmen giuing the ouerthrow first to the lord Stafford, then to the earle of Penbroke and his company of Welchmen at Banbery field, at last ioyning together with the army of the earle of Warwicke, and duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night, secretly stealing on the kings field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the watch, and take the king prisoner, who first being in the castell of Warwicke, then was conueied by night to Middleham castell in Yorkshire, vnder the custody of the archbishop of Yorke, where he hauing lesse keeping, and liberty to goe on hunting, meeting with sir William Standley, sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was to good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to Yorke, where he was well receiued: from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, well accompanied, by whose helpe he came safe to London.

The inconstant lustes of the people of England.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to a perfit peace and vnity, although much labor was made by the nobility, the earle of Warwicke raiseth vp a new war in Lincolnshire, the captaine therof was sir Robert Welis knight, who shortly after being taken in battell with his father, and sir Thomas Dimocke, were beheaded; the residue calling away their coates, ran away and fled, giuing the name of the field, called Losecoat field. The earle of Warwicke after this put out of countenance and hope to preuaile at home, fled out of England, an. 1470. first to Calice, then to Lewes the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earle of Warwicke and of his famous acts, was at that time in great admiration about measure, and so highly fauored, that both in England and France, all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the comming of this earle and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little gratefull to the French king, and no lesse opportune to queene Margaret, king Henries wife, and prince Edward her sonne, who also came to the French court to mete and conferre together touching their affaires: where a league betweene them was concluded, and moreouer a marriage betweene Edward prince of Wales, and Anne the second daughter of the earle of Warwicke was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily vpon the earles part, beside the large offers and great promises made by the French king, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the earle hauing also intelligence by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that before he lacked now but onely haste with all speed possible to returne; hee with the duke of Clarence well fortified with the French nauy, set forward toward England: so as was it betweene them before decreed, that they two should proue the first venture, and then queene Margaret with prince Edward her sonne, should follow after. The arriuall of the earle was not so soone heard of at Dartmouth in Deuonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receiue and woe come him: who immediately made proclamation in the name of king Henry the sixth, charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, vsurper of the crowne. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor politic conuenient for such a matter.

The earle of Warwicke and the duke of Clarence returne into England.

The receiuing of the earle of Warwicke into England.

King Henry againe proclaimed king.

When king Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to haue stopped his landing, or else straightwaies to haue encountred with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more daily about the earle and the duke, began now to prouide for remedy, when it was too late. Who trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceiue that a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is neuer to be content long with the present state, but alwaies delighting in newes, seeketh new variety of changes, either enuying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, waauering with the reed, did well appeare in the course of this kings story. For hee, through the fauor of the people when he was borne, was crabbed: now being exalted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firme and stable: so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the fauor of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his sonne, whose only

only king dome shall neuer haue end, nor is subiect to any mutation.

The constant loue and truth of the Lord Hastings.

These things thus passing on in England on the earles side against king Edward, he accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, and the lord Hastings, who had married the earle of Warwicks sister, and yet was neuer untrue to the king his master: and the lord Scales, brother to the queene, went abroad to all his true truthy friends for furniture of able souldiers for defence of his person to withstand his enemies. Then little resteue and sew in effect would come, the king himselfe so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he perceiuing his enemies daily to increase vpon him, and all the countries about to be in a roare, making fires and singing songs, crying, King Henry, king Henry, a Warwicke, a Warwicke, and hearing moreouer his enemies the Lancastrians to be within halfe a daies iourny of him, was aduised by his friends to flie ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne, which not long before had married king Edwards sister.

King Edward forsaken of his people in his need.

The vnrake of Queene king Edward.

¶ Here might be thought, by the common iudgement and policie of man, peraduenture that king Edward, as he had in his hands the life of king Henry, of his Queene and Prince: so if he had dispatched them out of the way, when as he might, hee had not fallen into this misery: but because he tooke not the vantage, which time rather then godly reason gaue him, therefore that sparing pity of his turned now to his confusion and ruine. And certes, I suppose no lesse, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitifelle daies, in which charity now waxeth bitterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let vs here note and learne, how godly simplicitie alwaies in the end of things gaineth more then mans policie, forsomuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

Whether godly simplicitie, or mans policy be the better.

And so farre is it off, that euent and successe of things be gouerned by mans aduised policie, or vnaduised affection in this world, that that is iudged to be weaker that flourisheth in men, then that which is cast downe in the Lord: as in the double case of both these kings may well appeare. And first let vs consider the case of king Edward, who being so beset and compassed with euils and distresses on euery side, first was compelled to take the Seas betweene Lincolneshire and Lynne (which was no lesse dangerous to his life, then it was vnseemly for his estate.) Being come to Lynne, in what perill was he there, through the doubtfull mutability of the townes men, if he had been knowne to his enemies? And how could hee be but knowne, if he had tarried any space? But though men and friends forsake him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him which shewed mercy vnto other, so prouided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland ready to their tourny. Thus king Edward without preuiall in, without bagge or baggage, without clothcloke or maile, without store of money, without raiment, saue only apparell for warre, also without all friends, except only his brother duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seuen or eight hundred persons, take shipping toward Holland: at which time he was in no lesse ieopardy almost on the sea, then hee was on the land. For certaine Easterlings hauing many ships of warre, which lay rouing the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the yere before, as well to the English merchants, as to the French nation, spying the kings ship, with seuen or eight gallant ships, made saile after the king and his company. The kings ship was good of saile, and gat some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings, that they came to the coast of Holland before Aquemare, and there cast anker: for otherwise, being an ebbing water, they could not enter the hauen. The Easterlings with their great ships approched as neere as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtaine their pray, and so were like to doe, if the Lord had not there a prouided Mounsieur de Groonsure, gouernor for duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the towne of Aquemare, who hearing of the ieopardy of the king, being there at anker, prohibited the Easterlings on paine of death, not to meddle with any Englishmen which were the dukes friends and allies.

The double cast of these two kings compared.

King Edward taketh the sea.

God peculiarly prouideth.

King Edward narrowly escapeth the Easterlings.

God againe prouideth.

King Edward is hindered from the Easterlings.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, king Edwards brother in law.

King Edward landeth at Ravenspur.

King Henry 6. brought out of the tower.

King Edward setteth forward.

King Edward returneth to Yorke.

King Edward commeth to Warwicke.

The earle of Warwicke sleeth to Couentrie.

The duke of Clarence commeth with a great armie.

King Edward commeth to Leicester.

King Edward returneth again into England.

King Edward commeth to Yorke.

The dissembling policie of king Edward.

King Edward commeth to Yorke.

King Edward expelled by the citizens of Yorke.

King Edward changeth his title.

The gentle and faire words of king Edward.

Now thus king Edward well chastised of God for his wantonnesse both by sea and land, but not vtterly giuen ouer from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company, who there well refreshed, and newly apparelled, were conducted to Hage.

Duke Charles at the hearing of the vnprosperous case and condition of king Edward his brother in law, was greatly amazed and ouerpressed in himselfe, much casting and doubting what hee should doe. For being then in warre with the French king, he could not well prouoke the English nation against him, without his manifest greuance and reap: neither yet could he in that great shame and obloquie, leaue the king his brother in that necessitie. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himselfe in rough farre speech, pretending to the English men to ioyne part with the house of Lancaster, being himselfe partly defended of the same saintly by his grandmothers side: that he both was his owne friend openly, and the kings friend couertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tidings was spread in England of king Edwards flying, innumerable people of all bands resorted to the earle of Warwicke, to take his part against king Edward, a few onely except of his constant friends which take sanctuarie. Among whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who deliuered a maine of all comfort, tooke also sanctuary at Westminster, where she in great penury forsaken, was deliuered of a faire sonne called Edward, which without all pompe was baptised like another poore womans child, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, the godmother was lady Scrope.

Queene Elizabeth taketh sanctuary. Prince Edward borne in sanctuary.

To make the story short, the earle of Warwicke hauing now brought all things to his appetite, vpon the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which was then deliuered to him, and there take king Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the kings lodging. The 25. day of the same month, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earls of Warwicke, Shrewsburp, and the lord Standley, with a great company, brought him in a long gowne of blew velues through the high streets of London, first to Pauls church to offer, then to the bishops palace of London, and there he resumed against the crowne royall, an. 1471. which he did not long inioy.

After this followed a parliament, in the which king Edward with all his partakers were iudged traitors. Queene Margaret with her sonne prince Edward, all this while was tarrying for a faire wind, thinking long belike till she came to an euill bargaine, as it proued after. For king Edward within six months after his departure out of England vnto the duke of Burgoyne, whether by letters from his friends sollicitate, or whether by his aduenturous courage incited, made instant sute to duke Charles his brother, for reliefe him with such power as he would bestow vpon him, for he was fully resolued to deffer the matter and to protract the time no longer.

The duke damped in double feare, in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding ouercome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be deliuered to him 50000. Florence, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in a hauen in Zeland, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, taking band of them to serue him truly till hee were landed in England, and fifteene daies after.

Thus king Edward being furnished but onely with two thousand men of warre, with more lucke then hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Rauenspur in the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of souldiers to doe any good, yet to the policie, where strength did lacke, first he sent forth certaine light-horsemen to proue the country on euery side, with persuasions, to see whether the vplandish people would be stirred to take king Edwards part. Perceiuing that it would not be, king Edward sleeth to his thifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claime the crowne and king dome, but only to claime the duchy of Yorke, which was his owne title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more, but only his full patrimony and lineall inheritance, they began to be moued with mercy and compassion toward him, either to fauor him or not to resist him: and so iourneying toward Yorke, he came to Beuerly. The marquesse Montacute, brother to the earle of Warwicke, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earle had sent streit charge, with all expedition to set vpon him, or else to stop his passage: and likewise to the citizens of Yorke and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armor against him. King Edward being in these straits, proceded notwithstanding here to Yorke without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant vnto him, but contrary sent him word to approch no nerer, as he loued his owne safegard. The desolate king was here driuen to a narrow strait, wherein neither could retire backe, for the opinion of the country and losse of his cause; neither could goe further, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore vsing the same policie as before, with lowly words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare vnto the citizens, that his comming was not to demand the realme of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of Yorke, his old inheritance, and therefore determined to set forward, neither with armie nor weapon. The messengers were not so soone within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soone as they.

The citizens hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the preiudice of the king, nor of the realme, were something mitigated toward him, and began to communne with him from the walles, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they would be the more ready to aid him, at least he should haue no damage by them.

Now this hauing he againe vsed such louely language, and desired so faire speech with them, intreating them so courteously, and saluting the Aldermen by their names, requiring at



at their hands no more, but onely his owne towne whereof hee had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talke, and debating vpon the matter, partly also incited with faire and large promises, fell to this conuention, that if hee would sweare to be true to king Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receiue him into the citie.

Two conditions put to king Edward.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entring of the gate, a priest was readie to say masse, in the which after receiuing of the Sacrament, the king receiued a solemne oth, to obserue the two articles afore agreed. By reason of which oth so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished (as it may well be thought) in his posteritie, hee obtained the citie of Yorke. Where hee, in short time forgetting his oth, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed souldiers. Furthermore, perceiuing all things to bee quiet, and no feare to bee made against him, hee thought to foreslacke no opportunitie of time, and so made forward toward London, leauing by the way the Marques Montacute, which lay then with his armie at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully foure miles distant from his campe: and so returning to the high way againe, went forward without any stirring to the towne of Notingham: where came to him, sir William Parre, sir Thomas of Borough, sir Thomas Sompgomerie, and diuers else of his assured friends, with their aides, which caused him by proclamation, to claim to his owne title of king Edward the fourth, saying that they would serue no man, but a king. At the same hereof being blowne abrode, as the citizens of Yorke were not a little offended (and that worthilie) so from other townes and cities, lords and noble men began to fall vnto him, thinking with themselues, that the Marquesse Mountacute either fauoured his cause, or was afraide to encounter with the man. Holdefaest it was, king Edward being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the towne of Leicester, and there hearing that the earle of Warwicke accompanied with the earle of Oxford, were together at Warwicke, with a great power, minding to set vpon the earle, he remoued from thence his armie, hoping to ioine him battell. The duke of Clarence in the meane time about London had leuied a great host comming toward the earle of Warwicke as he was by the earle appointed. But when the earle saw the duke to linger the time, hee began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that hee was altered to his brethrens part. The king aduancing forward his host, came to Warwicke, where hee found all the people departed. From thence he moued toward Couentrie, where the earle was: vnto whom the next day after, he boldlie offered battell. But the earle expecting the duke of Clarence his comming, kept him within the walles. All this made for the king, for hee hearing that his brother, duke of Clarence, was not farre off, comming toward him with a great armie, raised his campe, and made toward him, either to intreate, or else to encounter with his brother. Whereby each host was in sight of the other, Richard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as arbitrour betweene them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is vncertaine. But hereby both the brethren, laying all armie and weapon aside, first louingly and familiarly commoned: after that, brotherlie and naturallie ioyned together. And that fraternall amitie, by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspition.

King Edward forsaketh his people.

King Edward commeth to London.

Londoners take part with king Edward.

King Henrie counselleth flie away.

King Henrie & Saint taken and committed to prison.

Then was it agreed betweene the three brethren to attempt the earle of Warwicke, if he litlewise would be reconciled: but hee trying out shame vpon the duke of Clarence, fled at vtter defiance. From thence king Edward is to Yorke lie furnished, and daily increasing, taketh his way to London. Where, after it was knowne that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much feare fell vpon the Londoners, casting with themselues what was best to doe. The suddennesse of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time, the archbishop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwicke, and the duke of Somerset, with other of king Henries counsell, to whom the earle had sent in commandement a little before, knowing the weakenesse of the citie, that they should keep the citie from their enemies two or three daies, and he would follow with all possible speed, with a puissant armie. Who, according to their commandement, defended the citie with all their power, but yet to little purpose: For the citizens consulting with themselues for their owne best indemnitie, hauing no walles to defend them, thought best to take that way, which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with king Edward. This was not so some knowne abroad, but the communaltie ranne out by heapes to meete king Edward, and to salute him as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with other of king Henries counsell, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to thift for themselues, fled away and left there king Henrie alone: Who the same day being caused by the archbishop of Yorke, to ride about London like a king, was before night made captiue, and reduced againe to the Tower.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the comming of the earle of Warwicke was heard of, who thinking to preuent mischiefes with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earles armie were John duke of Exceter, Edmund earle of Somerset, John earle of Oxford, and Marques Mountacute the earles brother. The earle had now passed a great part of his iourny, when hee hearing newes of the world so changed, and of the captiuitie of king Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind: wherefore he stated with his armie at S. Albons, to see what way further to take. And forsomuch as there was no other remedie, but either hee must yeeld, or one conflict must finish the matter; hee remoued to Barnet ten miles from S. Albons.

The earle of Warwicke commeth to Barnet.

Against him set forth king Edward, well appointed with a strong armie of picked and able persons, with artillerie, ingines and instruments meete for the purpose: bringing with him also king Henry. On Easter euen hee came to Barnet, and there he embattelled himself. In the morning vpon Easter day the battell began, and fiercely continued almost till none, with murder on eche side much doubtfull, till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an end, ofr or on, with a great crew of new fresh souldiers, set vpon his wearied enemies, whereby the earles men, although encouraged with words of their captain, stoutly fought, but they sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out. The earle rushing into the middest of his enemies, ventured so farre, that hee could not be rescued: where he was stricken downe and slaine, and there lay he. Marques Montacute thinking to succour his brother, whom hee saw to be in great ieopardie, was likewise ouerthrowne and slaine.

The battell at Barnet.

After that Richard Neuill, earle of Warwicke, and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this field slaine, are iudged about tenne thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbreth of them that were slaine, but fiftene hundred. The duke of Somerset and earle of Oxford thinking to flie to Scotland, returned to Taiper earle of Pembroke in Wales. The duke of Exceter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there tooke sanctuarie. For the death of the earle of Warwick the king was not so glad, as hee was sorie for the Marques Mountacute, whom he tooke to be his friend. The corps of these two were brought to the Church of Pauls, where they lay open in two coffins two daies, and then were interred. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

The earle of Warwicke and his brother slaine.

¶ In the narration of this historie, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, both some deale differ from Robert Fabian. Neither doe I doubt, but both they had their authors, by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this I maruell, that Polydore hauing of so many things which he neuer saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite vnto us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more doe I maruell, or rather lament, if it be true that I haue heard, that he not only nameth no author vnto vs, but also burned and heape of our English stories vnknowne, after the finishing of his, in the dayes of king Henry the 8. But now to our text againe.

Difference betweene Polydore and Fabian.

Hall followeth Polydore.

Polydore is said to haue burned a number of our English writers.

All this while yet Queene Margaret with young Prince Edward her sonne, was scarce come ouer, being long let with contrary windes, who at length in the moneth of Aprill arriuing at Weimouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the forerehill tidinges of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earle of Warwicke and his brother, and of the prosperous successe of king Edward: was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things contrarie to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with her selfe, lamenting her husband, bewayling her sonne, curling her comming, and crying out of Fortune, as though blinde Fortune were the that gouerneth times and tides, rewarding iust punishments to vniust deseruings of men, and not the secret power and terrible iustice of almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that Queene, being not able to beare the vehemencie of her passion (who rather should haue sorowed the dolorous death of duke Humfrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked) that her senses failed her, her spirits were taken, her breath decaied, and life almost gone, she fell to the ground as one that would rather be then liue. In this desolate case, Queene Margaret leaning now to vnfold her friends from her foes, when it was too late, fraught full of beautifelle, without solace, or hope of remedie, she with her sonne and her companie departed for the next refuge, to a Monasterie of Monkes called Beaulie in Hamphire, there to take sanctuarie, and priuiledge of the house.

Queene Margaret taketh sanctuarie.

Ex Polyd. Lib. 24.

Queene Margaret moued by her friends to leme warres against king Edward.

Yet all hearts were not found nor subdued in England, especiallie Edmund duke of Somerset, with Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney, earle of Deuonshire, Jasper earle of Pembroke, Lord Wenlocke, John Longbrother, being Prior of the knights of Rhodes in Saint Johns. These hearing of the queenes returne, with speede resorted to her; by whom the being somewhat quickned in her spirites, and animated to warre, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsell: which was, in all the hote haste, to renew warre against king Edward, being now vnpounded, by reason his armie was now dispersed, and chiefest of his leadours slaine.

Here

here great hope of victorie was shewed, great promises made. Although the queens mind was, being more carefull for the yong prince, then for her selfe, to send him ouer into France, before some proofe or triall made: yet following the contrarie counsell of them, and partly cast off by the hastinesse of time, which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Iasper earle of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

K. Edward hearing of their intent, commeth with speed to meet them.

King Edward hauing intelligence of all these doings, first suddenly our certaine light horsemen, to chase aboute through the West parts, what wanes his enemies do take. In the meane time, he bing all celeritie to meete them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as hee could make about London, and first commeth to Abingdon, from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that the queene was at Bathe, thinking to encounter with them, before they diuerted into Wales to the earle of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queene vnderstanding the king to be so nigh, remoueth from Bathe to Bristow, sending word in the meane while to the citizens of Glocester, that they would grant her leaue safely to passe by their citie. Which when it could not bee obtained, with her armie she departed from Bristow to Tewkesburie: where the duke of Somerset knowing king Edward to be at hand at his verie backe, willed the queene there to stay, and in no wise to fice backward for certaine doubts that might bee cast. Although this counsell was against the consent of many other captaines, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earle of Pembroke with his armie were with them associate: yet the mind of the duke preuailed. The place was prefired, the field pitched, the time of battell came, the king was looked for: who being within one mile of Tewkesburie, with like industrie and policie, as his enemies had done, disposed his armie likewise in their array. The celeritie of the king taking the time, was to him great aduantage: who otherwise if hee had deferred, till they had comyoyned with the earle of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

The battell of Tewkesburie.

A great matter to take a thing in time.

Of the battell I will thus repeateth, adding more then Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although hee was strongly incamped, yet thorough the occasion or policie of the duke of Glocester, which had the foreward, the kings part, a little recoiling backe, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlocke, who had the middle ward, would haue followed hard at his backe. The duke of Glocester, whether for shame rather then of policie, espying his aduantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Wherevpon the contrarie part was ekcloses of feare, and so much the more, because they were separated from their companie. The duke of Somerset not a little agreeued at the vnlookt for mate, returneth to the middle ward, where he seeing the lord Wenlocke abiding still, reuiled him, and called him traytor, and with his axe strikerh the braines out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydor; but the weth not his author where he had it. Polydor writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the queenes armie being ouerset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and the hauing no freshe souldiers to furnish the field, was at last ouermatched, and for the most part slaine or taken. In which battell there named to bee slaine, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Wenlocke, lord John duke of Somerset his brother, besides other. Among them that were taken, was queene Margaret found in her chariot almost dead for sorowe, prince Edward, Edmund duke of Somerset, John Prior of Saint Johns, with twentie other knights: all which were beheaded within two dates after, the queene onlie and the yong prince excepted. Which prince Edward being then brought to the kings presence, was demanded of him, how he durst be so bold to stand in battell against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith that after the field was finished, the king made proclamation, that whosoeuer would bring prince Edward to him, should haue annuitie of an hundred pound during his life, and the princes life to be saued. Wherevpon sir Richard Crofts not mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince (as is said) how he durst so presumptuouslie enter this realme with his banner displaied against him, he answered, saying: that hee came to recouer his fathers kingdome and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending: whereat (the Lord Wolrdon) the king with his hand disdainfullie thrust him from him. Other say that the king stroke him on the face with his gauntlet.

Queene Margaret ouercome in battell.

Prince Edward slaine.

Prince Edward brought to the king.

Queene Margaret sent to the Tower of London.

At the speaking of these words was present George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, and the earle lord Williams Hastings. Who vpon the same, vncourteously falling vpon the prince did slay him. Queene Margaret being brought as prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of her father duke of Angeow, for a great summe of money which hee borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof, was faine to yeeld vnto him the title of the kingdome of Sicile, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous warres, yeelded to God his heartie thankes, and caused publikelie through his realme, solemne processions to be kept that dates together. And thus much, and too much, touching the warres of king Edward the fourth, which was done anno 1471. Ex Polyd. & alijs.

Publike processions for victory.

Anno 1471

The death of king Henry 6.

The same yeere, and about the same time, vpon the ascension euen, king Henrie being prisoner in the tower, departed, after he had raigned in all xxxvii yeres, and vj. moneths. Polydor and Hall following him, affirme that he was slaine with a dagger by Richard duke of Glocester, the kings brother, for the more quiet and safegard of the king his brother. In the historie intituled Scala mundi, I finde these words: Quodin turri, in vigilia ascensionis Dominicæ ibidem feliciter moriens, per Thamesiam nauicula vectus ad Abbatiam de Chertesey deductus, ibi sepultus est: That is, that king Henrie being in the tower vpon the ascension euen, there happilie, or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boate, to the abbey of Chertesey, and there buried.

Ex Scalamundi.

King Henry buried at Chertesey.

Polydore, after he hath described the vertues of this king, recordeth that king Henrie the seuenth did afterward translate the corps of him from Chertesey to Windsore; and addeth moreouer, that by him certaine miracles were wrought. For the which cause the said king Henry the seuenth (saith he) laboured with pope Julius, to haue him canonized for a Saint; but the death of the king was the let, why that matter proceeded not. Edward Hall writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause, why king Henries fainting went not forward, to be this: for that the fees of canonizing of a king, wherof so great a quantitie at Rome (more then of another, bishop or prelate) that the said king thought it better to keepe the monie in his chests, then with the emporerthing of the realme to buy the same, and pay so much for a new bole day of S. Henrie in the Kalendar, &c. Ex Hallo.

Polydores miracles.

A king faint, to braue warre in the popes matter.

Ex Edw. Hall.

Anno 1473

John Goose burned.

John Goose sir English, so as much as John Hus in the Bohemian tongue.

Which if it be true, it might bee replied then to pope Julius, that if popes be higher then kings in the earth, and especiallie in heauen, why then is a pope Saint so cheape in the market place of Rome, and a king Saint so deare? Againe, if the dalnation of things in all markets and burses, bee according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought, what reason is it, seeing the sainting of a king beareth a bigger sale then the sainting of any pope in heauen, but that kings should be aboue popes also vpon the earth? Sed extra locum, as I doe not doubt, but that king Henry was a good and a iust prince, if hee had not otherwise been abused by some: so touching the ruins of his house, I thinke not contrarie, but it came not without the iust appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancasters house were such enemies to Gods people, and for the burning of the lord Cobham and many other: or else for the vniust displacing of king Richard 2. or else thirdly for the cruell slaughter of Humfrey the good duke of Glocester his vncle: wherof sufficiencie hath been said before.

The cause examined of the fall of Lancaster house.

Example of Gods iust iudgement of correction.

¶ During the time of these doings, being about the yeare of our Lord 1465. there was here in England a certaine frier Carmelite, who about the feeste of Michael the archangell preached at Pauls in London, that our Lord Iesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in pouertie, and did beg: To whose opinion and doctrine, the prouincial of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other Doctours mo. and brethren of the same order: vnto whom also adioyned certaine of the Iacobites, and diuerse did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their publike lectures and preaching, to the vttermost of their cunning, did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driuen for a while to keepe silence. Such like to those times I might well resemble these our dayes now present, with our tumultuous contention of coymes and fashions of garments. But I put my selfe here in Pythagoras schole, and keepe silence with these Friers. In the route moreouer it followeth, that this beggerly question of the begging friers, whether Christ did begge, or no, went so farre, that at length it came to the popes eares Paulus 2. who was no begger ye may be sure. After that the fame of his doctrine, mounting ouer the Alpes, came flying to the court of Rome, which was about the assumption of the virgin Mary, the yeare next following, ann. 1465. it brought with it such an euill smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to sticke: for begging to them was worse then hie heresie. Therefore the holy father pope Paulus the 2. to repeelle the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise perhaps might haue set his whole kitchin on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoones diretcth down his Bull into England, intituating to the prelates here, Hæresim illam pestiferè asserentem, quod Christus publicè mendicauit, esse antiquitus à Romanis Pontificibus, cum suis Concilijs damnatam, & eam pro damnata, vadique declarandam, & conculcandam, &c. That is, that this heresie, which pestiferously doth affirme that Christ did openly begge, was condemned of old time by the Bishops of Rome, and his Councels, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be troden downe vnder all mens feete, &c. This was in the same yeare when prince Edward, king Edwards sonne

A Carme frier preacheth at Pauls crosse.

Contention in the church whether Christ was a begger or not.

Times compared.

Ex hist. Scalamundi fol. vlt.

The popes determined sentence, that Christ was no begger.



King Edward vanquished nine battels, being himselfe present at them all.

Charles duke of Burgoyne failed not his promise with the king.

Peace betweene the two kings bought with the French kings money.

Marriage betweene the French kings sonne, and king Edwards daughter, made and broken.

King Iames of Scotland goeth from his promise of marriage.

Warwicke reconciled.

Anno 1473

The burning of Iohn Goose.



The vnworthy death of the duke of Clarence.

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of George duke of Clarence, the kings second brother: of whom relation was made before, how he assisted king Edward his brother, against the earle of Warwicke at Barnet field, and helped him to the crowne, and now after all these benefits, was at length thus requited, that (for what cause it is vncertaine) he was apprehended and cast into the tower, where he being adiudged for a traitor, was priuilie drowned in a butte of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death, it cannot certainly bee affirmed. Diuers coniectures and imaginations there be diuerslie put forth. Some partlie imputed to the Quenes displeasure. Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his seruant, which was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or inchantment. Another taine there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise vpon the vaine feare of a foolish prophecie, comming no doubt (if it were true) by the crafty operation of Sathan, as it doth many times else happen among Infidels and Gentiles, where Christ is not knowne: where among high princes and in noble houses, much mischiefe groweth, first murther and parricide, and thereby ruine of ancient families, and alteration of kingdomes. The effect of this prophecie (as the fame goeth) was this, that after king Edward, should one raigne, whose name should begin with G. And because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George, began with a G. therefore he began to be feared, and afterward priuily (as is aforesaid) was made away.

The burning of Iohn Goose.

The duke of Clarence drowned in a butte of Malmsey.

The causes of his death enquired.

The mischiefes that follow worke by false prophecies.

The prophecie of G.

¶ By these experiments and mischeuous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is easie to bee seene from what fountaine or author they proceed: that is, (no doubt) from Sathan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world: against whose deceitfull delusions, christian men must be well instructed, neither to marueil greatly at them, though they seeme strange, nor yet to beleeue them, though they happen true. For Sathan being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can lay truth for a mischeuous end, and yet for all that is but a Sathan. So the dreame of Abygeles, seeing a time to grow out of his daughter, which should couer all Asia, and seeing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdome, prooued true in the sequell thereof, and yet notwithstanding of Sathan it came, and caused cruell murther to follow, first of the shepheards childe, then of the same of Harpagus, whom he fet before his owne father to eate. Ex Iust. lib. 1. Like wise Cæsus was prophetically admonished by his dreame, to take him for his guide, whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dreame fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blinde Oracles of the Idolatrous Gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometime they hit the truth to a mischeuous purpose. The like iudgement also is to be giuen of Merlines prophecies. The sorceresse mentioned 1. Reg. 28. raising by Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, there was a damsell hauing the spirit of Pythō, who also told truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The vncleane spirites in giuing testimony of Christ, said the truth, yet because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Gods iust iudgement in punishing false prophecies.

Ex Iust. lib. 1.

Merlines prophecies.

1. Reg. 28.

Acts 16.

A spirite of diuination which could giue and foreshewe things past, present, and to come, by which knowledge God many times permitteth to be reuealed.

Ex Paulo Diac.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valence the emperor: that he also had a blinde prophecie, not much vnlike to this of king Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with F. and S. Whereupon one Theodosius, trusting vpon the prophecie, began rebellioully to hope for the crowne, and for his labor felt the paines of a traitor. Notwithstanding, the effect of the prophecie followed: For after Valence, succeded Theodosius. Wherefore christian princes and noble men, and all Gods faithfull people must beware and learne.

1. First, that no man be inquisitiue or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, beside those things onely which are promised, and expressed in the word.

2. Secondly, to vnderstand what difference there is, and how to discerne the voice of God from the voice of father.

3. Thirdly, how to resist and auoid the danger of false and diuelish prophecies.

Three things to be noted concerning false prophecies.

Pompey there be, which being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giuing thanks to God for their life which they haue, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end shall come, how long princes shall raigne, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same, get vnto them soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, conuerers, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitiue to search as apte, but the diuell is as ready to answer them, who either falsly doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to worke them perpetuall care and sorrow. Thus was pope Siluester the sorcerer circumuented by the diuell, who told him that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out. For as hee was saying his masse at a chapell in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sicke, and within three daies after died: vide sup. pag. 151. Do king Henry the fourth also it seemeth it was prophecied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem, who being brought to the abbats chamber of Westminster, and hearing of the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died: pag. 513.

Vid. sup. pag. 151

Vid. sup. pag. 518

By such deceitfull prophecies, it cannot bee lamented enough to see what inconuenience both publike and priuate groweth

False trust by diuelliſh hope ſtirred.

Ambroſius in Examer.

Ioan. Pic. Mirandul. contra Astrologos. lib. 2. cap. 4. Experience of falſe prophecies.

This man by falſe diſſimulation, was taken, brought in priſon, and brought into England.

A preſumptuous matter for a man to be curious of times and things to come.

The ſecond part, how prophecies are to be diſcerned.

In the ſecond part is two things to be conſidered.

The ſecond thing to be conſidered in prophecies.

growth to the life of man, either ceaſing them falſly to truſt where they ſhould not, or elſe wickedly to perpetrate that they would not: as may appeare both by this king, and alſo diuers mo. So was Pompeius, Craſſus, and Ceſar, (as writeth Cicero) deceiued by the falſe Chaldeis, in declaring to them that they ſhould not die but in their beds, and with wealth, and in their old age. Of ſuch a falſe truſt, riſing vpon falſe prophecies, S. Ambroſe in his booke of Sameron writeth, ſpeaking of fame, which being in thoſe parts greatly deſired, was promiſed and prophecied of one certaine to fall vpon ſuch a boy, which was at the changing of the new moone: but ſaith S. Ambroſe) there fell no ſuch faine at all, till at the praiers of the church, the ſame was obtained: giuing vs to vnderſtand, that fame commeth not by the words of man, nor by the beginnings of the moone, but by the prouidence and mercy of our Creator. Ex Ambroſio in Examer.

Ioan. Picus earle of Mirandola, in his excellent bookes written againſt theſe vaine ſtar-tellers and Aſtrologers, lib. 2. writeth of one Ondeſaphus a prince, to whom it was prognoſticated by a famous cunning man in that ſcience, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he ſhould inioy long continuance of health, and proſperous life; who notwithſtanding the ſelfeſame yeare, and in the firſt yeere of his marriage, deceaſed: and after diuers other examples added moreouer vpon the ſame, he inferreth alſo mention, and the name of a certaine rich matron in Rome, named Conſtantia, who in like maner departed the ſame yeere, in which ſhe received great promiſes by theſe Southſaiers and Aſtrologers, of a long and happy life, ſaying to her husband theſe words: Behold (ſaith ſhe) how true be the prognoſtications of theſe South-tellers: If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whole names I would in no caſe to be blemiſhed with any ſpot, otherwiſe I could recite the names of certaine, eſpecially one, which taking his iourney, in a certaine place, after diligent calculation and forecaſting of the ſucceſſe and good ſpeed of his iourney, was notwithſtanding in the ſame iourney, appoynted and brought where he would not, after that, neuer inioying good day, in ſhort time he departed. In Baſill this I my ſelfe heard of one which knew and was conuerſant with the parte, who hauing a curious delight in theſe ſpeculations of chances and euents to come, by his calculation noted a certaine day, which he miſtruſted ſhould be fatall vnto him, by ſomething which at that day ſhould befall vpon him. Whereupon he determined with himſelfe, all that day to keepe him ſure and ſafe within his chamber, where he reaching vp his hand to take downe a boke, the boke falling downe vpon his head, gaue him his deaths wound, and ſhortly after hee died vpon the ſame. Of theſe and ſuch like examples the world is full, and yet the curiouſneſſe of mans head will not refraine, ſtill to plucke the apple of this vnlucky and forbidden tree.

Beſide all this, what murther and parricide commeth by the feare of theſe prophecies, in great bloods and noble houſes, I referre it vnto them which reade and well aduiſe the ſtories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdomes mo, both Chriſtened and Turkiſh, whereof another place ſhall ſerue as well (Chriſt willing) more largely to intreat, and particularly to diſcourſe. To this pertaineth alſo the great inconuenience and hinderance that groweth by the feare of ſuch prophecies in the vocation of men, ſo manuch as many there be, which fearing, ſome one danger, ſome another, leaue their vocations vndone, and follow vnordinate waies. As if one hauing a blind prophecy, that his deſtruction ſhould be on the day, would wake and doe all his buſineſſe by night and candle light: and ſo forth in other ſeuerall caſes of men and women, as euery one in his owne conſcience knoweth his owne caſe beſt.

The ſecond thing to bee conſidered in theſe prophecies, is rightly to diſcerne and vnderſtand, as neere as wee can, the difference betweene the prophecies proceeding from God, and the falſe prophecies counterfeited by Sathan. For Sathan ſometime plaieth Gods Ape, and tranſformeth himſelfe into an Angell of light; bearing ſuch a reſemblance and colour of truth and Religion, that vnleſſe a wiſe man is able to diſcerne the one from the other, and the moſt part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which bee of God, which bee not, three things are to bee obſerued.

1. Firſt, whether they goe ſimply and plainly, or whether they be doubtfull and ambiguous: whereof the one ſeemeth to taſte of Gods ſpirit, ſuch as be the prophecies of the ſcripture: the other to come otherwiſe, hauing a double or doubtfull interpretation. Although the time of Gods prophecies, as alſo of miracles is commonly and ordinarily expired: yet if the Lord in theſe daies, notwithſtanding doe ſhew any prophecie, by the ſimpleneſſe and plainneſſe thereof, partly it may be diſcerned.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be priuate, tending to his family or ſtate, or publike. For as the Scriptures, ſo commonly the prophecies of God haue no priuat interpretation, but generall: forſomuch as the care of Gods holy ſpirit is not reſtrained partially to one perſon more then to another, but generally and indifferently reſpecteth the whole church of his elect in Chriſt Jeſus his Sonne. Therefore ſuch prophecies as priuatly are touching the ſtates of houſes or names of men, riſing or falling of priuat and particular families, are worthily to be ſuſpected.

3. The third note and ſpeciall argument to deſcry the true prophecies of God, from the falſe prophecies of ſatan and his falſe prophets, is this, to conſider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be ſpirituall, or whether they tend to any glory or ſtate of this preſent world, or whether they tend to the ſpirituall inſtruction, admonition, or comfort of the publike church.

Now remaineth thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be inſtructed next how to eſchewe the feare and perill of all diuelliſh prophecies which make againſt vs. Wherein two ſpeciall remedies are to be marked of euery chriſtian man, whereby he may be ſafe and ſure againſt all danger of the enemy. The firſt is, that we ſet the name of Chriſt Jeſus the Sonne of God againſt them, through a true faith in him: knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared, to diſſolue the workes of the diuell. And againe, this is the ſentence (ſaith the ſcripture) that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. Whatſoeuer then ſatan worketh, or can worke againſt vs, be it neuer ſo forcible, faith in Chriſt will vanquiſh it. Such a mateſly is in our faith, beleeuing in the name of the Sonne of God.

The other remedy is faithfull praier, which obtaineth in the name of Chriſt, all things with the Lord. So that wicked fiend, which had killed before ſeuen husbands of Tobias wife could not hurt him, entring his matrimony with earneſt praier: ſo no more ſhall any ſinniſter prophecie preuaile, where praier out of a faithfull heart, doth ſtriue againſt it. Neither am I ignorant, that againſt ſuch temporall euils and puniſhments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth alſo in this, when Sathan findeth nothing, wherein greatly to accuſe our conſcience. But becauſe ſuch a conſcience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to flie to repentance, with amendement of life. For many times where ſinne doth raigne in our mortall bodies, there alſo the operation of Sathan is ſtrong againſt vs, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternall ſaluation, neither worke nor merit hath any place, but onely our faith in Chriſt. And thus much briefly touching the two ſpeciall remedies, whereby the operation of all diuelliſh prophecies may bee auoided and deſeated.

Now many there be, which leauing theſe remedies aforeſaid, and the ſafe protection which the Lord hath ſet vp in Chriſt, take other waies of their owne, ſeeking by their owne policie, how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch prophecies, either in eſchewing the place and time ſubtilly, or elſe cruelly by killing the party whom they feare: whereof commeth iniury, murther, and parricide, with other miſchiefes in commonwealths vnſpeakeable. To whom commonly it commeth ſo to paſſe, that whereby they thinke moſt to ſaue themſelues, by the ſame meanes they fall moſt into the ſnare, being ſubuerted and confounded in their owne policie, for that they truſting to their owne deuice, and not vnto the Lord, which onely can diſſolue the operation of Sathan, the Lord ſo iuſtly their ſeruice into a trap, thereby to take them, wherby they thinke moſt ſurely to eſcape. Examples whereof wee ſee not onley in Aſtyages, king of the Medes aforeſaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other like euents, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our eies. So Queene Margaret thought her then cocheſture, when duke Humfrey was made away; when nothing elſe was her confuſion ſo much, as the loſſe and lacke of that man.

So if king Richard the ſecond had not exerciſed ſuch cruelty vpon his vncle Thomas, duke of Glocester, he had not receiued ſuch wrong by king Henry the fourth as hee did, pag. 473. Likewiſe this king Edward the fourth, if he had ſuffered his brother George, duke of Clarence to haue lined, his houſe had not ſo gone to wracke by Richard his other brother, as it did. What befell vpon the Student of Aſtrology in the Vniuerſity of Baſil, ye heard before, who if he had not meruailed himſelfe in his chamber for feare of his diuination, had eſcaped the ſtroke that fell. Now in auoiding ſuch prophetical euents which hee ſhould not haue ſearched, hee fell into that which hee did feare. Theſe few examples for inſtruction ſake, I thought by occaſion to inferre, not as though theſe were alone; but by theſe few to admonith the Reader of infinite other, which daily come in practiſe of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in priuate houſes, as in weales publike.

Wherefore briefly to repeat what before ſimply hath been ſaid touching this matter, ſeeing that ſathan through ſuch falſe prophecies, hath and yet doth daily practiſe ſo manifold miſchiefes in the world, ſetting brother againſt brother, nephew againſt the vncle, houſe againſt houſe, and realm againſt realme, kindling hatred where loue was, and ſubuerting priuily the ſimplicity of our chriſtian faith; therefore the firſt thing and beſt is, for godly men not to buſie their braines about ſuch phantaſies, neither in delighting in them, nor in harkening to

The diuell readie to anſwere in matters of diuination.

Curioſities of prophecies to be auoyded.

The 3. part, how to auoid the danger of diuelliſh prophecies.

Two rare rules againſt diuelliſh prophecies.

The firſt remedie.

The ſecond remedy againſt dangerous prophecies.

Mans policie can nothing ho againſt the diuell.

Only Chriſt able to withſtand the power of Sathan. Pſal. 90.

No power can withſtand Sathan, but only Chriſt, and our faith in him.

The ſtrength of a Chriſtian mans faith in Chriſt.



to them, nor in ſearching for them, either by ſouthſaier, or by coniuration, or by familiar, or by aſtrologer: knowing and conſidering this, that whoſoeuer ſhall be deſirous or readie to ſearch for them, the diuell is as readie to anſwere his curioſitie therein. For as once in the old time of Gentilitie, he gaue his Oracles by Idols, and Prieſts of that time: ſo the ſame diuell, although he worketh not now by Idols, yet hee craftilie can giue now anſwere by Aſtrologers, and coniurers in theſe our dayes, and in ſo doing, both to ſay truth, and yet to deceiue men when he hath ſaid. Wherefore, leauing off ſuch curioſitie, let euery Chriſtian man walke ſimply in his prefect vocation, referring his things not in the word perpeſſed, vnto him which faith in his word: Non eſt veſtrum ſcire tempora & momenta temporum, &c. It is not for you to know the times, and ſeaſons of times, which the father hath kept in his owne power, &c.

Secondly, in this matter of Prophecies, requiſite it is (as is ſaid) for euery Chriſtian man to learne, how to diſcerne and diſtinct the true prophecies, which proceede of God, and the falſe Prophecies, which come of Sathan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be diſcerned: ſo neceſſarie it is, that euery good man doe rightly vnderſtand the ſame, to the intent that he knowing and ſeeing the danger of the one, may be the more certaine and conſtant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, becauſe it is not ſufficient that the deceitfull prophecies of the diuell be knowen, but alſo that they be reſiſted, I haue alſo declared, by what meanes the operation of Sathans works and Prophecies are to be ouercome: that is, not with ſtrength and policie of man, for that there is nothing in man, able to counteruaile the power of that enemie. Vnder heauen there is nothing elſe that can preuaile againſt his works, but only the name of the Lord Jeſus the ſonne of God, not outwardly pronounced onely with our lips, or ſigned in our foreheads with the outward croſſe, but inwardly apprehended and diuelling in our hearts by a ſilent faith, firmely and earneſtly truſting vpon the promiſes of God, giuen and alled vnto vs in his name: For ſo it hath pleaſed God moſt fatherly tolſedome, to ſet him vp, to be both our righteouſneſſe before himſelfe, and alſo to be our ſtrength againſt the enemie, accepting our faith in his ſonne, in no leſſe price, then he accepteth the workes and worthineſſe of the ſame his ſonne, in whom we doe beleeue.

Such is the ſtrength and effect of faith both in heauen, in earth, and alſo in hell: In heauen to iuſtifie, in earth to preſerue, in hell to conquere. And therefore when any ſuch Prophecie, or any other thing is to vs obiected, which ſeemeth to tend againſt vs, let vs firſt conſider whether it ſauour of Sathan, or not. If it doe, then let vs flee our ſuccour, not in our ſelues, where it doth not dwell, neither let vs kill, nor ſlay, nor chaunge our vocation therefore, following vnordinate wayes: but let vs run to our Caſtle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jeſus, remembring the true promiſe of the Pſalme: Qui habitat in adiutorio altiſſimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur. That is, Who ſo putteth his truſt in the ſuccour of the Lord, ſhall haue the God of heauen to his protector. And then ſhall it afterward follow in the ſame Pſalme: Ipſe liberabit te à laqueo venantium, & à verbo aſpero. That is: And he ſhall deliuer him from the ſnare of the hunter, and from all euill words, and Prophecies, be they neuer ſo ſharpe or bitter againſt him, &c. And thus much by the occaſion of king Edward, of Prophecies.

Now hauing long taried at home in deſcribing the ſtumbles and troubles within our owne land, we will let out our ſkoy more at large, to conſider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places alſo of Chriſtes Church, as well here in Europe vnder the Pope, as in the Eaſt parts vnder the Turke, firſt deducing our ſkoile from the time of Sigiſmund, where before we left: Which Sigiſmund, as is aboue recorded, was a great doer in the Councell of Conſtance againſt Johan Hus, and Hieronime of Prage. This Emperour had euer euill lucke, fighting againſt the Turkes. Twice he warred againſt them, and in both the battailes was diſcomfited and put to flight: once about the Citie of Mylia, fighting againſt Baiazetes the great Turke. an. 1395. the ſecond time fighting againſt Celebinus the ſonne of Baiazetes, about the towne called Columbachum. But ſpecially after the Councell of Conſtance, wherein were condemned and burned thoſe two godly Martyrs, more vnproſperous ſucceſſe did then follow him, fighting againſt the Bohemians, his owne ſubiects, an. 1420. by whom he was repulſed in ſo many battailes, to his great diſhonour, during all the life of Ziſca, and of Procopius, as is afore more at large expreſſed: who was ſo beaten both of the Turkes, and at home of his owne people, that he neuer did encounter with the Turkes after. Then followed the Councell of Baſil, after the beginning whereof within fiue yeeres, this Sigiſmundus, which was Emperour, king of Hungarie, and king of Boheme, died in Pauania, an. 1437.

Sigiſmundus Emperour.

Sigiſmundus proſperous in his warres.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Turkes.

Sigiſmundus ouercome of the Bohemians.

A briefe rehearſall of the matter of prophecies before paſſed.

¶ Albertus Emperour.

Albert duke of Auſtrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, and king alſo of Boheme.

THis Sigiſmund left behinde him one onely daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, Duke of Auſtrich: by reaſon whereof, he was aduanced to the empire, and ſo was both Duke of Auſtrich, Emperour, king of Hungary, and king alſo of Boheme. But this Albert (as is afore declared) being an enemie and a diſquieter to the Bohemians, and eſpecially to the good men of Thabor, as hee was preparing and fetting forth againſt the Turkes, in the meane time died, in the ſecond peare of his Empire, an. 1439. leauing his wife great with childe, who bring then in Hungarie, and thinking to be great with a daughter, called to her the Princes and the chiefe eſtates of the Realme, declaring to them that ſhee was but a woman, and inſufficient to the gouernance of ſuch a ſtate: and moreouer how the thought her ſelfe to be with childe of a daughter, and therefore required them to prouide among them, ſuch a Prince and gouernour, (reſeruing the right of the kingdome to her ſelfe) as were fit and able vnder her, to haue the regiment of the land committed. The Turke in the meane while being eleuated and incouraged with his proſperous victories againſt Sigiſmundus aforeſaid, began then more fiercely to inuade Hungarie and thoſe parties of Chriſtendome. Wherefore the Hungarians making the more haſte, conſulted among themſelues, to make duke Uladiſlaus, brother to Caſimirus king of Polonie, their king.

Albertus Emperour but two yeares. Elizabeth daughter to Sigiſmundy, wife to Albert Emperour.

The Turke ingendreth to inuade Hungarie. Uladiſlaus brother to Caſimirus king of Polonia, made king of Hungarie.

But while this was in working betweene the Hungarians and Uladiſlaus the duke, in the meane ſpace Elizabeth brought forth a ſonne called Ladiſlaus, who being the lawfull heire of the kingdome, the queene calleth backe againe her former word, minding to reſerue the kingdome for her ſonne, being the true heire thereof, and therefore refuſeth marriage with the ſaid Uladiſlaus, which he had before pretended. But Uladiſlaus ioyning with a great part of the Hungarians, preſſing ſtill in the condition before granted, would not giue ouer: by reaſon whereof, great contention and diuiſion ſundry among the people of Hungarie, Amurathes, the great Turke, taking his aduantage of their diſcord, and partly ſurpriſed with pride of his former ſucceſſe againſt Sigiſmund aforeſaid, with his whole maine and force, inuaded the Realme of Hungarie: where Hyniades ſurnamed Uaiuoda Prince of Tranſiluania, ioyning with the new king Uladiſlaus, did both together ſet againſt the Turke, an. 1444. and there Uladiſlaus the newe king of Hungaria, the fourth peare of his kingdome was ſlaine. Elizabeth with her ſonne, was fled in the meane while, to Frederick the Emperour. Of Hyniades Uaiuoda the noble captaine, and of his acts, and alſo of Ladiſlaus Chriſt willing, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter, in his time and place.

Elizabeth Q. of Hungarie brought to bed of a ſonne child. Ladiſlaus prince of Hungarie borne. Elizabeth and Albert diſcord in Hungarie.

The Turke againſt Hungarie. Hyniades Uaiuoda. Uladiſlaus K. of Hungarie, ſlaine in warre.

¶ Fredericus the third Emperour.

AFter the deceaſe of Albert, ſucceeded in the Empire Fredericus the third, duke of Auſtria, an. 1440. By whom it was procured (as in haue before ſignified) that Pope Felix eleated by the Councell of Baſil, did reſigne his Popedome, to Pope Nicolas the fift, vpon this condition, that the ſaid Pope Nicolas ſhould ratifie the acts decred in the ſaid Councell of Baſill. In the dayes of this Emperour, much warre and diſſention raged almoſt thorough all chriſtian realmes, in Auſtria, Hungaria, Polonia, in France, in Burgoine, and alſo here in England, betweene king Henrie the ſixth, and king Edward the fourth, as ye haue alreadie heard, whereby Edward the fourth, as ye haue alreadie heard, with little maiſtrie, to haue ouerturned all the Chriſtian Realmes in Europe, had not the prouidence of our mercifull Lord otherwiſe prouided to keepe Amurathes the Turke occupied in other ciuill warres at home in the meane while. Unto this Fredericke came Elizabeth (as is afore ſaid) with Ladiſlaus her ſonne: by whom he was nourriſhed and entertained a certaine ſpace, till at length, after the death of Uladiſlaus aforeſaid, king of Hungarie (which was ſlaine in battaile by the Turkes) the men of Auſtria, though the inſtigation of Ulricus Cilingerus and of Ulricus earle of Cilicia riſing vp in armour, required of Fredericke the Emperour, either to giue them their young king, or elſe to ſtand to his owne defence.

Fredericus 3. Emperour.

Uladiſlaus K. of Hungarie ſlaine in battaile by the Turke.

When Fredericke heard this, neither would he render to them a ſodaine anſwere, neither would they abide any longer delay: and ſo the matter growing to warre, the new Citie was beſieged, where many were ſlaine, and much harme done. At length the Emperor inſpart being the weaker, the Emperour through the interuention of certaine Nobles of Germanie, reſtored Ladiſlaus vnto their hands, who being yet vnder age, committed his three kingdomes to three gouernours. Whereof Johan Hyniades the worthie captaine aboue mentioned, had the ruling of Hungarie: George Poſiebacius had Boheme: and Ulricus the Earle of Cilicia, had Auſtria. Which Ulrice, hauing the chiefe cuſtodie of the king, bare the greateſt authoritie aboue the reſt, a man as much full of ambition and tyrannie, as hee was hated almoſt of all the Auſtrians, and ſhortly after by the meanes of Cilingerus, was expulſed alſo from the king and the court, but afterward reſtored againe, and Cilingerus thruſt out. Such is the vnſtable condition of them which be nert in place about Princes. But this contention betweene them I ouerpaſſe.

Johan Hyniades, gouernour of Hungary vnder the king. Geoge Poſiebrachius gouernour of Boheme. Ulricus gouernour of Auſtrich.

Not long after, Ladiſlaus the yong king went to Boheme,

there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius (as is sayd) had the gouernance. But Ladislaus during all the time of his beeing there, though being much requested, yet would neither resort into the Churches, nor heare the seruice of them, which did draw after the doctrine of Hus. Insomuch that when a certaine Priest in the high tower of Prage, was appointed and addicted, after the manner of Priests, to say seruice before the king, being enclosed to hold with Iohn Hus and Hieronymus, the king disdaining at him, commaunded him to giue place and depart, or else he would send him downe headlong from the rocke of the tower: and so the good minister repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time the said Ladislaus, seeing the Sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called the Hussites, would doe thereunto no reuerence. Ex Aene. Syluio.

Ladislaus a young boy, king.

Ladislaus could not abide the sacrament of bread.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to bee longer then they wished: and that was not to the king vntowardnes, which made him to make the more haste away: but before he departed, hee thought first to visite the noble Citie Stratislauia in Sclesia. In the which Citie, the foresaid king Ladislaus being there in the high church, at seruice, many great princes were about him: Among whom was also George Pogiebracius, who then stood neerest to the king, vnto whom one Chiliarches playing the Parasite about the king (as the fashion is of such as faine themselues fooles, to make other men as very fooles as they) spake in this wise as followeth: With what countenance you doe behold this our seruice, I see right well, but your heart I doe not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our Religion seeme vnto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great princes, yea the king himselfe, doe follow one order and vniformitie? And why doe you then follow rather your Preacher Rochezana then these? Doe you thinke a few Bohemians to be more wise then all the Church of Christ besides? why then doe you not forsake that rude and rusticall people, and ioyne to these Nobles, as you are a noble man your selfe?

Chiliarches a Parasite about king Ladislaus.

To whom he answered a prudently with a pleasant mocke.

Then vnto this Pogiebracius sagely againe doth answere. If you speake these words of your selfe, saith he, you are not the man whom you faine your selfe to be: and so to you I answere, as not to a fole. But if you speake this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfie them. Heare therefore. As touching the Ceremonies of the Church, every man hath a conscience of his owne to follow. As for vs, we vse such ceremonies, as we trust doe please God: Neither is it in our abridgement to beleeue what we will our selues. The mind of man being perswaded with great reasons, is captiuated, will nee will he: and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawen, in some one way, and in no wise another. As for my selfe, I am fully perswaded in the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceiue men, going contrary to mine owne conscience, but I cannot deceiue God, who seeth the hearts of all: Neither shall it become mee to frame my selfe like to thy disposition. That which is meete for another, is not likewise conuenient for a noble man. And these words either take to thy selfe, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man, or else I referre them to those which set thee a work. Ex Aen. Syl. in Hist. Bohem.

An answere pertaining to a prudently Politique.

After the king was returned from the Bohemians againe to Austria, the Vngarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come vnto them. The gouernour of Vngarie (as yee before haue heard) was Ioannes Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Vlricus Earle of Cilica, did all he could with the king, to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him vp to Vienna, and there priuily to worke his death. But Huniades hauing theref of intelligence, offereth himselfe with Vngarie to serue his Prince, to all affaires: Out of the land where he was, it was neither best (said hee) for the king, nor safest for himselfe, to come. The earle being disappointed, came backe with certaine Nobles of the Court, to the borders of Hungarie, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or else to dispatch him. Huniades without in the fieldes, had he no talke or commune with him, within the towne he would not be brought. After that, an other traine also was laid for him, that vnder pretence of the kings safe-conduct, hee should meete the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades suspecting deceit, came vnbidde to the place appointed, where he neither seeing the king to come, nor the earle to haue any safe-conduct for him, was moued (and not without cause) against the earle, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, which went about to seeke his blood, but for the reuerence of the king, hee would spare him and let him go.

Vlricus earle of Cilica.

Huniades suspecting deceit, commeth not to the place appointed.

Huniades hath the better of his enemies.

Not long after this, the Turke with a great power of eighty thousand men, to the number of an hundred and fiftene thousand, arriued in Vngarie, where he laid siege to the Citie Alba. But through the merciful hand of God, Iohn Huniades, and Capistranus a certaine Minorite, with a small garrison of Christian souldiours, gaue him the repulse and put him to flight, with all his mightie host: Whereof more Christ willing) hereafter. Ex hist. Bohemic. Aen. Sylui. Huniades shortly after this victorie, deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earle did vnderstand, they came the more boldly into Hungarie, where he being receiued by Ladislaus Huniades sonne, into the towne of Alba: there viewed the places where the Turkes before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was comming first toward the towne, obediently he opened to him the gates. Foure thousand only of armed souldiours hee debarred from entring the Citie.

Vlricus Ladislaus resisteth into Hungarie.

Ladislaus Huniades sonne.

In the meane time while the king was there resident in the Citie, the earle with other Nobles did sit in counsaile, requiring also Ladislaus to resort vnto them: who first doubting with himselfe what he might doe, at length putteth on a pyne coate of male, and commeth to them. Whether the earle first began with him, or he with the Earle, it is not known. The opinion is of some, that Vlricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the kings souldiors. Howsoeuer the occasion began, this is vndoubted, that Ulricus taking his sword from his page, let fite at his head. To breake the blow, some putting by their handes, had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber brake it vpon them, and there incontinent slew Vlrick the earle, wounding and cutting him almost all to peeces: The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his minde: yet seeing there was then no other remedie, dissembled his griefe for a time.

Declare hereof Vlricus earle of Cilica and Ladislaus Huniades son.

Vlricus earle of Cilica slain.

From thence the king tooke his iourney againe to Buda, accompanied with the foresaid Ladislaus, who passing by the towne, where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many faire words to comfort her: and after he had there sufficiently repatled himselfe, with such pretence of dissembled loue, and fained fauour, that they were without all suspition and feare: from thence he set forward in his iourney, taking with him the two sonnes of Huniades, Ladislaus and Mathias, who were right readie to wait vpon him. The king being come to Buda (whether of his owne head, or by sinister counsell set on) when he had them at a banquet, caused both the sonnes of Huniades: to wit, Ladislaus and Mathias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus the elder sonne, to the place of execution, there to be beheaded: where meekely he suffered, being charged with no other crime, but this, published by the voyce of the crier, saying: Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebels against their Lord. Pouncrus writing of his death, addeth this moreouer, that after the hangman had three blowes at his necke, yet notwithstanding the said Ladislaus hauing his hands bound behind him after the third stroke, rose vp right vpon his feete, and looking vp to heauen, called vpon the Lord, and protested his innocencie in that behalfe: and so laying downe his necke againe, at the fourth blow was dispatched. Mathias the other brother was led captiue with the king vnto Austria. The rest of the captiues beake the prison and escaped.

The cruell dissimulation of Ladislaus the king.

The two sons of Huniades Ladislaus and Mathias.

Ladislaus Huniades sonne, innocently put to death.

A miraculous token at the death of Ladislaus.

Ex Pouncr. Chron. lib. 5.

It was not long after this crueltie was wrought vpon Ladislaus, the king being about the age of twentie and two yeres, that talke was made of the kings marriage, with Magdalene daughter to the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prage, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the Citie of Prage, Rochezana with a companie of ministers, such as were fauourers of Iohn Hus, and of sincere religion, came with all solemnitie to receiue the king, making there his oration to gratulate the kings most ioyfull and prosperous accesse into the same his owne realme and countrey of Boheme. Vnto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce the king would open his mouth to giue thankes to him, or any chearefull countenance vnto his companie, but fiercely seemed to frowne vpon them. In the next Pageant after these, came forth the Priests of the high Minister, after the most Popish manner, meeting him with procession, and with the Sacrament of the altar: For as Panacea among Physitions serueth for all diseases, so the Sacrament of the Popes altar, serueth for all pompes and pageants. First I must lie vpon the altar, then it must be holden vp with handes, then it must hang in the pixe, it must serue for the quicke, it must also helpe the dead, it must moreouer visite the sicke, it must walke about the Churchyard, it must goe about the streets, it must bee carried about the fieldes to make the grasse to grow, it must be had to the battaile, it must ride on horseback before the pope: And finally, it must welcome kings into Cities. Wherein these Catholike Fathers doe seeme somewhat to forget themselues. For if the pope, being inferiour to the Sacrament of the altar, at the comming of kings, doe vse to sit still while the kings come and kisse his feete, what reason is it that the Sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) aboue the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the towne? But this by the way of parenthesis: Let vs now continue the text.

Preparation to the kings marriage.

Ladislaus the king receiued in Bohemia. Ladislaus the king, an inuetiue against the Ladislaus.

The Sacrament of the altar vsed to many purposes.

Then Ladislaus this catholicke king, who had thrust himselfe before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his companie, had seene these catholicke priests with their procession, and

Ex Aenea Siluio in Hist. Bohem.



and especially with their blessed Sacrament, to come: with all reuerence and much deuotion, helighted downe from his horse, he embraced the croslle and kissed it, and with chearefull countenance saluted the Priests in order. All this while his young wife was not yet come out of France, but Legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other Legates also were sent the same time, to the Emperour Frederick, for conclusion of peace. The third Legacie was directed likewise to Pope Calixtus about Religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The author of this storie (which was Pope Pius himselfe) declareth further the opinion of some to bee, that king Ladislaus the same time had intended, to make a finall end and destruction of all that set in Boheme, which held with the doctrine of Iohn Hus, and Hierome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholicke Princes, and Popish Prelates, which were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prage. For there should be first the Emperour Frederick, Elizabeth the kings mother, and his sisters, Elizabeth, and Anna, the Princes of Saronie, Baiozia, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other Princes of Rhene: many also of the Lords of France, besides the Popes Cardinals, Legats, Prelats, and other potestates of the Popes Church. Who if they had all together conuented in Boheme, no doubt but some great mischiefe had beene wrought there against the Hussites: against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismundus his grandfather, and Albertus his father, was euer an vtter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as seeth him.

A great conuents of catholicke princes intended against the Hussites.

Man purposeth and God disposeth.

Ex Aenea Silu.

And therefore, truely it is written of Aeneas Syluius in the same place, saying: De regimine Ciuitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est, quod homines possint (tum verò De religionis constitutione multo minus) magna magnus disponit Deus. That is: In regiment of Cities, in alteration of kingdomes, in ruling and gouerning the world, it is lesse then nothing that man can doe: it is the high God that ruleth high things. Wherevnto then I may well adde this moreouer, and say: that if the gouernance of worldly kingdomes standeth not in mans power, but in the disposition of God, much lesse is it then, that mans power can doe in the regiment and gouerning of religion. Example whereof in this purposed deuice of Princes, doth euidently appeare. For as this great preparation and solemnitie of marriage was in doing, and the princes readie to set forth, with a little turne of Gods holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this businesse, about the 21. day of November, An. 1461. this great aduersarie of Christs people, king Ladislaus, king of Boheme, of Hungarie, and prince of Austria sicknes, and within 36. houres died, some say of a Pestilent sore in his grine, some say of poyson. But howsoeuer it was, as it came not without the iust iudgement of God, reuenging the innocent blod of Ladislaus Huniades sonne, wrongfully put to death before: so by the opportune death of this king, the poore Churches of Boheme were gratiously deliuered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe: in whom the mightie kingdomes were coniopned and combined together, Austria, Hungaria, and Bohemia: which countries doe lie Southeall from England, in the farthest parts of all Germanie, toward Constantinople, and the dominion of the Turkes, and containe these principall townes in them.

The greater worke of God in deliuering his people from tyrants.

The death of king Ladislaus.

Blood reuenged by God.

The large dominion of Ladislaus.

- Austria, called once Panonia superior.
  - Vienna, which was besieged of the Turke, ann. 1533.
  - Meleck.
  - Neustat, noua Ciuitas.
  - Gretz.
  - S. Hypolit.
  - Lintz.
  - Stein.
  - Haynberg.
  - Kremsf.
  - Karolsburg.
  - Toben.
  - Rotzo.
  - Raba.
  - Lindenburg.
  - ¶ To Austria bee adioyning also certaine Prouinces and Earledomes, as:
    - Stiria. } Prouinces.
    - Carinthia. } Prouinces.
    - Croatia. } Prouinces.
    - Cilicia. } Earledomes.
    - Tyrolentz. } Earledomes.
- Vngaria, which was once called Pannonia inferior.
  - Buda. Ofen.
  - Strigonium.
  - Kalachia.
  - Varadinum.
  - Nitria. { Noua.
  - Nicopolis. { Vetus.
  - Agria.
  - Oldaw,
  - Bossen.
  - Sabaria.
  - ¶ This Hungaria, was first called Pannonia, or Pœnia. After the coming of the Huns it was called Hungaria. Of which came Attila, which destroyed Italy, about the yere of the Lord 440. Thorough Hungaria, runneth Danubius, hauing on the West side, Austria, and Bohemia, on the East, Seruia, on the South side Polonia, &c. The most of this Hungarie, is now vnder the Turk: which Turkes first came into Europe. An. 1211.
- Bohemia.
  - Prage.
  - Pilzen.
  - Thabor.
  - Budwis.
  - Kolm, or Kœlu.
  - Egra.
  - Kuttenberg.
  - Leimiritz.
  - Laun.
  - Raconicke.
  - Glataw.
  - Bern. or Beraun.
  - Bruck. Most.
  - Gretz. Hradetz.
  - Aust.
  - Maut. Myto.
  - Hof.
  - Iaromir.
  - Deb. Biela.
  - Lantzhut.
  - Gilawy.
  - Kupka.
  - Krumaw.
  - Pardubitz.
  - Chumitaun.
  - Loket. Teplitz.
  - Hantzburg. Zbraslau.
  - Labe. Vltawa.

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdome of Boheme fell to George Pogiebracius aboue mentioned, whom Pope Innocent the eight, did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is afore declared.

George Pogiebracius.

Furthermore the kingdome of Hungarie, was giuen to Matthias son of Huniades, who was in captiuity (as is said) with king Ladislaus, and should haue beene put to death after his brother, had not the king before beene preuented with death, as is aboue recorded. Moreouer, here is to be noted that the said king Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behinde him two sisters alive, to witte, Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus king of Polonia: and Anna, married to William, duke of Saronie; Elizabeth by her husband Casimirus, king of Polonia, had Vladislaus, who at length was king both of Boheme and Hungarie. This Casimirus, first was married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then being diuorced from her by the dispensation of pope Alexander married a new wife a countesse of France, by whom he had two children, Lewes, and Anna; Lewes which was heire of both kingdomes of Boheme, and Hungarie, was slaine fighting against the Turkes. Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whom he was Archduke of Austria king of Boheme, &c.

Matthias Huniades.

- Sigismundus left onelie one daughter,
- Elizabeth, wife to Albertus Emperour: Who had 3. children,
  - Ladislaus, king of Hungarie, Boheme, and Austria.
  - Elizabeth, wife of Casimirus, king of Polonie: Who had
    - Anna, wife to William duke of Saxon.
  - Vladislaus, king of Boheme and Hungary: Who by his second wife, Countesse of France, had
    - Ludouicus, king of Boheme, and Hungary.
    - Anne, wife to Ferdinandus, father to this Maximilian now Emperour.

War betweene Matthias and Fredericke the Emperour.

Yee heard before, how after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Mathias, surnamed Corninus, which was sonne of Huniades, to the kingdome of Hungarie. For which cause dissension fell betweene Fredericke the Emperour and him, for that the said Fredericke was both nominated himselfe by diuers vnto that kingdome, and also because he had the crowne of Hungarie then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth mother to king Ladislaus, had brought to the Emperour, as was before declared. Vpon this warre betweene them, was ceased by the intercession of the princes of Germany, so that Matthias raunsomed that crowne of Fredericke for eight thousand Florences.

Not long after, Pope Innocent being displeased with George Pogiebracius (or Boiebracius) king of Boheme, for fauouring of Iohn Hus, and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly Prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdome to Matthias. But notwithstanding as Fredericke the Emperour would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaide George, take the Emperour and the Bohemians, drawing out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elisabeth, to be king of Boheme, therefore great warre and trouble kindled betweene him and Fredericke the Emperour: Wherein the Emperour had vtterly gone to ruine, had not Albertus duke of Saxonie refused the Emperour, and repressed the vehemencie of Matthias.

Uladislaus Casimirus son, made king of Hungarie.

Albert duke of Saxonie.

The noble acts of Iohn Huniades and of his Matthias his sonne, were not onely great stairs to Hungarie, but almost to all Christendome, in repelling backe the Turke. For beside the other victories of Iohn Huniades the father, aforementioned, this Matthias also his sonne succeeding to him in the valiantnesse, then in the name of his father, did so recouer Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turkes, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahumetes, and also Baiazetes his sonne, were inforced to seeke for truce.

The noble acts of Iohn Huniades and Matthias his sonne against the Turkes. Sirmium and the confines of Illyrica recouered from the Turkes.

Matthias reconciled. The fabre practise of Matthias to keep euill practises hidde.

Duer and besides, the same Matthias conducting his armie into Austa (which lieth South from Hungarie) recouered againe Iaitza, the principall towne of that kingdome, from the Turkes possession. Who, if other Christian Princes had ioyned their helpes withall, would haue proceeded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malitious subtilitie of Satan working by the Pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turkes, wherein hee should haue bene set forward and aided by Christian Princes, and Bishops of the Sea of Rome, wickedly and sinfully mischiefe matter of ciuill discord betweene him and Pogiebracius aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdome, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon, not onely the course of victorie against the Turkes was stopped, but also great warre and bloodshed followed in Christian realmes, as well betweene this Matthias, and Pogiebractus, with his two sonnes Victorinus and Henricus, as also betweene Casimirus, Uladislaus, and Matthias warring about Uratislauia, till at length the matter was taken vp by the Princes of Germanie.

The pope excommunicateth and deposeth Pogiebracius. Matthias ambitiously aspireth vnto the kingdome of Bohemia.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the Pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Boheme would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the Pope had cursed, and deposed: yet Matthias take from him Moraria, and a great portion of Silesia, and adioyned it to his kingdome of Hungarie, An. 1474.

Anno 1474

¶ Where this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Boheme, planted by Iohn Hus, could not be extinct or suppressed with all the power of foure mightie Princes, Vincelaus, Sigismundus, Albertus, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they with the popes, did therein what they possibly could: but still the Lord maintained the same, as yée see by this Pogiebractus king of Boheme, whom the pope could not bitterly remoue out of the kingdome of Bohemia.

The religion of the Boheme planted by Iohn Hus, and by God against the diuersities of princes in Europe. Matthias a great fauourer of learning and of learned men.

This foresaid Matthias, beside his other memorable acts of Christus, is no lesse also commended for his singular knowledge and loue of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends, procured into Pannonia: where by the meanes of godlie letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced in that space the barbarous rudenesse of that country, into a flourishing common wealth. Moreouer such a Librarie hee did there erect, and replenish with all kind of Authors, Sciences, and Histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greeke into Latin, as the like is not thought to bee found, nere to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which Librarie we haue receiued diuers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before. Ex Pencer.

The noble Librarie of Matthias the mother of Languages. Ex Iac. Pere.

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius king of Boheme, is not vnworthy of commendation: of whom also pope Pius himselfe, in Descriptione Europæ, both honestly reporteth as a pope may speake of a protestant, in these words writing: Magnus vir alioqui, & rebus bellicis clarus, &c. Who although pope Innocent did execrate with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the veritie and knowledge which he had receiued. Moreouer, the Lord so prospered his sonnes, Victorinus, and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies, and kept their estate: Insomuch, that when Fredericke the Emperour at Vienna was in Custodie enclosed by the Citizens, Victorinus did rescue and deliuer him out of their handes: Wherefore the Emperour afterward aduanced them to be dukes. Also God gaue them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the Citie of Slogonia, &c.

Commendation of George Pogiebracius king of Boheme. Ex Pio Pont. De Europa Europæ.

God fauorable to the sonnes of Pogiebractus.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebractus, king of Boheme, Frederiche the Emperour assigned that kingdome, not to Matthias, vpon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but vpon Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elisabeth, daughter of the Emperour Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which, Matthias being discontented, and for that the Emperour had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Boheme, and also proclaimed warre against Frederiche. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death preuented him, who without issue departed, An. 1490.

The death of Pogiebractus.

Uladislaus forsaketh his first wife.

After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislaus sonne of Casimirus, king of Polonie, and of Elizabeth daughter to Albert Emperour, and sister to king Ladislaus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungarie, with this condition made betweene him and Frederiche the Emperour, that if she died without lawfull issue, then the kingdomes of Hungarie and of Boheme, should returne to Maximilian, sonne to Fredericus. But Uladislaus not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and depriuing her of her kingdome, caused the said Beatrix to sweare and to consent to the marrying of another woman, which was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne, Uladislaus had Lewis, and Anne, which Anne afterward was married to Ferdinandus.

Dispensation from pope Alexander to forsake his first wife, and to marry another.

Ludouicus Uladislaus sonne, king of Hungarie and Boheme.

Lewis, succeeding after his father, had both the said kingdomes of Boheme and Hungarie; An. 1492. and married Marie sister to Charles the 5. Emperour. Anne, as is said, was coupled to Ferdinandus, &c.

Marie daughter vnto the Emperour Charles Duke of Burgoyne and Fredericke the Emperour.

Of Charles duke of Burgoine, somewhat was before touched, who had married king Edwards sister: and what troubles by him were stirred vp in France, partly was before notified. This Charles after he had destroyed the Citie Nuilla, or Nouisium, the space of a whole yeere, went about to alienate the territorie of Colen, from the Empire to his owne dominion: wherefore warre began to bee moued betweene him and Fr: dericke the Emperour. At length though communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed betweene Mary the onely daughter of Charles, and Maximilian the Emperours sonne: Anno 1475. Then from Nouisium, Charles leadeth his armie toward Heluatia, against Renatus or Reinhardus duke of Lotharing: then against the Heluetians.

Anno 1475

Charles duke of Burgoyne slaine in warre.

Anno 1477

Where yée by the way may see the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian princes here in Europe described, vnder the raigne of this Fredericke the third emperour, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendome (whether we consider the state of the Church or ciuill gouernment) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worme of ambition so mightily creepeth, and euery where preuaileth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in common weales, nor peace in the Church, nor any sparkle of charitie almost to remaine in the life of men. And what marueil then, if the Lord seeing vs so farre to degenerate, not onely from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, vncle with nephew, blood with blood cannot agree, in striuing, killing, and fighting for worthy dominions, doe send therefore these cruell Turkes vpon vs so to scourge and deuour vs: Of whose bloodie tyrannie and daily spilling of Christian blood, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) wee will discourse more at large, when wee come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the meane time, this shall be for vs to note and obserue, not so much the scourge how grieuous it is: but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip vpon vs, which is our owne miserable ambition and wretched warres among our selues.

Warre and dissension among Christian Princes.

The discord of Christians scourged by the Turkes.

Ambition and auarice of the Church of Rome.

And yet if this Christian peace and loue, left and commended so heartily vnto vs by the mouth of the sonne of God, being now banished out of Christian Realmes and ciuill gouernance, might at least finde some refuge in the Church, or take Sanctuarie among men professing nothing but Religion, lesse cause wee had to mourne. Now so it is, that as wee see little peace and amitie among ciuill Potentates: so lesse wee finde in the spirituall sort of them, which chiefly take vpon them the administration of Christs Church. So that it may well bee doubted whether the scourge of the Turke, or the ciuill sword of Princes haue slaine moe in the fieldes, or the Popes keyes haue burnt moe in townes and Cities. And albeit such as bee professed to the Church, doe not fight with swoorde and Target for Dominions and reuenewes, as Warlike Princes doe: yet this ambition, pride and auarice, appeareth in them nothing inferiour vnto other worldly potentates:

Discord and dissension in the Church no lesse.



The complaint of the Germaines to the Emperour, for helpe and aid against the oppression of the Pope.

potentates: especially if we behold and aduise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great argument and proofe hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realme almost though all Christendome hath not onlie seene with their eyes, but haue felt in their purses the ambition intollerable, and auarice insatiable of that deuouring Church, and also haue complained vpon the greeuance thereof, but neuer could be redressed? What exactions and extortions haue bene here in England out of bishoprickes, monasteries, benefices, deanries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the popes coffers? and when they had all done, yet euery yeare brought almost some newe inuention from Rome, to fetch in our English money: and if all the floods in England (yea in all Europe) did runne into the sea of Rome, yet were that Ocean neuer able to be satisfied.

¶ In France likewise, what floods of money were swallowed vp into this sea of Rome? it was openly complained of in the councell of Basill as is testified by Henry Tolen, Canon and Ambassadour of the archbishop of Maidenburge, written in this booke intituled Rapularium, where as hee witnesseth that in the councell of Basill, An. 1436. the archb. of Lions did declare, that in the time of pope Martine, there came out of France to the court of Rome, 9. millions of golde, which was gathered of the Bishops and Prelats, besides those which could not be counted of the pope Clergie, which daily without number, ran vnto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance: The archbishop of Turonne laid also at Basill, in the yeare of our Lord 1439. that thée millions of gold came into Rome in his time, within the space of 14. yeares, from the prelates and prelacies, whereof no account could be made, besides poore clergie, which daily runne to that court. Let the man which feareth God, iudge what a deuouring gulfe this is. A million containeth 1. C. M.

Ex Rapulario Henrici Tolen.

The sea of Rome is turned into an Ocean, that hath no bottome.

What a million is. Concilium Bitunense.

And that made pope Pius the 2. to labour so earnestlie to Lewes the 11. the French king (who as is aforesaide was a great enemie to the house of Burgoin) that hee would (according to his former promise) abolish and vtterly extinct the constitution established before at the Councell of Bitures, by king Charles the 7. his predecessor, called Pragmatica Sanctio, but onlie the ambition of y see, which had no measure, & their auarice which had no end: The storie is this. K. Charles 7. French king, willing to obey & follow the councell of Basill, did summon a Parliament at Bitures: where by the full consent of all the states in France, both spirituall and temporall, a certaine constitution was decreed and published, called Pragmatica Sanctio: wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the Canons and decrees concluded in the councell of Basill. The which constitution the said king Charles willed and commanded through all his realme, inuiolably to be obserued and ratified for the honor and increase of Christian religion for euer. This was An. 1438.

Pragmatica Sanctio.

Ex Ioan. Mario Belga. de Schismat. & Concil. lib. cap. 24.

Pope Pius laboureth that Pragmatica Sanctio should be abolished.

It followed, that after the decease of this foresaid Charles the 7. succeeded king Lewes 11. who had promised before, being Dolphine to Pope Pius, y if he euer came to the crowne, the foresaid Sanctio Pragmatica should be abolished. Whereupon Pope Pius hearing him to be crowned, did send into him Iohn Balucus a Cardinall, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindfull of his promise made. The king either willing, or els pretending a will to performe, and accomplish what he had promised, directed the popes letters patent, with the said Cardinall to the councell of Paris, requiring them to consult vpon the cause.

The Councell of Paris appealeth from the Pope to the generall councell. Fid. supra, pag. 616.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the Parliament house, the kings Attorney named Ioannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularlie witted, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence, and no lesse boldnesse, proued the said Sanction to be profitable, holie, and necessary for the wealth of the realme, and in no case to be abolished. Vnto whose sentence the Vniuersitie of Paris adioyning their consent, did appeale from the attempts of the pope to the next generall Councell. The Cardinall vnderstanding this, tooke no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatning manie terrible things against them: but all his minatorie words notwithstanding, he returned againe to the king, his purpose not obtained, An. 1438. Ex Ioan. Mario.

Thus the popes purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germanie had come to the like effect, if Fredericke the Emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germaines: who at the same time bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suite to perswade the Emperour that he should no longer be vnder the subiection of the Popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of Appeales, declaring their estate to be far worse (although vnbeleeued) then the Frenchmen or Italians: whose seruants (and especiallie of the Italians) they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and communaltie of Germany, did instantly intreate with most waighty reasons and examples, both for the vtilitie and profit of the Empire, to haue the emperours aid and helpe therein, for that which hee was bound vnto them by an othe: alleging also the great dishonour and ignominie in that they alone had not the vse of their owne

Frederick wrate the Germaines euill subiect vnto the pope.

lawes, declaring how the French nation had not made their sute vnto their king in vain against the exactions of popes: by whom they were defended; which also prouided decrees and ordinances for the libertie of his people, and ceased the same to be obserued: the which thing the Emperour ought to foresee within his Empire, and to prouide for his people and states of his empire, aswell as other kings doe. For that shall come to passe thereby, if that forain nations hauing recourse vnto their kings, being relieued and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germaines, and states of the Empire flying vnto their Emperour, be by him forsaken or rather betraied and depriued of their owne lawes and decrees: The Emperour being moued, and partly ouercome by their perswasions, promised that hee would prouide no lesse for them, then the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, to make decrees in that behalfe. But the graue authoritie of Aeneas Syluius, as Platina writeth in the historie of Pius the second, brake off the matter, who by his subtile and pestiferous perswasions did so bewitch the emperor, that he contemning the equall, iust, and necessarie requests of his subiects, chose the said Aeneas to be his Ambassadour vnto Calixtus then newlie chosen pope, to sweare vnto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germanie, as the onlie countrie (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their countrie, as before he had done vnto Eugenius the 4. being Ambassador for the said Frederick, promising that he & all the Germains would be obedient vnto him from henceforth in all matters, aswell spirituall as temporall.

Thus twice Frederick of Austrich contemned and derided the Germains, & fruitrating them of their natiue decrees and ordinances, brought them vnder subiection and bondage of the Pope: which partlie was the cause that 7. yeares before his death, he caused his son Maximilian, not onlie to be chosen, but also crowned king of Romains, and did allegate him to the administration of the empire, lest after his death (as it came to passe) the empire should be transported into another familie, suspecting the Germains, whom hee had twice contrarie to his lawes made subiect and in bondage vnto the Popes exactions: first before he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the 4. and againe the second time after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicolas the 5. denying their requests. Whereupon Germanie being in this miserable pouertie and grieuous subiection vnder the Popes tyrannie and polling, with teares and sighes lamenting their estate, continued so almost vnto Luthers time, as the histories hereafter following do testifie.

And here ceasing with the storie of Fredericke, we will now proceed to the raigne of Maximilian his sonne, omitting diuers things else incident in the time of this Emperour: as first touching the vnbrotherlie contention and conflicts betweene this Frederick and Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus his vncle, for the dukedome of Austria, after the death of Matthias afore mentioned: Omitting also to speake of the long and cruell warre betweene the Prussians, and Polonians, with the religious sect of them, which were called Tentones fratres sanctæ Mariæ, in the time of Uladislaus: Omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedome of Millain, betweene Fredericus the Emperour, Alfonsus, Carolus duke of Orleance, and Franciscus Sfortia: And how the said Princedome being after giuen to Sfortia, great warres were kindled and long continued betweene Sfortia and the Spiniers, then betweene the Spiniers and Venetians, and after betweene the Frenchmen and the Spiniers. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatlie to the purpose of this storie, I referre to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

Fred. Albertus his brother, and Sigismundus his vncle, striue for the dukedome of Austria.

What betweene Franciscus Sfortia and the Venetians a warre: What betweene Galeatius duke of Millain, and his brother Ludouicus Sforsa, called the Moore: betweene the French king, and the citie of Millaine.

Ex Ioan. Mario.

Ex Pencer.

Ex Pio Pont. De Europa Europæ.

Ex Iac. Pere.

Ex Ioan. Mario Belga. de Schismat. & Concil. lib. cap. 24.

Fid. supra, pag. 616.

Ex Rapulario Henrici Tolen.

Concilium Bitunense.

Ex Ioan. Mario.

Fid. supra, pag. 616.

Ex Rapulario Henrici Tolen.

Concilium Bitunense.

Ex Ioan. Mario Belga. de Schismat. & Concil. lib. cap. 24

The articles of the faith are to be learned of the holy Scripture.

That all men be ſaued freely, and through meere grace by faith in Chriſt. Free will to be nothing. Onely that we ſhould beleeue the word of God, and not the gloſſe of any man, or fathers. That the word of God is to bee expounded with the collation of one place with another. That prelats haue no authoritie to make lawes, or to expound the ſcriptures by any priuate right, giuen them more then to another. That mens traditions, as faſtings, pardons, feaſts, long prayers, peregrinations and ſuch like, are to be reiected. Extreame vnction and confirmation to be reproued: confeſſion and ſatisfaction to be reprehended. The primacie of the pope alſo he affirmed to be nothing.

Certaine other articles alſo were gathered out of him by his aduerſaries, but in ſuch ſort, that they may ſeeme rather to follow their owne malitious gathering, then any true intelligence of his minde: whereof more is to be vnderſtood in this proceſſe hereafter.

Thus when Weſaliantus was commaunded to appeare, there commeth together, firſt the archbiſhop, the inquiſitor, the doctors of Colein, and the doctors of Heidelberge, with the maiſters of the ſame, & the Rector of the Vniuerſitie of Wentz, the Deane of facultie, Bacheleors of diuinitie, and many other maiſters of the ſame Vniuerſitie, Canons, Doctours, with the Biſhops Chancellor, and his Counſellors, beſides many religious prelates, ſchollers, with a doctour of Franchefort, the ſummer and bedell, which all met together in the great hall of Monkes, for the examination of this Ioan. de Weſalia.

Frier Elton the Inquiſitour, firſt ſitteth in the higheſt place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, firſt the Inquiſitor beginneth with theſe words: Well reuerend father and honourable doctors, &c. Our reuerend father and prince Elector hath cauſed this preſent conuocation to be called, to heare the examination of M. Ioan de Weſalia, in certaine ſuſpected articles concerning the catholike faith. But ſomething I will ſay before, that may doe him good, and deſire that two or three of them that fauour him, or ſome other, will riſe vp and giue him counſell, to forſake and leaue his errours, to recognize himſelfe, and to aſke pardon; which if he will doe, he ſhall haue pardon: if hee will not, we will proceed againſt him without pardon. And thus Weſaliantus being cited and brought in the midſt betwixt two Nouices, being verie aged, and hauing a ſtaffe in his hand, was ſet before the Inquiſitor. Who beginning to anſwer for himſelfe with a long proteſtation, could not be ſuffered to proſecute his oration, but was cut off & required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words whether hee would ſtand to his opinions, or to the determinati on of the Church. To this he anſwered, that he neuer ſpake any thing againſt the determination of the church, but ſaid that hee had written diuers and ſundry treaſiſes, in the which if he had erred, or were found to ſay otherwiſe then well, he was content to reuoke and call back the ſame, and do all things that were requiſite. Then ſaid the Inquiſitor, doe you aſke then pardon? The other anſwered, why ſhould I aſke pardon, when I know no crime or error committed? The Inquiſitour ſaid: well we will tell you to the remembrance thereof, and proceede to the examination.

In the meane time, others called vpon him inſtantlie to aſke pardon. Then ſaid Weſaliantus, I aſke pardon. Notwithſtanding the Inquiſitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two inſtruments, declaring that hee had authoritie from the Apoſtolicke ſea: after the citing of the ſaid Ioan to appeare to his examination. Thirdly hee commanded him vnder paine of diſobedience, in the vertue of the holy Ghoſt, and vnder paine of excommunication of the greater curſe, (from the which no man could abſolue him, but only the pope, or ſ. Auguſtine) neuer after at the point of death, to tell plainly the truth vpon ſuch things as ſhould be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambages and ſophiſtication of words. And ſo being demanded firſt whether he did beleeue vpon his othe taken, that he was bound to tell the trueth, although it were againſt himſelfe or any other: to this hee anſwered, Scio, that is; I know: Then the Inquiſitour biddeth him ſay, Credo, that is, I beleeue. To the which he anſwered againe, what needs I ſay that I beleeue that thing I know? There the Inquiſitor ſomething ſtirred with the matter, as hote as a toſſe, (as they ſay) cried out with a lead voyce, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Ioannes, maiſter Joannes, ſay Credo, ſay Credo. Then he anſwered, Credo.

After this, being demanded whether hee had written anie treatiſe, concerning the binding of humaine lawes, to one Nicolas of Boheme, and whether he had written any treatiſe of the Eccleſiaſticall power of indulgences and pardons, and of faſting and other treatiſes: he beleeued that he had ſo written, and had conferred with diuers learned men: Alſo that he had ſent to the biſhops of Mozmes, a certaine treatiſe of faſting.

Many other interrogatories were miniſtred vnto him, whereof ſome were vaine, ſome falſe. Such as were more principall here we will briefly touch, leauing out ſuperfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a fautor of the Boheminans, he ſaid he was not. Alſo being demanded concerning the ſacrament of the holy body and bloud of our Lord, whether he thought Chriſt there to be contained realliè, or only diuinitie, and why: ther he did beleeue in the ſaid ſacrament the ſubſtance of bread there to remaine, or onlie the forme thereof: to this he anſwered, not denying but the body of Chriſt was there realie contained, and alſo with the body of Chriſt, the ſubſtance of bread to remaine.

After this he was demaunded his opinion concerning religious men, as Monkes, Fannes, or Begines, why they here thought them to be bound to the vow of chaſtitie, or to the liue ſping of any other vow, and whether he ſaid to the Friers Minorites any ſuch word to effect: I cannot ſaue you in this your ſtate and order. This he confeſſed, that he had ſaid, how that not your religion ſaueth you, but the grace of God, &c. not denying but they might be ſaued.

Item, being required whether he beleeued or had written, that there is no mortall ſin, but which is expect to be mortall in the canon of the holy Bible: to this he anſwered, that hee did ſo beleeue as he hath written, till he was better informed. Likewiſe being required what he thought of the vicar of Chriſt in earth, he anſwered, that hee beleeued that Chriſt left no vicar in earth: For the confirmation whereof he alledged and ſaid, that Chriſt aſcending vp to heauen, ſaid: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum, &c. Behold I am with you, &c. In the which words he plainly declared, that hee would ſubſtitute vnder him no vicar here in earth; and ſaid moreouer, if a vicar ſignified any man, which in the abſence of the principall hath to doe the works of the principall, then Chriſt hath no vicar here in earth.

In like maner, concerning indulgences and pardons, ſuch as the church doth vſe to giue, they demaunded of him, whether they had any efficacie, and what hee thought thereof: who anſwered again that he had written a certaine treatiſe of that matter, and what he had written in that treatiſe, hee would perſiſt therein, which was thus: that he beleeued, that the treaſure bore of the merits of Saints could not be diſtributed of the pope to others, becauſe that treaſure is not left here in earth: for ſo it is written in the Apocalyps: Opera enim illorum ſequuntur illos, &c. that is: their works follow them.

Item, that their merits could not be applied to other men, for the ſatisfaction of their paine due vnto them, and therefore that the pope and other prelates cannot diſtribute that treaſure to men.

It was obiected to him moreouer, that in the ſaid his treatiſe, he called pardons and indulgences, Pias fraudes fidelium, that is, holie fraudes and deceits of the faithfull.

Alſo being demanded what hee thought of the hallowing & bleſſing of altars, chalices, veſtiments, ware candels, palms, herbes, holie water, and other diuine things, &c. he anſwered that they had no ſpirituall vertue and power in them to driue away diuels, and that holy water hath no more efficacie then other water not hallowed, as concerning remiſſion of veniall ſins, and driuing away diuels and other effects, which the whole doctors doe attribute to it.

Item, for degrees of mariage forbidden in the ſcriptures, he beleeueth that all chriſtian men vnder deadlie ſinne, are bound vnto the ſame.

Item, that hee beleeueth that God may giue grace to a man hauing the vſe of reaſon, without all motion of free will. Alſo he thinketh that S. Paul in his connerſion, did nothing of his owne free will for his connerſion. He beleeueth moreouer, that God may giue ſuch grace to a man hauing the vſe of reaſon, not doing that which in him is.

Item, he affirmed that nothing is to be beleeued, which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Alſo, that the elect are ſaued onely by the grace of God.

Beſides all theſe, moreouer he was charged with the old opinion of the Grecians, which they did holde contrarie to the Romaine church, vnto the time of the councell of Ferraria aboue mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the holy ghoſt.

The Wedneſday next following, three doctours, the Suffragane, Herwicus and Jacobus Sprenger, were ſent vnto him with perſwaſions to exhort him, and when he would not ſtarde to their Canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would beleeue rather the 4. Euangeliſtes, then the Goſpell of Nicodemus. To whom he anſwered, becauſe he would. Being aſked again why he beleeued the 4. Euangeliſts, he ſaid: becauſe he ſo receiued of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not beleeue the doctors: becauſe (ſaid he) their doctrine is not canonicall ſcripture. Againe, it was to him obiected, why he would be credited himſelfe, when he preached, ſeeing he would not beleeue the holy doctors? To whom he anſwered in this wiſe, ſaying, that he did preach as his dutie was, but whether they gane credite to his words, he did not care.

This examination being ended, after theſe articles were condemned by the Inquiſitor and his aſſiſtance, then ſaid he after this manner: As you do with me, if Chriſt himſelfe were here, he might be condemned as an heretiche. After this they ſent diuers to him to haue communication with him, & to perſuade him, ſending alſo to him with his articles a form of aſking pardon: at length within 3. or 4. daies after, he was coſtent to

His opinion of Monkes and Fannes. The vow of chaſtitie.

Mortall ſinne found by the pope, becauſe that which is expect, ſeld to be mortall in the ſcripture.

What he his article, but to make the pope a God. Chriſt left no vicar in earth.

Pardons and indulgences be of no effect.

The treaſure of ſaints merits left not in earth.

This ſaying was taken out of one Canon Pantenſis, which hee was wont to ſay, that pardons were holy deceits, becauſe that ſay men there were prouoked by naughtie deceits, to giue good almes. Degrees in ſcripture forbidden to marrie.

Nothing to be beleeued, but whatſoeuer is written in ſcripture contained.

The church gouerned by vnlearned, who were the writers of the ſcriptures, but here by no authorities about that which is written.

By this ſingular ſinon, Chriſt himſelfe might be condemned.

Then had the bleſſed virgin Marie two huſbands.



Ex Orth. Grat. Ex Paralip. lib. Vesper.

to condeſcend vnto them, and to ſubmit himſelfe to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the booke of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Parlipomena, attoyned to Abbas Vrſpergenſis, we reade theſe words written of this Ioannes de Weſalia: Dempto ſolo articulo de proceſſione ſpiritus ſancti, in alijs victur non ita graui cenſura, &c. That is: except onely the article of the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt, in other articles it ſeemeth that he was not to bee challenged with ſo harpe cenſure, if reſpit and place had beene giuen him, if good counſellors had been about him, if all they which did accuſe came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this ſelfe ſame narration is contained, wherein I ſhould not only this to be true, which in John Vale is expreſſed, but alſo found in like manner, another wonder as prodigious as this: where in another place not farre off, is ſtored in the ſame booke, how that about the time of ſaint Dominicke, there was a certaine matron in Spaine, named Lucia, which being taken captiue by the Saracens, hauing her huſband killed, was carried great with child into the Turkiſh land.

Diſcord between Friers Minors & Dominicans.

When the time of her labour came, ſhee being left deſolate among beaſts and hogs, and remembring this twice holy Roſarie, firſt inſtituted, ſaith the booke, by ſaint Dominicke, and afterward renued by Alanus) eſteemes the holy virgine was readie and ſtood by her, and receiued the child at her traueil, ſupplying all the parts of a diligent midwife: and moreouer cauſing a prieſt ſuddenly to appeare, gaue the child to be chriſtened, calling it after her owne name, Marianus: and ſo was the wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus. Which ſtorie if it be true, then is the popes Canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwiues in time of neceſſitie to baptiſe, ſeeing the bleſſed virgin, playing the part her ſelf of a midwife, durſt not baptiſe this child without a prieſt.

The deteſtable ſubtilties and blaſphemie of the popiſh ſpring religion.

Doctor Johan de Weſalia reuoketh his opinions.

It followeth more in the ſtorie, that by the helpe of the ſaid bleſſed virgin, this Lucia our ladies goſſip, after her purification, was reſtored with her child ſafe to her countrie againe. This booke being in Latine and printed, beareth this title: Roſacea Auguſtiſſimæ Chriſtiferæ Mariæ corona: and in the front it beareth the name of Iodocus Biſſelius a noble man of Aquine. And this by the occaſion of pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind ſuperſtition he was, partly by that afore ſpoken, partly by the end following it may be ſeene. For we read in certaine writers, that after this pope had vnderſtanding that Hercules Eſtenſis, duke of Ferraria, had ſtoyned peace with the Venetians againſt his will, he was ſo grieued therewith, that for rancour of mind, within fiue daies after, he died: whereunto his Epitaph following, giueth ſufficient record. About whoſe time alſo died Platina, a man not vnlearned, but yet a ſhamefull flatterer and bearer with the wicked liues of the popes.

Mendacium meretricis opus.

Ex Latino Codice impreſſo, cui titulus: Roſacea Mariæ Coronæ.

The Epitaph of Pope Sixtus is this.

Non potuit ſeuum vis vlla extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

*Another Epitaph of the ſame Pope.*

Sixte iaces tandem, noſtri diſcordia ſecli,
Sæuiſti in ſuperos, nunc Acheronta move.
Sixte iaces tandem, ſi flent tua buſta cinædi,
Scortaque, lenones, alea, vina, venus.

*Another.*

Gaude prilce Nero, vincit te crimine Sixtus,
Hic ſcelus omne ſimul clauditur, & vitium.

Albert duke of Saxonie, called Dextra manus Imperij. Albert marquess of Brandenburg, called Achilles Germanicus.

The death of pope Sixtus the fourth. Three endeth Platina.

But leauing here pope Sixtus with his verſes and vices, let vs now proceed, as we before premiſed, to enter the ſtorie of Marianus, keeping notwithſtanding the order of our kings here in England: For a little before the reigne of Parimilian, king Edward the fourth ceaſed his life, an. 1483. after he had raigned twentie and two yeares. In the time of which king Edward, this alſo is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a marchant dwelling in Cheapeſide, at the ſigne of the crowne, which is the ſigne now of the Flower deluce, merrily ſpeaking to his ſonne, ſaid that he would make him inheritor of the crowne, meaning indeed his ſigne houſe. For the which words, when king Edward cauſed to be miſconſtrued, and interpreted, as though he had ment the croiune of the Realme, within leſſe ſpace then foure houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawne, and quartered in Cheapeſide.

The death of K. Edward 4. Anno 1483.

Burdet. Spanges in mill conſtraining a man ſwords.

The lawes of the realme miſconſtrued for the princeſſe daughters.

## King Edward the 5.

K. Edward 5.

His king Edward left behinde him by his wife Elizabeth two ſonnes, Edward & Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cicile. Which two ſonnes Edward and Richard, forſomuch as they were vnder age and not ripe to gouerne, a conſultation was called among the peeres to debate whether the foreſaid yong prince and king, ſhould be vnder the gouernment of his mother, or elſe that Richard Duke of Glocester, brother

brother to king Edward the fourth, & vncle to the child, should be gouernour of the king, and protector of the realme, there hath been and is euidēt danger, the words whereof rather then in the true meaning, is vnlyked out of Salomon: Væ regno cuius Rex puer est. Wilt thou find leaue herein to thyself in a gloss, & would add: this, and say: Væ illi puero, qui sui regni Rex non est? Vnto that child, which is a king in a kingdome vntrayne and vnbridled. There was the same season among other noble peeres of the realme, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authority, who had maried king Edwards wines sister. Because the duke being so neere allied to the king, had become vnlikely (as he thought) of the king entreated, framing by him no aduancement nor any great friendship thereto, according to his expectation, took part therefore with Richard duke of Gloucester, both against the queene and her kindred, to make the forsaid duke, the chiefe gouernour and protector. The which thing being brought to passe, by the aide, assistance and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen rosse sanctuarie with her yonger sonne: the elder brother, which was the king, remained in the custodie of the duke of Gloucester his vncle. Who being now in a good towardnesse to obtaine that which he long looked for, sought all the meanes, and some compassed ỹ matter, by false colour of disfembled words, by periurie, and labour of friends, namely of the duke of Buckingham, and the cardinall archbishop of Canterburie, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious protector and vnnaturall vncle, hauing the possession of his two nephewes, and innocent babes, thought himselfe almost vp the staire where he would climbe: although he could not walke in such mists and clouds, but this deuised purposes began to be espied: which caused him more covertly to goe about to remoue from him all suspition and to blind the peoples eies. But before hee could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were, whom he thought first must be rid out of the way, as namely the lord Hastings, and the lord Stanley, who as they were sitting together in counsell within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before, suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there commoned, hee suddenly hasted out againe: his mind beliue, being full of mischiefe and furie was not quiet. Who within the space of an houre, returned againe into the chamber with a fierce countenance and a frowning looke, and so there set him downe in his place. Then the lords were in great maruell and muse at the meaning hereof: then he out of a cankered hart, thus began to bray, asking them, What are they worthie to haue, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so neere to the kings blod, and protector of the realme? At the which question, as the other lords sate musing, the lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, that they were worthie of punishment, whatsoeuer they were. Which when the other lords also had affirmed: that is quoth the Protector) yonder sorceresse, my brothers wife, meaning the queene and other with her: adding moreouer, and saying: that sorcerelle and other of her counsell, as Shores wife, with her affinitie, haue by their witchcraft, thus wasted my bodie, and therewith threwed forth his left arme a wearish withered thing, as it was neuer otherwise, as was well knowne.

This Shores wife had been before a concubine to king Edward, and afterward was kept by the same lord Hastings. Moreouer, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said lord Hastings, the councll Protector had deuised about the same time, the banded of the queene, innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of more despite and hatred. Wherefore, this punishment not vnderserued, by the iust hand of God, fell vpon the said lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the storie, that when the lord Hastings had heard these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be vntrue: certainly (my lord) said he, if they haue so done, they be worthie of hainous punishment. Why quoth the Protector, doest thou serue me with, and with and? Tell that, they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith gaining a great rap on the head (for a token or watchword) one cried treason without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The Protector then approching to the lord Hastings, arrested him as a traytor. Another let fle at the lord Stanley: who to auoid the blow thrunke vnder the table: or else his head had been cleft all vnder: notwithstanding he receiued such a wound, that the blod ran about his eares. There were in that counsell the same time the archbishop of Yorke, and doctor Morton bishop of Elie (by whose preconcrement afterward king Henrie the seuenth was sent for into England, and he made archbishop after that of Canturburie) these with the lord Stanley diuerslie were beklowed in diuers chambers. The lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shrine him apace, for before dinner the Protector sware by Saint Paul that he should die: and so incontinently, without further indgement, his head was stricken off, by whose counsell the queenes kindred were at the same time and day, beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischieuous protector aspiring still to the crolone, to set his deuices forward, first through gifts and faire promises, did subordinate doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in London, at Paules crosse to insinuate to the people, that neither king Edward with his sonnes, nor the duke of Clarence were lawfullie begotten, nor the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfullie by other persons in adulterie on the duches their mother, and that hee alone was the true and onelie lawfull heire of the duke of Yorke. Moreouer, to declare and to signifie to the audience, that king Edward was neuer lawfullie married to the Quéene, but his wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucie, and so the two children of king Edward to bee base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crowne moft rightly to pertaine to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer, and loud lying preacher, to serue the protectours humour, framed not moft impudently to abuse that holy place, that reuerend auditorie, the sacred word of God, taking for his theame: Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altas, &c. which he moft impiouslie did applie against the innocent children and right heires of the realme. Whereupon such grudge and disdaine of the people with wrongfully wonder followed him, that for shame of the people crying out of him, in few daies after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector vnmercifully browned in ambition, rested not thus, but within few daies after, excited the duke of Buckingham first to breake the matter in councel talke, to the maior and certaine of the heades of the citie, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to the Guildhall, to moue the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which thamelesse Shaw before had preached at Pauls crosse. Which the duke with all diligence and helpes of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeuoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificiall oration, suppoling no lesse, but that the people allured by his crafte insinuations would crie, king Richard, king Richard. But there was no king Richard in their mouthes, lesse in their hearts. Whereupon the duke looking to the lord maior, and asking what this silence meant, contrarie to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other: it was then answered of the maior, that the people peraduenture well vnderstood him not: wherefore the duke reiterating his narration in other words, declared againe that hee had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration againe and againe. Then the commons which before stood mute, being now in a maze, seeing this importunitie, began to mutter softly among themselues, but yet no king Richard could sound in their lips, saue onely that in the neather end of the hall, certaine of the dukes seruants with one Nashfield, and other belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the preasse, began suddenlie at mens backes to crie king Richard, king Richard, throwing vp their cappes; whereat the citizens turning backe their heads, marueiled not a little, but said nothing.

The Duke and the Lord Maior with that side, taking this for sufficient testimonie, incontinent came blowing for hall to the protector, then lying at Baynards castle. Where the matter being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons and that with these sundrie fates, to the humble and simple protector, that he, although it was vtterlie against his will to take it: yet would of his humilitie stoope so low, as to receiue the heauie kingdome of England vpon his shoulders. At this their tender requeft and suit of the lords and commons made (ye muft know how) the milde Duke seeing no other remedie, was contented at length to yeeld, although sore against his will (ye muft so imagine) and to submit himselfe so low, as of a protector, to be made king: not much herein vnlike to our prelats in the popith church, who when they haue before twelt compounded for the popes Bals, yet muft they for manor sake make courtesie, and thrice denie that for which they so long before haue gaped, and so sweetlie haue paied for.

## King Richard the third vsurper.

And thus Richard D. of Glocester toke vpon him to be made and proclaimed king of England, the yeare aforesaid, an. 1483. in the month of June. Who then comming to the Tower by water, first made his sonne, a childe of ten yeare old, prince of Wales, and John Hatward (a man of great industry and seruice) he aduanced to be duke of Northfolke, and sir Thomas Hatward his sonne, he ordained earle of Surrey. Also William Lord Barkeley was appointed Earle of Nottingham. Frances lord Louell, was made Vicount Louell. L. William lord Hastings was appointed Earle of Huntingdon. Edward Grey sonne to the lord Lisle was made Viscount Lisle. Henrie Bourchier sonne to the earle of Essex was made Earle of Eu. Sir Richard Ratcliffe was made lord Fitzwater. Sir William Catesbie was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir Richard Sachuile was made Chamberlaine. Sir Richard Charlton was made lord Powis. Sir Robert Brakenburie was made Constable of the Tower. Sir Iames Tirrell was made master of the horse. Sir Iohn Wilford was made master of the ordinance. Sir Iohn Cheinie was made master of the wards. Sir Thomas Burgh was made master of the rolles. Sir Thomas Lenor was made master of the kings hawkes. Sir Iames Blunt was made captaine of Calis. Sir Thomas Pilford was made captaine of the Isle of Guisnes. Sir Thomas Andrew was made maior of London. Doctor Shaw was made the kings confessor, and doctor Morton bishop of Elie was made Archbishop of Canturburie. Doctor Rotheram Archbishop of Yorke was made Lord Chancellor. Doctor Lang was made Archbishop of Yorke. Doctor Alcocke was made Bishop of Worcester. Doctor Hutton was made Bishop of Bathe. Doctor Sherwood was made Bishop of Dursme. Doctor Edgecombe was made Bishop of Exceter. Doctor Iohn Arundell was made Bishop of Lincolne. Doctor Redman was made Bishop of S. Asaph. Doctor Smith was made Bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield. Doctor Iohn Alcocke was made Bishop of Rochester. Doctor Nicholas Metcalfe was made Bishop of Carlile. Doctor Edmund Audley was made Bishop of Hereford. Doctor Thomas Langton was made Bishop of Salisburie. Doctor Courtney was made Bishop of Winchester. Doctor Iohn Gunthorpe was made Bishop of Norwich. Doctor Iohn Russell was made Bishop of Lincolne. Doctor Iohn Sherwood was made Bishop of Chichester. Doctor Iohn Morton was made Bishop of Ely. Doctor Iohn Holland was made Bishop of Excester. Doctor Iohn Arundell was made Bishop of Lincolne. Doctor Redman was made Bishop of S. Asaph. Doctor Smith was made Bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield. Doctor Iohn Alcocke was made Bishop of Rochester. Doctor Nicholas Metcalfe was made Bishop of Carlile. Doctor Edmund Audley was made Bishop of Hereford. Doctor Thomas Langton was made Bishop of Salisburie. Doctor Courtney was made Bishop of Winchester. Doctor Iohn Gunthorpe was made Bishop of Norwich. Doctor Iohn Russell was made Bishop of Lincolne. Doctor Iohn Sherwood was made Bishop of Chichester. Doctor Iohn Morton was made Bishop of Ely. Doctor Iohn Holland was made Bishop of Excester.



wards daughter and him, whereby the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster were vnited together.

After the kingdome of England was thus allotted to king Richard the vsurper, as in manner aboue remembred, he taried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the twentith next ensuing, the sixth day of Iulie.

The triumph and solemnitie of his vsurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this vniquiet tyrant yet could not thinke himselfe safe, so long as yong Edward the right king and his brother, were aliue: wherefore the next enterprise which he did set vpon was this, how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne king alone.

In the meane time while all this rustling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherlesse and friendlesse children were in, what little ioy of themselues, what small ioy of life they had, it is not so hard as doloious, for tender hearts to vnderstand. As the yonger brother lingred in thought and heauinesse: so the prince which was 12. yeere old, was so out of heart and so fraught with feare that hee neuer tied his points, nor yoong day, till the traitorous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered them of their wretchednesse, which was not long in dispatching. For after king Richard their vncle, first attempting to compasse his diuelish deuice by Robert Brakenburie constable of the tower, and could not win him to lack a cruell fact (to die therefore) then hee got one Iames Tyrell, ioyning with him I. Dighton, & Miles Forrell, to perpetrate this hainous murther. Which Dighton and Forrell about midnight entring into their chamber, so bewrapped and intangled them amongst the clothes, keeping downe the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while, they smothered and stifled them pitiouslie in their bed.

And thus ended these two yong princes their liues, through the wretched cruelties of these forenamed tormentors, who for their detestable and bloodie murther committed, escaped not long vnpunished by the iuft hand of God. For first Miles Forrest, at saint Martins le grand, by excedent miserable rotted away: Iohn Dighton lurcht at Calis long after so diseased: and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and here died in great miserie. Sir Iames Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treason. Also king Richard himselfe within a yeere and a halfe after, was slaine in the field hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, torne and tugged like a cur dog.

Furthermore, the said iuftice of Gods hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free: which was a great maintainer and setter vp of this butcherlie vsurper: for leste then within a yeare after so God wrought, that he was himselfe beheaded for treason by the said king, vpon the so iuftlie before had aduanced and set vp.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers afore recited, we haue also to comprehend two other, as well worthie of memorial, as the best or rather as the worst. The name of the one was doctor Shaw aboue rehearsed: the other doctor Pinkie, prouincial of the Austen friers: both famous preachers, and both doctors in Diuinitie, both of more learning then vertue (saith the storie) of more fame then conning, and yet of more learning then truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the Protector, before his coronation. Pinkie preached after his coronation. Both were so full of ted eruditerie, that no god cares could abide them. Pinkie in his sermon so lolt his voice, that he was faine to leane off and caine downe in the middeft. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honestie, and some after his life, for verie shame of the world, so that he neuer durft after that, shew his face againe. But as for the frier, he was so far past shame, that the losse thereof did little touch him.

Mention was made a little before of doctor Morton bishop of Elie, by whose meanes the deuice was first brocched, for the coniovning of the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster together. This deuice was first broken to the Duke of Buckingham, which some after cost him his life. But that bishop more craftie to saue himselfe, incontinent fled into Britaine. Notwithstanding, the deuice once being brocched was so plausible, and took such effect, that in effage was sent ouer ỹ sea to Henrie earle of Richmond, by his mother and by the quéne, mother to the ladie Elizabeth, that if he would make his returne, and promise to marrie with the said ladie Elizabeth king Edwards daughter, he should be receiued. To make a longer discourse of this matter, which is sufficiently set forth by sir Thomas More so ornately, it needeth not.

Briefely (to contract that in a small compaffe of words, which was not so small a thing in doing) after that the Earle Henrie, with such other banished men, as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the quéne, and other friends moe out of England, how the case of the realme stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should with all conuenient speed, haste his returne ouer into England, promising to marrie with ladie Elizabeth: he with all diligence as time and preparation would serue, aduanced forward his iourney, being well helped and furnished by Francis duke of Britaine, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voiage sped not, for that the winds turning contrary; by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France againe. His second voiage was more prosperous. Who taking the seas at Harflet, in the month of August, anno 1485. with accompanied onlie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Milford Hauen in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Harford west, where he was ioyfullie receiued, and also by the conuning in of Rinold Walter and the Pembroke men, was in power encreased. From thence he remoued by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Lichfield, his armie still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood by comming in of many small riuers, gathereth more abundance of waters: so to this earles diuers noble captaines and men of power adioyned themselues, as Richard Griffith, Iohn Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then sir George Talbot, with the young earle of Shrewesburie his ward, sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At last the said earle hearing of the kings comming, conducted his whole armie to Tamworth.

King Richard first hearing of the arrival of the earle Henrie in the parts of Wales after such a tender sort, did quite little, or no regard vnto it. But after, vnderstanding that he was come to Lichfield, without resistance: or incumbrance, he was sore mawed, and exceedingly take on, casting and deuising out against them which had so deceiued him, and in al post speed, sent for Iohn duke of Northfolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thom. earle of Surrey, with other his friends of speciall trust. Robert Brakenburie alsolieutenant of the tower was sent for, with sir Thomas Burchier, and sir Walter Hungerford, with certaine other knights and esquires, of whom he partly mistrusted, or had some suspitious telouste. Thus king Richard, after moll forceable manner hath well fortified and accompanied, leauing nothing vndone that diligence could require, for forward towards his enemies. The earle by this time was come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the meeting resorted sir John Sauage, sir Bryan Sanford, sir Edmund Digby, and many other, forsaking the part of king Richard, whom all good men hated, as hee no otherwise deserued. The king hauing perfect knowledge the earle to bee encamped at Tamworth, embattelled himselfe in a place neere to a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his aduersaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the lord Stanley (which was the earles father in law and had married his mother) to what part he would encline. For although his hart went (no doubt) with the earle, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his sonne and heire George lord Strange, being then in the hands of king Richard, left the king should attempt any prejudicall thing against him, durst not be seene openly to goe that way, where in heart he fauoured, and therefore closely kept himselfe betweene both, till the push came that his help might serue at a pinch.

The number of the earles part exceeded not to the one half of the side of king Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battailes should encounter and ioyne together, sore stripes and great blowes were giuen on both sides, and many slaine. Finumber and multitude might go vpon the successe of battell, king Richard had double to the earle. But God (as he, not man, that giueth victorie, by what meanes it seemeth to his diuine prouidence best. In what order and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certaine intelligence we haue not certainely expressed, but onely by the historie of Polydore Virgil, whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which historie it doth appeare, that as these two armies were comping together, K. Richard, vnderstanding by his espials where the Earle of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and being him to approch more neere vnto him, he rather caried with courage, then ruled with reason, set spurres to the horse, and ranging out of the compasse of his rankes, prested toward the earle, setting vpon him so sharpely, that first he killed sir William Brandon, the earles standard bearer, father to the lord Charles Brandon D. of Suffolk, then after ouerthrew sir John Cheinie, thinking likewise to oppresse the earle. But as the Lord by his secret prouidence disposeth the euent of all things, as the earle with his men about him being ouermatched, began to despaire of victorie, suddenly and opportunely came sir William Stanley with three thousand well appointed able men, whereby king Richards men were driuen backe, and hee himselfe cruelly fighting in the thicke of his enemies, was there slaine, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserued.

In the meane time the Earle of Oxford, who had the guiding of the forward, discomfited the forces of king Richards host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slaine, of noble men especially about other. Iohn duke of Northfolke, Lord Ferrers, sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Robert Brakenburie lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Hatward earle of Surrey, there submitted himselfe, & although he was not receiued at first to grace, but long remained in the


Lucius. — Rex puer. — The crafty protector accuseth his owne mother. — Doctor Shaws sermon at Pauls crosse. — Sapi.4. Example for all flattering preachers to beware. — The truth of Robert Brakenbury to his prince. — James Tyrell. John Dighton. Miles Forrell, cruell actors and murtherers of these prince. Yong princes. These children of king Edward murthered. — The iust punishment of God vpon the murtherers of them two. — The duke of Buckingham another minister for the protectors turne. — The duke of Buckingham speaketh for the protector in the Guildhall. — An hard thing to make the tongue speake against the heart. — The punishment of God vpon the duke of Buckingham. — A stolne consent in the Guildhall. — Doctor Shaw and doctor Pinkie, two flattering preachers. — Fleot hypocrisie. — Gods iudgement vpon flattering preachers. — The hypocrisie of the protector denying the crowne three before he would take it. — The first motion of ioyning the two houses, Yorke and Lancaster together. — Earle Henrie maketh preparation toward his iourney. — King Richard the vsurper. — King Richard the third. — Bishop Morton. — The assemble of the protectors. — The duke of Buckingham a great deale for the protectors purpose. — The duke of Buckingham tried to the quicke by Doctor Morton. — The duke of Buckingham

the Tower, vet at length for his fidelitie, was deliuered and aduanced to his recouered honour and dignitie againe.

This king Richard had but one sonne, who shortly after the cruell murder of king Edwards sonnes, was taken with sicknesse and died. The wife of the said king Richard (whether by poison or by sickenesse) died also a little before the fielde of Bosworth: after whose decease, the sonne of Polydore and of sir Thomas More affirmeth; that he intended himselfe to marie the ladie Elisabeth his owne brothers daughter, and so to purchase the earle of Richmond.

Moreouer, as touching the lord Stanley, thus reporteth the storie, that king Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the lord Stanley by a pursuant, to aduance forward with his companie, and comming his presence: otherwise he sware by Christs passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before his owne. The lord Stanley sent word againe, that if he did, he had more sonnes aliue. Whereupon the king immediatly commanded the lord Strange to be beheaded: which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to ioyne together. Therefore the kings counsellors pondering the same and the case perswaded the king, that it was now time to fight, and not to doe execution, aduising him to delay the matter till the battell were ended. And so (as God would) king Richard breaking his oth, or rather keeping his oth, for he himselfe was slaine before dinner, the lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the kings tent: who then after the victorie gotten, was sought out and brought to his ioyfull father. And thus haue ye the tragicall life and end of this wretched king Richard.

During the Erle of Richmond, after heartie thankes giuen to almightie God, for his glorious victorie obteined, proceeded to the towne of Leicester, where was brought to him by the lord Strange, the crowne, and put on the Saracens head.

In the meane time the dead corps of king Richard was shamefully carried to the towne of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin, and being trussed behind a pursenant of armes, was carried like a hog or a dog, hauing his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legges on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the vnhaped reigne of king Richard, who reigned two yeares, and two moneths. Ex Polydo. & Th. Moro.

## King Henry the vij.

King Henrie 7.

WHen king Henrie, by the prouidence of God had obteined this triumphant victorie and diademe of the realme, first sending for Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike, sonne to George Duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the tower, from Leicester remoued to London, and not long after, according to his oth and promise made before, espoused to him the yong ladie Elisabeth, heire of the house of Yorke: whereby both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster were coniоyned together, to the no little reioycing of all Englishe hearts, and no lesse quiet vnto the realme, which was, an. 1485. This king reigned 23. yeares, and eight moneths, and being a Prince of great policie, iustice and temperance, kept his realme in good tolerable rule and order. And here interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the storie aboue promised, of Maximilian the emperour, and in matters of the empire, especially such as pertaine to the Church.

K. Henry marieth with Elizabeth.

The moneths of Edward 5. Lord Protector reigned together.

### ✲ Maximilian the Emperour.

Anno 1486

IN the yere of our Lord 1486. Fredericus waxing aged and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germains, who had complained before of their grieuances, and could not be heard; and therefore misdoubting that his house after his decease, should haue the lesse fauour among them, for that cause in his liftime did associate his sonne Maximilian to be ioyned emperour with him: with whom he reigned the space of 7. yeres till the death of the said Fredericke his father, who departed an. 1494. after he had reigned ouer the Empire 53. yeares, lacking onely but three yeres of the raigne of Augustus Cæsar, vnder whom was the birth of our Lord and Sauiour Christ.

Maximilian. Fredericus Imperator.

The reigne and death of Frederick the emperour.

Anno 1494

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant Emperour, prudent and singularly learned: so was his reigne intangled in many vnquiet and difficill wars: first in the lower Countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captiue, but shortly after rescued and deliuered againe by his father, an. 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian by the aduice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary the onely daughter of Charles duke of Burgundie afore mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, an. 1477. Which Mary not long after, about the yere of our Lord, 1482. by a fall from her horse, fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars many mo, the same Maximilian also atchieued, both in France, in Italy, in Hungarie, and diuers besides.

Maximilian marieth with the daughter of Charles duke of Burgundie. Their issue were two children, Philip and Margaret.

The learning of Maximilian commended.

So happie was the education of this Emperour in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexteritie and promptnesse in the Latin stile, that he imitating the example of Iulius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories, his owne acts and feates done, and that in such sort, that when he had giuen a certaine taste of his historie, to one Bircmerus a learned man, asking his iudgement how his warlike stile of Latin did like him, the said Pircmerus did affirme and report of him to Iohn Caron (the witnesse and writer of this storie) that he did neuer see nor read in any Germane storie, a thing more cleanly (and that in such a rude soile, as the rude of Germanie. Moreouer, as he was learned himselfe, so was he a singular patrone and aduancer of learned students, as may well appeare by the erecting and setting vp the Vniuersitie of Wittenberge. By this Emperour many in those dayes were excited to the embracing as well of other liberall artes, as also namely to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, whereby diuers were then by him first occasioned in Germanie, to set their minds and to exercise their diligence, in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of historie, as well of ancient as also of latter times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

Maximilian writer of his owne deeds.

Ex Io. Caricon.

Maximilian first ordainer of the vniuersitie of Wittenberg.

Hereupon it began right well to appeare, what great benefite was broched to the world, by the arte and facultie of Printing, as is before mentioned. Though the meanes of which printing the church and comon wealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appeare by this Emperour, being so indued himselfe with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by diuers other famous and worthie wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to encrease and multiplie; as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Francicus his cosine, Rodol. Agricola; Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsilius, Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Learned men began to grow in Christendome.

Among whom is also to be numbred Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Ioan de Wesalia aboue recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This Weselus died the yere of our Lord, 1490. After that Ioannes doctor de Wesalia aforesaid was condemned, this Weselus being familiar with him, thought that the Inquisitour would come and examine him also, as he himselfe in a certaine Epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthie a man, that of the people he was called Lux mundi: That is: the light of the world.

Dort. Weselus Groningensis.

Wesel⁹ called Lux mundi.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they diuided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow. Likewise Purgatorie and supererogation of workes and pardons he did dispraise, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the popes indulgences, by the occasion whereof diuers of the popes court perswaded by him, began to speake more freely against the same matter, then hee himselfe had done.

The doctrine of Weselus Groningensis.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead he disallowed: and likewise the supremacie of the pope he vtterly reiected (as appeareth in a booke of his, De sacramento penitentiæ) denying vtterly that any supreme head or gouernour ought to be in the world ouer all other: affirming also and saying many times, that the pope had no authoritie to doe any thing by commandement but by truth: that is, so farre as truth goeth with him, so farre his sentence to stand: neither that he ought to preuaile by commanding, but onely by teaching, so as euery true Christian bishop may preuaile ouer an other. Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spirituall Prelates, proceeding against Christs doctrine, be plaine Antichrists. Such as were infirme and not able to performe the bond of chastitie taken vpon them, he said they might well breake their vow.

Ex lib. D. Wesels De sacramento penitentiæ.

The popes supremacy vnder ten against.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth, that the forefathers which were before Albert and Th. did resist and withstand the popes indulgences, calling them in their writings plaine Idolatrie, meere fraud and errour: adding moreouer, that vnlesse the sacrifice of some good Diuines had not withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope; innumerable errors had ouerflowne the Church.

Amongst these workes of Weselus, there is a certaine Epistle of one written to him, in which the author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certaine learned man at Paris called master Thomas de Curselis a Deane: who being in the councell of Basill, where as diuers began to aduance the power of the pope to farre, declared and affirmed, to be said to him of Christ: Quicquid ligaueris super terram erit ligatum & in cœlo, &c. Etnon, quicquid dixeris esse ligatum. That is: Whatsoeuer thou shalt bind vpon earth shall be bound in heauen, but not, Whatsoeuer thou saiest to bee bound. As who should say, the pope cannot nor doth not binde therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousnesse goe also with him: then he doth so bind in deed. There is a certaine booke of this man amongst diuers others, which he intituleth, De subditis & superioribus, in the which hee disputeth greatly against the pope & his prelates: affirming that the pope vnlesse his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may erre, and when he erreth, men

Ex tract. cuiusd. incerti in Wesels. Christs answer to Sto. de Curselis touching this place. Quicquid ligaueris.

Not whatsoeuer is said to be loosed on earth.



ought to be loosed in heauen: but what soeuer is loosed in verie deed in earth, that is also loosed indeed in heauen. Against cloches in the Church. The precepts of the pope and prelates how they bind.

men ought by all manner of meanes to resist him. Item, that great and superfluous riches in the clergie doe not profite, but hurt the church. That the Pope doth wickedly distribute the rents of the church, and the church it selfe, to vnworthie ministers by Simony, for his owne profite and gaine, thereby it may appeare that he neither careth for God, nor the health of the church. Item, that the precepts and commandements of the pope and prelats be no otherwise but as the councels and precepts of Phylitions, binding no further then they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word. Item, that the pope can command no man vnder paine of deadly sinne, except God command him before. He saith that the keyes of the pope and of the prelats be not such, wherewith they open the kingdome of heauen, but rather that it, as the Pharisies did. Concerning bolwes, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible, ought to be broken: that the hearers ought to discerne and iudge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receiue euery thing that they say, without due examination.

The Popes keyes. Cloues. Doctrine not to be receiued without examination.

Excommunication.

He sheweth moreouer that the sentence of excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true, godly, honest, simple and learned man, then from the pope; as in the councell of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed then Eugenius. Also if the pope with his prelats, gourme and rule naughtilie, that the inferiors, be they neuer so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreouer of two popes, Pius the second and Sixtus the fourth, he saith, that Pius the second did vsurpe vnto himselfe all the kingdomes of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did suspende with all manner of oths in causes temporall, not only with such oths as haue bin already, but also to ly all such as shall be made hereafter: which was nothing else but to giue libertie and licence for men to forsweare themselues and deceiue one another.

This Weselus being a Physitian borne, and now aged in yeres, vpon a certaine time, when a yong man called D. Ioannes Ostendorpius, came to him, said these words: Well my child, thou shalt liue to that day, when thou shalt see the doctrine of these new and contentious diuines, as Thomas and Bonauenture, with others of the same sort, shall be vtterly reiected and exploded from all true christian Diuines. And this lykely Ostendorpius then being young, heard Weselus to preache, he reputed himselfe to Honiomagus, which wrote this storie, an. 1520. and heard it of the mouth of the said Weselus, an. 1490. Partly 18.

Ex Nouiomago. A prophecie of Weselus. This Ostendorpius was a man well learned and a canon of the minister of Liberche.

Philippus Melanthon writing of the life of Rodulphus Agricola, saith: that Iohannus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported that when as he was young, he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodulphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkenesse of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the masse: and of the single life of Priests. Item, that they disputed of sentimes of the righteousnesse of faith, why Saint Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be iustified by faith and not by workes. The same Iohannus also reported, that they did openly reiect and dispraise the opinion of Monkes, which say that men be iustified by their workes. Item, concerning mens traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceiued, whosoeuer attributed vnto those traditions any opinion of Gods worship, or that they could not be broken. And thus much for the storie of doctor Weselianus and Weselus.

Here it appeareth that this Rodulphus Agricola was of good iudgement though he fell afterward hereof him in a Friers weed. Rodol. Agricola. Weselus lamenteth the darkenesse of the Church.

By this it may be seene and noted, how by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning: by learning came light to iudge and discerne the errors of the pope from the truth of Gods word, as partly by these abouesaid may appeare, partly by other that follow after (by the grace of Christ) shall better be seene.

About the very same time and season, when as the Gospell began thus to branch and spring in Germanie: the host of Christs Church began also to muster and to multiplie likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appeare. For not long after the death of this Weselus in the yere of our Lord 1494. and in the ninth yere of the raigne of king Henrie the 7. the 28. of Aprill, was burned a very old woman named Ioane Boughton widow, and mother to the Ladie Poung, which Ladie was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. But my mother was of soure fortie yeres of age or more, and held eight of Wicklifs opinions (which opinions my author doth not shew) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day aboue said. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wicklifs, whom he accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmely eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctours of London could not turne her from one of them: and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinate and false beleefe, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was so beloued of God, and his holy Angels, that she passed not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soule into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a loue vnto the doctrine that she died for.

Anno 1494

Ioane Boughton mother to the lady Poung martyr.

Shortly after the martyrdome of this godly aged mother, in the yere of our Lord, 1497. and the 17. of Ianuarie, being Sunday, two men, the one called Rich. Hilderale, and the other Iames Sturdie, bare fagots before the procession of Paules, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his Sermon. And vpon the Sunday following, stode other two men at Paules Crosse all the Sermon time: the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other hauing a Fagot on his necke. After that in Lent season vpon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glouer bare a Faget before the procession of Paules, & after with the Faget stod before the preacher all the Sermon while at Pauls Crosse. And on the Sunday next following seuerall men stod, and did there open penance at Pauls as is aforesaid, in the sermon time many of their bookes were burnt before them at the Crosse.

Anno 1497

Hugh Glouer.

Foure other beare Fagottes.

FVrthermore the next yere following, which was the yere of our Lord 1498. in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canturbury, was a priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the clerkes and doctors then there being, could not remoue him from his faith: whereof the king being informed, caused the said priest to be brought before his presence, who by his perswasion caused him to reuoke, and so hee was burnt immediatly.

Anno 1498

A priest burnt.

IN the same yere aboue mentioned, which was the yere of our Lord 1498. after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwicke, and sonne to the Duke of Clarence, the king and Quene being remoued to Calis, a certaine goodly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, of Hoythfolke, was burnt in the moneth of Iulie, as is in Fox

The Queene was remoued to Calis at the beginning of the yere. Edmund Earle of Warwike beheaded. Perkin feigned to be Duke of Yorkes sonne.

The burning of Babram.



booke of Martyrs recorded. And here I cease for this time, minding (the Lord willing) to prosecute the residue of the storie of this Babram, with other moe Martyrs, in the next booke following.

Fox

An old man burned.

Anno 1499

Maximilian Emperour. Sauonarola. Florence. Pope Alexander. Charles the French king.

Prophecie of Fr. Sauonarola against Italy.

Savonarola cited to appeare before the Pope. The occasion of Savonarola his sermons. He refuseth, and would not come before the Pope.

Now forasmuch as the said Hierome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appeare before the Pope, to give account of his new learning (for so then they called the truth of the Gospell) but by meanes of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he againe forbidden by the Pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false and seditious.

Savonarola preacheth contrary to the Popes commandement.

This Hieronymus, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for feare left off preaching. But when as the people, which sore hungred and longed for Gods word, were instant upon him that hee would preach againe, he began againe to preach, in the yeare of our Lord 1496. in the citie of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so doe without the Popes commandement, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his owne good will. When as the pope and his chaunc lings heard newes of this, they were greevously incensed and inflamed against him, and now againe cursed him, as an obstinate and shrecked heretike. But for all that, Hieronymus proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profite, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christs kingdome enlarged, and the kingdome of the divell utterly overthrowen.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing then the onely pure and simple Word of God, making often protestation that all men should certifie him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily judge by his bookes that he hath written.

Where you wish 2. other letters to be put to this. The commentaries of Hierom Savonarola upon the Psalme beginning: In te domine speravi.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 1498. hee was taken and brought out of Saint Marks cloyster, and two other Friers with him, named Dominicke and Silvester, which favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where as hee wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable litle and one Psalme, In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum, sed in justitia tua libera me. Wherein he doth excellently declare and set forth, the continuall strife betweene the flesh and the spirit.

Articles objected against Hierome and the two Friers.

After this the popes Legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatning them marcellously, but they continued still constant. Then came the chiefe counsellers of the citie, with the Popes Commissioners, which had gathered out certaine articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death: the tenour of which Articles hereafter ensue.

1 The first article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.

2 That the communion ought to be ministred under both kindes.

3 That the indulgences and pardons of the pope, were of no effect.

4 For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the Cardinals and spiritualitie.

5 For denying the popes supremacie.

6 Also that he had affirmed, that the keyes were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the whole Church.

7 Also, that the Pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his owne pardons and traditions, then to Christs merites, and therefore he was Antichrist.

8 Also, that the popes excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth feare or flie them, is excommunicate of God.

9 Item, that auricular confession, is not necessarie.

10 Item, that he had moved the citizens to uproze & sedition.

11 Item, that hee had neglected and contemned the Popes Citation.

12 Item, that he had shamefully spoken against, and slandered the Pope.

13 Item, that he had taken Christ to witnesse of his naughtinesse and heresie.

14 Also, that Italy must be clensed through Gods scourge, for the manifold wickednesse of the princes and clergie.

These and such other like articles, were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demaunded of the said Hieronme and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through Gods helpe, they would stedfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another, by the bishop of Vasion, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with straight commandement to carre them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stifnecked heretikes.

Hierome with his 2. companions put hanged and burnt for his doctrine. God glorified.

Thus was the worthie witnesse of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river of Arnin, the foure and twentie day of May, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, foure hundred ninety and nine. Ex Catal. testium Illyrici.

The Martyrdome of Hierome and his two companions.



The prophesies of Hierom Savonarola.

This man foreshewed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the turning of the Church: which three things, have happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshewed that the Turkes and Popes in the latter dayes, should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one should passe the Alpes into Italy, like unto Cyrus, which should subuert and destroy all Italy. Thereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earle of Mirandula, called him a holy Prophet, and defended him by his writings against the Pope. Many other learned men also, defend the innocencie of the said Savonarola. Marsilius Ficinus also in a certaine Epistle doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecie, greatly commending and praysing him. In the like manner Philippus Cominеus a French Historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecie, forasmuch as he had foreshewed unto him so many things, which in event had proved true.

Ex Ioan. Franc. cif. Mirandula. Ex Marsilio Ficino.

Ex Phil. Comineo.

There were besides these, many other, not to be passed over or forgotten: as Philip Nozice an Irishman, professour at Orford, who albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) hee was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God, that such as have occupied themselues in writting of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memorie all other things done in forreine common wealthes, had bestowed the like diligence and labour, in noting and writting those things, which pertaine unto the affaires of the Church: whereby the posteritie might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

This Savonarola above mentioned, suffered under Pope Alexander the first, of which pope more leisure and opportunitie shall serue hereafter (Christ willing) to entreat, after that we shall first make a little digression to entreat of certaine cases and complaints of the Germaines, incident in the meane time, which as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inserted. What complaints of the Germanies were made and moued unto the Emperour Fredericke against the popes suppressions and exactions, mention was made before pag. 665. where also was declared, how the said Germaines at that time, were twice put backe and forsaken of the Emperour: whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage, untill the time of Luther. Therefore it commeth now to hand, and we thinke it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germaines, in the time of Maximilian the Emperour; renuing their complaints againe, delivered unto the Emperour, ten principall grievances, whereby the Germaines have bene long time oppressed: shewing also the remedies against the same, with certaine advertisements unto the Emperours maiestie, how he might withstand and resist the popes subtilities and crafts: The order and tenour whereof here ensueth.

The complaints of the Germans against the popes grievances remised.

## The ten greevances of the Germaines.

Ten grievances complained of by the Germains.

1 That the Bishops of Rome, successours one unto another, doe not thinke themselues bound to observe & keepe the Bulles, covenants, priuiledges, and letters, granted by their predecessours, without all derogation: but by often dispensation, suspention and revocation, euen at the instance of euery

The people rotten by the Popes Bulle.

euery vile person, they doe gainesay and withstand the same.

2. That the elections of prelates are of tentimes put backe.

3. That the elections of Presidentships are withstood, which the chapter houses of many churches have obtained with great cost and expence, as the Church of Spire and Hasell do well know: whose bull, touching the election of their president, is made structrate, he being yet alive which graunted the same.

4. That benefices, and the greatest of ecclesiastical dignities, are referred for Cardinalls and head notaries.

5. That expectative graces, called voisons, are granted without number, and many of tentimes unto one man: whereupon continuall contentions do rise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the Bulles of those voisons which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this pestilence is risen, Whosoever will get a voisson from Rome, must have C. or CC. peices of gold laid up in his cheft, for the obtaining of the same, which hee shall have neede of, to prosecute the law withall.

6. That Annates or yearely reuenewes, are exacted without delay or mercy, euen of the bishops lately dead, and of tentimes more exacted then ought to be, through new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the churches of Spentz and Strausburgh, may be seene.

7. That the rule of the churches are given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to keepe and feede Mules, then to have the rule and gouernance of men.

8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are graunted to gather and scrape money together.

9. That tenthes are exacted under the pretence of making warre against the Turke: when as no expedition doth follow thereupon.

10 That the cause which might be determined in Germany, there as there are both learned and iust iudges, are indistinctly caried unto the Court of Rome; which thing S. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reprove.

### ℣ Here ensueth the remedy against the said greevances.

Remedies against the foresaid greevances.

If it shall seeme good unto the Emperour maiestie, let it be declared unto the bishop of Rome, how greevous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germaines, to suffer continually to great charges and greevances, to pay so great Annates for the confirmation of the Bishops and Archbishops, and especially in such Bishoprickes, where as the Annates by succesle of time, are enhanced, and in many (as it is said) doubled.

The Archbishop Bulle of Mentz what it coseth.

For the Archbishops see of Mentz (as it is said) sometime paid only 10000. florines: which summe, when as one which was chosen there, refused to give, and so continued euen unto his death, he which was afterward elect, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the Apostolicke se, offered the old summe of 10000. florines: But notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10000. which his predecessour before him had not paid.

By this meanes he was compelled to pay 20000. florines, which being inrolled in the regifter of the chamber, hath bene exacted of euery Archbishop since, untill these our dayes: and not only 20000. but also 25000. for their new offices, and new seruants. At last, the summe drew to 27000. florines, which James the Archbishop of Mentz was compelled to pay, as his Commissary did report. So by this meanes, in a little time there was seuen times 25000. florines paid out of the Archbishoprickes of Mentz unto Rome, for the confirmation of the Archbishop. And when this Archbishop James had kept the Archbishoprickes scarce foure yeares, the Lord Uriel was elect after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24000. or 25000. florines. Whereof a part he bestowed of Pergamits: but to satisfy and pay them againe, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poore subiects and husbandmen, whereof some haue not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the Bishops palle; so that by this meanes, our people are not onely tormented and brought to extreme pouerty, but also are moued unto rebellion to seeke their liberty by what meanes soeuer they may, greevously murmuring against the cruelty of the Clergy.

The Popes Bulle dearely bought.

The Pope also should be admonished, how that through diuers and sundry warres and battels, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that for the scarcenes of husbandmen, the fields for the most part, lie untild, the tolles are by diuers meanes diminished, the mines consumed, and the profites daily decay, whereby the Archbishops and Bishops should pay their Annates unto the Apostolicke see, besides their other necessary and honest charges: insomuch that not without suit cause, James the Archbishop of Mentz being euen at the point of death, said, that he did not so much sorrow for his owne death, as for that his poore subiects should be againe forced to pay a grieuous exaction for the Palle. Whereunto he added, that he did not so much sorrow for his death, as for that his poore subiects should be againe forced to pay a grieuous exaction for the Palle. Whereunto let the high Bishop, as a godly father and louer of his children, and a faithfull and prudent pastor, deale more favourably with his children the Germaines, lest that persecution happen to rise against the Priests of Christ, and that men follo-



wing the example of the Bohemians, do swarue from the church of Rome.

At the least, let him be more favourable, as often, as any Archbishop or Bishop happeth to rule his Church but a few yeares: as it happed to the Bishops of Bamberge, whereof three died within few yeares. The like also might happen by other bishoprickes, whereof (as Aeneas Sylvius witnesseth) there are in Germany to the number of 50. besides Abbats, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

Above 50. Bishoprickes in Germanie.

And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and reuenewes rising of the ground, mines and tolles: notwithstanding the Emperour and the other Princes, should lacke treasure and munition of warre against their enemies, and specially the infidels, and to preserue Germany in peace & quietnesse, and to minister iustice unto euery man: for which purpose, the Councell of the chamber being most holily instituted and furnished with great cost and charges, doth this seruice. Besides that, the Emperour hath need of treasure, to suppresse the rebelles in the Empire, to banish and drive away theues and murtherers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoyle churches onely, and to robe them of their goods, but also to assaile the Clergy themselues. Finally, our nation and country of Germany, hath needs of great riches and treasure, not onely for the repayring of Churches and Monasteries, but also for Hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widowes, for women with child, for orphans, for the marriage of the daughters of poore men, that they be not debloured, for such as have needs and necessitie, for the old and weak, for the sicke and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled.

## Aduertisements vnto the Emperours Maiesty.

The Emperor aduertised of the subtile practises of the Pope, and his pitifull prelates.

Let the Emperours Maiestie foresee and prouide, that the begging Friers do not preach against his Maiestie, which are want to complaine gladly unto the Apostolicke se, fearing to lose their priuiledges, which I would to God, were as well grounded upon Christ, as they are upon profite. Let the Emperours Maiestie also beware, that the Pope do not give commandement unto the Electours, to proceede to the election of a new king of Romains, as he did against Frederick the second, when as the Lantgraue of Thurin, and William Earle of Holland, were elect by the commandement of the Pope. Let the Emperours Maiestie also feare and take heed of all the prelats of the Churches, and especially of the Presidents, which by their oth are bound to aduertise the Pope. Let the Emperours Maiestie also feare and beware that the Pope do not take away from his subiects their obedience, and prouoke the people to bearing upon him, to make inuasion into the Emperours dominions and Archduchie of Austrich: which those men, under colour of shewing obedience unto the Popes commandement, be ready to do.

The Popes practise to winne Peters Church in Rome.

Let the Emperours maiesty also take heed of the Apostolicke censures, from which the Pope will in no case relente. Finally, let the Emperours maiesty diligently foresee and take heed, that the Pope do not perswade the people with most subtile arguments, contrary to the pragmaticall sanction, creeping himselfe, and getting the good will of the simple, alleadging that with great costs and charges, he will repaire the Church of S. Peter in Rome, & build in certaine places against the Turks, and recouer againe the lands and patrimony pertaining unto the church of S. Peter, as he is bound by his office. Therefore, let your maiesty diligently foresee and deliberat, how though your most wise and discreet counsel, sh[illegible] shall require, you will answere to those subtelties of the Pope.

## ¶ A certaine godly exhortation vnto the Emperours Maiesty.

A supplication or exhortation to Maximilian Emperour, for reformation of the Church.

You Maiesty can do nothing better, nothing more acceptable, or more worthy eternall remembrance, then to moderate the great exactions and oppressions of the Germains: to take away all occasion from the laitie, to persecute the Clergy: also to take away the benefices out of the hands of courtisans, which cause either preach, comfort, nor counsell any man (of which benefices, as Aeneas Sylvius writeth, some are equall to the Bishoprickes of Italy) to encrease Gods honour and worship: and so to bridle the auarice and ungodlines of those courtisans, whereby your maiesty may the better prouide for the children of many noble and famous men and Citizens in Germany; which being brought up from their youth in the Universities, learning both the Scriptures and other humane letters, may without vnquiet berations, and most tumptuous charges and contentions, aspire to the Ecclesiastical promotions, who by their counsell and prayers, may be helps unto the whole Church: For there is no small occasion, why the realme of France should so flourish, having so many notable learned men in it. If the Emperour would abolish this impietie, and release Germany unto their auncient libertie, which is now oppressed with grievous tributes, and with his children the Germaines, lest that persecution happen to rise against the Priests of Christ, and that men follo-would make way for learned and honest men unto Eccles-

ecclesiall promotions: then might he truly and perpetually be called of all men, and in all places, the restorer of Germany to his auncient liberte, and the father of his countrey, and should obtaine no lesse glory thereby vnto himselfe, and profite vnto Germany, then if he had by force of armes, subdued any prouince vnto them: And so shall Germany render no lesse thanks vnto the said Maximilian, then vnto all the rest, which hauing translated the Empire from the Grecians vnto Germany, haue raigned many yeares before.

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certaine letter of the Emperour Maximilian, giuen out in maner of a decree or commandement, against certaine abuses of the Clergy. Whereunto we haue also annexed the answere of Iacobus Seslestadiensis, vnto the Emperours letters, wherein he seemeth also to haue fought advice for the remedy of the like abuses, which we thought good here not to be omitted.

## An Edict of Maximilian the Emperour.

WE according to the example of our dearely beloued father Fredericke Emperour of Rome, reuerencing the chiefe Pastour of the Church, and all the Clergy, haue suffered no smal reuenewes of the Ecclesiasticall dignities, to be caried out of our dominion by the Prelats and Clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by humaine frailtie, with Constantine our predecessor, we haue not disdained to hide and couer. But for so much as through our liberalitie, the decay of Gods honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect vnto the Empire, without any delert) that amongst all other affaires of peace and warre, the Churches do not decay, Religion quaile not, or Gods true worship be not diminished: which we haue manifestly experimented, and daily do perceiue by the infatiable couetousnesse of some, which are neuer satisfied in getting of benefices: through which absence (being but resident only vpon one) Gods honour & worship is diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the Ecclesiasticall liberte is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroied, hospitalitie and almes diminished, and by their vnsatiable greedinesse, such of the Clergie as for their learning and vertue were worthie of Benefices, and their wisedome, profitable in common wealthes, are hindered and put backe. Wherefore according to the office and duety of our estate, for the loue of the encrease of Gods honour, we exhort & require, that no man from henceforth hauing any Canonshipe or Vicarage in one City of our Empire, shall occupie or possesse a prebend in an other Church of the same City, except he giue ouer the first within 2 yeares space vnto some person fit and profitable for the Church: neither that he do by vniust quarels, vexe or trouble any man in getting of benefices, neither that any man doe falsely faine himselfe to haue beene of the Emperors household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the Princes, neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any lay man, or aggrauate the small prebends of Curates of Churches, with pensions, neither that they do vse in getting of benefices and Bulles, any fraude, deceite, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked Simonie, neither that any man presume to obtaine any regresse, or other thing cōtrary to the sacred Canons, right, honestly, equity and reason, vpon paine of the most greeuous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they, going so contrary to God and all honesty: but also all their fauourers, which do helpe, counsell, harbour or giue them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctours, sureties, and other their friends, shall incurre, and receiue condigne punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandement. From Oenopont, &c.

No man to haue two Benefices or Prebends at once.

☞ Here ensueth the copy of a letter writen vnto the Emperour Maximilian.

### ¶ To our most victorious Lord Maximilian the Emperour, Iacobus Seslestadiensis, most *humble commendations.*

MOst victorious Emperour, when I had read your Maiesties Epistle, and receiued instructions of your Secretary, I prepared my selfe with al my whole endeuour, to satisfie your Maiesties desire: For euen from my youth hitherto, I haue applied all my care & study, first for the honour of your Maiesty, & consequently for the amplifying of the Germaine nation, and sacred Romaine Empire. Albeit I know my selfe farre vnable to satisfie your desire and purpose, and there are many which can fulfill this matter much better, which haue greater learning and experience of these common matters. There be also with other Princes, and in the Senates of common wealthes, many excellent learned men, which can exornate and beautifie Germanie, and perswade to reduce all the Clergy vnto a christian discipline, & to an vnitie and peace of the vniuersall church. Wherin not onely your Maiestie, but also your predecessors, as Charles the great, and his sonne Ludouicus Pius, the Othoes, Conrades, Frederickes, and Henrickes, and last of all, Sigismundus, haue with all labour and diligence trauelled, being stirred thereunto, vndoubtedly through the zeale and charity which they bare vnto almighty God, and thankefulnes vnto Christ, for his benefites which he hath bestowed vpon mankinde, and specially for the benefit of his most bitter passion. For Christ became not poore for vs, that we should liue in all riot and wantonnes vpon his patrimony, and shew forth our ambition and couetousnesse: neither did he suffer hunger that we should glut vp our selues: or suffered labors, chastity, and grieuous torments, that we should liue in idlenesse, wantonnes, and all kind of voluptuousnesse. Neither they which were contributers, and benefactours to Churches, induing the ministers thereof with their temporall riches, had any such respect herein, that the Clergy should liue onely in idlenesse, hauing all things at their will, without labour. Surely there was another cause why that they in times past did empouerish themselues and theirs to endow the Church: verily that they might the better attend vnto diuine seruice, without care of want of liuing (which they might easily get & gather out of the fields, woods, meawes, and waters) and to the intent that they should liberally giue almes vnto the poore Christians, Widdows, Orphans, aged and sicke persons. For in the institutions of the canonicall profession, which we suppose was written by the commandement of Ludouicus Pius the Emperour, and allowed by the counsell of the Bishops, thus it is read: The goods of the Church (as it is alledged by the fathers, and contained in the chapters before) are the vowes of the faithfull, and patrimony of the poore. For the faithfull, through the feruentnesse of their faith, and loue of Christ, being inflamed, hauing an earnest desire of that heauenly kingdome, haue enriched the holy Church with their owne goods, that thereby the fouldiers of Christ might be nourished, the Church adorned, the poore refreshed, and captiues according to the opportunitie of time redeemed. Wherefore such as haue the administration of those goods, ought diligently to be looked vpon, that they do not conuert them vnto their owne proper vse, but rather, according to their substance and possibility, they do not neglect them in whom Christ is fed and clothed. *Prosper* is also of the same minde, affirming, that holy men did not challenge the church goods to their owne vse, as their owne proper goods, but as things commended vnto the poore, to be diuided amongst them: For that is to contemne that which a man possesseth, not to possesse a thing for himselfe, but for others, neither to couet the church goods with couetousnesse, to haue them himselfe, but to take them with a godly zeale to help other. That which the church hath, is common to all them which haue nothing, neither ought they to giue any thing of that vnto them (saith he) which haue of their owne: for to giue vnto them which haue enough, is but to cast things away. Ex Illyrico.

To returne now to the order of Popes where we left before, speaking of Innocentius the 8. After the said Innocentius, next succeded Pope Alexander the 6. In which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes (Peucerus named him Demes) brother to Baiazetes the great Turke, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the 6. for whose keeping, the Pope receiued euery yeare 40000. crownes; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the eight the French king for a pledge, because the French king should not pursue the great Turkes fauour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slaine, he being hired by the Turke, caused the said Gemes to be poysoned, who in his iourney going toward the French king, died at Terracina. Ex Hieronymo Mario.

Pope Alexander 6.

The Pope poysoned Gemes the Turkes brother, being committed to his custody.

*Ex Paul. Iouio lib. 3.*

*Ex Peucero lib. 5.*

*Ex Hieronym. Mario.*

Moreouer, in the said Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander taking displeasure with the foresaid Charles the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Baiazetes the Turke, to fight against the foresaid Charles. Ex eodem.

The Pope setteth the great Turke against the French King.

*Ex Sab. Marcellico. lib. 2.*

Munsterus lib. 4. Cosmog. declaring the foresaid historie of Gemes, touching otherwise, first calleth him *Zizymus*, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when as Ioannes Hunniades afore mentioned, did labour to the French king to haue him, thinking by that meanes to obtaine a noble victory against the Turke, as it was not vnlike: this Alexander the Pope, thoughe his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king, into his owne hands, by whose meanes the said Gemes afterward was poysoned, as is in maner before expressed.

*Cosmograph.*

Vnto these poysoned acts of the Pope, let vs also adioine his malicious wickednes, with like fury exercised vpon Antonius Pancinellus, which Pancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked maners and filthy life, with other lines, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him, as Antonius the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life: at length, as one poyson requiteth another, this poysoned Pope, as he was sitting with his Cardinals, and other rich Senatours of Rome at dinner, his seruants vnwares brought to him a wrong bottle, wherewith he was poysoned, and his Cardinals about him.

Pancinellus writing against the wickednes of the Pope, lost his hands and tongue.

Poyson requiteth with poyson.

The high Angel of the popes palace throwne downe.

Pope Pius 3. Pope Iulius 2.

In the time of this Pope Alexander, also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the Angell which stoode in the high top of the Popes Church, was beaten downe with a terrible thunder: which thing seemed then to declare the ruine and fall of the Popedome. After this pope, next succeeded Pius the third, about the yeare of our Lord 1503. After whom, came next Iulius the second, a man so farre passing all other in iniquitie, that Vlricius, and such other of his owne friends writing of him, are compelled to say of him, Marti illum quam Christo deditiorem fuisse: that is, that he was more geuen to warre and battaile, then to Christ. Concerning the madnesse of this man, this is most certainly knowne, that at what time he was going to warre, he cast the keyes of S. Peter into the riuer of Tibris, saying, that for as much as the keyes of Peter would not serue him to his purpose, he would take himselfe to the sword of Paul. Whereupon Philip Melanthon, amongst many other writing vpon the same, maketh this Epigramme.

*Cùm contra Gallos bellum papa Iulius esset*
*Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet:*
*Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, & vrbem*
*Egressus sanas edidit ore minas.*
*Iratúsque sacras claues in flumina iecit*
*Tibridis, hic vbi pons vbi iungit aquas.*
*Inde manu strictum vagina diruit ensem,*
*Exclam. insque truci talia voce refert:*
*Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,*
*Quandoquidem clauis nil iuuat ista Petri.*

Whereupon also Gilbert Ducherius maketh this Epigramme.

*In Gallum, vt famaest, bellum gesturus acerbum,*
*Armat, an educit Iulius vrbe manum:*
*Accinctus gladio, claues in Tibridis amnem*
*Projcit, & fauus talia verba facit:*
*Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad praelia claues,*
*Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.*

### ¶ The sense of these Epigrammes in English is this.

VVhen Iulius Pope against the French
determined to make warre:
As fame reports, he gathered vp
great troupes of men from farre.
And to the bridge of Tibur then,
marching as he were wood:
His holy keyes he tooke, and cast
them downe into the floud.
And afterward into his hand,
he tooke a naked sword:
And shaking it, brake forth into
this fierce and warlike word:
This sword of Paul (quoth he) shall now
defend vs from our foe:
Since that this key of Peter doth
nothing auaile thereto.

Of this Iulius it is certainly reported, that partly with his warres, partly with his curssings, within the space of 7. yeares, as good as 200000. Christians were destroyed. First he besieged Rauenna against the Venetians, then Seruia, Imola, Faurentia, Forolimium, Senonia, and other cities, which he gate out of Princes handes, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of Iohn Sleidan maketh mention, that when this Iulius was made Pope, he take an oath, promising to haue a councell within two yeares: but when he had no leasure thereunto, being occupied with his warres in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferraria, and in other countreyes; nine of his Cardinals departing from him, came to Pisiaine, and there appointed a Councell at the City of Pise, amongst whom, the chiefe were Bernardus, Trucetus, Galeinius Prenestinus, Franciscus Constantinus, with diuers others: amongst whom also were adioyned the Procuratours of Bartholian the Emperour, & of Charles the French king. So the Councell was appointed the yeare of our Lord 1511. to begin in the Kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this Councell, was thus alledged, because the Pope had so broken his oth, and all this while he gaue no hope to haue any Councell, and also because there were diuers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remoue him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Iulius hearing this, grueth out contrary commandement vnder great paine, no man to obey them, and calleth himselfe another Councell against the next yeare, to be begun the 19. day of Aprill. The French king vnderstanding Pope Iulius to ioyne with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, conuented a Councell at Thurin in the moneth of September; in the which Councell these questions were proposed.

The popes lawe giueth leaue to kill all that be accused of him.

The warres and bloodshed of Pope Iulius 2.

A Councell called to depose Pope Iulius.

The Pope perswaded.

VVhether it was lawfull for the Pope to moue warre against any Prince without cause.

VVhether any Prince in defending himselfe, might inuade his aduersary: and deny his obedience.

Vnto the which questions it was answered, that neither the bishop ought to inuade, and also that it was lawfull for the King to defende himselfe. Moreouer, that the Pragmaticall sanction was to be obserued throwe the realme of France: Neither that any vniust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be vniust. After this, the King sent vnto Iulius the answere of his Councell, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a generall Councell some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Iulius would neither of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdome. At the length, at Rauenna, in a great warre, he was ouercome by the French king, and at last, after much slaughter and great bloudshed, and mortall warre, this Pope died in the yeare of our Lord 1512. the 21. day of Februarie.

The Pragmaticall sanction established, mentioned before, page 605. Vniust excommunication to be feared.

If it were not that I feare to ouerlay this our volume with heapes of forreine historics, which haue professed chiefely to intreate of Acts and Monuments here done at home: I would adioine after these Popes aboue rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turkes story: of their rising, and cruell persecution of the saints of God, to the great auntoiance and perill of Christendome: yet notwithstanding, certaine causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruell tyranny, and bloudy victories, the ruine & subuersion of so many Christian Churches, with the horrible murders and captiuitie of infinite Christians, to be made plaine and manifest, as well to this our countrey of England, as also to other nations.

The Turkes doing requisite to be knowne of Christians.

Firſt, for the better explayning of the prophecies of the new Testament, as in S. Pauls epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Reuelation of S. John. Which Scriptures as therwhile, without the opening of these historics, can not so perfectly be vnderstood. Of the which Scriptures, we minde hereafter (Christ graunting) orderly, as the course of matter shall leade vs, to make rehearsall.

The first cause.

Another cause is, that we may learne thereby either with the publique Church, to lament with our brethren such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turkes: or els may feare therby our owne danger.

The second cause.

The third cause, that we map ponder more deply with our selues, the scourge of God for our sinnes, and corrupt doctrine, which in the sequele hereof, may euidently map appeare to our eyes, for our better admonition.

The third cause.

Fourthly, the consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turkes, rising chiefely by our discord and dissention among our selues, may reduce vs againe from our domesticall warres, in killing and burning one of an other, to ioyne together in christian patience and concord.

The fourth cause.

Fifthly, but chiefely, these great victories of the Turkes, and vnprosperous speede of our men fighting against them, may admonish y teach vs, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seeke for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, then hitherto we haue done. First we must consider, that the wide power of Sathan the prince of this world, goeth with the Turkes. Which to resist, no strength of mans arme is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus the Sonne of God, going with vs in our battels; as among the old Israelites, the Arke of Gods ordinance and promise went with them also, fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in Scripture, that we christian men haue no strength, but in Christ only. Whether we warre against the diuell, or against the Turke, it is true that the Scripture saith: Sine me nihil potestis facere. I. without me you can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the diuell or to conquer the world, Nisi fides nostra: that is, our faith onely: to which all the promises of God (touching saluation) be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth he can not tell whither. Neither must we appoint God, how to saue the world, but must take that way which he hath appointed. Let vs not set our God to schole, nor comprehend his holy spirit within our scalles. He that made vs without our counsell, did also redeeme vs as pleased him. If he be mercifull, let vs be thankefull. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let vs therefore not resist, but search his word, and thereunto apply our will: which if we will do, all our contentions will come be at a point. Let vs therefore search the will of our God in his word, and if he will his saluation to stand fast to all nations, why do we make merchandise therof? The haue graciously offered his waters to vs, without money or money worth, let vs not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace giuen vs.

Ammunition to fight against the Turke.

Christian faith necessary to be ioyned with outward force against the Turke.

*Gratis vnum datur filij, gratiâ redimamini.* Esay 52.

*Omnes sitientes venite ad aquas, emite absque argento & cum commutationes.* Esay 55.

And finally, if God haue determined his owne Sonne only to stand alone, let not vs presume to admire with his maiesty any of our trumpery. He'p bringeth S. George or S. Denyse as patrons to the field to fight against the Turke, leaueth

Reformation of religion requisite before we fight with the Turkes.

Faith getteth victory.

The fifth cause.

Earnest invocation necessary in the Church of Christ.

2. Thess. 2.

The place of S. Paul reprooued.

2. Thess. 2. speaking of the defection to come.

The number of the Apocalyps, cap. 13. expounded.

Another place vpon Apoc. 16. Effecimus, angelus effudit phialam suam, &c.

The time of Mahomet the false prophet expounded.

The number of

Christ (no doubt) at home. Now how we haue fought these many yeares against the Turke, though stories keepe silence, yet the successe declareth. We fight against a persecutour, being no lesse persecutours our selues. We warre against a bloody tyrant, and our handes be as full of blood as his. We killed Christs people with the sword, and we burne them with fire. He obseruing the workes of the law, sarketh his iustice by the same, the like also do we. But neither he nor we seeke our iustification as we should, that is, by faith onely in the Sonne of God.

And what marueil then, if our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conuersation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turke? The Turke hath preuailed so mightily, not because Christ is weake, but because that Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with Images, our hartes with idolatry are polluted: Our liues stinke before God for adultery, being restrained from lawfull matrimony. The name of God is in our mouthes, but his feare is not in our hartes. We warre against the Turke with our workes, Masses, traditions and ceremonies: but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory, which if we did, the field were wonne.

Wherefore briefely to conclude, saying my iudgement in this behalfe, what I suppose: this hope I haue, and do beleeue, that when the Church of Christ with the Sacramentes thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be receiued to be our mediatour, all other religions, merites, traditions, images, patrons and aduocates set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall ouer hand quith the Turkes pride and furie. But of this more largely in the processe of this storie.

The first and last cause, why I thinke the knowledge of the Turkes history requisite to be considered, is this: because that many there be, which for that they be farther from the Turkes, and thinke therefore themselues to be out of danger, take little care and study, what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore to the intent to excite their zeale and prayer to almighty God, in this so lamentable ruine of Christs Church, I thought it requisite by order of history, to giue this our nation also something to vnderstand, what hath bene done in other nations by these cruell Turkes, and what detriment hath bene and is like more to happen by them to the Church of Christ, except we make our earnest inuocation to almighty God, in the name of his Sonne, to stop the course of the diuell by these Turkes, and to stay this defection of Christians falling daily vnto them, and to reduce them againe to his faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Iesus of his grace grant with speede. Amen.

Before we enter into this story of the Turkes and Saracens, first let vs call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of S. Paul writing to the Thessalonians, in his 2. Epistle, in these words: We not moued nor troubled in our mindes, either by preaching, or by writing, or by letter from vs, as though the day of the Lord were at hand: for the Lord will not come except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be reuealed, &c. Of this defection, sundrie minders there be, of sundry expositours: some thinking this defection to meane a falling away from the Empire of Rome: some from the obedience of the Pope. But as Saint Paul little passed vpon the outward glory of the Romane Empire: so lesse he passed vpon the pretie obedience of the Pope. But Saint Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these Churches by him before planted, will soone declare.

Another mystery there is in the Reuelation, Apocalyp. 13. where the number of the beast is counted 666. Whereby may seeme by all euidences, to be signified the first origine and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by sequele hereof may appeare by the first rising of this diuelish sect of Mahumet.

Moreouer, an other place there is, cap. 16. Apocal. where we reade, that by powring out of the viall of Gods wrath, of the first Angell, the great flood Euphrates was dried vp, to let in the kings of the East: the opening of which prophecy, may also more euidently appeare, in consider ing the order and maner of the comming of these Turkes into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turkes certaine Prophecies of Daniel, Ezechiel, and other places of the old Testament: which here I omit, for so much as the Prophecies of the old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and natiue sense, after my iudgement, do extend no further, then to the death of our Sauiour, and to the end of the Iewes kingdome. Albeit herein I do not preiudicate to any mans opinion, but that euery man may abound in his owne sense.

As touching the yeare and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahumet first began, hitherto doe not fully consent: Some affirming that it began, An. 622. and in the 10. yeare of Heraclius the Emperour of Constantinople: in which minde is Ioannes Lucilius. As Munsterus counteth, it was in the yeare of our Lord 622. Martin Luther and Iohn Carion referre it to the 18. yeare of the raigne of Heraclius, which is the yeare of our Lord 630. Vnto the which number, the computation of the beast signified in the Apocalyps, doth not

the beast in the Apocalyp. 13.

farre disagree, which numbreth the name of the Beast, with three Greeke letters χξϛ, which Greeke letters after the supputation of the Grecians make the number of 666.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahumet was borne in the countrey of Arabia, bordering on the East part of Iewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian, his mother was an Ismaelite; which Ismaelites being a people of Arabia were called then Agarens: Which terme Mahumet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahumet mention was made before, page 112. where we shewed, how he making himselfe the highest Prophet of all other, yet denieth not Christ to be an holie Prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be an other. Moreouer, he denieth not Marie the mother of Christ to be a virgin, and to haue conceiued Christ by the holie Ghost: asserning further that Christ in his owne person was not crucified, but another called Iudas for him. He greatlie commendeth also Iohn the sonne of Zacharie for a virgin: when he himselfe permitteth a man to haue foure wiues, and as manie concubines as he is able to finde: and saith, that whereas Christ & other Prophets had the gift giuen them to worke miracles, he was sent by force of sword, to compell men to his religion.

Pahumet Ismaelite of the stocke of the Ismaelites, dwelling in Arabia.

Sultanes first called.

The first rising of the Turkes.

The prodigious banities, lies and blasphemies contained in his law called Alchoran, are rather to be laught at then recited.

It is thought, that Sergius a Nestorian was a great doer with Mahumet, in contruing of this lying Alchoran, and so it doth well appeare by the scope and patience thereof, which especiallie tendeth to this end, to take the diuinitie from the person of Christ, whom he graunteth notwithstanding to be a most holie man, and also that he is receiued vp to God, and shall come againe to kill Antichrist, &c.

Pahumets Alchoran mingled with diuers lawes.

Moreouer, this ridiculous Alchoran is so blanched and pondered with so diuers mixtures of the Christians, Iewes, and the Gentiles lawes, giuing such libertie to all wantonnesse of flesh, setting vp circumcision, abstaining from swines flesh, and Iudaicall lotions, and so much hardeth vpon Father Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthie Alchoran not to be lesse in the sight of Mahumet, but that certaine Iewes had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death: and so seemeth first to take his rise about the number of yeares limited in the Apocalyps, as is afore said, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the Beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred, six score and six.

The diuersion of the Christians do make the Turke so strong.

The numeration of the Apocal. 666.

After this diuelish Mahumet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to giue his law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribut (for so be the words of the Alchoran:) and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebell against the Emperour, because their stipends were not paid them of Heraclius the Emperors officers: he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria bordering neere vnto him, and first subdued Hecha, then Damascus: and further increasing in power, entred into Egypt and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes the king of Persia encountring with a puissant army, ouerthrew the Saracens, and put Mahumet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turkes, which afterward ioyning with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians. Ex Munster.

Damascus subdued of the Saracens.

Mahumet put to flight by Cosroes king of the Persians.

After the death of this beast, which, as some say, was poysoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer his father in law, or as Wolfangus affirmeth, his sonne in law, who take vpon him the gouernment of the Saracens, got the City Gaza, and besieged also Hierusalem two yeares. He raigned two yeares, hauing for his chiefe City Damascus.

No imperiall countrie in all the Turkish dominions.

Hierusalem besieged.

After him, followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens after Mahumet, was Odmen, then followed Haly, and after him Muhantas: which after the siege of 7. yeares, obteined and got the Christian city of Tesarea: also ouercame the Persians, with their king Dirmada, and subdued that country to his law.

Tesarea got of the Saracens.

The kingdome of the Persians subdued to the Saracens.

The wicked Saracens in the space of 30. yeares, subdued Arabia, got Palestina, Iahenica, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the 666. yeares, prophesied of in the Reuelation of S. Iohn, as is afore said. And not long after, they proceeded further, and got Africke, and then Affa, as in the processe of their story shall appeare the Lord willing.

Arabia, Palestina, Iahenica, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, subdued of the Saracens.

Not long after Heraclius Emperour of Constantinople, succeeded Constance his nephew, who in the 13. yeare of his Empire, fighting vnluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was ouerthrowne of Mohanias afore said, in the yeare of our Lord 655. Which Constance, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his warres, it was no great marueil, considering that he had slaine his brother Theodosius before at home: moreouer, liued in continuous matrimony also, being inclined to certain new sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him therof. The said Constance going afterward to Italy, was also ouercome of the Lumbards, &c. The Saracens after this victory spoiled also Rhodes.

Constance the Emperour ouercome by the Saracens.

Murder commonly prosecuteth not with the Lord.

Rhodes spoyled of the Saracens.

Although



Although these cursed Saracens in these their great victories and conquests were not without domesticall seditions and diuisions among themselues, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then Sultans, had in their possession the gouernment of Syria, Egypt, Africke, and of a great part of Asia, about the yeare of 400. yeares (till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aide of the Turkes, to fight with him against the Sultan of Babylon. The which Turkes by little and little surpsized vpon the Sultan of Persia, and not long after putting him out of place, vsurped his kingdom of Persia: which afterward went further, as ye shall heare the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turkes dominion.

These Turkes after they had thus ouercome great countreys and prouinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia, and Europa, began to diuide their kingdomes, and countreys amongst themselues. But when they could not agree, but with deadly warre contended for the bounds of those kingdomes and dominions, in the meane time 4. of the principall families conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole Empire amongst themselues. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruell hatred, contention, warre, and slaughter, (no doubt by the iust iudgement of God against his blasphemous enemies) that there was no end therof, vntill the remnant of the ancient Turkes was vtterly rooted out.

The Turkes dominions parted into 4. families.

Pahumets Alchoran with diuers lawes.

The dissension of the Christians do make the Turke so strong.

For it is euident, that there are fewe now remaining which are Turkes indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great Empire is not vpholden, but by the strength and power of soudiors, which haue bene Christians, and now are turned to Mahumets religion: so that euen their owne naturall language is now out of vse amongst them, sauing in certaine families of their nobilitie and gentlemen.

These 4. families aboue mentioned, with their Captaines and armies, about the yeare of our Lord 1330. went raging throughout all Asia and Europa, and euery one of them conquered some part of the countreys where they passed.

The causes of these great inuasions and victories, were the dissention and discord, falsehod, idlenesse, inconstancie, grediue auarice, lacke of truth, and fidelity among Christian men of all estates and degrées, both high and low. For by the wilfull defection and backsliding of the Christians, the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many desiring the licentious life and liberty of warre, and allured with the prosperous successe of things, forsooke the Church of God, and made themselues bondslaues to Mahumet and his diuelish sect: both because that fleshly liberty is delighting to all men, and partly also because as fortune fauoureth, so commonly the willes of men incline: And againe, such as be prophane, and without the feare of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the Church) in all ages, are wont commonly to iudge of religion, according to the successe of realmes and kingdomes. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diuersitie of euents and fortune amongst men, haue enquired and do inquire, whether there be any Church of God distinct from other nations: what it is, and where it is: especially, for so much as the greatest part of men, both in the old time, when as the foure Monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the Church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahumet preuaileth and raigneth in the most part of the world. And how knoweth this with mans reason, that a small number both miserable and also feebled and broken with many battailes, should be preserued and kept of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperitie, victories, authoritie and power, should be reiected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authoritie, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit therefore, the power of the Turkes hath bene for these two hundred yeares, of greater force, then any other Monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no Imperiall dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations onely, where the heauenly doctrine of the Gospell is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the Church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded: where the lawes of God, and other honest and ciuill ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reigne: there lawfull iudgement is exercised: where vertue is honoured and rewarded: where sinne and wickednes is punished: where honest families are maintained and defended.

Mahumet put to flight by Cosroes king of the Persians.

Inward warre among the Turkes.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turkes, the enemies of the Sonne of God, and all lawfull Empires: because they dissolue and reiect all godly societies, honest discipline, good lawes, policies, righteous iudgements, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the Empire of the Turkes beene hitherto, but most deadly, cruell, and perpetuall warre, to worke all mischiefe, destruction and desolation: to subuert good lawes, Cities, kingdomes, policies, and to enlarge their cruell power and dominion? The stay and strength whereof, is not one and fauourable proceeding of vertue and iustice, as in Iuliolall and well gouerned Empires: but feare, violence, oppression, swarmes, and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satans malice and fury. Which kinde of dominion and tyranny hath bene condemned by the voyce of God many yeares ago: the testimonies whereof, the Lord would haue to remaine in the Church, lest the godly being moued with the power and successe thereof, should fall away and forsake the Sonne of God.

The time comming vp of Ottomannus

Wherefore, let vs not seeke for any Imperiall state in that barbarity: but let vs be thankefull, and acknowledge the great benefite of God, for that he hath reserued to vs certaine remnants of the Romaine Empire: And let vs call vpon him daily with heartie petitions and prayers, and with zeale and loue to the house of God, that this Turkish power ioined with the malice of Sathan, against the Sonne of God, preuaile not against the poore congregations and little remnant of his Church, as it hath hitherto done against these strong and noble Christian kingdoms and churches, where now see the Turkish tyranny to raigne, and Sathan to haue taken full possession. Whose state was once farre better then ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible ouerthrowes and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth ouer our heads! For though the Turke seemeth to be farre off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that may some cause vs to feele his cruell hand and woorse, if woorse may be, to ouerrunne vs: to lay our land waste: to scatter vs amongst the Infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Sonne of God.

The Christian Kingdoms and churches destroyed by the Turkes, are a warning for vs, whom God hath yet spared.

Now, although these foure families aboue mentioned, long continued together in bloudie warres, and deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all crueltie and tyrannie, and subduing the other three families, take vpon him the gouernment alone, and so became the first Monarch, or Emperour, that reigned among them, called Ottomannus, of whom all that raigned after him, were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his line, haue occupied the same dominion and seate of the Turkes, from the yeare of our Lord 1300. vnto this present time, which haue been to the number of 12. Of the which 12. in such order as they liued and raigned, I intend (Christ so permitting) seuerally and compendiously something to intreate, briefly abstracting out of prolixe and tedious writers, such specialties, as for vs Christians shall be chiefely requisite to be knowne.

Foure principall families of the Turke.

The family of Ottomannus.

## ¶ Ottomannus the first great Emperour, or Tyrant of the Turkes.

Ottomannus the first Empyre of the Turkes.

THis Ottomannus was at the first of poore estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, comming of a base progeny, and of rusticall parents: but through his valiantnes and actiuitie in warre, he got him a great name amongst the Turkes. For he being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in warre, and gathering together by great subtiltie a multitude of common soldiers, began to make warre, and by conquests and victories, to auaunce himselfe and his familie. First, hee began to rob and spoyle with a great band of rouers, and afterward he attempted to set vpon all men. Neither did he here end destroy the Christians onely, but set vpon his owne nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly vnto him. For now the Princes and Captaines of the Turkes, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselues, in so much that they fell to domesticall and inward warre, with all the power they could.

Ottomannus hauing this occasion very fitte and meete to accomplish that, which he long had sought for, gathering vnto him all such as he thought to be giuen to robbing and spoiling, and set all vpon mischiefe, in short time began to grow in authoritie, and first set vpon certaine townes, as he saw opportunitie to serue him: Of which townes, some he take by force, some by yeelding, other some he spoyled and ouerthrew, to terrifie the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the meane time, the discord which was among the Christians, was no small aduantage to this Ottomannus, by occasion thereof, he within tenne yeares space subdued Bythinia, and all the Prouinces about Pontus: Also Natolia, which comprehendeth all the dominion of the Turkes within Asia: Ancyra a City in Phrygia: Synope a City in Galatia: and Sabastia a City in Cappadocia: and thus still preuailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret iudgement of God against that nation, or els because God would haue them so farre and so cruelly to preuaile, for the punishment of the sinnes of other nations, like as it was prophecied before, that such a kingdome there should be of Gog and Magog.

Bythinia, Natolia, Ancyra, Synope, Sebastia subdued.

Ezech 38.

This Ottomannus, after he had raigned 28. yeares, in the yeare of our Lord 1327. died, and departed to his Mahumet, leaning behind him three sonnes, of whom Orchanes being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilest they were at variance betweene themselues.

## Orchanes the second Emperour after Ottomannus.

Orchanes the second Emperour of the Turkes, after Ottomannus.

ORchanes, the youngest of the sonnes of Ottomannus, after he had slaine his two brethren, tooke the regiment of the

Turkes after his father. Who after he had atchiued to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set vpon the licentious life of warre, conuerted his power further to enlarge his fathers dominion, winning and subduing Pysfia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia and Caria: All which countreys, being within the compasse of Asia, vnto the sea side of Hellespontus, and the sea Euxinus, he added to the Turkish Empire. Also he wanne Prusia, which was the metropolitane city of Bithynia, which then he made the chiefe seate of the Turkes Empire. Besides these moreouer, he conquered Nicea and got possessed all which were before Christian Cities and regions. Yet for all this could not make the Christian Princes in Greece, forcease their ciuill warres, and to vnite and accord among themselues: Such debate, and variance was then betweene Cantacuzenus on the Greekes part, and Paleologus the Emperour of Constantinople. By reason whereof, the Turkes aide was sent for out of Asia, to helpe our Christians one to kill an other, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Who if they had according to their profession, so well ioyned in brotherly vnitie, as they did in cruell hostilitie present, neither had Orchanes so preuailed in getting Prusia from the Grecians, neither had the Turkes so soone presumed into Europe as afterward they did. Orchanes after the victories, which he had atchiued 22. yeares, was stricken, as some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opinion of others is, that he fighting against the Tartarians, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slaine himselfe. An. 1349.

Pysfia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Caria, Bithynia, Nicea, Prusia.

Turkes wanne the chiefe seate of Bithynia.

Ciuill warres among the Greekes.

Asia called to the aide of the Christians in Europe.

Orchanes dieth.

## ¶ Amurathes the 3. after Ottomannus.

The Greeke writers doe holde that Orchanes had two sonnes, Solimannus and Amurathes. Of which two, first Solimannus raigned, albeit not long. After him, followed Amurathes, who after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all meanes and waies how to procede further, and to inuade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domesticall warres of the Christians gaue vnpossessed occasion, which occasion is thus declared: Certaine discord fell betweene the Princes of Greece (whose Captaine was Cantagurenus) and Paleologus Emperor of Constantinople. Whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his parte good with the Grecians, made himselfe sent for Amurathes to helpe him. Who being glad to haue such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aide him 12000. Turkes into Thracia: but first bred all delayes he could of craftie policie, to the intent that the Greekes first should waste their strength and power vpon themselues, whereby he might be more able afterward to set vpon them, and to accomplish his conceited desire.

Amurathes the 3. after Ottomannus.

The first warre of Amurathes against the Christians.

The occasion of the first warre betweene Europe and Turkie.

The Turkes first entrance into Europe.

The Turkes first warre against the Christians.

Callipolis.

Thracia gotten of the Turkes.

Adrianopolis.

The Turkes inuade Macedonia, Bulgaria, Triballia, Dardania, Seruia, and Bosna.

The Turkes seate in Europe, more certaine then before.

The Turkes ouercome Lazarus Despota.

Example of a wretchfull reuenge.

The death of Amurathes.

The Turkes first warre against the Christians

Before conflict in Albania, and Bosna. In which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away innumerable multitude of captiues, he inuaded further to Walachia and Seruia, vpon hope to conquere all Pannonia.

Despot reigned at the same time in Seruia a certaine prince named Georgius Despota, who made great sute to the Turke for truce and peace, promising to giue his daughter to marriage: for by the Turkes law they may marrie as many wiues as they list. It was not long after Amurathes had married the daughter of Despota, but hee contrary to his league and promise, made warre vpon Despota his father in law, and expelled him out of his kingdome, taking from him diuers cities, as Scopia, Banemonte, Sophia, and all Bysia. Georgius himselfe fled into Hungarie, leauing behind him his sonne to defend the towne of Smiderenia. Amurathes vnderstanding of the flight of Despota his father in law, compassed the city of Smideroma with a strong siege, which when hee in few daies had ouercome, he tooke his wiues brother, sonne of Despota, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turkes, put out his eyes, with a basen red hot set before his eyes, and after that led him about him in derision and despite of his cowardly father. Ex. Chrikof. Richerio Gallo, & Gasp. Peuc. et alijs.

Belgradum besieged by the Turke.

Seruia being thus won and gotten, Amurathes thinking to go further into Hungarie, besieged the city called Belgradum, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the prouidence of God found meanes, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lacke of victuall and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

Ioannes Huniades, Vaiuoda.

In the meane time Ioannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before, pag. 662.) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recouered part of Seruia, and all Walpauia: against whom Amurathes the Turke, with a mightie armie, moued into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and aide of Ladislaus king of Polonia (but especially by the power of the Lord) did soone infringe the puissance of the Turke, and gaue him the ouerthrow, recouering into the christians the greatest part of Seruia and Bulgaria.

Foure victories of Iohn Huniades against the Turke gotten in one day.

In this battell Huniades had fiue sundrie conflicts with the Turkes vpon one day, and with fiue victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfite and ouerthrow the great captaine of Amurathes, called Wala, the duke of Anatolia (which is otherwise named Asia Minor) that he slew of the Turkes that day, to the number of thirtie thousand. Amurathes, although he was not a little therat discouraged, yet dissembling his feare, with stout countenance sent for Carambeius his principall stay and captaine, with a new power brought out of Asia, to assist him in his warres. This Carambeius, in the dolours of Transiluania, Ladislaus the forsaid king of Polonie (the Lord so working) through the industrie of Ioannes Huniades, so receiued and with such celeritie oppressed him vnprouided, that all his stout and sturdie armie either was slaine downe right, or else put to slight and dispersed. Carambeius the captaine being himselfe taken prisoner in the same field.

The victorie of Huniades against Carambeius the great captaine of the Turkes.

The great Turke brought in a great distresse.

These victories of Huniades stroke no little terrour to Amurathes, in so much that for difficulty of mind he was ready to destroy himselfe (as some do write) but being confirmed by Helebeus Bassa his counseller, he kept himselfe within the streites of the mount Rhodope. Who then hearing that Caramannus inuaded the same time the countrie of Bithinia and Pontus in Asia: was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades vpon such conditions as they liked to make themselues: which conditions were these, that Amurathes should depart cleerely from all the region of Seruia, and should remoue from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the same: Also he should restore George Despota (which is to say) prince of Seruia vnto his possession, and set his children free, whom he had in captiuitie, and restore vnto them their inheritance. Item, that he should make no more claime nor title to the countrie of Polponia aboue mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgraria which he had lost: and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and iniuries against the Christians. Vpon these conditions the Turke being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for ten yeeres, and with solemne oth betweene them confirmed.

Amurathes his agreement with Helebeus Bassa.

Truce betweene the Christians and the Turkes for ten yeeres.

This done, Amurathes the tyrant addresseth himselfe toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caramannus aforesaid. At what time pope Eugenius so soone as he heard the Turke to be returned into Asia, sendeth Iulianus Cæsarinus his cardinall (whose storie is before touched, page 615.) vnto Ladislaus the foresaid king, with full dispensation and absolution to breake his oth and league with the Turke, promising moreouer great hope of aid, if he would go in armes stoutly against the tyrant.

The pope sendeth Iulian his cardinall priuily vnto the king of Polonie.

¶ Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there euer any warr prospered, which was taken in hand by the popes counsell: so was there neuer any counsell of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianitie, then this

But the pope beside thought, that as he might lawfully breake promise with Iohn Hus, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to obserue any league or truce taken with the Turk: but it turned much otherwise then the popes blind braines imagined, as by the sequell is to be seene. For Ladislaus being thus egged by the vnadusied and sinister instigation of pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce stablished a little before, set out with his army from Sedolmus, and so proceeding to Walachia and Burgaria, came to Varna, a towne of Bulgary, where he fell sicke.

Nothing prosperously that is taken in hand by the popes setting on.

The pope procureth truce made betweene the Christians and the Turke.

It was not long but the Turk hauing thereof intelligence, left his warres begun with Caramannus in Asia, and with great iournies made haste into Europe, passing ouer by the straits nære to Callipolis; where all the Italian nauie still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardlinesse, would not stirre one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurathes was come to Andianopolis in Thracia, lining such celeritie as no man looked for, within 8. daies he was in Burgaria, and there encamped himselfe against Ladislaus. The day of battell being set, the armies approched on both sides. Huniades was himselfe there present, but all the matter was ruled by Iulianus the Cardinall, and the popes clergie. The fight continued three daies and three nights together, with great courage and much bloudshed on each side: insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of bloud. It seemed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first rankes of the Turkes. But the priests and prelats which were at the field (which had been more fit to haue been in the Church) seeing the Turkes to begin to flie, vnskilfully left their array to pursue the enemie, to that they leauing the other standings of the Christians naked, gaue great aduantage to the Turkes, with their darts and shot to disturbe the Christian ranks. By the which occasion, Amurathes inclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victorie. In the which field, Ladislaus the young king of Polony, hauing his horse first killed vnder him, was stricken downe, and slaine. The popes bishops flying to saue themselues, fell into the marishes, and there were destroyed, sustaining a durtie death condigne to their filthie falshod and vntruth. Iulianus the Cardinall, which with the pope was the chiefe doer in breaking the league, in the warr was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked shirne. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part was deuoured in the marishes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching and ranging in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the mercifull prouidence of God, being reserued to the further profit and commodities of Christendome.

The pope moueth Ladislaus to breake truce.

The false dealing of the Italian fleete.

The battell of Varna, betweene Ladislaus king of Polonia, and Amurathes.

The popish prelates were the cause of losing the field.

A iust punishment vpon the popish prelats for their vniust dealing.

Iulianus the Cardinall slaine in the warre and spoiled.

This John Huniades is reported of 20. battels with the Turke, to lose but two.

This John Huniades the worthy warrior was borne in Walachia, being earle of Wistrice, of all captaines that euer went against the Turks, most famous and singular, prudent in wit, discreet in counsell, expert and politike in warr, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition: in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captaine. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurathes and Mahumetes, through the Lords might, hee defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terrour of the Turks. Like as Achilles was vnto the Grecians, so was he let vp of God to be as a wall or bulwarke of all Europe against the cruell Turks and enemies of Christ, and of his Christians. Neither was there any king or prince that euer atchieued such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the publike vtility of all Europe, as did he, and that not only in the daies of this Amurathes, but also of Mahumetes his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to bee seene. This battell of Amurathes against the Christians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the yere of our Lord, 1404.

The worthy commendation of Iohn Huniades.

Yuniades slayeth.

Amurathes ouercome by Scanderbeius.

Egypus and Walachia, defended by Scanderbeius.

Amurathes returneth against the Christians.

Amurathes returneth by reason of his victorious ouerthrow against the christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his iourny incontinent toward the Grecians, where Cassriotus was, & otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first, comming to Peloponesus, and breaking downe the wall about the straits of Corinth, encountred with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden comming he oppressed, with all the Greeks armye, ere they were prouided. Paleologus the emperor after that, did build vp the wall againe: but at the Turks bidding he was compelled to vndoe it againe: which wall afterward the Venetians did repaire. After the demolition of the wall, Amurathes entring into Peloponesus, tooke diuers townes and cities, as Cyrcione, and Patris, and moreouer made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries vnto him.

Amurathes returneth his voyage against the Grecians.

Peloponesus Cyrcione, Patris, with all the parts of Thessalia & Achaia, brought vnder the Turke.

The nert yere after this battell of Amurathes fought against the christians at Varna, the Turke being now about the parts of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and maine against the country of Epyrus belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how hee was brought vp in the Turkes court, from whence we declared also how subtilly he conueied himselfe, and came to the possession of his owne patrimony of Epyrus. [b] Which Epyrus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius (whom the Lord also had raised vp the same time with

The memorable acts of Scanderbeius against Amurathes.

[b] This Epyrus is a country in Grecia, bordering nere to the parts of Macedonia.

Huniades,



Huniades to bridle the furie of the Turkes) valiantly defended against all the power of Amurathes: insomuch that he discomfited 3 thousand of the most expert Bassaes or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen souldiers, billeged them of their tents, and expulsed them vtterly out of all Epyrus. Also when Amurathes himselfe with his whole puissance, had enuironed about the city of Croia, with cruell siege and ordinance out of measure, yet notwithstanding the said Scanderbeius (through the power and blessing of the Lord) beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

Seuen captaines of the Turkes ouercome by Castriotus Scanderbeius.

Amurathes renounced his promision, and made himselfe a Turkish monke.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurathes, to keepe his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gaue himselfe vnto a religious order, liuing a contemplatiue life with certaine other priests ioyned vnto him, in the forrest of Bithynia, renouncing the gouernment of his realme to the hands of Haly one of his princes (so thou must vnderstand, good Reader, that the Turkes also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more then wee christians are without our friers and monks.)

Haliabeus a traitor to his master.

In the meane time while Amurathes this Turkish tyrant was cloistered vp in his monkish religion, Ioannes Huniades in the kingdome of Hungarie, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great warre against the Turkes. Wherefore Amurathes was taken against from his monkish vow and profession, and brought against into the field: For first Huniades had relieued the whole countrie of Hungary: and had prepulsed moreouer all the might of the Turkes farr from Seruia. And although the pestilent practise of Georgius prince of Seruia, had oftentimes disclosed his counsels vnto the Turkes, whereby twice hee was brought in danger, yet not withstanding (through the Lords gratious protection) he was preserued and deliuered by the said George vnto the Hungarians againe, and after that manfully vanquished the Turkes, so that they had no resting place about those parts of Seruia and Bulgaria, so long as he liued.

Two christian warriors in Europe stirred vp of God to vanquish the Turkes.

Horrible practise of the abominable Turk.

Sodo pecus.

Neere can fetch out of the diuels mouth whom he list to saue.

Note here Gods punishment vpon the betrayer of innocent bloud.

On the other side in Grecia, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turke in defence of his countrie Epyrus and Macedonia, and kept Amurathes so short, that not onely he was not able to winne any great towne in all Epyrus: but also comming from Epyrus in the straites, was so intangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to giue battell: In the which battell he was so vanquished, and most part of his armie slaine, that for griefe and sorrow conceiued, he falling into a raging sickines, was transported out of his pauilion into Andianople, and there in furie and madnes died, after he had raigned 34. yeares, which was about the yere of our Lord 1450.

Yuniades slayeth.

This Amurathes first obtained the order of the Janizaries. Which were the men children of such Christians as he conquered and tooke captiue: whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ, wherin they were baptized, and brought them vp in Mahumets law, and exercised them in the same feates of war as he did his own people, and after that they came to mens estate, he named them Janizari (that is to say) souldiers of a straunge countrey, and made them to guard his person. They weare on their head in stead of an helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of woll, and in so many folds about their head, that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth downe on the backe with a taile, and before on the forehead it is garnished with gold and siluer. They were wont to vse bowes and launces in the field, but now they vse daggers as our horsemen do.

Janizari amdg the Turkes.

The fury of Mahumet the Turke against the city and schoole of Athens.

At the first institution there were but 5000. in their garrison, but now they be twice so many. This of all bondage and seruitude that the Christians suffer vnder the Turke is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their griefe, then to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ, wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saued, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahumet, and so be professed enemies of Christ and his church, to make warr against it heauen, and to perish euerlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our owne children borne of our owne bodies, to become our mortall and cruell enemies, and to cut our throats with their owne hands? This seruitude of mind is far greater then death it selfe: which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruell enemie.

A lamentable seruitude of christian mens children vnder the Turke.

Athens described.

Mahumet fleeth vpon Athens.

The siege and taking of Constantinople.

Vide supra pag. 652.

### ✠ Mahumetes second, the ninth after Ottomannus.

Mahumetes the ninth Turke after Ottomannus.

AMurathes left behind him three sonnes, Mahumetes borne of the daughter of Despota, prince of Seruia, being twentie yeeres of age, the second sonne called Turcines, the third named Calepinus. This Turcines being an infant, and but eight scene monethes old, was strangled at the commandement of the Turke, by his seruant Dosses, himselfe being there present, and beholding the horrible murther. And when Moses the executor of the murther had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, hee answered, that it was the maner of all the Ottoman Turkes, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left aliue but one to gouerne the empire. Wherefore Moses was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact when the mother of the child vnderstood, shee crying out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he to mitigate the rage of his mother, al her request, being desirous to be reuenged vpon the executor of her sonnes death, deliuered the said Moses bound into her hands, who then in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his brest tore out his liuer, and threw it to the dogges to be deuoured.

The tyranny of Mahumet in murthering his brethren.

The third sonne called Calepinus, which was but fiue months old, the foresaid Amurathes his father commended to the custodie of Halibassa one of his nobles, who to gratifie and please the tyrant, betraied the infant, and brought him vnto him, and thereupon he at the tyrants commaundement was strangled. Some affirme, that in stead of Calepinus, another child was offered vnto the tyrant, and that Calepinus was conueied to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople, was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to pope Calixt, where he was baptized, and afterward came into Germanie to Frederiche the emperor, and there was honorably entertained, and kept in Austrich during his life. Thus note how the mercifull prouidence of God, whom he list to saue, can fetch out of the diuels mouth. And note moreouer touching the foresaid Haliabassa the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not vnreuenged: For Mahumet vnderstanding him to be a man of great substance & riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to haue his riches: for this tyrant was giuen to insatiable auarice. Thus this bloody Mahumet began his regiment with horrible murther, after the example of other cursed tyrants his predecessors.

Although this Mahumet, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota prince of Seruia, and by her was brought vp and instructed from his childhod in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he soone forgetting all, gaue himselfe to Mahumetes religion, and yet so, that he being addicted to neither religio, became an Atheist, beleeuing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddesse of good fortune, scrifing and mocking the minds and iudgements of men, which beleeue that God by his prouidence, gouerneth and regardeth the state of humain things on earth.

Ex Leunclauio Pandect. lib. 2. rerum Turcicarum.

After that this Mahumet heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessors, and had vnderstanding how Baiazetes lay eight yeeres about Constantinople, and could not win it: he disprasing Baiazets, and disdaining that so long time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his studie and deuice how to subdue the same. But first hauing a priuie hatred against the Citie of Athens, and hauing his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murthering Mahumet first of all taketh his voiage to Athens: and destroy the citie aforesaid, being a famous Schoole of all good learning and discipline. Against the which citie he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stad, because that city was a good nurse and fosterer of good Arts & Sciences: therefore, he commanded the citie to be raced and vtterly subuerted: and wheresoeuer any monuments or bookes could bee found, he caused them to be cast into durty sinkes and the filthiest places of the citie, or put to the most vile vses that could be deuised, for extirping and abolishing of all good literature; and if he vnderstood any to lament the ruine and ruine of that noble place, those hee greeuously punished and put to death.

Athens described.

Thus the fameius and auncient Schoole of Athens being destroied and ouerthrowne, he returned his army and power into Thracia, where in all haste he gathering his power together both by sea & by land, with a mighty multitude compassed the citie of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the yeare of our Lord 1452. and in the 54. day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperour Constantinus slaine. As touching the cruelty and fiercenesse of the Turkes in getting of this citie, and what slaughter there was of men, and women, and children, what calamitie and misery was there to be seene, for asmuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath beene made before, pag. 651. it shall be superfluous now to repeate the same. This only is not to be omitted touching the principall causes of the ouerthrow of this citie: whereof the first was the filthy auarice of those Citizens, which hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turke, after the taking of the citie, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himselfe (as the truth was) the treasures & riches to be hidden vnder the ground, commanded the earth to be digged vp, and the foundations of the houses to be searched: where when hee had found treasures incredible. What (quoth hee) how could it be that this place could euer lacke munition and fortification, which did flow and abound with such great riches as heere is, and plenty of

Three causes specially noted in the winning of Constantinople.

of all things. The second cause was the absence of the navie of the Venetians, which if they had beene ready in time, might have beene a safegard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either for that the city of Constantinople fifteene yeeres before did yeeld to the bishop of Rome, as is before to bee seene pag. 644. or else because (as in some writers it is ment) that liuinges were there receiued and maintained in their churches, and by the Turkes the same time destroyed.

*Vide supra pag. 644.*

Ex Bara. Arrogance of the Venetians in Constantinople.

Ioannes Ramus writing of the destruction of this city, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the Venetians being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turke tooke, and writing this superscription vpon the head of it: Hic est Christianorum Deus. i. This is the God of the christians, gaue it to his souldiers to bee stoned, and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made euery man to spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast good Reader (by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence wee christians giue vnto the barbarous Infidels by this our vngodly superstition, in hauing images in our temples, contrary vnto the expresse commandment of God in his word. For if saint Paul writing to the Corinthians, saith: We know Christ now no more after the flesh: how much lesse then is Christ to bee honoured of vs in blind stockes and images set vp in our temples, seruing for none other purpose, but for the Infidels to laugh both vs and our God to scorne, and to prouoke Gods vengeance: which by the like example (I feare) may also fall vpon other cities, where such images and Idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant Vienna to take heede betime, which hath beene so long, and yet is in such great danger of the Turke, and polluted with so many images, and plaine Idolatry.

What offences be risen to the Infidels by images in christian churches.

Vienna admonished.

In summa, to make the storie short, such was the cruelty of these Turkes in winning the city, that when Mahomet had giuen licence to the souldiers three daies together, to spoile, to kill, and to doe what they liked, there was no corner in all Constantinople, which did not either slaw with christian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abusing of maides, wiues and matrones, without all reuerence of nature. Of the which citizens, some they martyred, some they rosted vpon spits, of some they sleyed off their skin hanging them vp to consume with famine, of othersome they put salt into their wounds, the more terrible to torment them, in so much, that one of them contended with another who could deuise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelties vpon them, that the place where the cities was before, seemed now to be no cities, but a slaughter house or shambles of Christian mens bodies. Among the dead bodies, the bodie also of Constantine the emperour was found; whose head being brought to Mahumet, he commanded to be carried vpon a speare through the whole cittie for a publike spectacle and derision to all the Turkish armie. And because he would diminish the number of the captiues, which seemed to him to be verie great, he neuer rose from his table, but he put euerie day some of the nobles to death, no lesse to fill his cruell mind with blood, then his bodie was filled with wine: which he vsed so long to doe as any of the nobles of that citie was left aliue: And of the other sort also, as the stories doe credibile report, there passed no day, in the which he did not ordeine slay more then three hundred persons, the residue he gaue to his rascall souldiers to kill, and to doe with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Constantinus the sonne of Helena, was the first emperour of Constantinople, so Constantinus the sonne also of Helena, was the last emperour thereof.

The bloodie cruelties of the Turke against the christian captiues.

A lamentable destruction of the citie of Constantinople.

Not farre from the said citie of Constantinople, there was another little citie called Pera, and once called Galatia, situated by the sea side: who hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the citie flaming with fire, sent certaine of the chiefe men with speed to Mahumet, declaring vnto him that they neither had sent any helpe to the citie of Constantinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to anie of his armie: wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladlie yeeld vnto him, so he would be fauourable vnto them and spare them, and not to punish the guiltles with the guilty. Mahumet although he was not ignorant that for feare, rather then of any good will, they submitted themselues, and that they would rather resist him if they had been able, yet he receiued em that time, the submission of the messengers: but sending by them his ambassadour into the citie, he commanded also his armie to followe withall, and to enter with him into the citie, which, although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the citizens, yet they durst no otherwise doe, but suffer them to enter: which being done, the ambassadour gaue a signe to the souldiours, euerie man to doe his office: but he was bidden of whom some ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streetes and houses of the citie, plucking all things vnwrie to the ground, sacking and ranging with no lesse furie and abominable filthinesse, then they had done at Constantinople before, sauing only that they abstained from murther: but the same day letters came from Mahumet to the Ambassadour, that hee should spare none, but destroy and murther all that euer were in the citie: which message because it seemed to the Ambassador to bee to cruell, for asmuch as they had yeelded themselues, he staied his hand a little vntill night came. In the meane time, drunken Mahumet comming something to himselfe (whom drunkennes had before ouercome) sent his second letters to reuoke the first. Where againe is to be noted the mercifull prouidence of God towards his people in their deserued plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedie.

Drunken Sclauonic faith of promise.

The mercifull prouidence of God in saueing his people.

Mahumet thus being in himself not a little aduanced and eleuated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperiall seat of the Turkish dominion, the third yeere next following, to aduenture more matteries, he set out to the siege of Belgradum, a citie of Hungarie, lying neere to the banks of Danubius, thinking to haue the like successe there, as hee had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit through the Lords disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the Citie of Belgradum the same time of the siege thereof, was Ioannes Huniades, the valiant captaine, of whom in diuers places mention hath been made before, who with a sufficient strength of picked souldiers, albeit in number nothing equall to the Turkes army, valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no lesse successe. In the which siege great diligence was beholden, and many of the Turkes slaine. Among whom also Mahumet himself: being stricken with a pellet vnder the left arme, was faine to bee caried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turkes the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much vnder the number of 40. thousand, besides the losse of all their ordinance, which the Turkes in hall of their flight, were forced to leaue behind them.

Constantinople made the imperiall seate of the Turke.

The siege of Belgradum in Dungary.

John Huniades.

40000. Turkes slaine at the siege of Belgradum.

Hieronymus Ziegler. *Ex Hier. Ziegler. in lib. de illustrib. viris Germaniæ. pag. 98.*

Hieronymus Ziegler. writing of the siege of this Belgradum, addeth moreouer, that when Mahumet was at the siege thereof, seeing the towne to be so final and weak of it selfe, that it could not be vanquished at his great multitude, he flaring and raring like a mad man, commanded all his basier seruice to be laid, to batter downe the walles and towers of the towne: So that the Christians within the walles were behemently distressed, for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the towne, Hieronymus Ziegler us maketh mention of a certaine Bohemian, much worthie of his condigne commendation: Who being vpon the walles, and seeing a Turke with a banner or ensigne of the Turkes to bee gotten vp, by the sight whereof the whole towne was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth into the Turke, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus standing below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind, did cast himselfe with that begge (so he termed him) downe headlong from the wall to be slaine with him: what should become of his soule, and whether he might be saued or not? To whom when the other had answered, that hee should be saued without doubt, he embowes tumbleth himselfe with the Turke, downe of the wall, where by his death he saued the same time, the life of all the Citie. Mahumet being so wounded and in despaire of winning the Citie, was caried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length comming againe to himselfe, partly for feare and partly for shame, was ready to kill himselfe. And thus was the towne of Belgradum at that time rescued through Gods prouidence, by the meanes of Ioannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

The noble act of a Bohemian in defence of his countrie.

The towne of Belgradum valiantly defended from the Turke.

This siege of Belgradum began in the yeare of our Lord, 1456. and endured 46. daies. At the which siege were numbred of the Turkes 200. thousand. Of whom more then 40. thousand (as is aforesaid) were slaine: where the victorie fell to the Christians through the prosperous successe giuen of God to Ioannes Huniades, and Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the said victorie, through the impostune labour & trauaile in defending the said towne, was taken with a sore sickenes & thereof departed, to whose valiant prowesse and singular courage, stories do giue great laud and commendation.

200. thousand Turkes at the siege of Belgradum.

The decease of Ioannes Huniades.

Mahumetes the Turke after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to warre with Vsumcassanes a Persian, one of the Turkes flocke, with whom he had three battailes. The first was about the River Euphrates, where the Turke lost tenne thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third battaile was at Arsenga, where through the terrible noise of the brasen pieces the Persian horses disturbed the campe, and so was Vsumcassanes ouercome.

The Turke vsurper against Vsumcassanes.

The Turke again ouercomed against the Christians. Sypoye, Paphlagonia. Trapezuntine, enemies of the Turkes.

From thence the Turke reduced againe his power against the Christians, and first subdued vnto him Sypoye and all Paphlagonia: Also the kingdome of Trapezunce, which he besieging both by land and water, wanne from the Christians, and sent Dauid the king of the same with his two sonnes and Calos his vncle, vnto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the flocke of the Conment, which were of the kings flocke, by the Turke were destroyed. Which was about the yeare of our Lord, 1459. at which time this

David Emperour of Trapezuntius with his two sonnes and vncle cruelly killed of the Turke.



this mischieuous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

Not long after, he got from the Grecians Cosinthus and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of christian men: insomuch that the whole citie of Mitylene was vtterly to the ground almost destroyed. The cities also of Lemnus and Lesbos he wanne from the Venetians: in the which Iland of Lesbos is the citie of Mitylene aforesaid.

Cosinthus, Mitylene, Lesbos, Lemnus subdued of the Turke.

Not farre from this Ile of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a countrie in Asia toward the sea side bordering next to Europe, called Sylla, or of some called Mœsia, wherein stood the citie of Troy. This countrie Mahomet comming to winne rather by policie and falshood, then by doubtfull danger of warre, secretly sent for the prince thereof to come to speake with him for certaine causes (as hee pretended) which should concerne the profit and commoditie of them both. Which when the king of Sylla, either for shame would not, or for feare durst not denie, he came to him as to conferre vpon necessarie affaires in common to them appertaining. Mahomet when he had brought it that to passe which he would, he caused the king to bee apprehended, and cruelly to bee slaine, or rather toine in peeces: and so inuading the land of Sylla, exercised the like tyrannie vpon all his kindred and affinitie.

The falshood of the wretched Turke against the prince of Sylla.

The cruelty of the Turke against the king of Sylla.

This Sylla by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet fleeth againe toward Europe, where hee assailed the Iland of Euboia, otherwise called Negroponte, making a bridge of a marueilous frame ouer the sea Euripus, to conuey ouer his armie out of Grecia, and there laid his siege to the citie Chalcis, which at length in thirtie daies he ouercame, not without a great slaughter of his armie: who in the siege thereof is said to haue lost 40. thousand of the Turkes. But the slaughter of the christians was greater: for when the citie was wonne, the tyrant commanded most cruelly, none to be spared without the whole citie, but to be put to the sword, whosoeuer was in the whole citie, but to be put to the sword, whosoeuer was aboue the age of twentie yeeres. This cruelty was shewed of the barbarous tyrant for anger and furie, because such a number of his Turkes were slaine at the siege thereof, being reckoned (as is said) to 40. thousand. In the fierce siege of this citie, it is memorable that is in stories recoded, how that the women of that citie, seeing the men to beginne to faint, and the citie to lie in present danger, tooke the matter themselues in hand, and playing the men, went to the walles, and there defended the citie with no lesse trouble to the enemy, then the men had before done, and so for a space continued. So long as any mans strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the losse of this citie and Iland, is imputed to the cowardly timiditie of the Venetians nauie: who being there present, and hauing prosperous winde, yet durst not, or would not aduenture vpon the Turkes bridge, which if they had done, the Iland of Euboia and Chalcis, had not so soone been ouermatched of the Turkes.

The siege of Chalcis in Euboia.

*Ex Ioanne Ramo de rebus Turcicis.*

The cruell regnante of the Turke against the citie of Chalcis.

The noble stratagems of women in defending that citie.

Thus all the East parts of Grecia being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Euboia, shortly after followed also Peloponesus, brought in like subiection to the Turke. Within this Peloponesus were these prouinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Arcadia, christian prouinces in Grecia, subdued of the Turke.

Peloponesus, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Arcadia, christian prouinces in Grecia, subdued of the Turke.

Long it is and more lamentable to recite all the victories of this Mahumet gotten against the christians both by land and sea: who after he had ouercome the Ile Lesbos aboue mentioned, and had cruelly slaine Nicolaus Catalusius the prince thereof, turning his armie toward the sea of Pontus Euxinus, got the countrie of Capha from the Genuans. Before was declared how truce was taken betweene Georgius Scanderbeius, and the Turke for ten yeeres: which truce being expired, Mahumet leauing no time vnspent, no diligence vnsought, but matieth all his power to Cyprus and Albania, which he after long tract also at length ouercame and subdued. In the which tract also he warred from the Venetians, Scodza, Epsion and Dinidrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius the valiant captaine had done against the Turk what in mans strength did lie, yet being ouermatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibilitie to make his partie good, was forced to depart his countrie as an exile, and went to Italie, and there being sent for by the popes letters, openly declared not to be possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turkes by the strength of any one king or prince, vnlesse all Europe, with one consent should ioyne their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, being driuen out of his countrie, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and behemencies reported to haue been such; that in fighting against the barbarous enemie, for verie eagernesse of spirit, his blood was

Capha taken of the Turke.

The counsell of Scanderbeius how to fight against the Turke.

A notable reproofe of blasphemie and periurie in a captaine. The forsworn nation of Scanderbeius being against the Turkes.

Scodra, Epsion and Dinidrum taken of the Turke.

Cyprus.

Scanderbeius liued in exile.

The death of Mahomet.

Mahumetes afore said had three sonnes: of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousnesse and carnall lust, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom, great controuersie arose amongst the Turkes, which of them should succeede in their fathers kingdome: For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahumetes died: Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Peloponesia; wherefore when great dissention was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloudshed for the matter, the Ianizarites, which were the Turkes garde, did proclaime Baiazetes Emperour: others in the absence of Baiazetes the father, did chose Cozcuthus his sonne. Baiazetes the father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through perdning, partly by corrupting with money, got Hwils of the Ianizarites, and was made Emperor. Demes the other brother being in Peloponesia more neare, although he made no little speede in his comming, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by some of his friends, moued warre against his brother, who being ouercome in three battailes by Acomates Baiazetes captain, who had got Hyzuzum before,

Mahumetes the father of Baiazetes and Demes.

Of these Ianizarites read before pag. 681.

Baiazetes slaieth his bid brethren and mother, and his two nephewes.



## 78. Baiazetes second, the 10. after Ottomanus.

MAhumetes afore said had three sonnes: of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousnesse and carnall lust, died before his father. The other two were Baiazetes and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom, great controuersie arose amongst the Turkes, which of them should succeede in their fathers kingdome: For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahumetes died: Baiazetes being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Peloponesia; wherefore when great dissention was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloudshed for the matter, the Ianizarites, which were the Turkes garde, did proclaime Baiazetes Emperour: others in the absence of Baiazetes the father, did chose Cozcuthus his sonne. Baiazetes the father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through perdning, partly by corrupting with money, got Hwils of the Ianizarites, and was made Emperor. Demes the other brother being in Peloponesia more neare, although he made no little speede in his comming, yet was preuented of Baiazetes, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put backe from all hope of his kingdome, incited by some of his friends, moued warre against his brother, who being ouercome in three battailes by Acomates Baiazetes captain, who had got Hyzuzum before,

did die to the great master of the Rhodes, leaning in a place called Carra, his mother and two yong children, whom Baiazetes slue.

This Gemes being with the master of the Rhodes, was desired first of pope Innocent the 4. then of Ludouicus the 2. French king, but especially of Matthias Corninus, king of Hungarie, intending by him to obtaine great victorie against Baiazetes. But in conclusion the knights of the Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where hee being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the 8. French king, for an hostage of pope Alexander the 6. was poysoned by the way at Terracina, by the said pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death Baiazetes, to requite the foresaid Aconates for his good seruice, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to haue his treasure: Whose death redounded to the great profit of the christians, forsomuch as hee was euer an vtter enemie to the religion and name of Christ.

Baiazetes thus being confirmed in his tyrannie, made his first expedition against Wallachia, ther he subdued two great forts, one called Lithoslonus, the other called Pontacastrum. From thence he removed his power, taking his voyage into Asia, thinking to be reuenged of the Sultane of Egypt, which had discouered and entertained before his brother Gemes against him; where he lost two great battels, the one sought at Aconia, the other at Tarsus: but especially at the field at Tarsus the armie of the Turke toke such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained vnslaine. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Gemes aforesaid, yet Baiazetes, (whether for feare, or for subtiltie, abstained to prouoke them with war, but rather entred with them the league of peace; requiring the master of the Rhodes to keepe his brother safe vnder his custodie, promising for his yerely salary, to be payed vnto him euery yeere in the moneth of August, 45000. duckets.

Thus Baiazetes being ouerthrowne and terrified with euill lucke, fighting against the Sultane of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his armie into Europe, where hee got Dyrrachium neere vnto Uclona, and had a great victorie ouer the christian armie in the countrie of Croatia, where he got Dyrrachium, Pannonians and Croatians ioyning their power together encountred with the Turke and lost the field, about the yeere of our Lord 1492.

From thence the Turke leading his army against the Venetians had with them diuers and doubtfull conflicts, where the Turke sometimes was put to the woorse, and sometimes again preuailing, out of Zahra and diuers other cities about Dalmatia caried away great multitudes of christians into captiuitie, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498.

Two yeeres after this, which was the yeare of our Lord 1500. Baiazetes with 150. M. armed men, entred into Peloponesus; which although Pahumet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turkes. Which Methone the Turke besieged with three armies, hauing about the walls fiue hundred great brasen cannons, whereof twentie two were most violent and hurtfull, wherewith he battered the citie both day and night: but the citizens, which were within the citie committing themselues to God, defended their citie as well as they could, rather chusing to die then to yeeld vnto the Turkes tyrannie. But the Turke preuailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians consented together into a certaine house prepared for the purpose, both men, women and children; where they setting the house on fire, gane themselues rather to bee burned, then to come into the tyrants handes. Certain women also with their children, cast themselues headlong into the sea, by that meanes to auoid the Turkish captiuitie. Some writers there be which affirme that the Methonians, seeing fire great ships of the Venetians comming with men and victuals toward them, fledde betome from the walls to the sea side to receiue them; which were all taken captiues, being aboue the number of a thousand: which all being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight torrentiuelly slaine, except certaine nobles, whom Cherseogles, sonne in law to Baiazetes, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The citie of Cozon, and also Pilus, cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yeelded themselues to the power of the Turkes. Trissenum otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

These things thus atchieued, although Baiazetes went away victor into Constantinople, yet notwithstanding the Venetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spaine, had won from the Turke Cephalenia an Iland very commodious for their trafficke: Also had gotten other two Ilands, Leucas and Nericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turkes. But afterward peace being taken betweene the Venetians and the Turkes, by the counsell of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turkes so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus the Ilands aboue said, should be rendred into the Turkes, and the Venetians should keepe still the possession of Cephalenia.

Vnto this league the Turke did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintaine warre against Ismael Sophus in Asia, king of Persia: Which Sophus was stirred vp by Gods prouidence to warre with this Baiazetes, whereby the Christian Churches in Europe might haue some breathing time, and freedome from the Turkes cruell tyrannie and bloudshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turke, who with great power and victories had ouercome a great compasse of the East parts of Asia: then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning againe into Armenia, he made warre against the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, and from thence comming into Asia Mine, encountred with Cocuthus Baiazetes son, and afterward comming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Walla, Baiazets captaine, whom hee ouercame and put to flight, and afterward tooke him aliue and his wife prisoners. Afterward hee was encountred by Halibalia another captaine of the Turks, whom Techelles one of the said Sophus captaines meeting in the plaine of Galatia did withstand, and lo by the way slue Caragius the captaine, and hanged him vpon a pole in the sight of Halibalia, which Halibalia shortly after was slaine in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

Thus through the admirable example of Gods iustice and prouidence, were these Turkes kept occupied, and became it to passe, that these Barbarians being blasphemous against the name of God, should thus horrible run one to the destruction of another, being worthily punished with mutuall slaughter and bloudshed for their impietie and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby in the meane time some rest was giuen to the Christians.

Baiazetes partly by these victories discouraged, partly vnlcased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himselfe vnsuteable to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdome, began to haue talke with his nobles about the dealing of one to succeede him. The occasion whereof misstred much matter of inward warres amongst the Turkes. This Baiazetes had in all 6. sonnes, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left aliue, to wit, Acomates, Cocuthus and Zelymus: Baiazetes himselfe had much mind to Acomates, but the chiefest of his nobles did fauor rather Zelymus: who through their traiterous incitation prouoked him to stirre warre against his father: and notwithstanding that he was ouercome in warre, yet through intercession he was reconciled againe to his father, and afterward practised against Emperour against his fathers will, though the bribe and fauour of the gouernors, entring the first beginning of his kingdom, with the murthering of his owne father. The story whereof in some authors is thus declared.

After that the Ianizarites had perswaded with Baiazetes, for that he himselfe was bruteliy, therfore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeede him, the Ianizarites being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends and bribe them, compassing about the kings palace with their poyniards which they had vnder their garments, with a raughty crie required Zelymus to be appointed for their Emperor. Vnto whom when Baiazetes had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, grosse, and vnable ther vnto: but needes would haue Zelymus, which was stout and warlike, to bee made Emperour: and without delay drew out their swoords, crying Zelymus, Zelymus. Then Baiazetes giuing place to their fury, shewed himselfe content to giue them Zelymus: whom the Ianizarites receiuing, brought him into the palace: vnto whom Baiazetes his father giuing place, willed him not to be so hastie and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heede what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to giue place vnto time, which reuealeth all things, and thinke himselfe to be a man subiect to dangers and temporaries as other men are: and thus speaking, he resigned his imperiall throne and seat vnto him, and went away all heauy, entring into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people saluting Zelymus as Emperor. Who then taking the rule vpon him, began with great cruelty to gouerne, destroying many of his nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poyson, some by other cruel means, and aduancing his owne side with great honors and promotions.

Not long after that Zelymus was thus setled in his kingdome, Baiazetes his father intending to see and proue how he behaued himselfe in his gouernement, first entred into the treasure house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armorie, where all the spoiles gotten by warre were likewise wasted: then entring into the iewell house, where all his plate and gifts sent from Kings and Princes were kept, which likewise were dispersed and giuen away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principall horses to be lacking, fighting with himselfe, crying vengeance vpon him, he prepared himselfe with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to take ouer into Natolia vnto his eldest sonne, and passing by an Orchard neere to the sea side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the meane time whilest the ships were in furnishing he late downe vnder a tree, and began to curse his sonne, and to alke vengeance vpon him, for that he had so despised his father and was become so vnpious a wretch.

Zelymus vnderstanding of his fathers departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very hearie, and much lamenting that his father would so priuilie depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the gouernment of the Empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. O father (said he) doe not thus priuilie depart away: do not procure this shame to your sonne, who so tenderlie loueth you. Let me haue but the name onelie, and be you the Emperour indeed. The end of your naturall life most patientlie I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus vsing many faire & flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many daintie imbets to be brought vnto him, but tempered and infected with poyson. Which alsoone as Baiazetes had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poyson working in his bodie, he tooke his last farewell of his sonne, and going out of the citie accompanied with a great retinue of men yelling and crying out in the streetes, in the middle of his iourney fell downe and miserablie died, in the yeare of our Lord, 1512. Here mayst thou see, good Reader, a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in curling the sonne, and the sonne raigneth by poysoning his father.

## Zelymus the 11. after Ottomannus.

After that this wretched Zelymus had exercised his barbarous cruelties vpon his father, with like impietie he seeketh the destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murther with the fiue children his nephewes, which were the sonnes of his dyas brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet aliue, Acomates and Cocuthus with their children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three sons, whom the father sent to Zelymus his brother, and their vncle, with faire and gentle words to entreat him to be good vnto their father, offering to him their dutie and seruice in all things, honouring him also as Emperour. But cruell Zelymus commanded forthwith his said Nephewes to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruell murther of his sonnes, leauing house and home, went and hid himselfe in mountains, where he liued for a space with heardes and wild beasts, but being betrayed by one of his men, was brought to Zelymus, and so was strangled.

Chylliopherus Richerius, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith, that Zelymus after the death of his brother Cocuthus, came to Burlia, where he, vnder the colour of making a great triumph, ordeined a feast for his friends and kinsfolke, whereunto were called especiallie his nephewes: who then at the end of the feast calling his nephewes aside (as vnder the pretence of conferring with them secretlie about his necessarie affaires) committed them to his seruants to be strangled & put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the helpe and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrants hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certaine forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained that Acomates, to reuenge the great impietie and subdue the tyranny of Zelymus his brother, should then himselfe abroad. Which if he would doe, he should find friends enow to take his part. Acomates circumuented with these subtill traines, partly for hope of reuengement, partly for desire of the Empire, shewed himselfe abroad with such power and strength as he had: who being set vpon incontinent by Zelymus his brother, was ouercome in battell, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and grosse, and his horse falling vpon him, was so ouerpressed and slaine.

Touching the death of this Acomates, Spondeus some what differing from this narration, addeth moreouer & saith, that he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismaied vpon a stone, and seeing no other remedie but death, desired the Captaine, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliuer the same to his brother, desiring him that hee might not be put to any extreme cruelties of death, but that he gentlie would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to die. But Zelymus being not ignorant of this, subiected his tormenters, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet call him downe vpon the ground, and so diuiding his neck with a corde, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie to Ismael Sophus, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie to Ismael Sophus, who hearing of the death of their father, did flie to Ismael Sophus

The reigne of this Turke was but short in number of yeares; but in number of his murders and cruell bloudshed it might seeme exceeding long, which lived more like a braff then a man; for he neuer spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poysoned, his brethren and all his cosens he quelled, leauing none of all his kindred aliue. Moreouer, his chiefe and principall captaines for small occasions he put to death, as Mullapha, Calogere, Cerdeme, Bollaig his sonnes law, and Iuntabassa.

The cruelty of Selymus put to death his brethren.

It is said moreouer that he intended the poysoning of his owne sonne Solyman, sending vnto him a shirt infected with poyson, because he feared something fearly to speake against the cruell deuiseme of his father: But by the meanes of his mother, the gift being suspected, was giuen to another which was his chamberlaine, who putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poyson thereof, and therewith all died.

As touching his Turke Selymus, by the way here may be noted how the secret prouidence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish warres at home, while that the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the dayes of this Selymus, Martin Luther first began to write against the popes indulgences, which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1516.

Dayes of Selymus the Turke, wherein the reformation of religion began.

Solymannus the 12 after Otthomanus.

Solymannus the only sonne of Selymus succeeded after his fathers death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meete for the Turkish gouernment. Wherefore certaine of his nobles consulting how to depose him, intended to set vp another Emperour. In which conspiracie, especialie are named Cairbeius and Gazelles. This Cairbeius was he that betrayed before Camplan the Sultan of Egypt to Selymus, as is aforesaid: who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them all vnto Solyman. Whereupon the said Gazelles and his fellowes being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his acts afterward did more appeare.

Solymannus, after this execution done vpon the conspiratours, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgradum: which being a citie in Hungarie, was the strongest fort of all the Romaine Empire, and the chiefe defence at that time, of all Christendome: which also being assaulted before time by Amurathes the 2. was valiantly defended by Joannes Huniades as is aboue specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was: For the kingdome of Hungarie at that time, lay vnder the gouernment of Ludouicus a young king, vnexpert and of a simple wit. Whom other Princes, and specially the couetous churchmen did so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but onlie the bare name and title of his kingdome: whereby he being vnfurnished both of men and money, was vnable to match with such an enemie.

Solymannus againe besieged Belgrade. See before pa. 682.

Another vantage also the Turkes had in besieging of Belgrade: For the christian princes at that time were in ciuill dissension and variance amongst themselues: and the pope with his churchmen also were so busie in suppressing of Luther, and of the gospell then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintaine the wealth of their owne belies. Which pope if he had set his care (as his dutie was) so much in stirring vp princes against the common enemie, as he was bent to deface the Gospell, and to persecute the true professors thereof: some might be haue brought to passe, not only that Belgrade might haue beene defended against the Turk, but also that to be recouered againe which was lost before: and moreouer might haue stopped the great dangers and perilles which now are like to fall vpon the religion & church of Christ: which the Lord of his great mercy auert and turne away.

Discord amongst Christian princes, the cause of the losse of Belgrade.

The popes Clergie in Saints, Lawes, Decrees, Councels, Glosers, Decretals, Canons of Christendome.

Cerres what soeuer the pope then did, this had been his dutie, letting all other things apart, to haue had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captiues, which were fallen from their faith and religion, into the miserie and slauerie of the Turke: and withall, to haue set all meanes possible to haue reuoked them, as lost sheepe into the folde againe: Which then might some haue been done, if prelates and princes ioyning together in christian concord, had vsed so well the publicke glorie of Christ and soules of christians, as they tendered their owne priuate, worldly, and friuolous quarels. And admit that the pope had conceiued neuer so much malice against Luther, his quarell also being good: yet the publike church standing in such danger, as it then did by the inuasion of the Turke, reason would, nature leode, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate forgetting lighter matters, should rather haue laid his shoulder to the releuding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himselfe, and the vniuersall church of Christ: But vnto his quarell being vntuft, and the cause of Luther being most iust and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a Prelate, who for bearing the Turke, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to haue resisted, persecuted the truth, which he should specialie haue maintained: But Christ for his mercy sake for his church and sic by zealous princes and prelats, if not to recouer that that is lost, yet at least to retaine that little which is left.

Turne compasses lacking in the Pope.

Solyman therefore taking his occasion, and vsing the commoditie of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselues, without any resistance or interruption, brought his armie into Belgrade, in the yeare of our Lord, 1521. Which citie being but sleenderly defenced, the Turke through his vnderminers, guns and other engines of warre, without great difficultie, and with little losse of his souldiours, some subdued and ouercame.

The citie of Belgrade won of the Turke.

After this victorie, Solyman resting himselfe a while here, and calling in his mind how to make all sure behinde him, for feare of enemies to come vpon his backe, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtaine the Iland of Rhodes: for that only remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia: therefore the next yere following, he brought his armie of 450. ships, and 300. M. men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mightie and strong Iland, within the sea called Mare mediterraneum. The inhabitants whereof at the first did manfully resist the Turke, sparing no labour nor paines for the defence of themselues and of all Christendome: But afterward being brought to extremitie, and pinched with penurie, being also no able to come from the Christians, some that began to languish in themselues. The Turks in the meane time casting vp two great mountaines with strength of hand, two miles off from the citie, like rolling trenches caried them before them neere vnto the citie, in the tops whereof they planted their ordinance and artillerie to batter the citie. The master of the knights of the Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the citie. The Rhodians likewise so valiantlie behaued themselues vpon the walls, that with their shot all the ditches about the citie were filled with the carcasles of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloudie flixe raigned in the Turks campe, that 30. M. of them died therof: and yet for all this, Solyman would not cease from his siege begun: who at length by vnderminers cast fire vnder the bamures and vttermost parts of the citie, man ground fell more and more vpon the Rhodians, and with mortarie peeces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the citie. And thus continued the siege for the space of fiue or sixe moneths, and yet all this while came no helpe vnto them from the Christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the aduice of Villadamus yeelded themselues vnto the Turke, vpon condition that he would spare them with life and goods: which conuention the Turke kept with them faithfullie and truelie.

Rhodes besieged.

Thus Solyman with his great glorie and vtter shame to all Christian princes and also ruine of all Christendome, got the noble Ile of Rhodes, although not without great losse and detriment of his armie: insomuch that at one assault 20. thousand Turkes about the walles, were slaine with fire, smoke, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be coniectured what these Rhodians might or would haue done, if succor had come to them from other Christian princes as they looked for. This citie was won vpon Christmas day, An. 1522.

Christian princes negligent in helping their fellowes.

Rhodes won of the Turke.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman the 4 yeare after bringeth backe his armie againe into Hungarie, where he found none to resist him but onely Ludouicke the young K. who being accompanied with a small armie, and nothing able to match with the Turke, yet of a hastie rashnesse and vaine hope of victorie, would needes set vpon him: who if he had staid but a little, had prospered the better. For Joannes Claunoda being a capitaine well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not farre off, comming with a sufficient power of able souldiours. But Paulus the archbishop of Colott, a Franciscane Frier, a man more bold then wise, with his temeritie and rashnesse troubled all their doings: For the whole summe of the armie of the Hungarians, contained in all but onely foure and twentie thousand horsemen and footmen, who at length comming vnto the battel, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turkes armie, were brought into great distresse. The Turks twice shot off their peeces against the Christian armie: yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof: which was thought it to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the guns, for then the speciall gunners of the Turkes were Christians, whom for the same cause, Anno. 26. Then the Turkes horsemen comming vpon the backe of the Christians armie, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude, ouercharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slaine the same time the archbishop frier abouesaid, with the bishops of Strigone and Varadine and many other nobles beside. Also the King himselfe being destitute of his necessarie aide and succour, was compelled to flie into a marish, where he falling from his horse, being heauie laden with his harnesse, was not able to rise againe, but there miserablie perished.

Christian warres against the Turke.

Enemies neuer hurt when they deuide themselues in the guiding of youthfull pilots.

Christians were the speciall gunners to the Turke.

The archbish slaine.

King Ludouicke perished in warre.

Solyman the Turke marcheth at the solithnesse of Ludouicke the king, who with so small an armie would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battell in Hungarie was fought, An. 1526.

Ferdinandus of Hungarie.

After the decease of Ludouicke, Ferdinandus succeeded in the



the kingdome, being duke of Austria and king of Hungarie. Then Solyman setting contention betwixt Joannes Clauoda and Ferdinandus for the kingdome of Hungarie, sped his voyage to deface rite of Buda, which also in short time he made to be yeelded vnto him, vpon condition that they should escape with their liues and goods: which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda diuers places and munitions the said Turke, contrarie to his league made before, did spoile and waste, as Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesias, and other forts and munitions moe, bordering about the confis of Hungarie.

Buda, Varadinum, and the citie called Quinque ecclesiæ taken of the Turk.

Contention betweene Ferdinandus, and Clauoda.

Clauoda flieth to the Turkes.

In the yeare of our Lord 1529. Ferdinandus king of Hungarie aforesaid, recouered diuers holds gotten of the Turke before, and also warring against Joannes Clauoda his enemie, with whom he had variance (as ye heard before) expulsed him out of his kingdome. Whereupon Clauoda fiying to the Turke, desired his aide. The Turke glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himselfe to returne into Hungarie, where he recouering again the citie of Buda, which Ferdinandus has gotten from him a little before, remoued his armie into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands, shewing many examples of great cruelties and tyranny most lamentable to heare & vnderstand.

Horrible examples of the Turkes cruelty.

For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their eares and noses, and of their children he cut off their priuie members. The maydens he corrupted, the matrones had their breasts cut off, and such as were with childe, were ript and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyrannie, this wretched Turke perpetrated by the way comming toward Vienna a noble citie in Austria, besides the captiues which he tooke by the way and led into seruitude most miserable, mounting to the number of thirtie thousand.

Among other holds by the way as the Turke came, there was a castle called Altenburch, strongly by nature situated, and by art defenced; which castle the Turke intending not to ouerpasse, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay his ordinance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soone as the Turke began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanlie cowardlines, sent their messengers to the Turke, to yeeld themselues readie to doe his commandement, and further him with their victuall. Amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turke by them might learne what strength was in the citie of Vienna: also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

The effeminate cowardlinesse of the souldiors in Altenburch.

The castle of Altenburch yeelded to the Turke.

Of whom when the Turke had vnderstanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twentie thousand men in Vienna able to beare armor, and that other cities of Austria would some yeeld if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two monethes, and that the king was of late in Boheme; thus the Turke of all things being certified, hauing no doubt in his minde of victorie, made speed toward Vienna: and first comming to Neapolis a citie but 8. miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yeeld themselues: who notwithstanding withstood them, and repulsed them valiantlie. Then the Turkes assigned a place for the pitching of their tents; which because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they tooke in more ground to the compasse of seuen miles circuit. The multitude of his armie, which he there planed, is accounted of some to extend to 250 thousand souldiours. The Turke thus being planted, made daille excursions ouer all the countrey of Austria, specially about the citie of Vienna, wasting & spoiling with great cruelties and murther amongst the poore Christians.

Neapolis besieged of the Turke.

The Turkes army of 250. thousand souldiors.

Moreouer, to make all things more sure toward the preparation of the siege, scoutes were sent abroad, & ambushments were laid about the riuer side of Danubius, to prouide that no aide nor victuall should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the prouidence of the Lord (who disposeth all things) that three daies before the comming of the Turke, Fridericus the Earle Palatine, which was then assigned by the Empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come downe by the riuer of Danubius with 14. M. and with a certaine troope of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the comming of this Fridericke, prouision also of victuall was appointed to follow those lie after, by the said riuer of Danubius.

Vienna besieged of the Turke.

In the meane time, they which had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the wayes were laid, and all the passages 10. miles about Vienna, stopped by the Turkes, although they knew the citie to stand in great need of victuall, yet seeing there was no other remedie, rather then it should come to the enemies hand, thought it best to sinke their boats with their carriage, & so they did. Whereby albeit the Christians wanted their releefe, yet were the Turks disappointed of their prap & purpose. The captains which had the keeping of the citie, which were chiefly Fridericus Earle Palatine, Guilielmus Rogendo; filius, & Nicolaus earle of Salme, seeing themselues to haue no counsell against their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage vnto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken:

Fridericus earle Palatine, & William Rogendorffius.

Nicolaus earle of Salme, captaine of Vienna.

Seeing that the little citie Neapolis (aboue mentioned) being eight miles distant from them, so valiantlie withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seuen greuous assaults against all the maine force of the Turkish armie: by their example and manfull standing, being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the vttermost before they would giue ouer; and first plucking downe all the suburbs, and buildings without the walles, whereby the enemie might haue any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the citie to haue themselues, and to bring in their goods within the walles. Such places as were weake within the walls, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walles, they prouided rampiers and bulwarks distant 80. foote one from another, to keepe off the shot; and euery man had his place and standing awarded to him vpon the wall, and his office appointed what to doe: but especialie that side of the citie which lieth to the riuer of Danubius, they fortified after the best wise: for that way only now remained for victuall to be transported from the Bohemians vnto them. Wherefore 8. enfignes were assigned to the keeping of the bridge, and in the plaine, which was like an Iland inclosed within the riuer, a sufficient garrison of horsmen were placed, lying within the gunshot of the citie, to the intent that if any graine or victuall were sent from the Bohemians, they might preuide the same safelie to be brought into the citie.

Diuision within the citie of Vienna, against the Turke.

Bridges made to transport victuall.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, L. William Rogendorffe, to assay the strength of the Turkes, made diuers rodes out with his horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the Austrians: who knowing the maner of the Turkes, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be ouerwearied, or for lacke of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turkes, one especialie was to our men purposerous: in which certaine of the horsemen espying a small troope of the Turkes scattering abroad from their company, made out after them, who suddenly and guilefullie were inclosed and circumuented by the Turks, before they could recouer the gates of the citie, and so were all taken aliue: Of whom three were sent from the Turkes into the citie, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seene in the campe of their aduersaries, and to solicite them to yeeld their citie for feare of punishment which would follow: The residue they reserued to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole armie, and of the Christians (which should tell the same to the citizens) they caused euery man to be bounde with soure horses a peece, and so to be dismembred and pluckt asunder.

Good counsell and experience refused.

Rash hardinesse of our Christians and inconsiderate dealing with the Turke.

The wretched cruelty of the Turkes against the Christian captiues.

After this done, the barbarous Turke immediatlie sent his Herald to talke with the captaines of the citie, whether they would yeeld the citie vpon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of warre. If they would gentlie submit themselues, they should haue all gentlenesse to them shewed: If they would be stubborne, and stand to their defence, hee would also stand to his siege begun, so that he neither would spare man, woman, or child. To this the captaines answered againe, that they were contented, Solyman to stand to his siege begun, and to doe his vttermost, what he would, or what he could. As for them, they were at appoint to defend themselues and their citie so long as they might: the euent and fall of victorie to be doubtfull, and many times so to happen, that they which begin the warre, are wearied sooner then they which be prouoked: neither againe, that they were so vnmindfull either of themselues, or of their countrey, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germaines: who vse alwaies first to allay the aduersarie, what he is able to do, and not rashlie to commit themselues into their enemies hands.

The message of the Turke to the Viennians.

The answere of the Viennians to the Turke.

Solymannus not a little disdaining at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houles, and places round about the citie, inserting also the springs and fountains which gaue water into the citie, and so stopping all passages, that no victuall should haue way into them, began with angrie mood to approch more neere to the citie, with three great camps; sending them word in scorne and contumelie, by one of his captiues, that if they stood in need of help of soulditors, he would send vnto them the 300. Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aide them in their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer againe, that they had more soulditours in the citie then they needed. As for the Bohemians which had reuolted themselues, he might doe with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

Solymannus approcheth Vienna with 3. great armies.

In the meane time a messenger comming from Ferdinandus, was priuilie let in by night into the citie, which brought word that they should play the part in keeping out the enimie a while: for it would not be long, but both Ferdinandus and Carolus his brother, with the strength of all Germanie, should bee readie to releue them. At which message the hearts of the soulditors began somewhat to be chearer, and to contemne the huge multitude of the aduersaries, being so great as they neuer did behold, nor did euer almost heare of before. The largenesse of whose armie, extended to no lesse in compasse (as is aboue said) then of seuen miles rounde about the citie walles.

A messenger let in from Ferdinandus to Vienna.

The siege of Vienna begunne.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parties and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this historie, with fewer words then were stropes given at the siege thereof: this is to be iudged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fiercenesse of the Turkes, the absence of king Ferdinandus, the lacke of prouision and victuall within the citie, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terros of the fight, and yet no succour sent vnto them: that the custodie of that citie was no mans doing, but the arme only of the Lord God of hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalme: Vnlesse the Lord doe keepe the citie, the watchmen watch in vaine, which watch to saue it: Vnlesse the Lord doe build the house, the builder striueth in vaine, which labour vpon him to build it. Experience thereof in keeping this citie may well appeare.

The Turkes power and ignorance in keeping the strength of Austria.

First Solymannus bending his shot and ordinance against the citie, beat downe to the ground the bannures with all the vttermost suburbs of the citie, and that in such a short moment of time, that the harts of the Viennians a little before refreshed, were nowe as much appalled against with feare, misdoubting which themselues, lest the Turke with the same celerite and violence, would haue preuailed against the inward walles, as he did in beating downe the outward bannures. And no doubt the same time the Turke had put the city in great hazard, had not night comming on, broken off the siege for that day.

The slaughter of the Turkes about the walles of Vienna.

In the meane time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walles, to make all things sure against the next assault. The next day early in the morning, the Turkes approching the citie against with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germanes, that vnneth any pitches about the walles could be seene for the bodies of the dead Turkes, wherwith they were replenished: so that the Turkes were faine to fight standing vpon the bodies of their which were slaine. By the which calamitie the force of the enemie was not a little abated.

The manfulnesse of captaine Rogendorffius against the Turkes.

It happened the same time, that a company of the Turkes being spied out of the citie wandring out of order, the captaine Rogendorffius with two legions of horsmen issuing out of the citie gate called Sa[illegible]maria, and so pasling closelie vnder the hils side, did set vpon them, that they slewe a great number of them: the rest being driuen to take the riuer, vpon swift staues and that likewise they destroyed, and so retired backe into the citie againe. By this victorie the captaine Rogendorffius began to be terrible to the Turks. For in the same skirmish (as after was knowne) were slaine of them so many, that of 5000. and three hundred horsmen and footmen, scarse 140. escaped alive.

Another assault of the Turkes against Vienna.

Solyman disdaining at this repulse, thought to proue another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the kings gate, there making his trenches and bulwarkes, planted his ordinance, with the violence whereof the walles were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turk hauing 2. great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiors couertlie in the darke smoke of the gunpowder to preasle into the citie. The like also was done at the Scotish tower, whereby the citie was inuaded in 2. sundry places at one time. The Viennians at the first freshly began to withstand them, new soldiors still comming in the place of them that were slaine and hurt: and so this assault continuing more then six houres together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage: wherby the citie had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid captaines Rogendorffius in the one place, and the Earle of Salme in the other place, manfullie encouraged the soldiors to abide the brunt, and to beare out a while the violence of the Turkes, promising that immediatlie they should haue aide from Ferdinandus.

Another repulse of the Turkes.

In the meane time the Turks came so thick for the greedines of the victorie, scaling, climing, and fighting vpon the walles, that had it not bin for the preale and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, comming so thicke that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had bin taken and vtterlie lost: But by the policie of the captaines giuing a signe within the citie, as though new soldiors were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks hearts to be discomfited.

Vienna vndermined by the Turkes.

When Solymannus saw his armie the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by vndermining to ouerthrowe the citie: in the which worke specially he vsed the helpe of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his campe, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians beginning to breake the earth at the gate Carinthia, and comming nere to the foundations of the Tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not worke so closelie vnder the ground, but they were perceiued by certaine men aboue, which were skilfull and expert in that kinde of matter who contrariwise vndermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went, with gunnepowder, so conueied their traine, that when fire should be set vnto it, the violence thereof should brast out by the trenches of the enemies: which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleane asunder, and all the vnderminers of the Turks working in their trenches, were smothered and destroyed: which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of 8000. persons: insomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead mens sculs are found in the ground.

Another assault of the Turkes against Vienna.

When Solyman saw that this way also would not serue, & had prouie intelligence that the walles about the gates of Stubarium were negligentlie kept, and that he might haue there more easie entrance: secretlie he conueyeth about 10. garrisons of fresh soudiors, in such sort as the townesmen should not perceiue them: who came so suddenly vpon them, that they had filled the ditches, and were vpon the top of the fortresses & munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselues readie to resist them. For although there was no lacke of soudiors within the citie, yet for so much as the whole brunt of the siege did lie, specialli at the 2. gates afore said, from whence the soudiors which were there warding, could not bee well remoued, for a theft the rescuers (which within the citie were readie for all sudden aduentures) were sent to the walls: by whose comming, those few which kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to surgerie: and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtfull vntill the darke night comming vpon them, they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turkes to be slaine, more then fiue thousand.

The Turkes repulsed.

Then the captaine Rogendorffius commanding the valiant standing of his soudiors, misdoubting with himselfe (as it happened indeed) that the Turks would not so giue ouer, but would set vpon him the next day with a fresh assault, preuenting with all diligence for the purpose, made vp the breaches of the walles, and prepared all things necessarie for resistance. The next morning following, which was Saunching tarke and mistie, the Turkes thinking to preuent our men with their sudden comming, began a sundie to bicker vpon the toppe of the walles.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distresse and danger that the citie those three dayes following was in. During all the which time, there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enimies, fighting against the citie, either in our men in defending the same. For the Turkes besides the multitude of the great ordinance, wherewith (as with a great tempest of gunshot) they neuer ceased, still battering the walles and beating the munitions of the citie, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turkes, to the scaling and climing of the walles, that vnneth with all the ordinance & shot of the citie, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished: till at the last the soudiors of the Turkes, perceiuing themselues able by no meanes to preuaile, but only to run in danger of life, & to do no good, began to wrangle among themselues, grudging and repuning against their dukes and captaines, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the citie was yet vntaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking: and so ceased the siege for that time.

Another assault of the Turkes repulsed.

Solymannus perceiuing his soudiors thus dailie to go to wracke, of whom he had lost alreadie more then eightie thousand, and that with long tarying he could do no good, being also in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about him was wasted: beginneth to consult with his captaines and counsellors, what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part aduised him to raise his siege, and better to prouide for himselfe. Which to doe, many causes there were that moued him.

The Turkes at variance amog themselues.

After this, when Solymannus had purposed in himselfe with his last and strongest siege, to try against the citie the vttermost that he was able to doe, and had encouraged his soudiors to prepare themselues in most forcible wise thereunto: the soudiors shewed themselues much vnwilling to returne againe from whence they were so often repulsed before: by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the Turks camp. The rumor thereof when it came to Solymans eares, hee fiercelie bis grand capitaine, to keepe all the soudiors in order and obedience: or if they would be stubborne, to compell them whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandement. Who comming to the soldiors, shewed to them the great Turks message; and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunitie of the time present was not to bee neglected, neither could they now without great shame giue ouer, after so many assaults attempted: Who if they would sustaine but one brunt more, the victorie were in their owne hands. The townesmen he said were wasted, and their victuals spent: and the more to inflame their minds, he promised them not onelie great thanks and reward of their Emperour, but also the whole spoile of the citie, in recompence of their trauell.

The Turk and his soudiors could not agree.

The Turkes encreately his soldiors.

But when all this could not stir vp the sturdie stomacks of the tired Turkes, vsing compulsion where perswasion would not serue, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backes, whereby to inforce them, either to goe forward, or if they denied, with guns & speares to destroy them. The Turks seeing themselues in such a strait, that whether they went or taried, it was to them like perill, yet would they not set forward except the captaine would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his arraie, thus spake vnto his fellowes, saying: Doe you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the Emperour of Constantinople vnto the Christians if you will: but I will discharge my dutie towards the Romain wealth and my Emperour, and with that word aduanced his ensigne, making toward the citie walles. Whom when other followed and still mo and mo pressed after, so it came to passe that whole routs of them were ouerthrowne and slaine of our men vpon the walles, before it was known what they meant.

Compulsion of men seeruth not where the Lord defendeth.

The slaughter of the Turkes at Vienna.

Other terrified by their example, gaue backe and left their araie, and winding themselues by by-waies and vnder couert of hils, returned againe into their tentes, and so came it to passe, that the strength of the enemies daile more and more decreasing, they had lesse hope euerie day more then other of obtaining the citie. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turkes vpon the walles, the townesmen also watching the forragers and purueyers of the Turkes, as they ranged about for victuall for the campe, euer as occasion serued them, did compasse them about, & so encountred with them by that way, that of a whole Legion, scarlie the tenth part returned againe to their fellowes aliue, by meanes whereof the courage of the enemies began greatlie to faint. Whereby such a marueilous alteration happened, that as our men began to receiue more hope and courage, so the Turkes began still more to dispe and to languish with despaire, so that at length scarce durst they appeare without the bounds, where they were entrenched, but onelie in light skirmishes, when they were prouoked by our men to come out, and to shew themselues.

The Turke beginneth to take counsell to retire.

Solymannus perceiuing his soudiors thus dailie to go to wracke, of whom he had lost alreadie more then eightie thousand, and that with long tarying he could do no good, being also in lacke of forrage, for that the countrey about him was wasted: beginneth to consult with his captaines and counsellors, what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part aduised him to raise his siege, and better to prouide for himselfe. Which to doe, many causes there were that moued him.

Solymannus his departure with great shame and losse.

First, the losse of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his camp wounded, or sicke, or famished. Secondlie, lacke of victuall. Thirdlie, the approching neare of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederike Palatine aboue mentioned, comming with a great army at Ratisbone towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turkes forragers, whom by the way hee preuented and so enclosed in the woods, that he slew them. Wherefore when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, made hast with bagge and baggage to remoue his campe and to retire: and first sending away his carriage before him, made speed himselfe with his armie, to follow hastilie after.

Solymannus moouerth and raiseth his siege from Vienna.

The Viennians, when they heard of the remouing away of the Turkes, although at the first they scarlie beleeued it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their remouing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the citie after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his armie, if he had beene there present, might haue stood them in great stead, yet notwithstanding they tooke the opportunitie of the time present, and issuing out of the citie, in most speedie wise, set after them with their horsemen: and first ouerpassing the tents (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pauilions) for hacke of the lawe: they made such pursuite after them, that within little time they ouertooke the rereward or latter end of the armie, whereof they made such hauocke and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was neuer a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawne, nor stroke striuen, which light in vaine. Which was no hard thing for our men to doe: For as the Turkes in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the rereward for any thing to farre off from ieopardie) returne backe to helpe their fellowes, it was easie for our men, without resistance, to come vpon their backs as they would. Yet notwithstanding in long pursuite, when our men could not for the carriage of the Turkes, which was wont in armies to come alway behind after the host; and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in priuie waite behind them, to come betwixt them and home: called themselues to retrait, and consulted vpon the matter, thinking good, first to send out certaine scouters, to espie and bring them word, where the enemies laie, and what was the number of them. Whereof when intelligence was giuen them, that the remnant of the Turkes armie was remaining in the tents behinde, wood was sent to their fellowes in Vienna, to issue out, and to ioyne also with them against the taile of the Turkes, which had entrenched themselues within the campe. Other were appointed to followe the chase, lest peraduenture the Turkes seeing our men to recule back, might returne againe vpon them and helpe their fellowes. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the meane time, while part of the Viennians were bouncing after the maine armie, the rest encountred with them that were left in the campe. Who seeing themselues ouermatched, first defenced their campe with a deepe Ditch and bulwarke, to delay the time, vntill some helpe might come to them from the armie. Secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to intreat for peace. Thirdly, they conueyed their priuie letters vnto Solyman for spedie aide and reseue. But all the waies and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turkes being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedie, made out of their campe, to hasard and proue the vttermost for their defence: but in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on euery side, and there put to the sword and slaine, a few onelie creeped, who escaping out very hardlie by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellowes, as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their tents, was distributed amongst the soudiors, onelie such things reserued as might serue for the publike vse and commoditie of the citie.

The Turkes flaine.

The Viennes of the Turkes flaine in the campe.

Thus through the mercifull protection and benefit of almightie God, Austria was deliuered from the fierce and barbarous hostilitie of the cruell Turkes: not withstanding that neither Ferdinandus the king, nor the Emperor his brother were there present, but onelie the power of God, through the valiantnesse of the worthie Germanes, defended that citie, in defence whereof consisted the safetie and deliuerance (no doubt) of all these west parts of Christendome. For the which immortall praise and thankes be vnto our immortall GOD in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of his most gratiousnesse and worthie deserued. Wherein by the way take this for a note (gentle Reader) how and after what manner Gods blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion, and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turkes in so many battels and sieges heretofore, were neuer so repulsed and foiled, as at this present time in incountring with the protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This citie of Vienna was besieged and deliuered the peare of our Lord 1529. The assaults of the Turke against the citie, are numbred to be 20. and his repulses as many. The number of his armie which he first brought, was 250000. whereof were reckoned to be slaine 80. thousand & aboue. During the time of his siege, he led away out of the countrey about many captiues, virgins & matrones he quelled, and cast them out naked, the children he sticke vpon stakes.

God his blessing goeth with the maintainers of true worship and religion.

Solymannus thus put from the hope of victorie of Vienna, after he had breathed himselfe a while at home, the second peare after, which was an. 1531. repairing his host, returned againe into Hungary, with no lesse multitude then before: where first he got the towne called Gunza, being but sleuderlie kept with a small Garrison. By reason whereof the townesmen and soudiors yelding themselues vnto the Turke, were constrained to agree vpon vnreasonable conditions. Ex Ioanne Rano.

Melchior Soiterus in his second booke writing De bello Pannonico, touching the foresaid towne of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Ranus; declaring how this Gunza, being a small towne in Hungarie, and hauing in it but onelie a hundred soudiors (or as Wolfgangus Dichsterus in his chronicle repeateth, at the most but 200. soudiors) vnder the valiant captaine Nicolas Jurefchitz, defended themselues so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of 200. thousand Turks, that they being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penurie of purueiance, and suddenly of the Turks inuasion, yet with pure courage and promptnesse of hart, sustained the vttermost force and violence of his assaults of that great multitude, for the space of 25. dayes together.

Ex Melch. Soit. lib. 1. de bello Pannonico.

Nicolaus Jurefchitz a valiant captaine.

Although the narration of the author may seeme to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what time the great Ordinance and battering peeces of the Turkes were planted vpon two mountaines much higher then the towne, whereby they within the towne were oppressed both before and behinde, insomuch that eight Ensignes of the Turks were already within the towne: yet by the reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the towne were congregate in an house together, such a noise and clamor went vp to heauen, praying and crying to God for helpe, that the Turkes within the walles, supposing a new army of freshe soudiors to be sent into the towne, for sudden feare, voided the towne, and leaped downe from the walles againe (which before they had got) whom no man either pursued or resisted: for neuer a soudiar almost was left on the walles, which was not either slaine or else wounded with the Turkes ordinance. At what time through the Lords prouidence it so happened, that one Ibzahimus Balla, nere about the Turke, seeing both the towne to be small, and the great destruction of the Turkes in the siege thereof, and that the captaine in no case would yeeld, perswaded to the Turke, declaring how the towne being so little, was not worth the losse of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no gloire, and if they were repulsed, great dishonour might follow: whereby the Turke being perswaded, did follow his counsell, which was this: that Nicolaus the Christian captaine being called vnto him, vnder pledges and safe conduct, should receiue the towne as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should doe no violence to his soudiors left behind and wounded, but should procure such meanes as he could for the recuring of them: and so hee raising his siege departed. Another cause might be also, which moued him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him, and therefore taking his flight by the mountaines of the Noricians, he returned with much spoile of Christian mens goods vnto Constantinople. Ex Melchiore Soit. lib. 2. de bello Pannonico.

A miraculous example of the Lords protection against Turkes.

The Turke raiseth his siege from Gunza.

For so it was prouided the same time in Germany, after the counsell of Augusl and of Ratisbon (at what time the coun-

Sell. hy. trouerse

The Emperour Charles and Ferdinandus begin at length to ioyne against the Turke.

troublie of Religion betweene the Protestants and the Papists, was referred and set off, to the next generall Councell) that Charles the 5. and Ferdinandus his brother, hauing vnderstanding of the Turke, thus ranging in Hungarie, should collect of the Germaines, Hungarians, and Spaniards, and others, an able armie of eight thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen to repulse the invasions of the Turke. But Solymannus hauing intelligence of this preparation of the Christian power comming toward him, whether for feare, or whether to espie further opportunitie of time, for his more aduantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tarie their comming, and so hyeding his returne vnto Constantinople, retired with much spoile and pray first before him, as is aboue premised: which was in the yeare of our Lord, 1532.

The Turke warreth against the king of Chaldee. Chaldee vanquished again by Charles 5 Emperour.

Not long after, being the yeare of our saluation, 1534. Solymannus intending two wars at once, first sent Coradinus Barbarossa the Admirall of his Nauies into Africke, to warre against the king of Tunece: whom the Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his kingdome: but Charles the Emperour, the next yeare following, ann. 1535. restored the said king againe into his kingdome, and deliuered in the same voiage 20. thousand captiues out of seruitude.

Tauris a citie of Persia taken by the Turkes. Babylon a Caldean citie of the Persians.

The same time the Turke also sent another captaine into Hungarie, to warre against Clauioda, while he himselfe taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the citie Tauris, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enioyed not the same: For Thamas king of the Persians, suddenly comming vpon the Turkes vnprepared, slew of them two, and thousand, and tooke his concubines, to the great foile and reproch of the Turke.

Corcyra the 7. Iland wasted & spoiled by the Turkes.

Two yeare after this, which was the yeare of our Lord, 1537. Solymannus, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning againe out of Asia into Europe with 270. ships, great and little, set vpon Corcyra, another Iland belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten dayes, wasting & burning the Townes and fieldes as bee went, besides the destruction of much people therein, whom partlie he slew, partly led away captiues. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus and Cythara, another Iland not far off from Corcyra, bordering nere to the coastes of Cyprus and Grecia. There he suddenly by night inuading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harme, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaues: burning moreouer their houses, and carying away all the goods and cattell being without the said cities of Zacynthus and Cythara. Ex Ioan. Crispo.

The Ile of Sardinia and Italy greatly spoiled by the Turkes.

From thence these helhoundes turned their course to the siege and spoile of Guina, a rich and populous Iland, lying betweene Grecia and Asia. Where first the Genuians did manfully in battaile resist them, and were like to haue preuailed: but being wearied at length and oppressed with innumerable themselues of fresh Turkes, which still were sent in, to relieue the other which were ouercome before, were compelled to flie into the city of Guina. Which city the cruell Turkes (or rather Diuels on earth) with much labour, and violence of their great ordinance set out of their ships, subuerted and cast downe to the ground: the Citizens vnlesse they would be slaine, and after they had burned their houses, and ransacked their goodes, commanded to bee slaine and killed euery one. The women both noble and vnnoble, with their infants, were giuen to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped vnto Constantinople, were led also to perpetuall misery and slauerie, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1537.

Captiues of the Ile of Guina brought to Constantinople. The citizens of Guina slaine by the Turkes.

The Ile of Cythara wasted & spoiled. Cythara the Seate Royall of the Duke of the Ile.

The Ile of Naxia and Paros. Cythara the Seate Royall of the Duke. Ex Ioan. Crispo.

In the same iourney Solyman also tooke the Ile in the said sea of Cytheraut, called Parum: also the Ile adioyning to the same named Naxus, and made them to him tributaries. The Duke whereof was he which wrote the story both of these Ilands aforesaid, and also of the other Ilands called Cycladres, and other dukes. Ex Ioanne Crispo, Duce Naxi, &c.

Date vbi per fidiam communi by the dissension of Christian Princes. Sinia is a cell in the prouince of Dalmatia adioyning to Austria.

This done Solymannus directed his Nauy vnto Apulia, where he set on land 2. thousand footmen, and 2000. horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts while the Emperour, the Pope, and the Venetians, were together in war and dissention. Furthermore, the next yeare following, ann. 1538. great attempts began in Stiria; but by the resistance of the inhabitants, the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great slaughes of men and cattell were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In the which yeare also the Turke turning into Hungary, gaue battaile vnto the Christians in Saua: where though the fraudulent falshod of the captaine Taffianerus (Wolfegangus named him Calcianus, being (as they say) corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, an. 1538.

The falshood of the Venetians with the Christians.

After that the Turkes had inuaded the Iland of Corcyra aboue said, the Venetians with Solyman the Turke had ioyned truce for a certaine time, for the which they gaue the Turk 300. thousand crowns, with the citie Neapolis, and Malualia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within 4. or 5. yeares, the Turke to get anew reputed of the Venetians, brake his league, and inuaded their dominions: whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions against him.

In the yeare of our Lord, 1540. the restles Turke making his returne toward Hungarie, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the towne called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which towne because they refused to yeeld themselues, all the inhabitants and souldiors were put to the sword and slaine euery one. This Novum Castellum, or Newcastle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which being knowne in the Turkes power, he had great aduantage ouer all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From thence hee proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungarie, where he planted his power against the citie of Buda.

North Castellum in Dalmatia, ouerthrowne by the Turke, and the people slaine.

Ex Ioan. Ramo, de rebus Turcicis, lib. 2.

The contention in Hungary betweene Ferdinandus & Clauioda and his successors.

This Buda was a principall citie in Hungarie, about which great contention had bene (as pe haue heard before) betweene Ioannes Clauioda, and Ferdinandus. By reason whereof the Turke occasioned by Clauioda, came into Hungaria and deliuered the citie to Clauioda. This Clauioda liuing not long after, left behind him a sonne, whom being an infant, he committed to the gouernance of one Georgius Monachus, who being left tutor vnto the infant, reduced all Transsiluania, Buda, Iesella, with other parts of Hungarie, which belonged to Clauioda before, to the subiection of the child. Ferdinandus hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger, leuied an armie to recouer his lands in Hungarie, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus seeing his part weake, first sent his Legat to Ferdinandus, desiring him to talke and conferre with him vpon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to p behoofe of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their conuention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties (according to the agreement) conuenting together with their armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entred in communication, suddenlie among Ferdinandus men, happened a dag to be heard, which by the heate of the day (as is thought) losing of his owne accord, gaue a cracke. The sound whereof comming to the eares of Monachus, he supposing the same to haue beene discharged against him, in great anger doeth out his swoorde, bidding Ferdinandus auaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying that he would neuer any more trust the promises of Christians, and immediatlie vpon the same sent to Solymannus the Turke, for aide against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungarie, if hee would come and banquish the armie of Ferdinandus lying about the siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mightie power, sheth into Hungarie, and eftsones discharging the hoft of Ferdinandus, and putting them off from the siege of Buda, getteth the city into his owne handes, commanding the sist of Clauioda with his mother to followe after his campe.

The communication between Monachus and Ferdinandus. What hurt may come of rash suspition.

The Turke called again into Hungary by the dissension betweene Monachus and Ferdinandus.

Ex epist. Mart. Stellæ, de succes. sionis Turcarum, &c.

In the historie of Ioannes Ranus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turke had thus preuailed against the citie of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the Empire, one Ioachimus Duke of Brandenburg, Prince Elector, was assigned with a puissant armie of chosen souldiors of all nations collected, to recouer the Citie of Buda from the Turke, and to deliuer the other parts of Christendome from the feare of the Turke, Anno 1542. Which Ioachimus at his first setting forth, appeared so courageous and valiant, as though he would haue conquered the whole world: but this great heate was so slaken in short time by the Turke, that before any great ieopardie was offered vnto him, hee was glad to bee discharged out of the voiage, and with shame enough returned home againe: and would God he had left behinde him in the fields, no more but his owne shame. For the enemies hauing intelligence before of his cowardlie departure, thinking to worke some point of martiall victorie before his going, did set vpon the right wing of his armie (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of low Germany) out of the which they tooke away with them aboue 500. strong and valiant souldiors, not killing them, but carying them away aliue. For whom it had beene much better to haue slaine them with their weapon and to haue died manfullie vpon the Turkes, then by yeelding themselues to bee disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so to be left to the cursed courtesie of the foule Turkes. To whom what curtesie was shewed, by the sequele did appeare. For after the Turkes had led them out of Hungarie into their owne Dominion, after a most horrible and beastlie sort they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad through all Grecia to be witnesses of p Turks victorie. Their kinde of punishment was thus: First they had their right arme thrust through with an yron red hot, whereby they should be vnable and vnmeet to all labour and warrefare. Secondly, their heads were shauen to the verie sculles, after the manner of our Friers and Monkes, when they are newly shauen. Thirdlie, they had all their priuie members cut off from their bodies, to the intent to make them vnfruitfull for propagation; which wound was so grieuous vnto them, that the greatest part of them died thereupon, the few that recouered the torment thereof, led a life more bitter and more miserable then death it selfe. And this kinde of cruelty was executed in order vpo them al: In much like sorte did cruell Pharao exercise his tyranny against the people of God in Egypt: who to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to bee drowned in the riuer. Wherefore it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharao is come to such an extremity, the mercifull goodnesse of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other vnto vs for our speedy deliuerance. This was by the cruell Turkes done, An. 1542. witnessed by Ioannes Ranus, which not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his owne eyes recordeth the same to bee true, beholding with his eyes some of the same number in the city of Vienna, who hauing wife and children in Bruselles, either for shame or sorowe had no mind to returne home to his owne house. Ex Ioan. Ramo.

The cowardlie voiage of Ioachimus Duke of Brandenburg, against the Turke.

The Christians souldiors taken & carried away of the Turkes.

The horrible punishment practised of the Turkes against the Christians.

The falsenesse of the Turkes in keeping no promise with the Christians.

But to returne againe to the city of Buda, from whence we haue digressed, here is not to be pretermitted, what falshod and what cruelty the Turkes vsed toward the Christians there, after their victorie. For after that Solyman the Turke vpon pardoning and submission of the men of Buda, had giuen to them his promise of safety and life, within short time, the said Turke picking a quarrell with them for selling Oxen vnto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, fine all the Magistrates of the said city of Buda like as in all other cities, where former the Christians yeelded vnto him, be neuer, or very rarely kept his promise with them, neither did euer any Christians before neither with the Turke, then they which most constantly did resist him.

An horrible example of the bealtly cruelty of the false Turkes.

And as his promise with the Magistrates of Buda was false and vngodlie: so his cruelty with the souldiers thereof was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda amongst the rest which were slaine, two Cohorts or bands of Christian souldiers came alue to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at the first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armor againe, and to dispose themselues in order and battell array after the warlike maner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandement, and hee riding about the ranke of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certaine space, at length hee commanded them to put off their armour againe. Which done, certaine of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue he commanded by his souldiers comming behind them, with swoords to bee cut in peeces and slaine. Of the other, whom he had cleaued and chosen, some he set for markes and buts to be shot at: some he appointed to his two sons, for them to skall with their swoords and trie their strength, which of them could giue the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their Christian bodies. Ex Mart. Stella, de succes. sibus Turcarum.

The castle of Walpo won of the Turkes.

After the winning of Buda, the Turke purposing not so to cease before he has subdued and brought vnder his obedience all Hungarie, proceeding further with his armie first brought vnder a strong hold of p Christians named Pest or Pesta, where a great number of Christian souldiers partly were slaine, partly were led away to more cruell affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo situate in the confines of Bosna, Croatia, and Hungarie. Which fort or castle he besieged three monthes, while no rescue or aid was sent vnto them, neither from Ferdinandus king of Hungarie, nor from any other Christian prince or princes. Whereupon at length the fort was giuen vp to the Turke, but more through the false treacherie or cowardly heart of the souldiers then of the captaine. Wherein is to be noted an example of Gods iudgements lighting vpon themselues, which meane faithfull toward the innocent.

A notable example of Gods iudgements lighting vpon themselues.

Three speciall helpes of the Turkes in warning townes and cities.

Three speciall helpes of the Turkes in winning townes and cities.

Three speciall helpes of Christendome against the Turkes.

The citie of fiue churches yeelded to the Turkes.

The bishop of Iesa teacheth his flocke in the deeres.

Sclauonia a towne in Hungary subiours of the Turkes.

Sclauonia was Sclosia. The towne at the first inuasion of the Turkes was won, sacked, and fierced. The castle within the towne, did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for 14. daies, to see what aid should be sent, vnto them, to deliberate vpon the conditions that should bee proposed vnto them, after the 14. daies expired, they (trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong) began for a certaine space stoutly to put backe the enemie: But afterward seeing their walles to bee battered, their foundations to shake (for p Turk had set xij. thousand vnderminers vnder the ditches of the castle) and their strength to diminish, and vndoubting themselues not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yeld themselues, vpon condition to escape with life and goods. Which condition of sauing their goods, was the losing of their liues, especially of the richer sort. For the Turks perceiuing by that condition, that they were of wealth and substance; omitting the inferiour or baser sort, fell vpon the wealthy men for their riches, and slue them euery one, an. 1543. ibid.

Countesse wife of Wolfy gangus the destruction of many a man.

The Turke keepeth no promise.

In the which his historie this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Sclosia was besieged, the villages and pages round about the same, came of their owne accord, submitting and yeelding themselues vnto the Turke, bringing in (as they were commanded) all kind of victuall and forage, into the Turkes campe. Which done, Solyman the Turke commanded all the head men of the pages to appeare before him: which humble obeyed and came. Then the Turke warned them to repaire against the next day after, exercrie one bringing with him his inferiour retinue, and household seruants. Which when they had with like diligence also, according to his commandement accomplished, the Turke immediately commanded them euery one, in the face of his whole armie, to be slaine, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the bloudie cruelties of the Turke: the more incourage it may minister to our men, the more constantlie to withstand him. Ex Martino Stella.

Example what commeth by Christian men yeelding to the Turke.

Strigonium a citie in Hungarie belonging to the Turke.

Another strong towne there is in Hungarie named Strigonium, distant from Buda abouesaid, the space of fiue Dutch miles, against the which the Turkes made great preparation of ordinance, and all other instruments of artillerie necessarie for the siege thereof. Which citie in like manner began also to be compassed and inclosed by the Turkes, before it could be sufficientlie prepared and garnished of our men, but that the archbishop onely of Strigon priuily conueied vnto them 200. men. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinandus king of Hungary, which so slenderlie looked vnto the necessarie defence of his townes and cities. Moreouer, such was the discord then of Christian kings and princes, which in their ciuill dissention and warres were so occupied and hot in needlesse quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance, to helpe in time there, where true need required. Which slender care, and cold zeale of the christian rulers, not in tendring the publicke cause, while they contended in priuate trifles, hath caused the Turke to come so far as he hath, and yet farther is like, vnlesse the mercie of the Lord doe helpe more, then our diligence. One of the chiefe captaines within the citie, was Spartinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

Negligence of Christian princes in publicke defence.

The Turkes in the beginning of the siege began first to attempt the citizens with faire wordes, and accustomed promises to yeeld and gently to submit themselues. But they not regarding of the Turkes promises while he refused, and manfullie stood so long as they could to the defence of their city: now and then skirmishing with them in out corners, and killing certain numbers of them: sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheeles of their gunnes, &c.

The Strigonians refuse to yeeld.

Three speciall meanes the Turkes vse in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of souldiors: great ordinance and mortary peeces: the third is by vndermining. All which here in the siege of this citie lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certaine space: in which the Strigonians had bozne out foure strong assaults, and slue many thousands of the Turkes, till at length the Turkes either departing away, or els seeming to depart into Buda, the people at last being so perswaded and made to beleeue of some chiefe rulers of the citie (peraduenture not the truth ones) the citizens hoping erected lusth hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though the citie had bene free from all danger, suddenly, by whose counsell it is vnknowne) conueied themselues all out of the citie. 300. horsemen also passed ouer the riuer and departed. The Italians which were vnder Franciscus Salamanca a Spanish captaine hardly could be perswaded by him to abide, which were in all scarse 600.

The Christians of Strigonium retyred out of the citie.

Within three daies after, 300. Germaine souldiours, with two ships laden with shot, pouder, and artillery, were pmitte let into the towne: So that of our men all there were scarse 1300. souldiors. Who seeing the small quantitie of their number, burning and casting downe the towne and suburbes, tooke them to the castle: from whence they beat off the Turks baliantlie with their ordinance, a good space, and with like fire destroied great companies of them, till at last they seeing their walles to faile them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especiallie by the working of a certaine Italian

The towne of Strigonium destroyed after the flying of the citizens, and the castle defended.

tion surnamed Prodeyner, they gaue ouer. This Italian (whether for feare or falshood, secretly vnknowing to the rest of the feathers, accompanied with two other coniured himselfe downe from the walles, and being brought into the tents of the next captaine vnto Bassa of the Turkes, there in the name of all his fellowes, consented with the Turkes, to giue vp to them the Castle: whereupon the Turkes were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other Turkes was sent backe to Salmanca his captain, with the Turkes message. The going out of this Italian being prime to the rescue of his fellowes, contrarie to the lawes and discipline of warre, although it seemed to come of his owne head: yet forasmuch as the other souldiers were not sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians his countrymen had beene in some part of consent therein, and would take his part: neither durst offer him any harme for that his doing, nor yet could well admit with themselues what was best to doe, for feare of panic conspeeracie within themselues.

Thus while Lascarus the chiefe captaine of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow souldiers, were in a maze what to do or not to doe: in the meane time came out enuning, who giuing a signe both to the Christians and to the Turkes, to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of warre to fight after peace and truce taken: our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward Tower. The Turkes in the meane time, had got into the Castle, and occupied all the vtter parts. Then was Salamanca by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turke, who there being staied that night, the next morrow the Turkes hall ot warrant was sent into the Castle, permitting free libertie to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage. Who nam being ready to depart: first were commanded by the Turkes compelling them to vnlode out of all from them their daggers, launces, and battell axes, into the trench. Then comming to the gate to goe out, their spoiles were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last when they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their tergats, curets, and whatsoeuer piece of harnesse was about them. Whereupon great feare came vpon them, lest some great cruelty should be shewed vpon them. Solyman after he had long deliberated with himselfe, whether to kill them or not, at last contrary to all expectation granted their liues: but before they should be dismissed, hee first caused them, in derision of Christianitie, to be bayed with scarues and nookes through out all the Turkish army: and so the next day commanded them being stript out of their coats and apparell, to be rendred againe into the castle by companies, setting ouer them certaine Turkes with cudgels and bats to lay vpon their backes and sides, causing them to burie the dead carcases, and to gather vp the rubbish broken downe from the castle walles, and to secure the ditches. Which done, the next day following he demanded of them by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serue him in his warres: Which condition diuers for feare were contented to take, seeing no other remedie to auoid present death. Some neither by menacing words, nor for ante feare of death, could be compelled thereunto, of whom certaine which stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slaine, whom Turny worthily reckt in the number and catalogue of holie martyrs.

Of the foresaid Christians, part were carried ouer the riuer of Danubius, not without great villanie, and consumelie inough despitefull. For some had their wiues taken from them and carried away, some had their wiues rauished before their face: and such as made or shewed any reluctance thereat, had their liues by vse brought from them cast into the riuer and drowned: also their infants mayoong children, being appointed by the Turkes to the abominable order of the Ianizaries, mentioned before pag. 581. their parents not consenting thereunto, were priuily stole and conueied into the riuer and drowned. All which things are testified by Iohn Martinus Stella, in his epistles in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael, &c. Which Martin Stella moreouer shewes addeth and affirmeth, that he himselfe being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the foresaid wiues, who being holden fast by the haire of the head, yet notwithstanding hauing her haire pluckt off, cast her selfe into the riuer Danubius, for the singular loue to her husband, and so swamme to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germaines, Spaniards and Italians met together, macerate with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof was noised at Vienna, partlie with feare and dread, partly with indignation, all mens hearts were moued and vered diuerslie. Some thought them not worthie to be receiued into their citie, shewing themselues so dastardly and cowardlie. Others thought against that mercie was to be shewed vnto them, and commended their fact, for that they being so few, and vnfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any meanes with such an innumerable multitude of the Turker, kept themselues till better time might serue them. But howsoeuer the matter was to bee thought of, the captaines brought the poore remnant of that rufull company, vnto Posidonium, where the said captaines were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter, how it was wrought and handled. And thus haue ye the lamentable storie of Strigonium.

The Turke proceeding in his victories, conducted his armie next vnto Tath, and to the parts lying neere about Comarou. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungarie, wherein were placed certaine garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chiefetain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, conditute by Philippus Torsellius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowesse of warr: but of a filthie corrupt life, and also a foule forcarer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the storie short, this fort of Tath, before any siege was laid vnto it, was yeelded and giuen vp to the turkes: vpon what conditions, or by whose meanes, the author theiwrth not: thus much he theiwrth, that the said Annibal shortly vpon the same, returning into Italie, was commanded by Torsellius aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

After the turks had subuerted and destroyed the fort of Tath, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary haue been allwaies wont there to bee crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well compacted cite in Hungary, hauing on the one side a marish somewhat foggish or fenne, which made the towne lesse assaultable. But nere to the same was a wood, from the which the Turks euery day with 1000. carts, brought such matter of wood and trees felled for the same purpose, into the marish, that within lesse then 12. daies they made it apt, and hard to their feet, which the townes men thought neuer could bee gone vpon, but only in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege, there stood a little without the munitions in the front of the citie, a certaine Church or Monasterie, which the citizens pretending to maintaine and keepe against the turkes, had priuilie conueighed light matter easilie to take flame, with powder, in secret places thereof, and had bid also fire withall. Which done, they (as against their willes being driuen backe) withdrew themselues within the munitions, awaiting the occasions, when this fire would take. Thus the turkes hauing the possession of the Church, kindeste the fire comming to the powder, raised vp the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous turks. This was not so soone espied of them within the towne, but they issued out vpon them in this disturbance, and slue of them a great number: Among whom diuers of their nobles also the same time were slaine, and one Bassa an Eunuch, which was of great estimation with the turks. Moreouer, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners which the French king is said to haue sent to the Turke a little before. Which if it be true, let y christian reader iudge what is to be thought of those christian princes, which not onelie forsaking the common cause of Christs Church ioyned league with the turke, but also sent him gunners to set forward his warres to the destruction of Christs people, and to the shedding of their blood. For whom they knew the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I shew mine author: If it be, then let the pope see and marke well how his title of Christianissimus, can well agree with such doings.

But to let this matter slepe, although the Turkes (as yee heard) had wonne the fenne, with their policie and industrie, against the citie of Alba, yet all this while the Albanes were nothing inferiour to their enemies, through the valiant helpe and courageous indeuour of Demianus Serrzatus, a captaine of Galane. By whose prudent counsell and constant standing, the vnlie enterprises of the Turkes did little preuaile a long time: till at length, suddenly arose a thick fogge or mist vpon the citie, where as round about beffes, the same did shine bright. Some said it came by Art Magicall, but rather it may appeare to rise out of the fenne or marish, being so preled downe with mens feete and other matter laid vpon it.

The Turkes vsing the occasion of this misty darkenesse in secret wise approching the walles, had got vp to a certaine fortresse, where the Germaines were, before our men could well perceiue them: where they prelled in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the christian souldiors standing stronglie to the defence of their liues, did what valiant men in cases of such extremitie were able to doe: yet being ouermatched with the multitude of the Turkes, and the suddennesse of their coming, gaue backe, seeking to retire into the inward walles. Which when their other fellowes did see to recule, then was there flying of all hands euerie man striuing to get into the citie. There was betweene the outward walles & bannres, and inward gate of the citie, a strait & narrow passage, cast vp in manet of a bancke or causey, ditched on both sides: which passage or ingresse happened the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poore souldiors were forced to cast themselues into the ditch, thinking to swimme as well as they could, into the citie: there many of them sticking in the mud, were drowned: one prelling vpon another: many were slaine of their enemies comming behind them,



them, they hauing neither hart, nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were receiued into the city: but the chiefe captaines and warders of the towne were there slaine.

The citizens being destitute of their principall captaines and warriors, were in great perplexitie and doubt among themselues, what to doe, some thinking good to yeeld, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the citizens were distract in diuers and doubtfull sentences, the magistrats minding to stand to the Turkes gentlenesse, sent out one of their heads vnto the Turke, who in the name of them all, should surrender to him the citie, and become vnto him tributaries, vpon condition they might enioy libertie of life and goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance, first the souldiers which were left within the citie, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away. Who being but only 300. left of 4. millyons of Italians, & of a thousand Germaines, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians, for hope of their spoile: so that they scattering asunder one one way, an other an other to saue themselues as well as they could, fled euery one what way hee thought best. Of whom some wandering in woods and marishes fainted for famine: some were taken and slaine by the Hungarians, a few with bare and emptie, and withered bodies, more like ghostes then men, escaped and came to Vienna. And this befell vpon the souldiers.

Now vnderstand what happened to the yeelding citizens. So in flop it followeth, that when the Turke had entred the towne, and had bitten the lepulche of the kings, for thee or tome daies he pretended much clemencie toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppresse them but to bee revenged of Ferdinandus their king, and to deliuer them from the seruitude of the Germanes. On the fourth day all the chiefe & head men of the city were commanded to appeare before the Turke in a plaine, not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to sweare vnto the Turke. At this commandement of the Turke, when the citizens in great number, and in their best attire were assembled, the Turke contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a generall slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba.

In the meane time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their victuals from the citie, slew of them at one bickering three thousand Turkes. In which storie is also reported and mentioned of mine author, an horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certaine captiue (a Christian belike) who comming into Vienna, was found to haue in his scrip 02 satchell the halfe of a yong child of two yeares old, which remained yet vneaten, the other halfe being eaten before, an. 1543. ibid.

Not after this was expugned the castle of Pappa, by the Turkes. Let the castle now of Papa take heed, lest one day it follow after.

The like fidelitie the Turkes also kept, with the fort of Wizigradum and the souldiers therof. This Wizigradum is situate in the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium. Of the which fort 02 castle, the highest tower so mounteth vpon the hill, that vnlesse it be for famine and lacke of water, they haue not to dread any enemie. Notwithstanding so it happened, that the lower piece being won, they in the higher tower abiding foure daies without drinke, were compelled with liberate grant of life and goods, to yeeld themselues. But the diuelish Turks keeping no faith nor promise, slew them euery one, only Petrus Amandus the captaine of the piece, excepted: who priuily was conueyed by the captaine of the Turkes, out of the slaughter, an. 1544.

To these moreouer may be added the winning of Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both souldiers and other, for that they did not yeeld themselues in time. Thus the Turke, whether they yeelded to him or not, neuer spared the people and locke of Christ.

As the false and cruell Turke was thus raging in Hungarie, and intended further to rage without all mercie and pitie of the Christians, and easily might then haue preuailed and subdued the whole: but that Charles the emperour and Francischus the French king were the same time in warre and hostilitie, and also other Christian princes, as Henrie duke of Brunswike, against Iohn Fredericke duke of Saxonie, also princes and rulers were contending among themselues: behold the gratious prouidence of our Lord and God toward vs, who seeing the miserie, and hauing pitie of his poor Christians, suddenly as with a thunderclap reuiued this raging beast: and brought him out of Europe into his owne countrie againe, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turkes, and had inuaded his dominion. By reason whereof the Turkes were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which warres at length being atchieued and finished, (wherin the said Turke lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turkes) he was not only preuented by the instigation of certaine euill disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the diuelond of Christian princes, to returne againe into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof vnto his dominion. Where into when he beheld no armie inuincible of such a multitude of Turks, as the like hath not hitherto been heard of, set against the mercifull prouidence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turke was thus intending to set forward with this innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence through all the Turks armie and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thracia, to Macedonia and also to Hungarie, that all the Turkes possessions almost seemed nothing else, but as an heape of dead coses, wherethe his voiage for that time was stopped, and hee almost compelled to seeke a new armie.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them then any warre, other lets also and domesticall calamities through Gods prouidence happened vnto Solymannus, the great rouer and robber of the world: which staied him at home from vexing the Christians, especiallie touching his eldest sonne Mustapha.

This Mustapha being hated and partlie feared of Rossa mus the chiefe counsellour about the Turke, and of Rossa the Turkes concubine, and after his wife, was diuers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspition and displeasure of the Turke, by them aforesaid: that in conclusion his father caused him to bee sent for to his pauilion, where 6. Turks with visours were appointed to put him to death: who comming vpon him, put (after their manner) a small cord or bow-string full of knots about his necke, and so throwing him downe vpon the ground, not suffering him to speake one word to his father, with the watch thereof thotled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrate, afterward when the Turke would haue giuen to another some of his and of Rossa, called Gianger, the treasure, horse, armour, ornaments, and the province of Mustapha his brother; Gianger crying out for sorrow of his brothers death: Fie of thee, saith hee to his father, thou impious and wretched dogge, traitour, murderer, I cannot call the father, take the treasures, the horse and armour of Mustapha to thy selfe: and with that taking out his dagger, thrust it thorow his owne bodie. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his owne sonnes: which was in the yere of our Lord 1552.

Wherein notwithstanding is to be noted the singular prouidence and loue of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For by this Mustapha as he was couragious and greatly expert in warre, and exercised in all practise of warre: so had he a cruell heart, maliciously set to shed the bloud of Christians: Wherefore great cause haue we to congratulate, and to giue thankes to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no lesse hope also and good comfort wee may conceiue of our louing Lord, hereby ministred vnto vs, to thinke that our merciefull God after these sore afflictions of his Christians vnder these 12. Turkes afore recited: now after this Solyman intendeth some gratious good worke to Christendome, to reduce and releale vs out of this so long and miserable Turkish captiuitieas may be hoped now by taking away these yong impes of this impious generation, before they should come to worke their conceiued malice against vs: the Lord therefore be glorified and praised: Amen.

Moreouer, as I was in writing hereof, opportunitie came to my hands a certaine writing out of Germanie, certifying vs of such newes and victorie of late atchieued against the Turke, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort vs, touching the decay and ruine of the Turkes power and tyrannie against vs. Which newes are these: that after the Turkish tyrant had besieged with an armie of 50000. men, the famous and strong towne and castle of Iula in Hungarie lying 40. miles beyond the riuer Danubius, which citie had, by the space of fiue weekes sustained many greuous assaults: God through his great mercie and goodnesse so comforted the said towne of Iula and the poore Christians therein, at their earnest praiers, that the Turke with all his host was driuen backe, by the handes of the Generall called Isarettshim Lasko and his valiant company: who not onely defended the said towne, but also constrained the Turkes to retire, to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rable: For the which the euerlasting God be praised for euer.

The maner of the ouerthrow was this. As the foresaid generall did see his aduantage with captaine George, and other horsmen of the Sclauians and Hungarians, they set on the rereward of the Turkes and killed about 8000. of them, & take also some of their artillarie and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to flie into a marish ground, and to breake the wheeles of the rest of their artillary, to saue themselues, and there with they got a very rich bootie, rescuing besides and taking from the Turkes a great number of Christian prisoners. Like thinkes also are to be giuen to God, for the prosperous successe giuen to Magotichie the Bassa of Natolia, who hauing ioyned his power with the Persians, and comming to the citie of Erzia, who making toward the Turkes, and encountring

A.D. Turkes slaine.

A great ouerthrow of the Turkes by the Tartarians.

encountring with the Tartarians, slue of them about 8. hundred.

Not long after this, it happened through the like prouidence of our God, a Turkish captaine called Begen, accompanied with a thousand fresh footmen came newly out of Turkie, to goe toward the citty named Quinque Ecclesiæ, or Fünfkirchen: with whom the earle of Serin by the way vndercountred, and in the night setting vpon him, killed the captaine and tooke eight Camels, and eight Moyles laden with treasure, and also got two red Guidons, with a whole great piece of rich cloth of gold, and with another faire and strange iewell. The heele of this foresaid Turkish captaine, was betrapped and decked most richly. The saddle whereof had the pommell and the back part couered ouer with plate of fine Arabicke gold, and the rest of the sadde, before the sitting place, was plated with siluer very faire gilded. The seat of the saddle was couered with purple veluet: the trappers and bridle set with little Turkettes and Rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna vnto the emperour Maximilian for a present.

Although the earle would very faine haue saued the captaine, not knowing what he was, yet the Tartarites labouring to carie away their captaine, so stiffely defended themselues, that the earle with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captaine. From whom the said earle of Serin the same time got 15. thousand Turkish and Hungarish Ducates: which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish Souldiers in the towne aforesaid of Fünfkirchen, &c. All which his good beginnings of greater goodnesse to be hoped for hereafter, though the grace of Christ our Lord, especially of our Christian rulers and potentates, first the churchmen and prelates for their parts: then the ciuill powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a little, will turne their bridles and bariance, into brotherly concord and agreement: which the Lord of peace put in their minds to doe. Amen. Or otherwise if it will so please the Lord, that the Turke come further vpon vs, so as he hath begun, for our punishment and castigation, his grace then giue to the flocke of his poore Christians constancie of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life: For so I vnderstand by publike fame, although vncertainly rumored by the voice of some, that the Turkes power of late, this present yeere of our Lord 1566. hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italie, wasting and burning the space of an hundred miles toward Naples. Which if it be certaine, it is to be feared, that the Turke hauing thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetnesse of Italie, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into Italie, that he will display his banners within the walles of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahumet his great grandfather did with new Rome, the citie of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The Turke in feare to inuade Italie.

Conie ctures why it is to be feared that the Turke shall get Rome.

The causes why we haue so to iudge, be diuers: first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto, and maintained with much blood; and therfore it may seeme not vncredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood againe, according to the verdict of the Gospell: He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalyps: where is written, that great Babylon shall fall and be made an habitation of diuels, and a den of vncleane spirits, and a cage of filthie and vncleane birds: the fall whereof shall be like a millstone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise againe. And this to come before the day of iudgement, the text of the said chapter doth openly declare: where the words do follow, shewing that the kings of the earth, and the merchants which had to do with the wealthy citie, standing a far off for feare of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said citie flaming and burning with fire, shall lewaile and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What citie this is, called great Babylon, which like a millstone shall fall and burne, and be made an habitation of vncleane spirits, and beasts, let the Reader coūsell. This is certaine and plaine by these her kings and merchants standing a far off for feare, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this citie (what citie soeuer it be) shall be seene here in earth before the comming of the Lords iudgement, as may easily be gathered by these their circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding, and bewailing of her merchants. By the which merchants and kings of the earth, peraduenture may be signified, the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelats and fat doctors, and other obediencies of the Romish see: who at the coming of the Turkes, will not aduenture their liues for their church, but will flie the citie (no doubt) and stand a far off from danger: and when they shall see with their eyes, and heare with their eares the citie of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruell Turkes, the sight thereof shall seeme to them pitious and lamentable, to behold the great and faire citie of Rome, the tall castle of Saint Angell, the popes mightie see (where they were wont to sith out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure) so to burne before their eyes, and to come to such bitter desolation, which shall neuer be recouered againe, but shall be made an habitation of diuels and vncleane spirits, that is, of Turkes, and heathen Sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c.

The prophecie of the 18. chap. of the Apocalyps expounded.

This I (say) peraduenture may be the meaning of that prophetical place of the Apocalyps: not that I haue here any thing to pronounce, but only giue my gesse, what may probably be conceiued. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plaine and manifest. For mysticall prophecies rightly are neuer so well vnderstood, as when the euent of them is past and accomplished.

The third cause. Ex Paulo Iouio.

Another cause concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Iouius, who writing of the subuersion of Rhodes, which was, as yee heard, an. 1522. vpon Christmas day, saith, that it chanced suddenly the same day in Rome, that as pope Hadrian the vi. was entring into the Church to his seruice, suddenly ouer his head the vpper frontier or top of the chapell boore, which was of marble, immediatly as the pope was entring, fell downe and fiue certaine of his guard waiting vpon him. Whereby peraduenture may be meant, that the ruine of Rome was not long after to follow the losse of Rhodes.

The fourth cause. Ex Ioan. Auentino Annal. lib. 3. fol. 30.

The fourth cause I borrow out of Ioannes Auentinus, who in his third booke alleaging the names, but not the words of Hildegardis, Brigit, and other prophetical men hath these words: Si vera sunt carmina & vaticinia D. Hildegardæ, & Brigittæ, Sibyllarum Germaniæ, & Bardorum fatidicorum, qui ea quæ nostro æuo completa vidimus, longo ante tempore nobis cecinerunt: Agrippinensis Colonia, nōlimus, velimus, Turcarum caput erit, &c. That is, If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Brigit, and of other prophetical persons bee true, which being foretold long before, wee haue seene now in these our daies accomplished: the towne of Coleu will bee, nill wee, must nēds bee the head citie of the Turks, &c.

Apoc. 16. The cruelty of the furious Turkes described.

A prophecie.

And this I write not as one pronouncing against the citty of Rome, that will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to passe (as I pray God it doe not) then shall the pope well vnderstand, whither his wrong vnderstanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glosers vpon the same, haue brought him.

A counsel to the bishop of Rome, if he be wise.

Therefore o my counsell is to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and vpholders, to humble themselues, and to agree with their brethren betime, letting all contention fall: lest that while the bishop of Rome shall striue to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out thereby, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or peraduenture no bishop at all.

Two things to be noted in the Turkes: how many victories they haue got, and how cruelly they haue vsed their victories.

Ex Paulo Iouio.

Whereunto also another cause may bee added, taken out of Hieronymus Sauonarola, who prophecieth, that one shall come ouer the Alpes like vnto Cyrus, and destroy Italy. Whereof see more pag. 672.

This Solymanus, if he be yet aliue, hath now raigned 46. yeares, who began the same yeare, in the which the Emperour Charles the v. was crowned, which was an. 1520. and so hath continued by Gods permission, for a scourge to the Christians, vnto this yeare now present 1566. This Solyman by one of his Concubines, had his eldest sonne called Mustapha. By another Concubine called Roxa, he had foure sonnes, Mahumet, Baiazetes, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of the which sonnes, Mustapha and Gianger were slaine (as yee heard before) by the meanes of their owne father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyrannie of the Turkes out of the authors hereunder written.

## ¶ The Authors of the Turkes stories.

Authors of the Turkes stories.

- Laonicus Chalcondila
- Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Sagumtinus.
- Ioannes Ramus.
- Andræas a Lacuna.
- VVolfangus Drechslerus.
- Ioan. Crispus.
- Ioan. Faber.
- Ludouicus Viues.
- Bernardus de Breydenbach.
- Mityleneus Archiepisc.
- Sabellicus.
- Isidorus Rutherus.
- Marinus Barletus.
- Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
- Melchior Soiterus.
- Paulus Iouius.
- Ioan. Martinus Stella.
- Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
- Nicolaus a Moffen Burgundus.
- Sebast. Munsterus.
- Baptista Egnatius.
- Barthol. Peregrinus.

## ¶ A notice touching the miserable persecution, slaughter, and captiuitie of the Christians vnder the Turkes.

Persecution vnder the Turke.

HItherto thou hast heard (Christian Reader) the lamentable persecutions of these latter daies, wrought by the Turkes against the people and seruants of Christ. In the reading whereof, such as sit quietlie at home, and be farre from ieopardie, may see what miserie there is abroad: the knowledge and reading whereof, shall not be vnprofitable for all Christians earnestlie to weigh & consider, for that many there be, which falslie deceiuing themselues, imagine that Christianitie is a quiet and restfull state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world, when indeede it is nothing lesse, testified by the mouth of our Sauiour himselfe, who rightly defining his

Ex Michael. Soitero, lib. 1. rebellis Pannonice, fol. 513.

Ex Bernardo de Breydenbach, Decano Eccl. Mayuntin.



his kingdome, teacheth vs that his kingdome is not of this world, promouncing vs also before, that in this world wee must looke for affliction, but in him wee shall haue peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history thorough all ages are plenteous and euident to be seene, whether wee turne our eyes to the first terme persecutions in the primitiue church, during the first three hundred yeeres after Christ: or whether we consider the latter three hundred yeeres in this last age of the church, wherein the poore flocks of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed and vexioured, that it is hard to say whether haue been more cruell against the Christians, the infidell Emperors of Rome in the primitiue age of the church, or else these barbarous Turkes in these our latter times of the church now present.

Comparison betweene the persecutions of the primitiue church and of the latter church. Three speciall enemies of Christs church.

Vide supra, pag. 182. Ex Bernardo Breydenb.

Thus from time to time the church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this earth, what for the heathen emperours on the one side, what for the proud pope on the other side, on the third side what for the barbarous Turke: for these are and haue been from the beginning the three principall and capitall enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalyps by the beast, the false prophet, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foule spirits like frogges, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battell of the day of the Lord God almighty: Apocalyps. 16. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christs people hath been such, that to iudge which of them did most excede in cruelty of persecution, it is hard to say: but that it may bee thought that the bloodie and beastly tyrannie of the Turkes especially aboue the rest, incomparable surmounteth all the afflictions and cruell slaughters that euer were seene in any age, or read of in any story: Insomuch that there is neither historie so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyrannie of the Turkes, is able to expresse or comprehend the horrible examples of their vnspeakable cruelty and slaughter exercised by these 12. Turkish tyrants, vpon poore Christian mens bodies, within the compasse of these latter three hundred yeeres. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed: yet to giue to the reader some generall gesse or view thereof; let vs first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdomes, prouinces, cities, townes, strong holds and forts, these Turkes haue surprised and wonne from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place, which y Turks euer came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captiuitie and slauerie, that they continued not long after aliue, or else so liued, that death almost had been to them more tollerable.

Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Romane emperours, the saying was, that no man could step with his foot in all Rome, but should tread vpon a martyr: so here may be said, that almost there is not a towne, citie, or village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europa, and Aphrica, whose streets haue not flowed with blood of the Christians, whom the cruell Turkes haue murthered. Of whom are to be seene in histories, heapes of soulders slaine, of men and women cut in peeces, of children ricked vpon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turkes most spitefully and that in the sight of their parents) vse to gaze to death: some they brag at their horse tailes and familly to death: some they teare in peeces, tying their armes and legs to foure horses: other some they make markes to shot at: vpon some they erect their swords, hold deepe they can cut and slash, as we before haue read, page 691. The aged and feeble they treade vnder their horses: women with child they spare not, but rip their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yeeld to them, or yeeld not, all is a matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercie in them, but they make haueche of all.

A briefe recitall of Christian slaughters done vpon Christians by the Turkes and Saracens.

Ex Marino Barletio de Scodr. expugnat. lib. 2.

So the citizens of Croia, after they had yeelded and were all promised their liues, were all destroyed and that horrible. In Syria, after the king had giuen himselfe to the Turkes hand, hauing promise of life, Mahumet the Turke slew him with his owne hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out with burned hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turke, hauing the like assurance of life and safetie: and yet contrarie to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slaine. At the winning and yeelding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put vpon sharpe stakes and poles, and so thrust thorow? At the winning of the citie of Buda, what tyrannie was shewed and exercised against the poore Christians, which had yeelded themselues, and against the two dukes, Christophor Bisserer and Ioannes Tranbinger, contrarie to the promise and handwriting of the Turke, is to be seene in the storie of Melchior Soiterus, de bello Pannonico.

The cruelte of the Turke against the Citizens of Constantinople. Vide supra pag. 653.

The like also is to be read in the storie of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who writing of the taking of Pydnuntum, a citie in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slaine, of old men troden vnder the horse feet, of matrons and virgins rauished, of women with child cut and rent in peeces, of the priests in the Churches slaine, and of the archbishop of that citie, who being an aged man and holding the crosse in his handes, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernardus also writing of the cruelty of Nigropontius, otherwise called Chalcides, an. 1471. deliuereth the like terrible slaughter, which there was exercised: where the Turke, after his promise giuen before to the contrarie, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italie to be picked vp on sharpe stakes: some to be dashed against the hard stones, some alone to be cut in sunder in the middest, and other moe with other kinds of tormentes to be put to death: insomuch that all the streetes and waies of Chalcides did flow with the bloud of them, which were there slaine. In which historie the forsaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastitie, worthie of all Christians to bee noted and commended. The storie is told of the Prætors daughter of that Citie, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beautie, was saued out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahumet the Turke, to be his concubine: But the denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthinesse, was commanded therewith to be slaine and murthered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her bodie vndefiled vnto Christ her spouse. Ibid.

The cruelte of the Turke against the Citizens of Negropont.

A notable example of maidenly chastitie.

Vide supra, pag. 684.

The like cruelties also was shewed vpon them which kept the castle, and afterward yeelding themselues vpon hope of the Turks promise, were slaine euery one. What should I speake of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the citizens therof dwelling in Peloponesus? who seeing no other remedie but needs to come into the Turkes hands, set the same on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children: some women also with child voluntarilie cast themselues into the sea, rather then they would suffaine the Turks captiuitie. Vide pag. 684.

The miserie of the suffring of Christian men and bloud by the wretched Turkes.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to beleeue all the cruell parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these misercants, against the Christians, though all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especiallie in Europa. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turkes slued in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Cyprus, and all Peloponesus: besides the Iland of Rhodes and other Ilands and Cyclades adiacent in the sea about, numbred to 52. of the which also Pathmos was one, where Saint John being banished, wrote his Reuelations. Where did euer the Turks set a foot, but the bloud of Christians there, without pitie or measure, went to wracke: and what place or prouince is there almost throughout the world, where the Turkes either haue not pierced, or are not like shortly to enter? In Thracia, and thorough all the coastes of Danubius, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Seruia, Transiluania, Bosna, in Hungaria, also in Austria, what hauocke hath beene made by them, of Christians mens bodies, it will rue any christian heart to remember. At the siege of Poldania, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Socolsia, Cathe, Wizigradum, Nouum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Varadinum, Quinque-ecclesiæ: also at the battell of Varna, where Ladislaus king of Polony with all his armie almost, through the rashnesse of the popes cardinall were slaine; at the winning moreouer of Labiachus, Lysias, Dyrrachium: at the siege of Guntza, and of the faithfull towne Scodr, where the number of the Hostie against their walles, at the siege thereof, were reckoned to 25. 30. like wise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captiues were brought before the whole armie and slaine, and diuers drawen in peeces with horses: but especiallie at the winning of Constantinople, aboue mentioned, pag. 651. also at Troia and Methone, what beastly cruelte was shewed, it is vnspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahumet the drunken Turke neuer rose from dinner, but he caused euerie day, for his disport 300. Christian captiues of the nobles of that citie to be slaine before his face: so in Methone, after that his captaine Omares had first giuen to him at Constantinople 500. prisoners of the Christians, the cruell tyrant commanded them all to be cut and diuided in sunder by the middle, and so being slaine, to be throwen out into the fields.

The cruelte of the Turke against the prisoners of Methone. Ex Leonica Chalcondyla de rebus Turcicis. lib. 10.

Moreouer Chalcondyla, writing of the same storie, addeth moreouer a prodigious narration (if it be true) of a brute Dre, which being in the fields, and seeing the carcases of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kinde and nature: and afterward comming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, it tooke by the one halfe, and then comming againe, tooke by likewise the other halfe, and so (as hee could) ioyned them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute Dre, and marueiling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahumet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought, where they were before, to proue whether the beast would come againe: who failed not (as the author recordeth) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpes, laid them againe together. It followeth more in the author, how

A straunge and prodigious wonder of a brute beast recorded of a dead christian body.

holy that Mahumet being accounted at the strange wonder of the Ore, commanded the quarters of the Christian mans body to be interred, and the Ore to be brought to his house, and was much made of. Some said it to be the body of a Venetian: some affirmed, that hee was an Illyrian: but whatsoeuer hee was, certaine it is, that the Turke himselfe was much more brutish then was the very brute Ore: which being a beast hee shewed more sence of humanitie, to a dead man, then one man did to another. Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla.

To this cruelty adde moreouer, that beside these 500. Bohemians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone, all the townsmen also were slaine by the foresaid captaine Dinares, and among them their bishop likewise was put to death. Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & ex Wolfgango & aliis.

The slaughter of the Bohemians at Methone.

Ex Andrea de Lacuna, & aliis. Ex Leonic. Chalcondyla. Antonius Bonfinius. Crantzius. Volaterr. lib. 22.

John Faber in his oration made before king Henry the eighth, at the appointment of king Ferdinandus, ꝛ declaring therein the miserable crueltie of ꝑ Turkes toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the Church, testifieth how that in Syriuice in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops, or other ecclesiasticall and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the cities into the fields, there to be slaine like Oxen and Calues. The same Faber also writing of the battell of Solyman in Hungarie, where Ludouicus the king of Hungarie was ouerthrowne, declareth that 8. bishops in the same field were slaine. And moreouer, when the archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the archbishop Colocensis were found dead, Solyman caused them to bee taken vp, and to bee beheaded and chopt in small pieces, An. 1526.

The crueltie of the Turkes in Hungarie.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turkes in Cubeia, where as the said Faber testifieth that innumerable people were theder and gozed vpon stakes, diuers were thrust thorough with a hote iron, children and infants not yet weined from the mother were bathed against the stones, and many cut a sunder in the middest? Ex Iohan. Fabro & aliis.

But neuer did countrie taste and feele more the bitter and deadly tyrannie of the Turkes, then did Rasia, called Syria inferiour, and now Seruia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Dreichlerus) the prince of the said countrey being sent for, vnder faire pretence of words and promises, to come and speake with the Turke, after he was come of his owne gentlenes, thinking no harme, was apprehended and wretchedly and vilely put to death, and his slain slaine off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his countrie (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

The prince of Seruia slaine, and name of the Turke.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitifes, it may seeme that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them vp to be the butchers of all christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and crueltie against the name and religion of Christ, that they degenerating from the nature of men to diuels, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blod or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitiue age of the church, and in the time of Diocletian and Dacianus, when the diuell saw that he could not preuaile against the person of Christ which was risen againe, he turned all his furie vpon his silly seruants, thinking by the Romaine emperours, vtterly to extinct the name and profession of Christ, out from the earth: So in this latter age of the world Satan being let loose againe rageth by the Turkes, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he haue brought (as he intendeth) ꝑ whole church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, vnder foot. But the Lord (I trust) will once send a Constantinus to vanquish proud Maxentius: Moses to drowne indurat Pharao: Cyrus to subdue the stout Babylonian.

Let neuer Christendome put trust in the Turke.

The Turkes stirred vp of the diuell to be the ministers of Satan against Christ.

The Turkes are Satans ape to the Christians.

And this much hitherto touching our Christian brethren, which were slaine & destroyed by these blasphemous Turkes. Now followeth so much as besides these aforesaid, many other were pluckt away violently from their countrey, from their wiues and children, from libertie, and from all their possessions, into wretched captiuitie and extreame penurie, it remaineth likewise to intreat somewhat also concerning the cruell manor of the Turkes handling of ꝑ said Christian captiues. And first here is to be noted that the Turke neuer commeth into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army, a great number of brokers or merchants, such as buy men and children to sell againe, bringing with them long chaines in hope of great cheats: In the which chaines they linke them by fiftie and fiftie together, such as remaine vndestroyed with the sword. Whom they buy of the spoiles of them that rob and spoile the Christian countries: which is lawful for any of the Turkes armie to do, so that the tenth of their spoile or pray (what soeuer it be) be reserued to the head Turke, that is, to the great master thereof.

The miserable state of Christian captiues vnder the Turkes.

The buying and sell ing of Christians captiues vnder the Turkes.

Christian captiues pitied of the Turke.

Of such as remaine for tithe, if they be aged (of whom bee few) be reserued alue, because little profit commeth of that age: they be sold to the vse of husbandrie or keeping of beasts. If they be yong men or women, they be sent to certaine places, there to be instructed in their language and Arts, as shall be most profitable for their aduantage, and such are called in their tongue Sarai: and the first care of the Turkes is this, to make them denie the Christian religion, and to be circumcised: and after that they are appointed euery one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their lawes, or else to learne the feates of war. Their first rudiment of warre is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weake bow, and so as they grow in strength, coming to a stronger bow, and if they misse the marke, they are sharpely beaten: and their allowance is two pence or three pence a day till they come and take wages to serue in war. Some are brought vp for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turkes champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these Janizarites, see before pag. 681. And if any of the foresaid yong men or children shall appeare to excell in any beautie, him they so cut, that no part of that which nature giueth to man, remaineth to be seene in all his body, whereby vnto the freshnesse of age continueth he is compelled to serue their abominable abomination: and when age commeth, then they serue in stead of Eunuches to wait vpon Matrones, or to keepe houses and mules, or else to be fullians and drudges in their kitchins.

Wickednesse passing all miseries!

Diuerse of them also all miseries!

Such as be yong maidens and beautifull, are deputed for concubines. They which bee of meane beautie serue for matrones to their drudgerie worke in their houses and chambers: or else are put to spinning and such other labors, but so that it is not lawfull for them either to professe their Christian religion, or euer to hope for any libertie. And thus much of them which fall to the Turke by tithe.

The seruitude of yong women captiues.

The other which are bought and sold amongst priuate subiects, first are allured with faire words and promises to take circumcision. Which they hauing done, they are more fauourably entreated, but all hope is taken from them of returning againe into their countrie, which if they attempt, the paine thereof is burning. And if such comming at length to libertie, will marrie, they may: but then their children remaine bond to the Lord, for him to sell at his pleasure: and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marrie. They which refuse to be circumcised, are miserablie handled: for example whereof, the author (which giueth testimony hereof) doth inferre his owne experience.

Such captiues as be expert in any manuall art or occupation can better shift for themselues: but contrariwise, they which haue no handicraft to liue vpon, are in twise case. And therefore such as haue beene brought vp in learning, or bee priests or noble men, and such other, whose tender education can abide no hardnesse, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he hath lesse profit to rise of them, then of the other: and therefore no cost of rainment is bestowed vpon them, but they are caried about barehead, and barefoote, both summer and winter in frost and snow. And if any saint ꝑ be sicke in the way, there is no reuling for him in any time, but first he is driuen forward with whips, & if that will not serue, hee is set peradauenture vpon some horse: or if his weaknesse be such, that he cannot sit, then is he laid ouerthwart the horse vpon his belly like a calfe, and if he chance to die, they take off his garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

Ex Bartholom. Georgiewitz Pelegrino lib. de afflictionibus Christianorum sub Turca.

In the way moreouer, beside the common chaine, which doth inclose them all, the hands also of euery one are manicled, which is because they should not harme their leaders, for many times it happened that ten persons had the leading of 50. captiues: and when night came, their feete also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay vpon the ground all night.

The yong women had a little more gentlenesse shewed, being carried in paniers in the day time. But when night came, pitie it was to heare the miserable crying out of such as were inclosed within, by reason of the filthie iniuries which they suffered by their carriers. Insomuch that the yong tender age of 7. or 8. yeeres, as well of the one sexe as of the other could not saue them from the most filthie villanie of the bestiall Turkes.

The miserable calamitie of Christian women being in captiuitie vnder the Turkes.

When the morning commeth, they are brought forth to the market, to sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments, vieweth all the bones and ioynts of their body: and if he like them, he giueth his price, and carieth them away into miserable seruitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to passure their cattell, or some other strange kind of misery incredible to speake of: Insomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath seene himselfe certaine of such christian captiues yoked together like horse and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid seruants likewise are kept in perpetuall toile and worke in stale places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to haue any talke with their fellow seruants, &c. Such as are committed to keepe beasts, lie abrode day and night in the wild fieldes, without house and harbor, and so changing their passure, go from mountaine to mountaine: of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handie labour is exacted at spare houres, such as pleaseth their maisters to put vnto them.

The manor of christian captiues, how they are brought to markets and sold.

Christians in their captiuitie put to death in the plough like horses.

Out of this miserie there is no way for them to flie, especially for them that are caried into Asia beyond the seas: Or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about haruest, when he may hide himselfe all the day time in the corne, or in woods, or marshes, and finde food: and in the night onely he flieth

The great number of Christian captiues which flie out of Turkie.



flieth, and had rather be deuoured of wolues and other wild beasts, then to returne againe to his master. In their flying, they vse to take with them an hatchet and coards, that when they come to the sea side, they may cut downe trees, and binde together the ends of them, and so, where the Sea of Hellespontus is narrowest, about the Sestos and Abidos, they take the sea, sitting vpon trees, where, if the winde and tide do serue iustly, they may cut ouer in foure or fiue houres: But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driuen backe againe vpon the coastes of Asia, or else be deuoured of wilde beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape ouer the sea saltus into Europe, by the way they enter into no towne, but trauaile vpon the mountaines, following onely the North starre for their guide.

The manor and shift of one men in getting ouer the sea.

The manifold dangers by the way in flying.

The misery of Christian Cities and Dominces which liue vnder the Turks tribute.

As touching such Townes and Prouinces, which are won by the Turke, and wherein the Christians are suffered to liue vnder tribute: First all the Nobilitie there they kill and make away, the Churchmen & Clergy hardly they spare. The churches with the belles and all the furniture thereof, either they cast downe, or else they conuert to the vse of their owne blasphemous religion, leauing to the Christians certaine olde and blinde Chappels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repaire them again for a great summe of money giuen to the Turke: Neither be they permitted to vse any open preaching or ministration, but onely in silence and by stealth, to frequent together. Neither is it lawfull for any Christian to beare office within the citie or Prouince, nor to beare weapon, nor to weare any garment like to the Turkes. And if any commune or blaspheme, be it neuer so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou beare it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speake one word against the religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou will or no) to be circumcised: And then if thou speake one word against Mahumet, thy punishment is fire and burning. And if it chaunce a Christian being on horseback, to meete or passe by a Ianissman, that is, a Turkish Pzicke, he must light from his horse, and with a lowly looke, deuoutly reuerence and adore the Ianissman: or if he do not, he is beaten downe from his horse with clubs and staues.

If Christians may not goe like Turkes, why should our Gospellers goe like Papists?

The Turke hates their fire and fagots, as well as our papists.

The Christians must light from their horse, meeting a Turkish priest, and adore him.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gaine to the Turke: beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for euery polle with in his family, a ducket vnto the Turke: which if the parents cannot doe, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go cheined in fetters from doze to doze begging, to make vp their payment, or els must lye in perpetuall prison;

An other miserie most lamentable in taking away Christian mens children from their parents, to serue the Turke.

And yet notwithstanding, when the Christians haue discharged all duties: it remaineth free for the Turkes to take vp among the Christians children, whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away being yong from the sight of their parents, to farre places, to be brought vp, for the Turkes warres, so that they may not returne to them againe: but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents: so that if they come againe amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolkes and parents.

Another miserie.

This miserie passing all other miseries, no man is able with toung to vtter, or with words to expresse. What weeping and teares, what sorow and lamentation, what groning, sighes, and deepe dolor, both teare and rent asunder the wofull harts of the sely parents, at the plucking away of their babes and children: to see their sonnes and their owne children, whom they haue borne and bred vp to the seruice of Christ Iesus the Sonne of God, now to be driuen away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ: to them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ: to see their babes borne of Christian bloud, of Christians to be made Turkes, and to be plucked out of their armes, and out of their sight, without hope euer to returne to them againe: to liue perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turkes, and so to become of the number of them which are called fatherlesse, and motherlesse:

This is with teares rather then with words to be expressed.

Many Gospellers in Turkie.

Albeit the same children afterward do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them haue priuily about them the Gospell written of S. John, In principio erat verbum, &c. Which for a token or remembrance of their Christian faith, they carry vnder their arme hole, written in Greeke and Araby. Who greatly desire, and long wake for the reuenging sword of the Christians to come, and deliuer them out of their dolorous thraldome and captiuity, according as the Turkes themselues haue a prophecy, and greatly stand in feare of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the chapter following.

Rudo Diuisa ca. of the Turke touching the losse of the Christians.

NOw at this time haue ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren vnder the cruell tyranny and captiuity of the Turkes, passing all other captiuities that euer haue beene to Gods people, either vnder Pharao in Egypt, or vnder Nabuchodonosor in Babylon, or vnder Antiochus in the time of the Machabees. Vnder the which captiuity, if it so please the Lord to haue his spouse the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then haue we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to giue better harts to our guiders and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flocke.

And these troubles and afflictions of our Christian brethren suffered by the Turkes, I thought good and profitable for our countrey people here of England to know, for so much as by the ignorance of these, and such like histories worthie of consideration, I see much inconuenience doth follow. Whereby it commeth to passe, that because we Englishmen being farre off from these countreyes, and little knowing what misery is a hoarde, are the lesse moued with zeale & copassion, to tender their greeuances, and to pray for them, whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also followeth, that we not considering the miserable state of other, are the lesse gratefull to God, when any tranquillity by him to vs is graunted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise vpon vs, be it neuer so little, as pouertie, losse of liuing, or a little banishment out of our countrey for the Lords cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we going no further then our owne countrey, and onely feeling our owne crosse, do not compare that which we feele, with the great crosses, wherewith the Churches of Christ commonly in other places abroade are subiect. Which if we did rightly vnderstand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessiuely forget our selues in time of our prosperitie giuen vs of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled, as we are in time of our aduersitie, and all because either we heare not, or else we ponder not the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth vpon our other brethren abroade in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appeare.

Necessary for many causes that the troubles of the Church be knowne.

NOw consequently remaineth, as I haue shewed hitherto, what tyrannie hath been vsed of the Turks against Christs people, so to declare likewise, how farre this tyrannie of the Turkes hath extended and spread it selfe, describing as in a table, to the Christian Reader, what lands, countries and kingdomes the Turkes haue wonne, and got from Christendome; to the intent, that when Christian princes shall behold the greatnesse of the Turkes dominions spread almost thorough all the world, and how little a part of Christianitie remaineth behind, they may thereby vnderstand the better, how it is time now for them to beware them, if euer they thinke to doe any good in Gods Church. And therefore to make a compendious draught as in a brefe table, of such Countries, Kingdomes, and Dominions, got from vs by the Turkes, we will first begin with Asia, describing what Tractes, Countries, Cities and Churches, the Turke hath surprised, and violentlie pluckt away from the societie of Christian Dominions, taking onelie such as be most principall, and chiefly them that be in Scripture contained, for that it were to long to discourse all and singular such places by name, as the Turke hath vnder his subiection.

The great larges of the Turkes dominions to claime.

The world being diuided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europa, Asia is counted to be the greatest in compasse, containing as much as both the other, and is diuided into two portions, the one called Asia Maior: the other called Asia Minor. And although the Empire of the Turke extendeth vnto them both: yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coast of Europa, vnto Armenia Maior, beyond the riuer Euphrates, and comprehendeth these Regions and Cities following.

The

## ¶ The diuision of Asia Minor, called Cheronesus, with the particular Countreyes and Cities belonging to the same.

| Countreyes. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| | | Nicea. |
| | | Chalcedon. |
| Pontus. | Act.2. | Heraclea. |
| | | Prusa or Bursa. |
| Bithinia. | Act.16 | Nicomedia. |
| | | Apamea. |

Apamea, is a Citie in Bithynia, also another in Mesopotamia. Apamea Cybotus also a citie in great Phrygia, and another also in Parthia.

¶ Natolia, or Anatolia, conteineth diuers countreys, with their Cities, as followeth.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Cizicus. |
| | | Parium. |
| Mysia Minor. | Act.16 | Lampsacus. |
| | | Dardanum. |
| | | Callipolis. |
| Phrygia Minor. | Act.2 | Abydus. |
| | | Alexandria, or Troias. Act.16 |
| Troas. | Act.20 | Ilium. |
| | | Assus. Act.20 |
| Mysia Maior. | Act.16 | Scepsis. |
| | | Adramittium. Act.27 |
| Phrygia Maior. | Act.2 | Hierapolis. Col.4 |
| | | Pitene. |
| | | Apollonia. |
| | | Myrina. |
| Lydia. | Esay.66 | Phiocœa. |
| | | Smyrna. Apoc.2 |
| | | Erythræ. |
| Aeolis. | | Laodicea. Apoc.3 |
| | | Carura. |
| | | Thyatira. Apoc.2. |
| Ionia. | | Philadelphia. Apoc.3 |
| | | Pergamus. Apoc.2 |
| | | Cuma. |
| Caria. | 1.Mach.15 | Ephesus. Apoc.2 |
| | | Sardis. Apoc.3 |
| | | Halicarnassus. Mach.15 |
| Doris. | | |
| | | Miletus. Act.20 |

Phrygia Minor in Ptolomy is called Troas.

At Cuma, a certaine Hauen with a compasse of Hilles, being there lodged, he saw by Iupiter an earthquake in the cities within the Lande hard by, with all his strumpets were swallowed vp. This a pagan hath set downe for a certaine truth.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Natolia.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Colossæ. Col.1 |
| | | Patara. Act.21. |
| Lycia. | Act.27 | Pinara. |
| | | Zanthus. |
| | | Andriaca. |
| | | Myra. Act.13 |
| Galatia vel Gallogrecia. | Act.16 | Ancyra. |
| | | Gordium. |
| | | Tharma. |
| Paphlagonia. | | Pessenus. |
| | | Amisius. |
| | | Sinope. |
| | | Corambis. |
| | | Perga. Act.13 |
| Pamphilia. | Act.2 | Attalia. Act.14 |
| | | Aspendus. |
| | | Phaselis. Mach.15 |
| Pisidia. | Act. | Trapesus |
| | | Temiscyra. |
| | | Comana Pontica. |
| Cappadocia. | | Amasia vel Eupatoria. |
| | | Maia, vel Cæsarea. |
| | | Nazianzium. |
| | | Here Gregorius Nazianzenus was Bishop. |
| | | Comana Cappadocia |
| | | Miletena. |
| Armenia Minor. | | Nicopolis. |
| | | Leandis. |
| | | Claudiopolis. |
| | | Iuliopolis. |
| | | Tharsus. Act.22 |
| | | Coricus. |
| Cilicia. | | Solimunis, vel Traionopolis. |
| | | Issus, vel Iaiassa. |
| | | Augusta. Act.27 |
| | | Iconium. Act.14 |
| | | Lystra. Act.16 |
| Laconia. | | Derbe. Act.14 |
| | | Antiochia Pisidiæ. Act.11 |

Here Basilius Magnus was a Bishop.

The countrey where S. Paul was borne. Another Cilicia is also in the Ile of Creta.

¶ Syria comprehendeth in it diuers particular prouinces, with their cities, as followeth.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Jerosolyma. Act.1 |
| Syria. | Act.15 | Cæsarea Stratonis. Act. 8 |
| | | Bethleem. Mat.2. |

| Countreyes. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| | | Emaus. Mark.1 |
| | | Iericó. Math.20 |
| | | Ioppe or Iaffa. Ios.15 |
| Palestina Iudea. | | Japheth. Act.9 |
| | | Tyberias Iohn 6 |
| | | Accaron. Iosua.13 |
| | | Azotus. Act.8. |
| Chanaan. | | Ascalon. Iudic.2 |
| | | Gaza. Act.8 |
| | | Berſabee. Iosu.19 |
| | | Antipatris. Act.23 |
| | | Assaron. Act.9 |
| Samari. | Act. | Bethania. Mark.11 |
| | | Lydda. Act.9 |
| | | Nazareth. Math.4 |
| Galilæa. | Matth.3 | Capernaum. Math.4 |
| | | Cana. Ioan.2 |
| | | Tyrus. Luc.6 |
| Phœnicea. | Act.11 | Sydon vel Sichem. Luc.6 |
| | | Ptolomais. Act.21 |
| | | Cæsarea Philippi. Math.16 |
| Damascene. | | Damascus. Gal.1 |
| | | Philadelphia. Apoc.1 |
| Cœlesyria. | | Buthis vel Pella. |
| Cassiotis. | | a Antiochia apud Orontem, vel Theopholis. Act.11 |
| | | Samosata. |
| Comagena. | | Antiochia. sub. Tauro. |
| | | Alexandria apud Issum |
| | | b Nicopolis. |
| | | Gephyra. |
| Seleucis. | | Giindarus. |
| | | c Seleucia. Act.13 |
| | | Imma. |
| Laodicene. | | d Laodicea. Colos.4.2 |
| | | Paradisus. |
| | | Isbruda. |
| | | Nazamma. |
| Apamene | | e Apamia. |
| | | Besamma, vel Berſabee. |
| Idumæa | Marc.3 | Euleusa. |
| | | Massa. |

a Antiochia, apud Orontem, chiefe citie in Syria, where the disciples of Christ were first named Christians. Acts 11.

b Nicopolis, is a citie also in Macedonia, mentioned in the Epistle of S. Paule to Titus. cap.3.

c Seleucia, is a citie in Syria. Also another in Pamphilia, another in Cyprus, and in Mesopotamia another.

d In this Laodicea, was the Councell kept, which is called Concilium Laodicenæ. There is another Laodicea in Lycia nere to Colosse, in Asia minor. Colos.4. Laodicea also is the chiefe citie in Phrygia Pacatiana, nere to Galacia Act.18. 1.Tim.6.

¶ Thus farre reacheth the compasse of Syria.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Petræa, or Nabatæa. |
| Arabia. | Gal.1.4 | Felix. Panchaia. |
| | | Sabæa. |
| | | Deserta. |
| | | Carra, or Charan, where Abraham dwelt. Act.7 |
| Mesopotamia. | | Seleucia. |
| Psalme 59. | | Edessa, which is now called Orpha, and in the story of Tobias called Rages. |
| Babylonia. | Dan.3 | Bible. |
| In the countrey of Babilonia, is also a certain regio apointed for philosophers & astronom. called Chaldea. Ier.50. | | Babylon, vel Baldach. Act.7 |
| | | Orchoe, vel Vrchoa. |
| | | vel Hurchaldæorum, where Abraham was borne. Gen.11.15 |
| Sarmatia. | | Patarue |
| | | Azara. |
| | | Gerusa. S. Georgius. |
| | | Sinda. |
| Colchis. | | Diospuria vel Sebastia, which is now called Suias. |
| | | Phasis. |
| Iberia. | | Lubium. |
| | | Artanissa. |
| | | Armachica. |
| Albania. | | Getara, vel Gangara. |
| | | Chabala. |
| Armenia. | Gen.8 | Armenia maior is diuided from Armenia minor, by the River Euphrates. |
| | | This Armenia maior and minor, this day be both vnder the Turkes. |

Iut Bibl. saluteth king Abgarus, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 12. to whom Christ wrote, promising to send vnto him after his death. Babylon in Chaldea, where Nabuchodonosor raigned, and was after destroyed, and translated by Seleucus Nicanor.

Another is in Egypt called Alexyrus.

¶ And thus farre reacheth the compasse of Asia Minor, with the Countreys and Prouinces, to the same pertaining, which being once brought to the faith of Christ, are now in a manner, all subdued to the Turkes.

¶ The



¶ The Ilands belonging to the Regions of Asia Minor aforesaid, gotten by the Turkes.

Ilands belonging to Asia Minor.

| Countreyes. | | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thinias. | | to | Bythinia. |
| Tenedos. | | to | Troas. |
| Chios. | Act.20 | to | Lydia. |
| Pachmos. | Apoc.1 | | |
| Possidium. | | to | Æolis. |
| Samos. | Act.20 | to | Ionia. |
| Trogolium. | Act.20 | | |
| Cnidus. | Act.27 | to | Doris. |
| Coos. Coun. | Act.21 | to | Doris. |
| Carpathus. | | to | Doris. |
| Rhodus. | Act.21 | to | Lycia. |
| Cyprus. | Act.11 | | |

This Cyprus, King Richard the first did once subdue, fighting against the Saracenes in Asia. Sabellic. Decimi Belcrip. cap.74.

¶ Æneas Syluius, otherwise Pope Pius the 2. in describing of Asia Minor, cap. 74. reciteth a certaine fact of a Iewish Virgin: who at what time the Turkes were besieging a certaine towne in Lesbos, and had cast downe a great part of the walles, so that all the townesmen had giuen ouer, putting on mans harnesse, stepped forth into the breach, where not onely she kept the Turkes from entring in, but also slew of them a great sort. The Citizens seeing the rare courage, and good successe of the Maiden, take to them againe their harts and harnesse, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turkes were slaine. The rest being repulsed from the land, reculed into their Ships: who being then pursued by a Nauy of Cassia, were worthily discomfited likewise vpon the Sea. And thus was the Ile of Lesbos at that time, by a poore Virgin, that is, by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weake creature, preserued from the Turkes. *Exæne. Syl. Et Seb. Munst. Lib. 5.*

Memorable fact of a Virgin, in defence of her countrey.

*Ex Sebast. Munst. Cosmographiæ prefat.*

Beside these Regions and Countries of Asia Minor, aboue described, *Sebast. Munster* in the 1st booke of his Cosmography, declareth moreouer, that the Turkes and Sultanes haue vnder their subiection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calecute. The which Persia, although it be vnder the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turke, yet it is to be thought, that he is a Sultane, one of the Turkish and Mahometish Religion. This Persia and India were once seruants vnto Christs Gospell, as may appeare by the Primitiue Church, page 87. And thus haue you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all christened, do now serue vnder the Turke.

*Vide supra, pag. 87. 88.*

After the description of Asia, let vs next consider the parts and countreyes of Aphrike: Where although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester John, which professeth Christ and his Gospell: yet the Turke hath there also no little portion vnder his dominion, as,

| *Countries.* | | *Cities.* |
|---|---|---|
| Ægyptus. | Math.2. | Alexandria. |
| | | Memphis. |
| | | Arsinoe. |
| Regnum Tunece. | | |
| Africa Minor. | | Charlago. |
| | | Aphordisium. |
| | | Hippon. Here S. Augustine was Bishop. |
| Cyrene. | Act.2. | |
| Mauritania. | | |

¶ A description of Countries and Cities in Europe, which were before christened, and now are subdued and subiect to the Turke.

Europa.

| Countreyes. | | Cities. |
|---|---|---|
| | | Constantinopolis, or Bizantium. |
| Thracia. | | Pera. |
| | | Adrianopolis. |
| Samothracia. | Act.16 | Traianopolis. |
| | | Caliopis. |
| | | Sestus. |
| | | Apollonia. |
| | | Thessalonica. Act.17 |
| Græcia. | Act.20 | Philippi. Act 16 |
| | | Demetrias. |
| | | Neapolis. Act.16 |
| Macedonia. | Rom.15 | Amphipolis. Act. 17 |
| | | Apollonia mygdoniæ. Act.17 |
| | | Berrhæa. Act.17 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Ambracia. |
| | | Actium. |
| Chaonia. | | Torona. |
| | | Azelia. |
| Threspotia. | | Acarnanon. |
| Amphilochia. | | Argos. |
| | | Attacus. |
| | | Omphalium. |
| Ambrachia. | | |
| Achaia. | Rom.15 | Athenæ. |
| Attica. | | Megaris. |
| Bœotia. | | Thebæ. |
| Phocis. | | Delphos. |
| | | Egris. |
| Ætolia. | | Chalidon. |
| | | Locris. |
| | | Naupactus. |
| Peloponesus | | Corinthus. Act.17 |
| | | Mesena. |
| Corinthia. | | Tegea. |
| | | Argos. |
| Argia. | | Lacedemon, or Sparta. 2.Mach.5. |
| | | Epidaurus. |
| | | Helice. |
| | | Lerna. |
| Laconia. | | Leuctrum. |
| | | Methone. |
| Messenia. | | Mycenæ. |
| Elis. | | Megalipolis. |
| | | Nemea. |
| Sicycona. | | Nauplea. |
| | | Olympia. |
| Arcadia. | | Sicyon. |
| | | Agyra. |

Anyra, is a citie in Arcophissa, and not other also in Peloponnesus.

Of Corinthus Strabo writeth, that more then a thousand virgins there in the temple of Venus, did yeerely to be set out to be maide common: and therefore nor without cause S. Paule writeth: Nescitis quod Corin.

¶ Ilands bordering about Grecia, wone likewise by the Turke, from the Christians.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Chalcis. |
| Eubœa, or Nigropontus. | | Charistus. |
| | | Cerinthus. |
| | | Gerestus. |
| | | Pulchri portus. Act.27 |
| Creta. | Act.17 | Lasæa. Act.27 |
| | | Phœnice. 17 |
| Salmone. | Act.27 | |
| Clauda. | Act.27 | |
| Cyclades. | Insulæ 53 | Salamis. |
| | | Delus. 1. Mach.15 |
| Cephalenia. | | |
| Zacynthus, or Zanthus. | | Vide supra, pag.689 |
| Lemnos. | | |
| Ithaca. | | |
| Samos. | Act.20 | |
| Corcyra. | | Vide supra, pag.689 |
| Corcica | | |

The Ilands about Grecia. Vide supra, pag.683.

In Creta, S. Paul ordained Titus to be Bishop: Cuerius.

¶ After the Turke had subdued Thracia and Grecia, proceeding further into Europe, he inuaded other regions and cities, which also he added to his diction, as

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | Rhætiaria. |
| | | Nessus. |
| Mysia Superior. | | Vlpianum. |
| | | Scupi. |
| | | Sigindunum, or Singer. |
| | | Triballorum. Oescus. |
| Mysia Inferior. | | Tirista. |
| | | Axium, or Chilia. |
| Dalmatia. | 2.Tim.4 | Labacus, Metropolis. |
| Carinthia. | | Epidaurus, or Ragusium: |
| | | Milea, or Meleda. |
| Coruatia. | | Senia, or Segna. |
| | | Enona, or Hona. |
| Croatia. | | Iadra, or Zara. |
| | | Sebenica. |
| Istria. | | Stridon, where S. Hierome was borne. |
| Bosna. | | Quinque ecclesiæ. |
| | | Iaitza, Metropolis. |
| Bulgaria. | | Bulgaria, was wone of Balazetes the Turke from the crowne of Hungary, through hypocrisie, warre of Sigismundus, at the fielde of Nicopolis. an. 1395. This Sigismundus, was the burner of Iohn Hus, and the persecutor of his doctrine. |

Epidaurus is a citie in Illyria, and also another in Peloponnesus. These regions were in the former time called by the name of Illyria, or Illyricum. And afterward, by reason of certaine Gothes, Vandalles coming thither they were all to called Sclauonia. Stephanus King of Bosna and afterward of Rascia, and Mysia, was by the Turke traitrously allured to come and speake with Mahumet the Turke, but being come, was taken, and his skinne flaine off. All this tract of Bulgaria, Walachia, Transiluania, Seruia, Rascia, & Moldauia was wont to be called Dacia, but after ward was diuided into diuers lands and dominions.

The Ioannes Hunniades, before, pag. 662. and 685.

Wallachia. — Tergouiſtus, or Teruis. Huniad: where Ioannes Hunisades was borne.

Transyluania or Septemcastra. — Hermenstat. Cronestat. Saltzburg. Alba Iulia, or Weissenburge. Gyula.

Seruia. — Samandria. Columbetz.

Rascia. — Walpo. Vid. sup. pag. 661.

Moldauia. — Nouigrodum. Varna.

Hungaria. — Buda or Ofen. Alba regalis. Belgradum or Taurinum.

Austria. — Stigonium. Varadinum. Neapolis. Maior. Minor. Petiuum.

¶ As I was writing hereof, a certaine found of lamentable newes was brought vnto vs, how the Turke, whom we had hoped before to haue ben repulſed by the emperor Maximilian out of Chriſtendome, hath now of late this preſent yere 1566. got the towne of Gyula alſo in Transilvania, after they had ſuſtained fiftene of his moſt forcible aſſaults, deſtroying in the ſame moſt cruelly, many thouſand of our chriſtian brethren, men, women, and children: but becauſe we haue no full certainty, we will reſerue the ſtory thereof to further information.

At C. Iambur. ſignifieth mad to the field, fighting againſt the Turkes. Vide before, pag. 662. Sigismund King of Hungary, I. ſpake with the Turkes, and was ouercome An. 1444. Villanous, pag. 664. Prophecies conſidered for the beginning and falling of the Turkes kingdome.

## ¶ The Prophecies of the holy Scriptures conſidered, touching the comming vp and *finall ruine and deſtruction of this wicked kingdome of the Turkes, with the Reuelations* and foreſhewings alſo of other authors concerning the ſame.

FOr ſo much as you haue hitherto ſufficiently heard, to what quantity and largeneſs the dominion of the Turkes hath increaſed, and do vnderſtand what cruell tyranny the wretched miſcreants haue and doe dayly practiſe moſt horrible whereſoeuer they come againſt the ſeruants and profeſſors of Chriſt: it ſhall not be vnprofitable, but rather neceſſary, and to our great comfort, to conſider and examine in the Scriptures, with what prophecies the holy ſpirit of the Lord hath premoniſhed and forewarned vs before, of theſe heauy perſecutions to come vpon his people by this horrible Antichriſt. For as the gouernment and conſtitution of times and ſtates of monarchies & policies fall not to vs by blind chance, but be adminiſtred and allotted vnto vs from aboue: ſo it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a great alteration and mutation of kingdomes, ſuch a terrible and generall perſecution of Gods people, almoſt thorough all Chriſtendome, and ſuch a terrour of the whole earth, as is now moued and grafted by theſe Turkes, commeth without the knowledge, ſufferance, and determination of the Lord before: for ſuch ends and purpoſes, as his diuine wiſedome both well know. For the better euidence and teſtimony whereof, he hath left vnto his Scriptures ſufficient inſtruction and declaration, whereby we may plainly ſee to our great comfort, how theſe grieuous afflictions and troubles of the Church though they be ſharpe and heauy vnto vs, yet they come not by chance or by mans working onely, but euen as the Lord himſelfe hath appoint: dit, and doth permit the ſame.

And firſt to begin with the time of the old Teſtament, let vs ſeriouſly aduiſe and ponder, not only the Scriptures and Prophecies therein contained, but alſo let vs conſider the whole ſtate, order and regiment of that people the Church & menne of the Iſraelites. For although the Scriptures and Prophets of the old Teſtament, were properly ſent to the people, and haue their relation properly to things done, or that ſhould be done in that common wealth, of which Prophets Iohn Baptiſt was the laſt and made an end, as our Sauiour himſelfe witneſſeth, ſaying: The law and Prophets be vnto the time of Ioſia, &c. Yet notwithſtanding the ſaid people of that old Teſtament, beareth alwiſe image and reſemblance of the vniuerſall Church which ſhould follow, planted by the Sonne of God thorow the whole earth: So that as the Prophets of God ſpeaking to them from the mouth and word of God prophecied what ſhould come to paſſe in that people: ſo likewiſe the ſingular courſe and hiſtory of theſe Iſraelites, ſo ſimplifieth and beareth a propheticall image or vs, declaring what is to be looked for in the vniuerſall Church of God diſperſed thorow the world, planted in Chriſt Ieſus his Sonne, according as Phil. Melanthon gracely gathering vpon the ſame, teſtifieth in diuers places, in his commentary vpon the Prophet Daniel.

As firſt the hiſtorie of godly Abel ſlaine by wicked Cain, what doth it import or prophecie, but the condition of the people and ſeruants of God, which commonly go to wracke in this world, and are oppreſſed by the contrary part, which belongeth not to God?

The like may be ſaid alſo of Iſhac and Iſmael: of Iacob and Eſau: of whom the ſtorie tels vs, whereof the children of promiſe, and belonged to the election of God, were perſecuted in this world, of the other which were reiected. There nor ought is to be noted concerning Iſmael, th at of his ſtocke after the fleſh came the Sarracens: whoſe ſect the Turkes do now profeſſe and maintaine. And as Iſmael had but 12. ſonnes: ſo it ſeemeth to be willed of God, that this Solyman, which is the twelfth of the Turkiſh generation, may be the laſt. But of this, better accaſion ſhall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Furthermore, of the 12. tribes of Iſrael, the ſacrate hiſtory ſo reporteth, that after they had a long ſeaſon continued together, by the ſpace of 8. or 9. C. yeares, at length, for their idolatrie, and tranſgreſſion of their forefathers, 9. tribes of them were cut off, and diſperſed among the Gentiles 130. yeres before the captiuitie of Babylon: ſo that but two tribes onely remained free, and they alſo at laſt, after 130. yeeres, were captiued vnder the Babylonians, for a certaine time. No otherwiſe hath it hapned with the Church of Chriſt almoſt in the vniuerſall world, of which Church, the greateſt part both in Aſia, in Africa, and almoſt in Europe (where the holy Apoſtles ſo laboured and trauailed, we ſee now to be diſparkled among the Turkes, and their candleſticks remoued (the Lord of his great grace, reduce them againe; Amen:) So that of 12. parts of Chriſtendome, which was once planted in Chriſt, ſcarſe two parts remaine cleare, & they how long they ſhall ſo continue, the Lord knoweth: And albeit through the mercy of the Lord they eſcape the danger of the Turkes, yet haue they bene ſo beaten with the Pope, that they had beene better almoſt haue ben in the Turkes hands.

Againe, after the ſaid Iſraelites returned, being reſtored of Cyrus, let vs conſider well their ſtory, the continuance of time, the maner of their regiments, and what afflictions they ſuffered in the time of the Machabees: and we ſhall ſee a liuely repreſentation of theſe our daies expreſſed in that prophetical people, according as S. Paul writing of them, teacheth how all things hapned to them in figures: that is, the actions and doings of that one nation, be as figures and types of greater maters, what ſhall happen in theſe latter times of the whole Church vniuerſally in Chriſt collected.

So the tranſmigration and deliuerance againe of theſe two tribes, declareth to be the affliction of Chriſts Church for ſinne: and yet the God will not vtterly reiect his people for his Sonnes ſake, as by manifold examples of the Church hitherto may well appeare.

Againe, the continuance of the law firſt giuen by Moſes, vnto the deſtruction of the ſaid people by Titus, amounteth to 1564. yeares: So we counting the age of the new Teſtament, and reckoning from the day of our redemption vnto this preſent, he came now to the yeare 1534. lacking but only 33. yeares of the full number.

Likewiſe, in counting the yeares from their deliuerance out of captiuitie, to the end of their diſſolution, we finde 564. years, during which yeares, as the Church of the Iewes was not gouerned vnder the authoritie of Kings, but the high Prieſts tooke all the power and authoritie to themſelues: ſo we Chriſtians, for the ſpace eſpecially of theſe latter 564. yeares, that haue we ſeene and felt, but only the iuriſdiction & domination of the Pope and high Prieſts playing the Rex in all countries, and ruling the whole, whereby, by the count of the yeares, it is to be thought, the day of the Lords comming not to be farre off.

Furthermore, in thoſe latter yeres of the Iewes kingdome, what troubles and afflictions that people ſuſtained 300. yeares together, but chiefly the laſt 166. yeares before the comming of Chriſt, by Antiochus and his ſeloiues, the hiſtorie of the Machabees can report. Wherein we haue alſo notoriouſly to vnderſtand the miſerable perations & perſecutions of Chriſt an Churches in theſe latter ende of the world by Antichriſt. For by Antiochus, Antichriſt (no doubt) is figured and repreſented. This Antiochus ſurnamed Magnus, and Antiochus Epiphanes his ſonne, came of the ſtocke of Seleucus Nicanor: much like as the Mahumets, the Turke, and Solymannus, came of the ſtocke of Ottomannus. Wherein this is to be noted and pondered, that like as of the ſaid Seleucus were twelue Syrian Kings one after another of that generation, whiche raged ouer the Iſraelites with much ſeuerite and tyranny: ſo of this dinelish generation of Ottomannus, haue come twelue Turkiſh tyrants, whereof this Solymann is now the twelfth: God grant he may be the laſt. And as the two laſt Antiochi, being ſonnes of the two brethren, did fight together for the kingdome, and in fighting were both ſlaine, and thereby after the kingdome fell to the Romanes: ſo the Lord grant for Chriſts ſake, that the bloudie broode of this

The old church of the Iewes beareth a repreſentation or image of the publike church of Chriſt Ieſus.

The Church of the Iewes a figure of Chriſts Church.

Ex Phil. Melanth. in Dan. cap. 9.

The times and yeares of the old church, compared with the new.

The time and dominion of the high Prieſts in the Iewes common wealth, and of our prelates, compared.

Antiochus beareth a figure of Antichriſt.

The ſtature of Antiochus.

The ſtature of the Turkes

Two things to be conſidered in the times and order of the old Teſtament. This ſcripture, and the people.

Phil. Melanth. in Dan. People.

Genes.

The Sarracens remeed of Iſmael. Reſemblance betweene the 12. Sarracens of Iſmael, and the 12. Seruant Turkes. 4. Reg. 17.



this old Solyman, (which had reigned now 46. yeares) may ſo fight together, and perilly in their owne bloud, that the bloudy tyranny of theirs may come to a finall end for euer. Amen.

And that the truth hereof may the better appeare to ſuch as be diſpoſed to meditate more vpon the matter, I thought good and profitable for the reader, to ſet before his eyes, in table-wiſe, the Catalogue of both theſe Antichriſtian families, with the names and ſucceſſion of the perſons, firſt of the twelue Syrian Kings, then of the twelue Ottomans, in like number and order.

## A compariſon betweene the Syrians and the Turkes.

Reſemblance betweene the Syrian Kings, and the Turkes.

| ¶ The Syrians. | | ¶ The Turkes. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Seleucus. 32 | 1 | Ottomannus. 28 |
| 2 | Antiochus Soter. 19 | 2 | Orchanes. He ſlue his two brethren. 22 |
| 3 | Antiochus Theos, who killed Bernice his mother in law and his yong brother. 15 | 3 | Amurates. He put out the eyes of Sauces his owne ſonne. 23 |
| 4 | Seleucus Callinicus, with Antiochus Hierax his brother, which two brethren warred one againſt the other. 20 | 4 | Baiazetes. He ſlew Solymannus his brother. |
| 5 | Antiochus Magnus. 36 | 5 | Calepinus. The Greeke ſtories make no mention of this Calepinus, the Latin ſtories ſay that Calepinus and Orchanes were both one, and that he was ſlayne by Mahumetes his brother. 6 |
| 6 | Seleucus Philopator. 12 | 6 | Orchanes. Whome Moſes his vncle did ſlay. |
| 7 | Antiochus Epiphanes, or rather Epimanes | 7 | Mahumetes. 1. He ſlue Muſtaphas his brother. 14 |
| 8 | Antiochus Eupator. 2 | 8 | Amurathes 2. he ſlue Muſtaphas his brother. 34 |
| 9 | Demetrius brother of Epiphanes, who killed Eupator his coſin. | 9 | Mahumetes. 2. He ſlue his two brethren Turcinus an infant, and Calepinus. 37 |
| 10 | Demetrius Nicanor, whom Antiochus Sedetes his brother expulſed from his kingdome. | 10 | Baiazetes 2. He warred againſt his brother Demes, which Demes was afterward poyſoned by Pope Alexander 6. 33 |
| 11 | Antiochus Sedetes. Theſe two laſt being brethren, had two ſonnes. | 11 | Zelymus. He poyſoned Baiazetes his father, and his two brethren Acomates and Corcutus, with all their children his owne coſins. 7 |
| 12 | Antiochus Griphus, and Antiochus Cizicenus. Theſe two ſtriuing together for the kingdome, were both ſlaine: and ſo not long after, the kingdome of Syria came to the hands of Tigranes King of Armenia, and ſo being taken from him, came to the Romains in the time of Pompeius. | 12 | Solymannus. He ſlue Muſtaphas his owne ſonne, and was alſo the death of Gianger his ſecond ſonne. 46 |

These two peſtilent families and generations, riſing out (I doubtles) from the bottomles pit, to plague the people of God, as in number of ſucceſſion they do not much differ: ſo in manner of their doings and wicked abominations, they be as neere agreeing, being both enemies alike to the people and Church of Chriſt, both murtherers and parricides of their owne brethren and kinsed, both blaſphemers of God, and troublers of the whole world. Where in we haue all to learne and note by the way, the terrible anger of almightie God againſt ſinne, and wickedneſs of men.

The time of Antichriſt examined by propheſies.

Furthermore, who ſo is diſpoſed to conſider and caſt the courſe of times, and to marke how things be diſpoſed by the marueilous operation of Gods prouidence, ſhall finde the times alſo of theſe two aduerſaries, in much like ſort to concurre and agree. For inconſidering with our ſelues both the Teſtamen.s and Churches of God, the firſt of the Iewes, the ſecond of the Chriſtians, loke what time had the Syrian Kings to rage, then in Hieruſalem, the ſame proportion of time hath now the tyranny of the Turkes to murther the Chriſtians: ſo that the one Antichriſt may well repreſent and prefigure the other. For as by the booke of Machabees may appeare, Antiochus Epiphanes was about the 191. yeare before the paſſion of our Sauiour, and day of our redemption: ſo now calling the ſame number from this preſent yeare bakeward, we ſhall finde it to be about the ſame yeare and time, when Baiazetes the fourth Turke after Ottoman, began to remoue his Imperiall ſeate from Burſa in Bithynia, to Adrianople in Europe, which is a City of Thracia. In which yeare and time began all the miſchiefe in Europe, as is to be ſeene before, pag. 678. and this was the yeare of our Lord 1375. Vnto the which yeare, if we adde 691. it maketh 1566. according to the propheſie of the Apocalypſe, chapter 20. where it is propheſied of Gog and Magog, that they ſhall compaſſe about the tents of the Saints, and the well beloued Citie, by the which wellbeloued Citie, is meant (no doubt) Europa: and this was in the yeare aboueſaid, 1375. Although touching the preciſe points of yeares and times, it is not for vs greatly to be enquiſite therein, but yet where diligence and ſtudious meditation may helpe to knowledge, I would not with negligence to be a pretence to ignorance. And thus much for the times of Antiochus and his fellowes.

Apoc. cap. 20.

The name of Antichriſt what it containeth.

Now what cruelty this Antiochus exerciſed againſt the people of God, it is manifeſt in the hiſtory of the Machabees: where we reade, that this Antiochus in the eight yeare of his reigne, in his ſecond comming to Hieruſalem, firſt gaue forth in commandement, that all the Iewes ſhould relinquiſh the law of Moſes, and worſhip the Idoll of Iupiter Olympius, which he ſet vp in the temple of Hieruſalem. The bookes of Moſes and of the Prophets he burned. He ſet garriſons of ſouldiors to warde the Idoll. In the Citie of Hieruſalem he cauſed the feaſts and reuels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickedneſs. Old men, women, and virgins, ſuch as would not leaue the law of Moſes, with cruell torments he murthered. The mothers that would not circumciſe their children, he ſlue. The children that were circumciſed, he hanged vp by the necks. The temple he ſpoiled and waſted. The Aultar of God, and candleſticke of gold, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, partly he caſt out, partly he carried away. Contrary to the law of God, he cauſed them to offer, and to eate Swines fleſh. Great murther and ſlaughter he made of the people, cauſing them either to leaue their law, or to loſe their liues. Among whom, beſides many other, with cruell torments, he put to death a godly mother with her ſeuen ſonnes, ſending his cruell proclamations through all the land, that whoſoeuer kept the obſeruancies of the Sabboth, and other rites of the law, and refuſed to condeſcend to his abominations, ſhould be executed. By reaſon whereof, the Citie of Hieruſalem was left voide and deſolate of all good men, but there was a great number, that were contented to follow and obey his Idolatrous proceedings, and to flatter with the king, became enemies vnto their brethren. Briefly, no kind of calamity, nor face of miſery could be heiued in any place, which was not there ſeene. Of the tyranny of this Antiochus, it is hiſtoried at large in the booke of Machabees: And Daniell propheſying before of the ſame, declareth that the people of the Iewes deſerued no leſſe for their ſinnes and tranſgreſſions.

1. Machab. cap. 1. Dan. 9.

By conſent of all writers, this Antiochus beareth a figure of the great Antichriſt, which was to follow in the later end of the world, is alreadie come, and worketh what he can againſt vs: Although as S. Iohn ſaith, there haue bene, and be many Antichriſts, as parts and members of the body of Antichriſt, which are forerunners yet to ſpeake of the head and principall Antichriſt, and great enemy of Chriſts Church, he is to come in the later end of the world, at what time ſhall be ſuch tribulation, as neuer was ſeene before: whereby is meant (no doubt) the Turke, prefigured by this Antiochus. By this Antichriſt, I do alſo meane all ſuch, which following the ſame doctrine of the Turkes, thinke to be ſaued by their workes and deſerrits, and not by their faith onely in the Sonne of God, of what title and profeſſion eis ſoeuer they be: eſpecially if they vſe the like force and violence for the ſame, as he doth, &c.

Antiochus a figure of the Turke.

Ex Lyra in Gloſa ordin. cap. 1. Machab.

Of the tyranny of this Antiochus aforeſaid, and of the tribulations of the Church in the later times both of the Iewes Church, and alſo of the Chriſtian Church to come, let vs heare and conſider the words of Daniell in the 11. chapter, and alſo in his 12. chapter, propheſying of the ſame as followeth.

He ſhall returne and freat againſt the holy couenant: ſo ſhall he do, he ſhall euen returne and haue intelligence with them that forſake the holy couenant. And armes ſhall ſtand on his part, and they ſhall pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and ſhall take away the daily ſacrifice, and they ſhall ſet vp the abominable deſolation. And ſuch as wickedly breake the couenant, ſhall flatter with him deceitfully: but the people that do know their God, ſhall preuaile and proſper. And they that vnderſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by ſword and by flame, by captiuitie, and by ſpoile many dayes.

Dan. cap. 11.

Now when they ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little helpe: but many ſhall cleaue vnto them fainedly. And ſome of them of vnderſtanding ſhall fall to be tried, and to be purged, and to make them white, till the time be out: for there is a time appointed. And the King ſhall do what him liſt: he ſhall exalt himſelfe, and magnifie himſelfe againſt all that is God.

and shal speake maruellous things against the God of Gods, and shal prosper, till the wrath be accomplished: for the determination is made. Neither shal he regard the God of his Fathers, nor the desires of women, nor care for any God: for he shal magnifie himselfe above all. But in his place shal he honour the god Mauzzim, and the god whom his fathers knew not, shal he honour with gold and with siluer, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

Mauzzim the Popes god.

Thus shal he doe in the holds of Mauzzim with a strange god, whom he shal acknowledge: he shall increase his glory, and shal cause them to rule ouer many, and shal diuide the land for gaine. And at the end of time, shal the king of the South puffe at him, and the king of the North shall come against him like a whirle wind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countreyes, and shall ouerflow and passe thorough. He shall enter also into a pleasant land, and many countreyes shall be ouerthrowne: but these shall escape out of his hand, euen Edom and Moab, and the chiefe of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hands also vpon the countreyes, and the land of Egypt shal not escape. But he shall haue power ouer the treasures of gold and of siluer, and ouer all the precious things of Egypt, and of the Lybians, and of the blacke Moores where he shall passe. But the tidings out of the East and the North, shall trouble him, therefore he shall go forth with great wrath to destroy and roote out many: And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace betweene the Seas, in the glorious and holy mountaine, yet he shall come to his end, and none shall helpe him.

To this place of Daniel aboue prefixed, might also be added the Prophesie of the said Daniel written in the seuenth chapter, and much tending to the like effect: where he entreating of his vision of foure beasts which signifie the foure Monarchies) and speaking now of the fourth Monarchie, hath these words.

Dan. cap. 7.

After this, I saw in the visions by night, and behold, the fourth beast was grimme and horrible, and maruellous strong. It had great yron teeth, it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and stamped the residue vnder his feete: and it was vnlike the other beasts that were before it, for it had ten horns. As I considered the horns, behold, there came vp among them another little horne, before whom, there were three of the first hornes pluckt away. And behold, in this horne were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things, and seemed more stout then the other. Which horne also (when I looked) made battaile with the Saints, and preuailed against them: vntill the olde aged one, and iudgement was giuen to the Saints of the highest, and till the appointed time was come, that the Saints should haue the kingdome.

Thus haue ye heard the plaine words of Daniel. In the which, as he both manifestly before the comming of Antiochus the great aduersary, toward the latter end of the Iewes: so by the same Antiochus is figured also to vs the great aduersary of Christ, which is the Turke.

The Papist vseth Gentile to Antichrist.

Although some there be not withstanding, which with great learning and iudgement, doapply this place of Daniel aboue recited, not to the Turke, but rather to the Pope, and that for two, or three especiall causes herein touched and noted.

The first note.

The first is this, that the wicked transgressors of the couenant shall ioyne with him accidentally and hypocritically, which shall pollute the Tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetuall sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The second note.

The second note is, that the Prophet declareth, how the israelites among the people shall teach many, and that they shall fall vpon the sword, into fire, and captiuitie, and shall be banished, whereby they shall be tried, chosen, and made bright and pure, &c. All which (say they) is not among the Turkes to be seene, but onely in the Popes Church: where the faithfull preachers and teachers of the people are slaine and burned, and go to wracke, &c. Where like wise it followeth, that they shall be holpen against Antichrist, and that many false brethren shall ioyne vnto them dissemblingly, &c. To this they alledge that the Christians haue no such helpe against the Turke, whereunto such false brethren should ioyne themselues, as is and hath bene commonly seene among the Christians against the Pope, from time to time, almost in all Countreyes: as in Germany by the Protestants, and free Cities: In England in king Henries time by the Lord Cromwell, and afterward by king Edward, and now by Queene Elizabeth: in Scotland, by the godly Nobilitie: In France, by the Queene of Nauarre and her sonne: and also by the Prince of Condy and the worthy Admirall, and his two brethren, and many others. In Flaunders, by them whome the Regent calleth Beggers: & as was in the time of the Papshaues against Antiochus.

Helps of the Christians against the Pope.

The third note.

Thirdly, that the king shall exalt himselfe aboue all that hath the name of God, and shall lift vp his mouth to speake presumptuously against God.

The fourth note.

Fourthly, that he careth not for the desires of women: which may seeme to note how the Popes doctrine shall forbid the honest and lawfull marriage in Churchmen.

The fift note.

The fift especialtie which they apply to the Pope, is that which followeth in the Prophet, saying: Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any God: but in stead of him, shall set vp his God Mauzzim, and shall worship him with siluer and gold, and pretious stone, &c. which they do apply to the Pope, setting vp his god of bread, and worshipping him with glistering golden ornaments, and most solemne seruice.

Mauzzim the Popes god.

The 1. note.

Sixtly, it followeth: and he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall diuide vnto them lands and possessions, &c. meaning, that the Pope hauing dominion ouer treasures of gold and siluer, and all precious things of the land, shall indue his Cardinals, Prelats, his flattering doctours, with Friers, Monkes and Priests, and all such as shall take his part, with great priuileges, liberties, reuenues, and possessions. And thus I say, some there be, which apply this prophesie of the vii. and xi. chapters of Daniel, vnto the Bishop of Rome. Whom although I take to be an arrogant persecutor of Christs Church: yet I iudge rather those two chapters of Daniel concerning the little horne in the middle of the ten hornes, and the great destroier of the pleasant land and glorious holy mountaine, to meane first Antiochus, and by him secondly to meane the great Antichrist, the Turke: who hath now set already the tabernacles of his palace betweene the Seas, according to the Prophesies of Daniel, as is aboue said.

The 7. and 11. chapt. of Daniel meaneth the great Antichrist, the Turke.

Ouer and besides these Prophesies aboue alledged, may be added also the Prophesie of Ezechiel chapter 39. speaking of Gog and Magog: which as it may be applied to the oppression of the Iewes vnder the heathen multitude, which stopped the building of the Citie, and vnder the Syrian kings, &c. yet in the same also is expressed the calamities and afflictions of Christes Church: in these latter times, vnder the Saracens and the Turkes, &c.

Ezechiel cap. 38.39.

Gog and Magog.

Proceeding further in this matter, let vs come now to the Prophecies of the new Testament, and marke the words of Saint Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, which then were Christened, and holy either are Turkish, or vnder the Turke, 2. Thess. which words be these: Be ye not sodainly moued in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as sent from vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes, for the Lord will not come before there come a defection, or a departing first, and that wicked man be reuealed, the sonne of perdition, which is an aduersary, and is exalted aboue all power, and that which is called god: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, boasting himselfe to be god, &c. Although this defection and departing may haue a double vnderstanding, as will of the Popes see which is gone and departed from the free iustification by faith onely in Christ, through the promise of grace) as of the Turkes yet leaning a while to speake of the Pope, because it appeareth more notoriously in the Turke, wee will chiefly apply it to him: in whom to apply it both agree, that vnlesse this great defection from faith in so many Churches, had hapned by the Turke, it had bene hard to vnderstand the Apostles minde. Which now by the history of these Turkes is easie and euident to be knowen, considering what a ruine hath happened to the Church of Christ by these miserable Turkes, what Emperies, Nations, Kingdomes, Countreyes, Dotmies, and Cities, be remoued from the name and profession of Christ, how many thousands and infinite multitudes of Christen men and children, in Asia, in Affrike, and in Europe, are caried away from Christs Church, to Mahumetes Religion, some to serue for the Turkes guard among the Ianizarites, some for souldiours, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight and warre against the Christians: so that the most part of all the Churches planted once by the Apostles, are now degenerated into Turkes, only a small handfull of Christians reserued yet in these wretch parts of Europe, of the which small residue, that shall also become worthy, except Christ himselfe doe helpe, Christ onely himselfe doth know. How great this defection hath bin, spoken of by Saint Paul, thou mayst see (gentle Reader) in the table aboue described, pag. 698.

Prophesies of the Turke and the Pope, which of them is the greater Antichrist. 703

Yide supra pag. 696.

The Popes Church.

Notwithstanding, this tert of the holy Apostle (as I afore said) may be verified also with no lesse reason, vpon the Bishop of Rome, then vpon the Turke, both for that he is a maintainer of wickednesse, and also for that he is an aduersary, that is, contrary in all his doings and proceedings to Christ.

The place of Saint Paul. 2. Thess. applied vnto the Pope.

Thirdly, for that he sitteth in the temple of God, and so did not Mahumet.

Fourthly, because he is an exalter of himselfe, & sitteth more like a god then a man in Rome, whereof see more in the booke set forth in English, called The Conuictions of the Popes.

Fiftly, for that he seduceth, and hath seduced by his apostasie, the most part of all Christendome from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of saluation, which is not to be inuented freely before God, onely by our faith in Christ his welbeloued Sonne (vnto the which faith, the promise of God freely and graciously hath annexed all our saluation onely, & to no other thing) but hath taught vs to work our saluation by an infinite number of other things. In so much that he hindreth the necessitie of our saluation also to this, that we must beleeue (if we will be saued) & receiue him to be the Vicar of Christ in earth, &c.

But to returne againe vnto the Turkes, among all the prophecies



prophecies both of the old Testament and of the new, there is none that painteth out the Antichristian kingdome of the Turkes, better then doth the Reuelation of S. Iohn, whose words let vs weigh and consider. Who in the Apocalypse 9. where he speaketh of opening the seuenth and last seale, (which signifieth the last age of the world) and there writing of the vi. trumpets of the vi. Angels, at the sounding of the vi. Angell saith, Loose the iiij. Angels, which are bound in the great riuer Euphrates. And 4 foure Angels were loosed, which were ready both day and houre, and moneth, and yeare, to slay the third part of men. And the number of horsemen were twenty thousand times ten thousand: and I heard the number of them. And thus I saw in a vision, horses, and them that sate on them, hauing fiery habergions, and of Iacinth stone, and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of Lyons, and out of their mouthes went foorth fire, and smoke, and brimstone, of these three plagues was the third part of men killed, that is, of the fire, smoke, and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouthes, &c.

Apoc. 9.

The 7 trumpets of the 7. Angels in the Reuel. expounded.

By the seuen Angels with their seuen Trumpets, is signified the seuen plagues that come in this seuenth and last age of the world.

The first trumpet.

By the first Trumpet of the first Angell, is meant the first plague comming last and next before the plague of the great iudgement day, which first plague is heere described to come by the Gast Kings, that is, by the Turkes, as followeth to be seene.

Loosing of the angels vpon the riuer Euphrates.

By loosing the Angels which had rule of the great riuer Euphrates, is signified the letting out of the East Kings, that is, the Turkes out of Scythia, Tartaria, Persia, and Arabia, by whome the third part of Christendome shall be destroyed, as we see it this day hath come to passe.

Apoc. 9.

It followeth in the prophesie, Their power shall be in their mouthes, and in their tayles. For their tayles be like Serpents, hauing heads, and with them they hurt, &c. Meaning that these Turkes with the words of their mouthes, shall threaten great destruction of fire and sword, to them that will not yeeld vnto them, and in the end, when the Christians shall yeeld vnto them, trusting to their promises, they like Serpents shall deceiue them in the end, and kill them, as appeareth by the story of the Turkes aboue past, pag. 682. 683. 692.

The defection in time of Antichrist declared.

The like prophecy also after the like words and sence, is to be seene and read in the 16. chapter of the Apocalypse, where S. Iohn entreating of seuen cups, filled with the wrath of the liuing God, giuen to the hands of seuen Angels, by one of the foure beasts (that is in the time of one of the foure Monarchies, which was the Monarchy of Rome) speaketh likewise of the first Angell, which poured his viall of Gods wrath vpon the great riuer Euphrates, and the waters thereof dried vp, that the way of the kings of the East should be prepared, &c.

Apoc. ca. 16.

The 4. beasts in the Apoc. meant the 4. Monarchies.

By the first Angell with the first viall, is meant as before, the last plague saue one that shall come vpon the Christians. By the Kings of the East are meant the Saracens, and 12. Ottoman Turkes. By drying vp the riuer of Euphrates, is signified the way of these Turkes to be prepared by the Lords appointment, to come out of the East to the West parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It followeth more in the text. And I saw three vncleane spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false Prophet, for they are the spirits of diuels, doing wonders, to goe vnto the Kings of the whole earth, to assemble and gather them together to the battell against the day of the great God omnipotent, &c. And it followeth shortly after, And he assembled them together into a place which is called in hebrue Armagedon, that is, a trap or traine of destruction. And immediatly it followeth in the same place, And the seuenth Angell poured out his viall in the ayre, and a mightie voice came from heauen, out of the Throne, saying, *fullum est*, It is done, or finished, &c. Whereby it is to be vnderstoode, that before the last consummation of the world, great force shall be seene, and a mighty army of the enemies shall be collected and gathered against the people, and Saints of the highest, and then commeth the consummation, with *factum est*, &c.

The Kings of the East. Drying vp of Euphrates. *Ibidem.*

Wherefore it is not for naught that the holy Spirit of God in the same place, a little before the first Angell doth poure out his viall, doth exhort all the faithfull, saying: Behold, I come like a theefe in the night, Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, least he walke naked, and men see his filthines, &c.

*Ibidem.* An exhortation of the holy ghost to the faithfull

Nicol. de Lyra, and Paulus Bishop of Burdens, and Matthias Dorinke writing vpon the 13. chapter of the Apocal. and expounding the mystery of the second beast, rising out of the earth, hauing the hornes of a Lambe, &c. doe apply the same to Mahumet and the Turkes, with a solemne declaration made vpon the same. Which interpretation of theirs, although in some points it may seeme to haue some appearance of probabilitie, neither can it be denied but that Mahumet and the Turke be pestilent and wicked enemies of Christ our Lord, and moll bitter persecutors of his Church, yet as touching the proper supernaturall meaning of the Apostle in that place, speaking of the false lamb, &c. If we consider well all the circumstances of that beast, and marke the consequence of the text, both of that which goeth before, and followeth after, we must needs grant, that Nicol. de Lyra, with his fellowes, and with all such like of the popes schole, that follow that schole to be deceiued, and that the description and interpretation of that false horned lambe, must necessarily bee applied only to the bishop of Rome, and none other, which is to be proued by sixe principall causes or arguments.

The two beasts in the 13. chapter of the Apocalypse expounded.

Ex Bonifacio & Ferrariense Mesanen. & alijs.

The first reason.

The first is, for that this beast is described to beare the hornes of a lambe. By the which lambe, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the hornes of the lambe is signified the outward shew or resemblance of Christ our Saniour: which shew or resemblance can haue no relation to Mahumet, for that he taketh himselfe to be aboue Christ, and Christ as an excellent Prophet of God, sitting at his feet. Wherefore saying Mahumet commeth neither as equall to Christ, nor as vicar vnder Christ, this prophesie cannot agree in him, but only in him which of pensile in plaine words professeth, that all Christs lambs and sheepe not singularly, but vniuersally through the whole world, are committed to him, as vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, and that all men must confesse the same of necessitie, or els they are none of Christs sheepe, &c. wherein it is easie to see where the pretended hornes of the lambe bee grow.

The second reason.

The second argument, And he spake like the dragon, &c. A Lambes hornes and the mouth of a dragon, doe not agree together. And as they doe not agree together in nature, so neither can they be found in any one person, either Turke, or other, (if we will iudge truly) so likely, as in the bishop of Rome. When thou hearest him call himselfe the apostolicall bishop, the Vicar of Christ, the successour of Peter, the seruant of Gods seruants, &c. thou seest in him the two hornes of a lambe, and wouldest thinke him to be a lambe in deede, and such a one as would vsually vouchsafe for humilitie: but heare him speake, and you shall find him a dragon. See and reade the epistle of pope Martine the fift aboue mentioned, pag. 597. charging, commanding, and threatning emperours, kings, dukes, princes, marquesses, earles, barons, knights, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, with their shires, counties, and vniuersities of their kingdomes, prounces, cities, townes, castles, villages, and other places. See the answere of pope Vrban the second, and his message to king William Rufus, page 168. Behold the workes and doings of pope Innocent against king Iohn.

A Lambes hornes and the mouth of a dragon.

Anno 1553.

*Vide supra pag. 595.*

Note also the answere of another pope to the king of England, which for the price of the kings head, would not grant vnto him the inuesting of his bishops. Marke well the words and doings of Pope Hildebrand against the Emperour Henrie the fourth, page 161. Also of Pope Alexander the 2. treading vpon the necke of Fredericus Barbarossa, not like a lambe treading vpon a dragon, but like a dragon treading vpon a lambe: so that his owne verse might be turned vpon himselfe: *Tanquam aspis & basiliscus super aniculam ambulans, & tanquam Leo & draco conculcans agnum.* Consider moreouer the behauiour, manner, condition, and propertie almost of all the Popes which haue bene these 600. yeeres, and what Dragon or Serpent could be more vipperous, then their owne doings and words can speake, and giue testimonie against themselues.

The pope hath the lookes of a Lambe, but the mouth of a Dragon.

It followeth moreouer in the same prophecie of the Apocalypse for the third argument. And he doth all the power of the first beast, presently before his face, and causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein to honour the first beast, the stripe of whose deadly wound was cured, &c.

The third reason.

In this prophecy two things are to be noted: first, what the first beast is, whose power the second beast doth execute. Secondly, what this second beast is, which doth exercise his power in his sight. The first of these beasts here in the Apocal. described, hauing seuen heads and ten hornes, must needs signifie the citie of Rome, which may easily be proued by two demonstrations. First, by the expolition of the 17. chapter of the same Apocalyps, where is declared and described the said beast to stand of 7. hils, and to containe 10. Kings, hauing the whole power of the dragon giuen: and also the same citie to bee named the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of Saints. All which properties ioyned together, can agree in no wise but onely to the heathen Empire of Rome, which Citie at that time of writing these prophecies, had the gouernment of the whole world. The second demonstration of euidence, may be deduced out of the number of the monethes assigned to this beast, Apoc. 13. For so it is written, that this beast had power to make, that is, to worke his malice against Christes people 42. moneths, which moneths counted by sabbathes of yeeres (that is, euery moneth for seuen yeeres) maketh vp the iust number of those yeeres, in which the primitiue Church was vnder the terrible persecutions of the heathen Emperors of Rome, as is afore specified, pag. 765.

A description of the City and Monarchy of Rome.

Which thing thus standing, proued and confessed, that the first beast must needs signifie the Empire and City of Rome, then must it necessarily follow that the second beast with the

The scripture is cleere both that the ten hornes of the beast Apoc. 13.

lambes hornes must signifie the bishop and pope of the same citty of Rome. The reason wherof is euident, and apparent by that which followeth in the prophecie, where it is declared, that the second beast hauing two hornes of a lambe, receiued and exercised all the power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the said beast, which cannot bee verified neither in the Turke, nor in any other, but onely in the pope of Rome, who (as you see) receiueth, blaspeth, and deriueth to himselfe all the power of that citty and Monarchie of Rome: Insomuch that he saith, that when Constantine or Ludouicus yeelded vnto him the rule and kingdome of that citty, he gaue him but his owne, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

The reason why the Turke hath power of Rome.

And this authority or power ouer all the empire of Rome, he worketh not in Asia, or in Constantinople as the Turke doth, but in the sight of the beast which gaue him the power, that is, in the citty of Rome it selfe, which is the first beast here in this prophecie of the Apocalyps described.

Fourthly, it followeth more, And he causeth the earth, and all the inhabitants therein, to worship and honour the first beast, which had a deadly wound, and was cured, &c. The interpretation of this part, as also of all the other parts of the same chapter, standeth vpon the definition of the first beast, for hereby greatest, as cannot be denied, that the first beast, signifieth the citty and empire of Rome, it must consequently follow, that the bishop (whom we call the pope) of the same citty of Rome, must be vnderstood by the second beast, forsomuch as neither Turke nor any other, but only the bishop of Rome, hath holden vp the estimation and dignity of that citty, which began to be in ruine and decay by the Vandalians, Gothes, Herulians, and Lombards, about the yeere of our Lord.456. but afterward by the bishop of Rome, the pristine state and honour of that citty reuiued againe, and flourished in as great veneration, as euer it did before. And that is it which the holy Ghost seemeth here to meeane of the first beast, saying: That he had a wound of the sword, and was cured. For so it followeth.

Apoc. 13. The fourth reason.

The fifth reason.

Fifthly, And he caused all the inhabitants of the earth to make the image of the beast, which had the stripe of the sword and liued. And it was giuen to him to giue life to the image of the beast, and to make the image thereof to speake, and to cause all them that worshipped not the image of the beast, to be killed: forcing all persons both little and great, rich and poore, bond and free, to take the marke of the beast in their right hand, or in their foreheads, and that none might buy or sell but they which had the marke, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name, &c.

Rome almost dead.

By giuing life to the image of the beast, and making it to speake is to be presupposed that the beast was at a meere point of death, and lay speechles before, insomuch that the Citie of Rome began to lose and change his name, and was called a while Odacria, of Odacer King of the Herulians: which by dint of sword surprised the Romaines: and yet not withstanding, by the meanes of this Romaine Prelate, the said Citie of Rome, which was then ready to giue vp the ghost, so recouered his maiestie and strength againe, that it is hard to say, whether Rome did euer ruffle rage in his tyrannie before, in the time of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and other Emperors, more tragically, then it hath done vnder the Pope: or whether that Rome had all Kings, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Lords, and all subiects more vnder obedience and subiection, when the Emperors raigned, or now in the raigne of the pope. And therefore it is said not without cause of the holy Ghost: That it is giuen to him, to giue life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all them to be slaine which will not worship the image of the beast, &c. As for example hereof, who seeth not what numbers and multitudes of Christian men, women and children in all Countreyes, haue bene put to the fire and sword? Stories of all times will declare, what bloudshe hath bene made of Christian blood, about the prehemminence and maiestie of the sea of Rome: what Churches and Countreyes both Greeks and Latin, haue bene excommunicated: what kings haue bene deposed, and Emperours stripped from their Imperiall seate, and all because they would not stoope and bend to the Image of the beast, that is, to the maiesty and title of Rome, aduanced vp so highly now by the Bishop thereof, as it was neuer higher before in the raigne of Nero or Diocletian. Wherefore taking the first beast to signifie the Empire of Rome, which cannot be denyed, it is plaine, that the second beast must necessarily be applied to the pope, and not to the Turke, for as much as the Turke seeketh nothing lesse then the aduancement of that Empire, but rather striueth against it, to plucke it downe.

To giue life to the image of the beast. The Image of Rome speaketh against the citie as euer it did.

Et fecit vt terra & habitantes in ea adorarent imaginem bestiæ. Apoc. 13.

The first reason.

The first and last argument is grounded vpon the number of the name of the beast, expressed by the holy Ghost in the same Prophecie, by the letters χξϛ. In which letters, although there lieth great darkenesse and difficultie to be vnderstoode, yet certaine auncient Fathers which were disciples and hearers of them which heard S. Iohn himselfe, as Irenæus and other, do expound the said letters conuenerally to containe the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man, vnder this word Lateinos: Where as else no other name lightly

The number of the name of the beast mentioned 666.

of any person either in Greeke or Latine, will agree to the same, saue onely the foresaid name Lateinos. Although some later writers giuing their coniectures vpon the same, do find the name of Latcranus in Hebrew letters, to answere to the same number. Some faine other names, as Genseric or Mirac. made words, which signifie nothing, as Diclus, or Ludouic, by Romane letters, &c. But of all names properly signifying any man, none commeth so neere to the number of this mystery, if it goe by order of letters) as doth the word Lateinos aforesaid. And thus much by the way, and occasion of Nicolaus de Lyra, Paulus Burgen, Matthias Dorindus, the author of Fortalitium fidei, and other Commentaries moe of the same faction: who writing vpon this thirteenth Chapter of the Apocalips, and not considering the circumstances thereof, both are deceiued themselues, and deceiue many other, applying that to the Turke, which cannot otherwise be verified but onely vpon the pope, as may appeare sufficiently by the premisses: Not that I write this of any mood or malice either to the citie of Rome, or to the person of the bishop, as being Gods creature: but being occasioned here to entreat of the prophecies against the Turkes, would wish the Readers not to bee deceiued, but rightly to vnderstand the simple Scriptures according as they lie, to the intent that the true meaning thereof being bolted out, it may be the better knowne what prophecies directly make against these Turkes, what otherwise.

a The name Lateinos.

b Here of these diuers interpretations of Greeke, read Irenæus lib. 5. cap. 666.

Nicol. de Lyra, and other poets written, deceiued in the 13. chapter of the Apocalyps.

Et hic bibet de vino iræ Dei. Apoc. 14.

In the which prophecies against the Turkes, now to proceed, let vs come to the 20. Chapter of the Apocalyps, wherein the holy Scripture seemeth plainelie and directlie to notifie the said Turkes. The words of the prophecie be these.

Apoc. cap. 20.

And I saw an angell descending from heauen, hauing the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand: and he caught the dragon, the old Serpent, which is the diuell and Satanas, and bound him vp for a thousand yeeres, and cast him in the pit, and sealed him vp, that he should not seduce the people any more, till the thousand yeeres were expired: and after that hee must bee let loose for a little while, &c.

The beginning of the Turkes Prygenie.

And it followeth after: And when the thousand yeeres shall be complete, Satanas shall be let out of his dungeon, and shall goe abroad to seduce the people, which are on the foure corners of the land of Gog and Magog, to assemble them to battel, whose number is like to the sands of the sea. And they went vp vpon the latitude or breadth of the earth, and compassed about the rents of the Saints, and the welbeloued cities, &c.

To the perfect vnderstanding of this prophecie, three things are necessarie to be knowne. First, what is meant by binding vp, and losing out of Satanas the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and yeare first he was chained vp and sealed for a thousand yeeres. Thirdly, at what yeare and time these thousand yeeres did end, when as hee should be losed out againe for a little season. Which three points being well examined and marked, the Prophecie may easily be vnderstood directly to be meant of the Turke. Albeit Anagogically some part thereof may also be referred not vnproperly vnto the Pope, as is aboue notified.

The binding and loosing out of Satan three things to be noted in this prophecie.

What is meant by binding vp of Sathan.

First, by binding and losing of Satanas, seemeth to be meant the ceasing and staying of the cruell and horrible persecution of the heathen Emperours of Rome, against the true Christians, as is to be seene in the ten first persecutions in the primitiue Church aboue described in the former part of these Acts and Monuments: in the which most bloody persecutions, Satanas the diuell then raged without all measure, till the time it pleased almightie God to stop this old Serpent, and to tye him shorter. And thus haue you to vnderstand what is meant by the binding vp of Sathan for a thousand yeeres: whereby is signified, that the persecution against the Christians stirred vp by the beast (that is, in the Empire of Rome, through the inligation of Sathan) shall not alwayes continue, but shall breake vp after certaine time, and shall cease for a thousand yeeres, &c.

The time of binding vp of Sathan.

Apoc. 11. 42. moneths. In the Apoc. declared.

Now at what time and yeere this persecution, that is, the furie and rage of Sathan should cease, is also declared in the Apocalyps before: where in the 11. and. 13. chapters we read, that the beast afore mentioned, shall haue power to worke his malice and mischiefe, the space of 42. moneths, and no more, and then that Sathan should be locked vp for a thousand yeeres. The computation of which moneths being counted by Sabbathes of yeeres (after the example of the 69. weekes of Daniell, cap. 11.) it doth bring vs to the iust yeere and time, when that terrible persecution in the primitiue Church should end, and so it did. For giue to euery moneth a Sabbath of yeeres, that is, reckon euery moneth for seuen yeeres, and that maketh 294. yeeres, which was the full time betweene the 18. yeere of Tiberius, (vnder whom Christ suffered) and the death of Parentius the last persecutor of the primitiue Church in Europe, stirred by Constantinus, as may appeare by calculating the yeeres, moneths, and dayes betweene the said yeere of the raigne of Tiberius, and the latter end of Parentius: and so haue you the computation of the yeere and time, when Satan was first bound vp, after hee had raged in the primitiue Church 42. moneths.

Computation of yeeres betweene the beginning and ceasing of the persecutions in the primitiue Church.

Which



Which moneths, as is said, being counted by Sabbaths of yeeres, after the vsuall manner of the Scripture, mounteth to 294. yeeres: and so much was the full time betweene the passion of our Lord, wh. was in the 18. yeere of Tiberius, vnto the last yeere of Parentius.

Vide supra pag. 366.

The pope vpon no better reason found beast mentioned in the Apoc. ca. 13.

And here by the way commeth a note to be obserued, that forasmuch as by the number of these 42. moneths, specified in the Apocalyps the Empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast: therefore it must by like necessitie follow, the Bishop of Rome to be the second beast, with the two hornes of the Lambe, for that he onely hath and doth cause the said Empire of Rome to reuiue and to be magnified, and so doth not the Turke, but rather laboureth to the contrary. Wherefore let euery Christian man be wise and beware betime how he taketh the marke of the beast, least peraduenture it follow vpon him, that he drinke of that terrible cup of wrath mentioned, Apocal. chap. 14.

Thirdly, it remaineth to be discussed touching the third point in this foresaid prophecie, that as we haue found out (through the helpe of Christ) the yeere and time of Satans binding, so we search out likewise the time and season of his losing out, which by the testimonie of Scripture, was appointed to be a thousand yeeres after his binding vp, and rightly according to the time appointed, it came to passe. For if we number well by the Scripture the yeere of his binding vp, which was from the passion of our Lord 294. yeeres and adde thereto a thousand yeares, it mounteth to 1294. which was the very yeere when Ottomannus the first Turke began his raigne: Which was Ottomannus the first Turke began his raigne: Which was the first spring and welhead of all these wofull calamities that the Church of Christ hath felt both in Asia, Affrica, and Europe, almost these three hundreth yeeres past. For so we finde in Chronicles, that the liuing borne of the Turkes being first deriued into foure families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Otto made into foure families, an. 1280. at length the familie of Ottomannus preuailed, and thereupon came these, whom now we call Turkes: which was about the same time, when pope Boniface the eight was bishop of Rome.

The third yeere of the prophetie for the loosing out of Sathan.

The time of Transubstantiation.

The time of the Turkes.

Where by the way this is againe to be noted, that after the decree of transubstantiation was enacted in the councel of Laterane by pope Innocent the 3. the yere of our Lord 1215. not long after, about the yeere of our Lord 1260. was stirred vp the power and armes of the Otzuians, and of Othogules father of Ottomannus: who about the yeere of our Lord 1294. began first to vere the Christians about Pontus and Bithinia, and so beginning his kingdome an. 1300. reigned 28. yeeres, as is afore mentioned.

Ex Leonino Chalcondyla lib. 1.

The prophecie of Ezech. c. 38.

Mention was made before of Ezechiell prophecying against Gog, whose woods diuers expositours do applie against the Turke, and are these: Thou shalt come from thy place, out of the North parts, thou and much people with thee, all riding vpon horses, a great and a mighty army, and thou shalt come vp against my people of Israel as a cloud, to couer the land: Thou shalt be in the latter dayes, and I will bring thee vpon my land, that the heathen may know me, when I shall be sanctified in thee, O Gog, before their eies. Thus saith the Lord God: Art not thou he, of whom I haue spoken in the old time, by the hand of my seruants the Prophets of Israel, that prophecied in those dayes and yeeres, that I would bring thee vpon them? At the same time also, when Gog shall come against the land of Israel, saith the Lord God, my wrath shall arise in mine anger. For in mine indignation, and in the fire of my wrath haue I spoken it: Surely at that time there shall be a great shaking in the land of Israel, so that the fishes of the sea, the foules of the heauen, the beasts of the field, and all that moue and creepe vpon the earth, and all the men that are vpon the earth shall tremble at my presence: the mountaines shall bee ouerthrowen: the starres shall fall, and euery wall shall fall to the ground, &c.

## The prophecies of Methodius, Hildegardis and other, concerning the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

Methodius prophecies.

VNto these testimonies aboue excerpted out of the holy Scriptures, let vs adde also the prophetical reuelations of Methodius, Hildegardis, Sybilla, and others. This Methodius is thought of some to be the same Methodius of whom Hierome, and Suidas make mention: which was bishop first of Olympus in Lycia, then of Tyrus, and suffered martyrdome in the last persecution of the primitiue Church, vnder Diocletian. Vnto whom also Trithemius attributeth the booke intituled: De Quatuor nouissimis temporibus. But that cannot be, forasmuch as the said Methodius doth cite and alleadge the Maister of Sentences, namely, in his second booke, and fire distinction, which maister of Sentences followed more then a thousand yeere after Christ: besides certaine other fabulous matter contained in the same booke. Albeit, bee cause he speaketh there of many things concerning the state of the Church vnder Antichrist, and the reformation of religion, as seemeth rightly to come to passe, and more is like to follow, I thought not to debraud the Reader thereof, leauing the credite of the Author to his arbitrement, to esteeme and iudge of him as he seeth cause. Among diuers other places of Methodius, prophecying of the latter time, These words doe follow.

The booke of Methodius mistaken.

The prophecies of Methodius, touching the Turke.

After that the children of Ishmael haue had multiplied in their generations to an infinite and innumerable multitude, in the desert aforesaid, they came out of the wildernes of Arabie, and entred into the habitable land, and fought with the kings of the Gentiles, which were in the land of promise, and the land was filled with them. And after 70. weekes, and halfe of their power wherewith they haue subdued all the kingdomes of the Gentiles, their heart was exalted, seeing themselues so to haue prenailed, and to haue conquered all things, &c. And afterward it followeth of the same matter in this sort.

It shall come to passe that the said seed of Ismaell, shall issue out and obtaine the whole world, with the regions thereof, in the entring of peace, from the land of Aegypt, vnto Ethiopia: and from the floud Euphrates, vnto India: and from the riuer Tygris, to the entring of Nabaot, the kingdom of Ionithus, the son of Noe, & from the North, vnto Rome & Illyricū Aegypt, and Thessalonica, and Albania, and so forth to the sea Ponticum, which diuideth the said kingdomes from Germany and France: and their yoke shall be double vpon the necks of all nations, and Gentiles: neither shall there bee nation or kingdome vnder heauen, which shall be able to stand against them in battaile, vntil the number of 8. weekes of yeeres, &c.

Eight weekes of yeeres, counting euery weeke for a sabbath of yeeres, that is, euery day for a yeere, amounteth to 56. yeeres.

Briefly, as in a grosse summe, this shall suffice, to admonish the reader, touching the meaning and methode of Methodius Prophecies, which Methodius first describing the long and tedious afflictions of Christs Church, maketh mention of the seede of Ishmaell, which comming out of the parts and deserts of Arabie, shall destroy (saith he) and vanquish the whole earth. So that the Christians shall be giuen of God, to the hands of the filthy Barbarians, to be slaine, polluted, & captiued: Persia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Aegypt, the East parts, Asia, Spaine, all Grecia, France, Germania, Agathonia, Sicilia. The Romanes also shall be slaine and put to flight: also the Islands of the Seas shall be brought to desolation, and to captiuity, and put to the sword. The which tribulation of the Christians shall be without mercy or measure: the raunsome of gold and siluer and other exactions, intollerable, but especially the dwellers of Aegypt and Syria shall be most in the affliction of those times: And Hierusalem shall be filled with multitudes of people brought thither in captiuitie, from the foure windes which are vnder heauen. So that beasts also, and foules and fish in the water, and the waters of the sea, shall be to them obedient. Cities and Townes, which were before full of people, shall be laid wast. Women with child shall be ript: their children sticked: infants taken from their mothers, and cast in the streets, and none shall bury them. The rulers and sage of the people shall be slaine, and thrown out to the beasts. Churches shall be spoiled: the priests defroied: virgins defloured, and men compelled to sell their children, and the comming of them shall be chastisement without mercy, and with them shall goe their foure plagues: captiuity, destruction, perdition, and desolation, with much more, which for breuitie I omerpasse. And this affliction, saith he, shall last eight weekes, or Sabbaths of yeeres, which I take to signifie eight hundreth yeeres, &c.

Eight plagues threatned by the Scripture.

The first plague of the Christians.

Secondly after these terrible plagues thus described by Methodius vpon the Christians, which he saith shall fall vpon them for their wicked abhominations vsed in the first and second chapter of S. Paule to the Romanes: the said Methodius afterward, in this great distresse of the Christians, being out of all hope and comfort of reliefe, declareth and speaketh of a certaine king of the Greekes or Romanes, which shall stirre peace againe to the Christians. In which peace they shall reedifie their cities and mansions againe: the priests shalbe deliuered from their grieuances, and men at that time shall rest from their tribulations, and then shall the king of the Romanes dwell in the citie of Hierusalem a weeke or sabbath, and a halfe of times, &c.

The second plague of Christians for their sinnes.

Christians abusing Gods benefites.

Thirdly, during the time of this peace, the said Methodius saith, that men shall fall into licentious security, and carelesse life: and then according to the words of the Apostle, saying: When they shall say, peace, peace, sodaine destruction shall fall vpon them: then (saith he) shall be opened the gates of the North, and the beastly people shall breake in, which king Alexander the great did close vp within 2. mountaines, making his prayer vnto the Lord God, that he would bind vp that beastiall and execrable people, least with their filthy and detestable pollutions, they should come out & pollute the holy land. Whose intercession being heard, the Lord commaunded them to be inclosed within two mountaines in the North parts, to the deepenesse of 12. cubits (which significth peraduenture 12. hundred yeeres) so that neither by witchcraft, nor by any meanes they could get out, or any might come vnto them, vntill the time of the Lord appointed, which are (saith he) the latter times: and then according to the prophecie of Ezechiel in the latter time of the consummation of the world, Gog and Magog out from the North, shal come forth into the land of Israel, & shal worke all this mischiefe against Christians, aboue recited. And then (saith Methodius proceeding in his Prophecies) shal the King of Romanes, after he hath reigned in Ierusalem a Sabbath of times, and a halfe, that is, saith Yet. x. yeeres and a halfe, take the crowne from his head, and yeeld it vp to the crosse in Golgotha where Christ was crucified, and shall die. And the Crosse with

The third circumstance by the comming of the Turkes.

The reign of Christians kings in Hierusalem 10. yeeres and 8. weekes. an. 1187.

By this reckoning it is like enough to the credite of Sybilla, that the reading of the Chaldaine in Hierusalem will not be many of Saint Barthelmewes yeares, and Constantinople yet stand a great while after the Antichrist.

with the crowne shall be taken into heauen, which shal not appeare againe before the comming of the Lord.

Fourthly, it followeth then moreouer in the Prophecies of Methodius, which declareth, that when the weeke of Sabbath and halfe weeke of times shall end, & when the ix. of Romanes shall giue vp his crowne in Jerusalem, and die: Then immediatly shall Antichrist the sonne of perdition begin to appeare, and be borne in Iewry, of the tribe of Dan, whereof also came Iudas Iscariot, and he shall be borne (saith Methodius) in Chorosaim and shall be bred in Bethsaida, & shall raigne in Capernaum: to the which 3. cities, Christ the Lord gaue his 3. Væ. And when great tribulation shall increase and multiple in the dayes of this Antichrist, and all lordship and dominion shall be destroyed, the Lord shall send his two faithfull and deere seruants, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and detect the false seducing, and lying forgiues of this Antichrist, openly before all men: to that the people seeing themselues fully beguiled, and seduced by this Son of perdition, comming out of the temple dissemblingly, to the destruction of many, shall leaue and flie from him, and ioyne themselues to the said two holy Prophets. Which sonne of perdition and Antichrist seeing his proceedings so to be repressed, and brought into contempt, in his fury and anger shall kill the two Prophets of God. And then shall appeare (saith Methodius) the signe of the comming of the sonne of man, and he shall come in the clouds of heauenly glory, and shall destroy the enemie with the spirit of his mouth, &c.

The destruction of Anti-Christ.

The interpretation.

The comming of the Saracens.

The comming of the Turkes.

Turkes, but among the people of God, and of the tribe of Israell. Whereby is to be collected, that Antichrist shall not come of the Saracens, nor Turkes, but shall spring vp among the Christians, and (saith Methodius) shall seeme to come out of the Temple, to deceiue many, &c. Whereby the pope may seeme rather then the Saracen or the Turke, to bee described, for so much as the pope, being elected, nourished and raigning in the midst of Gods people, at Rome, sitteth in the temple, and very place of Christ: and (no doubt) deceiueth many, &c.

The time of Antichrist. Decretu Lom. bardus. Gratianus. Innocentius. 3.

And now to come to the time assigned of Methodius, here is to be added also, that which we read in Antoninus. Par. 3. that about this said present time, a certaine Bishop of Florence preached that Antichrist was then comming. But the Pope commanded him to keepe silence, and to speake no more therof. Now why the pope so did, and why he could not abide the preaching of Antichrist, I referre it to them, which list to muse more vpon the matter. This is certaine, that about this time here assigned by Methodius, came Petrus Lombardus, Gratianus, and pope Innocent the third, the first authors and patrons of transubstantiation. At which time also began the first persecution by the Church of Rome, against the Albingenses & Waldenses, about Tolous, Bittures, and Auinion. Of whom 17. M. the same time were slaine, by the popes crossed souldiers. Among whom frier Dominicke was then the chiefest & r. About which time also was Frier Frances, of which two came the two orders of begging Friers: all which began much about one time together. an. 1215. which were here, within 20. yeres after the kingdom of the Christians was taken of the Turkes, according to the prophecie afore said.

Transubstantiation. The first persecution by the church of Rome Dominicke. Frier Francis. *Ex Antonino parte. 3. tit. 19. c. 5.* The orders of Friers began.

It followeth moreouer in Methodius, That in his time all Lordship and dominion shall cease and giue ouer, &c. The verity wherof we see now accomplished in the pope. For where the pope with his double sword, and triple crowne doth come, there all secular power must giue place, both Emperours, kings, and princes must stoupe.

The pope exalting himselfe aboue kings and Emperors.

So king John pulled vp his crowne to Pandulphus the popes Legate, and was in his hand fiue dayes. an. 1213.

Notes of Antichrist.

Childericke the French king had his crowne taken from him, and giuen to Pipine an. 747.

Henricus 4. Emperor was forced to submit himselfe and his scepter to pope Hildebrand. an. 1077.

Fredericus Barbarossa Emperor, in S. Markes Church in Venice, was faine to lay downe his necke vnder the pope Alexanders feet. an. 1177. Which Fredericke also before, was faine to hold the stirrop to pope Adrian, &c.

What should I speake of the Ambassadour of Venice, named Franciscus Dandulus: who being sent to pope Clement the 5. was made to lie vnder the popes table like a dog, and gather vp the crums, mentioned in Sabel. Aenn. 9. li. 7.

Henrie the 3. being Emperor, had his diademe first set on with the feete of the pope, and afterward stroken off from his head with the popes foote againe.

And what shall I speake more hereof: when as Carolus Magnus submitted himselfe so lowe to kisse the feete of Pope Leo. An. 800.

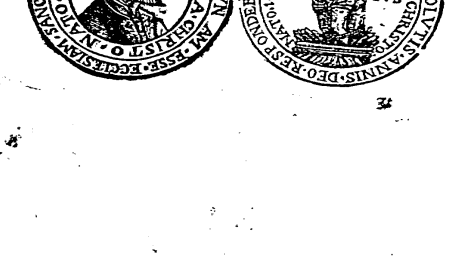
Enoch and Hely.

It followeth then in the prophecie of Methodius: That in the tribulation of those dayes, shall be sent from God two speciall Prophets, Enoch and Hely, to reproue and disclose the fraudulent falsehood of Antichrist, and that manner of seeing his delusion, shall forsake him and follow them: Whereat Antichrist being grieued shall kill them, &c.

John Hus and Hierome of Prage. *Vide in primo Tom. operum Iohan. Hus. De Anatomia.* Hierome of Prage a prophet and Martyr.

We neuer read yet in any story, of any such two prophets to be sent either to the Saracens, or to the Turkes: Whereas against the pope, we read John Hus and Hierome of Prage two learned Martyrs and Prophets of God to haue beene sent, and to haue reproued and described the Anatomie of Antichrist, and at last to haue beene burned for their labour. And what Prophet can speake more plainly, either Enoch or Hely, then did Hierome of Prage, prophecying of the comming of Martin Luther, an hundred yeres after him: when the pope and his fellowes shall answere to God and to him. The time we see come with. Now let the pope see with his fellowes, what answere they can make.

The true plate of Hus and Hicrome, among the Bohemians.








The nearenesse of the Lords iudgement.

It followeth further in Methodius concluding his prophecie. And then (saith he) shall appeare the comming of the sonne of man in the cloudes of heauen, with celestiall glorie, &c.

Wherefore after the burning of these two notable Prophets, with many other the Lords burned also since their time by the Bishop of Rome, it is to be thought, that the comming of Christs iudgement in the cloudes, is not farre of. Veni cito Domine, Amen.

And thus much touching Methodius, of whose prophecies how much or how little is to be esteemed, I leaue it indifferent vnto the Reader. For me it shall suffice simply to haue recited his words, as I find them in his booke contained: noting this by the way, that of this booke of Methodius, De nouissimis temporibus, neither Hierome in his Catalogue, nor Suidas, nor yet Auentinus in the place where he inueacth purposely of such prophecies, maketh any mention. As touching Hildegardis and Brigit, and other whom the French call Sibylles for their songs and prophetical verses, sufficient hath beene alleadged before out of Auentinus: Who in his third booke of Chronicles, writing of the testimonies of Hildegard, Brigit, and Bardi, seemeth to ground vpon them, that the Turks, whether we will or not, shall haue their imperiall seat at Colen: And Ippap Colen by land, &c.

The prophecies of Hildegardis & Brigit of the Turkes.

*Ex Auentino lib. 3. Annalium. A counsel to England.*

*Ex Brigitta, lib. 4. cap. 57.*

Brigit peraduenture me to cut off many testimonies and reuelations of these aboue said, or else I could here rehearse the prophetical words of Brigit, lib. 4. cap. 57. concerning the city and Church of Rome, which as the saith, must be purged and scoured with three things: to wit, with sharpe sword, with fire, and with the plough, and that God will deale with that citie, as one that remoueth the stones out of one place vnto another: and finally that the Church of Rome shall susteine the sentence, as if a Iudge should command the skin to be slaine off, the blood to be drawen from the flesh, and the flesh to be cut in small peeces, and the bones thereof to be broken, so that all the marrow may be quised out from the same, &c. But for Brigitte I let Brigit passe, and some thing will declare out of Erythrea Sybilla, in her booke of prophecies found in S. Georges Church in Venice: Where the prophecying many things of the birth of Christ vnder Augustus, and of the birth of John Baptist, and of baptisme, of the Apostles, of the conuersion of the Gentiles, and of Constantinus, &c. hath these words: After that the peaceable bull shall conclude all the clinses of the world vnder tribute, in those dayes a heauenly lambe shall come: and the dayes shall come, when the power of the flowing streame shall bee magnified in water, and the Lyon the Monarch shall bee conuerted to the lambe, which shall shine to all men, and subuert kinglesnes.

Ex libro christianorum. cap. 8.

Prophecies of Brigit, against Rome.

The Prophecies of Sybilla Sybilla named Erythrea.

*Ex Erithrea Sybillasuo Vaticinio ad imperatorem Constantinum scripto.*

Moreuer saith Sybilla, In the latter age Gods shall bee humbled, and the diuine ofspring shall be abased, and Deitie shall bee ioyned with humanitie, the lambe shall lie in hay, and God and man shall bee bred vp vnder a maidens attendance, signes and wonders shall goe before amongst the circumcised, &c. Also, an aged woman shall conceiue a child hauing knowledge of things to come. The world shall maruell at Boetes (the star) which shall be a leader to his birth. Behauing 32. feete and 6. thumbes shall chuse him selfe out of fifteen and abicets, the number of 15. and one diuell, not with sword nor with battell, &c. afterward this followeth moreouer in Sybilla, saying: The health of the lambe lying shall bee clothed with a few speiles of the Lyon. Blacke shall be turned into red. He shall subdue the citie of Aeneas, and kings, but in the booke of the fisher, In deiection and pouerty he shall conquere riches and shall tread downe pride with his owne death. In the night he shall rise vp, and be changed, he shall liue and raigne, and all these things shall be consummated, and regeneration (or new things) be made: at last he shall iudge both good and euill, &c. And thus much briefly collected out of Sybilla Erythrea concerning Christ our Lord.

Prophecies of Sybilla of Christ.

By his feete is supposed to be meant the greatest yeeres of his age.

The lambe lying, &c. that is, the church with out trauell shall be maintained with some liuing or possessions of the chiefe sisters.

Moreouer, touching the state and course of the Church and of Antichrist, it followeth in the saide Sybilla, saying: Then shall foure winged beasts rise vp in testimonie, they shall sound out with trumpets the name of the lambe, sowing righteousnesse, and the law irreprehensible. Against which law, the beast shall gainstand, and the abhomination and froth of the Dragon. But a marueilous star shall rise, hauing the image of the foure beasts, and shall be in a marueilous multitude, he shall bring light to the Greekes, and shall illustrate the world. The lake of the fisher shall bring the name of the lambe with power, into the citie of Aeneas, vnto the end of the world (or time.) Then in the citie of Aeneas, the starre ioyned, shall loose such as were bound of the deuill, and thereof he shall reioyce and glory, and glorious shall be his end, &c.

By these foure beasts is meant the 4. Monarchies of the world, that is the multitude of all the kingdomes of the Gentiles as in the Apocal.

By the citie of Aeneas is meant Rome.

The prophecies of Sybilla, of Antichrist.

The 663. feete doe meane the yeeres of his raigne.

Then two starres like to the first starre, shall arise against the beast, and shall not preuaile, till the abhomination shall be come, and the will of the Lord shall be consummate. And against speaking of the same matter, he inferreth these words of the foresaid two starres aboue mentioned. And toward the latter dayes, two bright starres shall arise, rayshing vp men lying dead in their sins, being like to the first starre, hauing the face of the foure beasts which shall resist the beast, and the waters of the dragon, testifying (or preaching) the name and lawe of the lambe, the destruction of abhomination and iudgement, and shall diminish his waters, but they shal be weakened in the bread of affliction, and they shall rise againe in stronger force, &c.

These two starres seeme to meane John Hus, and Hierome, who being put to death by the Pope, there succeeded after them many stronger then before.

And it followeth moreouer. After the abhomination, then shall truth be reuealed, and the lambe shall be known, to whom regions and countries shall submit their necks, and all earthly men shall agree together in one, to come into one fold, and to be ruled vnder one discipline, and after this shall be but a small time, &c.

And shortly after, the said Sybilla speaking of the latter iudgement to come, declareth how all the abhominations of sinnes shall come before the lambe: and that terrible fire shall fall from heauen, which shall consume all earthly things created vnto the top of heauen, &c.

And thus much out of Sybilla, touching her prophecies of Christ and Antichrist, according as I found them alleadged of a certaine Catholicke Romish writer, in his booke intituled Onus Ecclesiæ, excerpted, as he saith, out of the library of Saint George in the citie of Venice.

*Ex libro christianorum. cap. 8.*

Philip Melanchton in his preface vpon Bartholomæus Georgienitz Peregrinus, writing of the Origine and manners of the Turkes, alleadged a certaine prophecie of Vitterus, mentioned hereafter, which foresaid, that the Turkes should beare rule in Italy and in Germany. an. 1600.

Now it remaineth in conclusion of these prophesies of the Turkes, some thing to say of the Turks owne prophecies, concerning the enduring & ending of their owne kingdome, whose prophetical prognostication, being taken out of their owne language, and their owne bookes, I thought here to insert, as I find it alleadged in the booke of the foresaid Bartholomæus Georginitz, as followeth.

## A Turkish prophecie in the Persian tongue of the raigne and ruine of the Turkes.

PAtisshamoz ghelur, Ciaferum menleketi alur, kenzul almai alur, Kapzciler, iediy ladegh Gyaur keleci cfikmasie, on ikiyladegh onlaron beghlig eder: esti iapar, baghi diker bahesai baghlar, oglikezi olur, onichi yldenfora Hristianon Kelceci cfichar, ol Turchi gerestine tus churc.

## The same in Latin.

IMperator noster veniet, ethnici Principis regnum capiet, rubrum quoque pomum capiet, in suâ potestatem redigetquod si septimum vsque annum Christianorum gladius non infurrexit, vsque ad duodecimum annum eis dominabitur. Domos ædificabit, vineas plantabit, heroes sepibus munit, liberos procreabit, & post duodecimum annum, apparebit Christianorum gladius, qui Turcam quaquâ versum in fugam aget.

By the prince of the Gentiles the Turke is to here meant the kingdomes and dominions of the Christians, which they call Gentiles, because they are not circumcised after their manner.

## The same in English.

OUr Emperor shall come: he shall get the kingdome of the Gentiles prince: also he shall take the red apple and shall bring it vnder his subiection: and if the sword of the Christians shall not rise vnto the vij. yere, he shall haue dominion ouer them vnto the xij. yere. Hee shall build houses, plant vineyards, shall hedge about his orchards, shall procreate children: and after the xij. yere shall appeare the sword of the Christians, which shall put the Turke to flight euery where.

The expedition of the Turkes prophecie.

They which make declaration of this Turkish prophecy do expound this xij. yere to signifie the xij. yere after the winning of Constantinople: which Constantinople, say they, is meant by the red apple: and after that xij. yere, say they, shall rise the sword of the Christians, &c. and this prophecie being written and translated out of the Persian tongue, with this exposition vpon the same, it is to be found in the booke of Bartholomeus Georginitz. Albeit, concerning the exposition thereof, it seemeth not to be true which is there spoken of the xij. yere, after the winning of Constantinople, being now 100. yeres since the winning thereof.

*Ex Bartholo. Georginitz.*

Wherefore it may rather seeme probable, that by the vij. and xij. yere of the Turkes, this to be the meaning, that if the vij. of the Ottoman Turkes do raige the sword of the Christians, they shall continue, build and plant, &c. vntill the xij. Turke, (this to this Solymannus, and then after that shall rise the Christians sword, which shall put them to flight, and vanquish them in all quarters. And this exposition may seeme to accord with the place of Genesis, Wherein is written of Ismaell, that he had xij. sonnes, and no mo: So that this Solymannus being the xij. Turke after Ottomannus, may (by the grace of Christ) be the last, whom we heard credibly to be reported at the printing hereof, to be dead. But howsoeuer this prophecie is to be taken, it appeareth by their owne Oracles, that at length they shall be ouercome by the Christians.

Another type, fiction.

Gen. 25.

## A Table describing the times and yeeres of the Saracens Turkes, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the story afore prefixed.

The Saracens begin their reigne.

AN.632. Began the kingdome of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahumet the first ringleader of the mischiefe, which Saracens reigning in Babylon ouer Persia and Asia, continued about — 198. yeers

An.667. Jerusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracens after they had subdued Oquilda king of Persia, set vp to themselues a new kingdome, calling their chiefe prince Caliph a, which signifieth a generall lord: and vnder him Seraphes, that is, an vnder prince: And against vnder him their Soldan: which is, a ruler or captaine: vnder the which Soldans all the prouinces were diuided. And thus ruled they the space aboue said of — 198. yeers

The Egyptian Saracens or Sultans.

An.703. The Egyptians being weary of their subiection vnder the Romaines, called for helpe of the Saracen Caliph a: and so calling off the Romaines, submitted themselues to the law of the Saracens, and had also their Caliph a and their Babylon called Cairus, where their Caliph a continued vnto Saracen or Saracinus. — 20

An.820. Bangineus or muchmurtus the chiefe Sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbracell the Sultane of Babylon, sent for the aide of the Turkes out of Scythia: by whom, when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turkes shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their countrey within the space of — 447. yeers

The Saracens kingdome ceaseth.

An.830. The Saracens being expulsed out of Asia by the Turkes, wandred about Affricke, Spaine, and Italy, and were in diuers places dispersed and so remaine. — 20. yeers

The Turkes kingdome begineth.

An.830. The Turkes after they had expulsed the Saracens out of Asia, began to raigne in Asia in Persia, and in Arabia, and there raigned without interruption, till the comming of the Tartarians, the space of — 192. yeers

An.1009. The Turkes wan the citie of Hierusalem from the Saracens: which citie the Sultan of Egypt wan again from the Turkes shortly after, and possessed the same til the comming of Godfridus.

An.1051. Began the first king of the Turkes called Zabulic, to raigne in Asia, and ioyned league with Caliph a of Egypt, and there raigned till the conquest of Godfridus and the Christians, the space of — 46. yeers

An.1078. Solymannus nephew to Alpalalem the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Capadocia, which hath continued now since, the space of — 500. yeers

An.1099. Godfridus Bulan duke of Lotharing a Christian prince, taking his voiage into Asia, with 700000. Christian souldiers, first got the city of Nicea against the Sultane of the Turkes: then Lycaonia, Cilicia, Syria, afterward Mesopotamia, and Comagena, then Antiochia. An.1098. and the next yere recouered Jerusalem, being then in the handes of the Saracens, which they a little before had wan from the Turkes, as is aforesaid. After this Godfridus succeeded eight Christian kings, which kept the kingdome of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turkes and Saracens, the space of — 88. yeers

An.1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the greater, vanquished the Turkes out of the kingdome of Persia, after they had cut their king in peces. Whereby the Turkes flying to Cappadocia, there remained vnder Solyman, and ioyned themselues to the Soldan of Egypt, and buried then strong in Asia minor, called now Turquinia. — 70

An.1170. When Almericus the seuenth king of Hierusalem after Godfridus, had ouercome the Caliph a, or Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan being ouercome, called for the helpe of Saracone the Sultane of Syria. This Saracon after hee had expulsed the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the Sultane of Egypt, and vanquished him, tooke to himselfe the kingdome of Egypt: Which kingdome hee with his posteritie did hold till the comming of the Tartarians and the Samaluches about the space of — 80 yeers

An.1187. Saladinus the nephew of Saracon the Sultane of Egypt, perceiuing the dissension among the Christian states of Palestina, got Antioch, where hee slew Raymundus the prince with his owne hands: Then got Tiberias: From thence went to Accon, where he tooke Guido king of Jerusalem and master of the Templares prisonners: for whose ransome, the Turke had Ascalon yeelded vp to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Hierusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of — 88, yeers

Transl. Translation.

An.1189. Frederick emperor, Philip French king, Richard king of England, made their voiage into Asia, where Fredericke washing in a riuer at Cilicia, died. In this voiage at the siege of Accon, Saladinus wan the field of our men, of whom 2000. were slaine in the chase. Accon at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Cyprus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vaine, and so returning homeward, was taken neere to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the Soldane, vpon such condition as pleased him. And this god speed had the popes, sending out against the Turks.

An.1215. There was another councell holden at Rome by pope Innocent ỳ 3. where was enacted a new article of our faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to bee turned into the body and bloud of our Sauior. In this councell also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom, for set forward for recouery of the holy land. A mighty army was collected of bishops, lords, knights, bishops and prelats, that if Gods blessing had gone with them, they might haue gone throughout all Asia and India.

Vide supra pag. 685.

An.1219. The Christians after 18. moneths siege, got a certaine towne in Egypt, called Damiata or Elipolis, with much adoe, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian army of the popes sending, went about to besiege the citie Cairus or Babylon, the Sultane through his subtill traine is intrapped and inclosed them within the danger of Nilus, that they were constrained to render again the citie of Damiata, with their prisoners and all the furniture therof as they found it, into the Soudanes hand, and glad so with their liues to passe forward to Tyrus. An.1221.

In the meane time the Egyptian Turke caused the citie of Jerusalem to be raced, that it should serue to no vse to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voiage, it doth not greatly appeare in stories. Albeit Fredericus the 2. emperour was not vnfruitfully there occupied, and much more might haue done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bish. of Rome against him: whereby he was enforced to take truce with the Sultan for 10. yeres, and so returned. After which things done, not many yeres after, at length the last citie of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or Akers, was also taken from them by the Sultane, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia. — 88. yeers

Vide supra, pag. 278.

An.1230. Thus the Christians being driuen out of Asia by the Sultanes and Turkes, yet the said Turkes and Sultans did not long enioy their victorie: For ecclesiones the Lord stirred vp against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius subdued diuers parts of Asia, namely, about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians as they had got many captiues in their warres: so for gaine vsed to shippe them ouer customable to Alexandria in Egypt to bee sold: which seruants and captiues Melechsala the great Sultane was glad to buy to serue him in his warres. Which captiues and seruants after they had continued a certaine space in Egypt, and through their — 80 yeers

Tartarians.

Porta Caspia.



valiant seruice grew in fauor and estimation with the said Melechsala, who began more to increase in number and dignitie: at length they slue him, and took to themselues the name and kingdome of the Sultane. And thus ceased the storie of Saracon and Saladinus afore mentioned, which continued in Egypt, about the space as is said of. — 100. yeers

Saladinus storie in Egypt ceaseth.

An.1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these foresaid rascals and captiues, set vp to themselues a king of their owne company, whom they called Turquemenius. Who to fill vp the number of their company that it should not diminish, deuised this order, to get or to buy christian mens children, taken young from their parents, and the mothers lap: whom they sold so to bring vp to make them to deny Christ and to bee circumcised, and instructed in Mahumets law, and afterward to bee trained in the feats of war, and these were called Mamaluchi. Among whom this was their order, that none might bee aduanced to bee king, but out of their owne number, or else chosen by them: neither that any should bee made knights or horsemen, but onely the children of christians which should denie Christ before, called Mamaluchi. Also it was among them prouided, that to this dignitie neither Sarcens nor Iewes, should bee admitted. Item, that the succession thereof should not descend to the children and offspring of these Mamaluchi. Also that the succession of the crowne should not descend to the Children of the foresaid Sultanes, but should goe by voice and election. The Tartarians with Turquemenius their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is, Asia minor, from the Turks, and within 2. yeres after, prenailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdome, and so gouerned these Mamaluchi raigning ouer Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius their last king, which was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Selymus the Turke, father to this Solymannus, as in his historie is declared, pag. 685. These Mamaluchi continued the space of: — 260. yeers

Mamaluchi in Egypt.

Vide supra pag. 685.

An.1245. These Tartarians ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and al Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperiall citie of the Turkes.

An.1289. The Soldane of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.

An.1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Akers, was surprised by the said Soldan, raced and cast downe to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slaine. And this was the last citie which the Christians had in Asia. So that now the Christians haue not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian Soldanes, and the Tartarians raigned and ranged ouer the most part of Asia aboue the Turkes, till the raigne of Ottomannus the great Turk, about the space of — 80. yeers

And thus haue yee the whole discourse of the Turkish storie, with their names, countries, kinges, dominions also with their times, continuance, interruptions and alterations, in order described, and in peces ballanced. Which otherwise in most authours and writers bee so confused, that it is hard to vnderstand distinctly, what difference is betweene the Saracens, Turkes Tartarians, the Sultans or Soldans, & Mamaluches, or Famisarites: what is their Caliph a, their Seraphes, their Sultan, or Balla, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of yeeres they raigned. All which in this present table manifestly to thine eie may appeare.

¶ Wherein if thou hast no couer gratle reader to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turkes raigne, hath not ceased from time to time continually, calling vpon Christian princes and subiects, to take the crosse, and to bee assaunt the Turkes: whereupon so many great voiages haue been made to the holie land, and so many battels fought against the Turke and Soldan for winning the holy crosse: and yet no luckie successe hath followed thereof hitherto, nor euer come it prosper, nathe forward, what soeuer through the exciting of that bishop, ha, been attempted against that great enemie of the Lord: Inso much that the Christians haue lost not onelie all that they had in Asia, but also vnneath are able to defend that little they haue in Europe, against his violence. What the cause is of this hard lucke of the bishops voiages, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mindle deth, and as the Gospell saith, bee that hath eies to see let him see. This is certaine, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men vp to that business: so on the princes behalfe there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or abillement of warres: onely the blessing of God seemeth to haue lacked. The reason and cause wherof I would it were so easie to be reformed, as it may bee quickly confuted.

For what man beholding the life of vs Christians, will greatly marueil, why the Lord goeth not with our armye to fight against the Turkes? And if my verdit might here haue place, for mee to adde my censure, there appeareth to mee another cause in this matter, yet greater then this aforesaid: which to make plaine and euident in full discourse of words, leisure now both not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceiue, my opinion is this: that if the sincere doctrine of Christian faith deliuered and left vnto vs in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the bishop of Rome would yet reclame his impure idolatry, & prophanations, and admit Christ the Lambe of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our onely Iustification, according to the free promise of Gods grace: I nothing doubt but the power of his faith grounding only vpon Christ the sonne of God, had both framed our liues into a better disposition, and also done would or yet will bring downe the pride of that pseudo hyperlenes. But otherwise, if the B. of Rome will not gentlie giue place to the milde voice of Gods word, I thinke not contrary, but he shalbe compelled at last to giue place & roome to the Turk, whether he will or not. And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turke and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods testament shall triumphe and increase by such meanes as the Lord shall worke, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come gratiously and luckily forward in most places.

God offereth with Pharao, and blesseth the Christians.

## A prayer against the Turkes.

A praier against the Turkes.

O Eternall Lord God, Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, iust, gratious, and wise only, in the name and reuerence of thy Sonne Iesus, we prostrate our selues, desiring thine omnipotent Maiestie, to looke downe vpon these afflicted times of thy poore creatures and seruants: relieue thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast giuen thine onely begotten Sonne vnto vs, promising with him life to all that shall beleeue vpon his name: so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may bee farre off from all other sinfull additions and prophane inuentions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded vpon thy will and promise. And grant (we beseech thee) to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set vp any other meanes or helpe of saluation, but onely in him whom thou onely hast sent and sealed. Reforme thy church with perfect doctrine and faithfull teachers, that wee seeing our owne weaknesse, may put off our selues, and put on him without whom wee can doe nothing. So shall wee stand strong, when nothing standeth in vs, but thy Sonne alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renue in this thy church againe the decayed faith of thy Sonne Iesus, which may plentifullie bring forth in vs, not leaues onely, but fruits of christian life: And forgiue our wretched Idolatrie and blind phantasies past, wherewith wee haue prouoked manifold waies thy displeased indignation against vs: For our hearts haue bin full of Idols, our temples full of Images, our waies full of hypocrisie: thy Sacraments prophened, and thy religion turned to superstition; because the lanterne of thy word went not before vs, therefore wee haue stumbled. Miserably wee haue walked hitherto, like sonnes not of Sara, but of Agar, and therefore these Turkish Agarens haue risen vp against vs. Many hard and strait waies wee haue passed, but the waies of the Lord we haue not found. Much cost we haue bestowed on bread that swageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and commeth freely, we haue not tasted. We haue sailed far and neere in barkes of our owne building, but haue not kept within the Arke onely of thy promise, and therefore these floods haue taken vs. We haue praied much, but not in thine appointed temple, and therefore haue not bin heard. We haue plowed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therefore this vntidy ground of ours, bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace and that al night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boate, in our fishing we catch neuer a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions & great deuises, but because the ground worke is not surely laid vpon the rocke of thy promise, the East wind riseth and shaketh them all to pieces, but because the ground worke is not surely laid vpon the rocke of thy promise, the East wind riseth and shaketh them all motions

and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee (O Lord) put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right ioynt again. And finally, reduce this same thy misticall body againe, to his perfect and naturall head, which is thine only sonne Iesu Christ, and none other. For him onely hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head, that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone: forasmuch as all other heads be sinfull, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse then better. Only this thy welbeloued and perfect sonne is he, in whom onely dwelleth all our strength and fulnesse: him onely we confesse and know ledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee (O Lord God of hosts) grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turkes, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of Antichrist, enemies to thy sonne Iesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their deuices, ouerthrow their power, and dissolue their kingdome, that the kingdom of thy sonne so long oppressed, may recoue and flourish ouer all: and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced againe into the fold of thy saluation, through Iesus Christ our onely mediatour and most mercifull aduocate. Amen.

§ Anno § 1500

IN this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath beene described the grieuous and tedious perfecution of the Saracens and Turkes against the Christians, thou hast to vnderstand (good reader) & beholde the Image of a terrible Antichrist euidently appearing both by his owne doings, and also by the scriptures, prophecied and declared to vs before. Now in comparing the Turke with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater Antichrist, it were easie to see and iudge, that the Turke is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath bin the more bloody and pernitious aduersary to Christ and his members: or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian bloud, be with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discusse, which doe onely write the history, and the Acts of them both. Wherefore after the story of the Turkes thus finished, now to reenter againe there where as we left, in describing the domesticall troubles and persecutions here at home vnder the Bishop of Rome: after the burning of Babram in Norfolke aboue declared. pag. 671. I signified also of another certaine aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the tower, intituled Polychron, (although I find not his name in the said chronicle expressed) which suffered the paines of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the yere of our Lord, 1500. Ex Polychron.

This aged father, I suppose, be he of whom I find mention made in certaine old papers and records of William Carp citizen (albeit the day of the month both a little differ) wherein is thus testified, that on the 20. day of July, an. 1500. vpon the day of S. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for an heretike, & the same person vpon the 20. day before he was burned, would haue stollen out of ye Lollards tower, & so falling out of the tower, wo fully hurt himself: wherupon he was caried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the foresaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the yere aboue prefixed, which was an. 1499. in the time of one Perkenel, many were taken for heretikes in Kent, and at Paules crosse they bare fagots and were abiured, and shortly after the same yere, there went thirteene Lollards afore the procession in Paules, and there were of them eight women and a yong lad, and the lads mother was one of the eight, and all the 13. bare fagots on their necks afore the procession.

William Tilsworth martyr.

FOr so much as the world is come now to such a monastike and peruish insensibilitie in their contentious and cauilling daies of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and ordred, but that ill we in danger of one sycophant or another, which neuer will credit there, where they list not to like: neither will they euer like that, which seeme th preiudicall to their faction, or not to serue the humor wherewith their fantasies be infected: therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cauillers with as much possibilitie as I may, be it knowne to all and singuler such persons, who by euidence of truth and witnes will be satisfied, that in the towne of Amersham be yet aliue both men and women, which can and do beare witnes of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet aliue, witnes to the same. Also another named Agnes Wetherley widow, being about the age of an hundred yeres, yet liuing and witnes hereof: that in the daies of king Henrie the fourth, anno 1506. in the diocelle of Lincolne in Buckingham shire (William Smith being bishop of the same diocelle) one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Standley about fiue yeeres ago. At which time one Ioane Clerke, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth and a faithfull woman, was compelled with her olde bones to set fire to her deare father: and at the same time her husband John Clerke did penance at her fathers burning, and bare a fa gget, as did also

| | |
|---|---|
| Robert Bartler. | John Mumbe and his wife. |
| Richard Bartler. | Richard Bennet. |
| John Bartler. | Rog. Bennet. Iohn Fip. |
| Tho. Harding & his wife. | William Grinder. |
| Henry Harding. | Thomas Homes. |
| Richard Harding. | Yomand Dorman. |
| Robert Harding. | William Scriuener. |
| Io. Milsent and his wife. | John Scriuener. |
| William White. | Th. Chase. John Cracher. |

All these bare fagots, and afterward were compelled to weare certaine badges, and went about to certaine townes to doe penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other townes moe: And also diuers of these men were afterward burned in the cheeke, as William Page, which at this present is aliue, and likewise did beare a fagot with the aforesaid. Furthermore the foresaid Agnes Wetherley testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, there he, and about that were put to beare fagots for their penance, of whom diuers were inioyned to beare and weare fagots at Lincolne the space of 7. yeeres, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet a rich man, who for his profession sake was put out of his farme and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Alnygge, where he ware on his right sleeue a square peece of cloth, the space of 7. yeeres together.

Amersham men bearing fagots.

The burning of Thomas Bernard, and James Mordon.



Tho. Bernard, James Mordon martyrs.

It followeth moreouer in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth (as the Amersham men do say) or the next day after, as record eth the foresaid Agnes) was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelled at Dissenden: and at his burning there were aboue 20. persons that were compelled to beare fagots, and to doe such penance as the wicked Pharises did compell them. After that by the space of 2. or 3. yeeres, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard a husband man, and Iames Mordon, a labourer, they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William Litlepage (who is yet aliue) compelled to be burned in the right cheeke, and father Rogers, and father Reuer, alias Reiue, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the Bishops prison 14. twelues together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and paines, that after his comming out of the said prison, he was so lame in his backe that he could neuer go vpright as long as he liued, as can testifie diuers honest men that be now liuing. Also there were 30. mo burned in the right cheeke, and bare fagots the same time. The cause was that they would talke against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to heare and reade the holy scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheeke was this: their neckes were tied fast to a post or stay, with towels, and their hands holden that they might not sturre, and so the yron being hot, was put to their cheekes, and thus bare they the points and marks of the Lord Iesus about them.

Father Reuse, Martyr.

Men of Amersham burnt in the cheeke for Gods word.





## ¶ The cruell handling of Thomas Chase of *Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in* the bishops prison at Woburne, vnder W. *Smith bishop of Lincolne.*

§ Anno § 1506 § Thomas Chase martyr.

AMang these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the Gospell and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase of Amersham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled. Which Thomas Chase by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober and honest behauior (whose vertuous doings do yet remaine in memory) and could not abide idolatrie and superstition, but many times would speake against it: Wherefore the vngodly and wicked did the more hate and dispite him, and tooke him, and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time at Wooburne in the countie of Buckingham, and as it is written Acts 12. that wicked Herode did here certaine of the congregation, and slue Iames the brother of Iohn with the sword, and because hee saw that it pleased the Iewes, &c. he proceeded further, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checkes, and rebukes, but what answere this godly man Thomas Chase made them, it is vnknowne. Howbeit it is to bee supposed, that his answere was most zealous and godly in professing Gods true religion and Gospell, and to the extirpation of idolatrie and superstition and hypocrisie, for that the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishops prison called little ease, in the bishops house at Woobarne, which prison had not beene inhabited vnto him, had not his answeres beene found and bright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painefully with chaines, gyues, and manicles and irons, oft times sore pined with hunger, where the bishops elues was daily brought vnto him by his chaplaines: Which elues was nothing else but checkes, taunts, rebukes and threatnings, flouting and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr tooke most quietly and patiently, remembring and hauing respect to Christs promises. Matth. 5. Blessed are they which suffer perfecution for righteousnesse sake: for theirs is the kingdome of heauen, and as followeth 1 Blessed are ye when men reuile you and persecute you, &c. When the bishop with his bond of thauelings, perceiued that by their daily practises of cruelty they could not preuaile against him, but rather that he was the more feruent and earnest in professing Christs true religion: and that he did vtterly and vtterly most patiently all their wicked vnciuile and cruelsie minister vnto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, left there should be a tumult or an vproze among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollards tower, about the yere of our Lord 1514. euen so these bloud-suckers most cruelly strangled and slew to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, which most heartily called vpon God to receiue his spirit: as witnesseth a certaine woman, that kept him in prison.

Thom. Chase brought before the bishop.

Thom. Chase condemned to the bishops prison at Woburne called little ease.

A worthie saines of a bishop.

The perfect patience and constance of Thom. Chase.

Thomas Chase cruelly murthered in the bishops prison.

After that these stinging vipers being of the wicked band of Antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murthered this faithfull Christian, they were at their wits end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shamefull murther withall, at last to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloodie butchers most slanderously caused by their ministers to be bruted abroad, that the foresaid Thomas Chase had hanged himselfe in prison: which was a most shamefull and abominable lie, for the prison was such, that a man could not stand vpright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manicles and irons vpon him, that he could not well moue neither hand nor foot, as the woman did declare that fed him dead, in so much that they confessed that his bloud bulke was broken by reason they had so bitely beaten him and bruised him: And yet these holy catholikes had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Hoxland wood, in the high way betwixt Woburne and little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken vp a gaine to the light: And thus commonly are innocent men laid by the false clerkly clergie men. But he that is effectually true of himselfe, hath promised at one time or at another, to cleare his true seruants, not with lies and fables, but by his owne true word. No secret, saith he, is so close, but once shall be opened, neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be knowne clearely. Such a sweet Lord is God alwaies to those that are his true seruants. Blessed be his holy name therefore, for euer and euer, Amen.

Thomas Chase hanged himselfe in prison.

Witnesse to the story.

God bringeth to light the secret murthers of the papists. March. 10. Luke 12.

Thomas Harding being one of this companie, thus molested and troubled as is aforesaid, in the towne of Amersham for the truth of the Gospell, after his abiuration and penance done, was againe sought for, and brought to the fire, in the dates of king Henrie the eight, and vnder doctor Langlond then bishop of Lincolne, succeeding after cardinall Wolsey. Of whose death and martyrdome, we shall likewise record (Christ willing and granting) in order when we shall come to thetime and yeere of his suffering.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Hosier, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christs Gospell, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March. an. 1507.

Thomas Hosier martyr. § Anno § 1507

In the next yere following, which was an. 1508. in the consistorie of London, was conuented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, vpon certaine articles, and specially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of Images, as the Image of our Lady at Willdon, at Stanings at Croine, at Walsingham, and the image of saint Saviour, of Barmondsey, and against the Sacrament of the altar, and so that they had spoken these or like words: that our Lady of Willdon was but a burnt arse elfe, and a burnt arse stocke, and if shee might haue holpen men and women which go to her on pilgrimage, she would not haue suffered her taile to haue been burnt: and what should folke worship our Lady of Willdone, or our Ladie of Croine, for she one is but a burnt arse stocke, and the other is but a puppit: and better it were for the people to giue their almes at home to poore people, then to goe on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of S. Saviour, Sim Saviour with kit lips, and that she said she could make as good bread, as that which the priest occupied, and that it was not the bodie of Christ but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heauen and in earth at one time. For these and certaine other articles, she was compelled to abiure, before master William Horsley, chancellor, the day and yere aboue written. Ex Regist. Lond.

Elizabeth Sampson. § Anno § 1508

### ¶ Laurence Ghest.

LAmentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinit to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which haue been slaine by the rigour of the popes clergie, for the true maintaining of Christs cause, and of his Sacraments. Whose memorie being registred in the booke of life, albeit, it need not the commendation of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the Church, I thought it not vnprofitable the suffering and martyrdome of them to be notified, which innocently haue giuen their bloud to be shed in Christs quarrell.

Laurence Ghest martyr.

In the Catalogue of whom next in order commeth the memoriall of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the daies of king Henry the 7. he was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not vnfriended, for the which the bishop and the close were the more loth to burne him: but kept him in prison the space of two yeeres. This Laurence had a wife and children. Wherefore they thinking to expugne and peruade his mind by sparing of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his foresaid children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to worke in other, yet in him religion ouercomming nature, made his constancie to remaine vnmouueable, in such sort, as when his wife began to crie out and desire him to saue himselfe, he against desired her to be content, and not to be a blocke to his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his saluation: and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himselfe to follow Christ. As he was in burning, one of the bishops men threw a fire brand at his face: Which at the sight of Laurence standing by, ranne at him with his dagger, and would haue slaine him, had he not beene otherwise staid.

Laurence Ghest was put by torment his wife and children.

Laurence died a Martyr.

Confirmed and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russell, an aged man dwelling of late in Colmanstreete, who was there present the same time at the burning of Laurence, and was also himselfe burned in the cheeke, and one of the persecuted flocke in those daies, whose daughter is yet liuing: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Web seruant sometime to Sr. Latymer, who seiourning in the house of the said William Russell, heard him many times declare the same.

### A faithfull woman burned.

BEsides amongst all the examples of them, wherof so many haue suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I can not tell if euer were any martyrdome more notable and admirable wherein the plaine demonstration of Gods mighty power and iudgement hath at any time bin more euident against the persecutors of his flocke, then at the burning of a certaine godly woman, put to death in Cheaping sabery, about the same time, vnder the raigne of K. Henry the seuenth.

A notable story of a faithfull woman burned in Cheaping sabery.

The constancie of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold: so against the example of the bishops Chauncellour, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eies of all papisticall persecutors to consider, and to take example: which the liuing God grant they may. Amen. The name of the towne where she was martyred, was, as is said, Cheaping sabbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the Chancellor, who condemned her, was called D. Whittington. The time of her burning was in the raigne and time of K. Henry the 7. orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreouer the opportunitie

D. Whittington Chancellour a persecutor.

tunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such conuenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the foresaid kings reigne: so that it may appeare to them, which behold & opportunity of things, not to be without Gods holy will and prouidence, that this foresaid example should not lie hid and vnremembred, but should come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman and manly martyr of Christ was condemned by the wretched chancellour about named D. Whittington, for the faithfull profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresie, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and paines of her martyrdome, a great concourse of all the multitude both in the towne and countrie about (as the maner is in such times) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the foresaid Doctor Whittington the chancellor, there present to see the execution done. Thus this faithfull woman, and true seruant of God constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gaue ouer her life to the fire, refusing no paines nor torments to keepe her conscience clere and vnreprouable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to returne homeward, comming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the meane time, that as the catholike executioners were busie in slaying this silly lambe at the townes side, a certaine Butcher within the towne was as busie in slaying of a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knocke him on the head. But the Butcher (belike not so skilfull in his art of killing beasts, as the papists be in murthering Christians) as hee was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smit a little too low, or else how hee smit, I know not: this was certaine, that the bull, although somewhat grieued at the stroke, but yet not stricken downe, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the streete, the very same time as the people were comming in great preasse from the burning. Who seeing the bull comming towards them, and supposing him to bee wild (as was no other like) gaue way for the beast, euery man shifting for himselfe, as well as he might. Thus the people giuing backe, and making a lane for the bull, he passed thorough the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till hee came where as the chancellour was. Against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden bounteine, ranne full butte with his hornes, and taking him vpon the paunch, gored him thorow and thorow, and so killed him immediatly, carying his guts, and trailing them with his hornes all the street ouer, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

Although the carnall sense of man be blind in considering the workes of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertaine to Gods only praise and prouidence: yet in this so strange and so euident example, that man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plaine miracle of Gods mightie power and iudgement both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to feare the Lord, and to abstaine from the like cruelties?

Now for the credit of this story, lest I be said vpon mine owne head to commit to storie things rashly, which I cannot iustifie, therefore to stop such cauilling mouthes, I will discharge my selfe with authorities I trust sufficient: that is, with the witnesse of him which both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webbe: which Rowland dwelling then in Chippingsadbery, had a son named Richard Webbe, seruant sometime to master Latimer, who also inducing with him in time of his trouble sir peeres together, was himselfe imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Vnto the which Richard Webbe, being now aged, then yong, the foresaid Rowland his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresie (as he then called it) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withall added the story of the bull aforesaid, which he himselfe did see and testifie. This Richard Webbe is yet liuing, a witnesse of his owne fathers words and testimonie, which I trust may satisfie all indifferent Readers, except only such as thinke no truth to be beleeued, but that only which is in their Portues.

A faithfull Christ an woman and a manly martyr, burned at Chipping-sadbery.

A comparison betweene Butchers and the popes murthering ministers.

A neare and speciall example of the iust punishment of God vpon a persecutour.

D. Whittington. The shame of a bull.

Whittington to this storie.

### Verses touching the same Tho. *Hatcherus.*

MIra legis, quicunque legis, portenta nefandi
Exitus, vt pœnas addita pœna luat.
Vera legis, Domini cuicunque potentia nota est,
Vt delinquentes ira seuera premat.
Sæpè fit vt fusus cumuletur sanguine sanguis,
Sæpè fit vt pœnis obruat ira nouis.
Omnia sunt Domini dextræ subiecta potenti,
Qui cier arbitrio bruta, hominesque suo.
Carnificis taurus luctando corniger ictus
Euitans, fracto fune repentè fugit.
Fortè viam quâ turba frequens confluxerat antè,
Fœminea vt cernat membra perire rogo,
Taurus ijt, ferrum quâ confertissima turba;
Lætus at ex tanta solus & vnus erat:
Solus & vnus erat, rapidos qui misit in ignes,
Et miserè paruum sparsit ouile Dei.
Et quasi consulto ferretur, præterit omnes,
Cornibus hunc tollit, proterit hunc pedibus,
Ille iacet, madido fœdatur sanguine corpus,
Eruta perque vias viscera sparsa iacent.
Quis nonà Domino, nutu qui temperat orbem,
Cogitet hæc fieri? non repetendo tremat?
Vltio terribiles comitatur iusta procellas,
Sera licet, certis passibus illa venit.

And thus much concerning the state of the Church. Wherein is to be vnderstood, what plagues and persecutions haue been raised vp in all quarters against the flocke and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within our selues, by the bishop of Rome, and his retinue. Where also is to be noted in the daies and raigne of this king Henry the vij. how mightily the working of Gods Gospell hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women haue suffered for the same, with vs in England, as by these stories aboue past, may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the Church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to intreat of the state likewise of the commonwealth, which commonlie doth follow the state of the Church. Where the church is quietie and moderatlie gouerned, and the flocke of Christ defended by godly Princes in peace and safetie, from deuouring and violence of blondie Molues: the succesle of ciuill estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue through Gods preseruation, in prosperous rest and tranquillitie. Contrariwise, where the Church of Christ, either through the negligence of princes, or through their setting on, the poore members of Christ be persecuted and deuoured: shortly after ensueth same iust recompence of the Lord vpon those princes, that either their liues do not long continue, or else of our owne countrie nere at home.

The state of the common-wealth commonly followeth the state of the Church.

The date of princes to defend their subiects from the slaughter of the Church of Rome.

And here not to inuander in our story, farther then to France only, let vs a little behold the example of king Charles the viij. who liuing in this kings time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Cominæus, to bee a moderate, valiant and victorious prince, adorned with many speciall vertues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slacke and remisse in defence of Christs church, neither did he his authority, nor take his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reforme the state of the bishop and clergy of Rome then he might, he was therefore himselfe punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his sleepe ensuing may right well appeare. For so it is of him recorded, that being marueilously excited and prouoked, of his owne minde (contrary to the counsell of most of his Nobles) he take his voiage into Italie, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the yeare being conuenient thereunto. And that this may appeare the better to procede of the Lords doing, to the intent he would haue the church and clergy of Rome reformed by the princes sword, which so vexed all Christendome at that time, we shall heare what is testified in the Commentaries of the foresaid Philip Cominæus Lib. 3. De bello Neapolit. writing in this wise.

*Ex Commentarijs Phil. Cominæi De bello Neapolitano, lib. 3.*

There was (saith he) in the city of Florence the same time a Dominicke Frier, named Hieronymus Sauonarola (of whom mention was made before, pag. 672.) a man of a right godly and approoued life: who in the said city of Florence preached and prophecied long before, that the French King should come with an army into Italy, being stirred vp of God to suppresse the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisæ, and the state of Florence should be altered: al which happened true. He affirmed moreouer to be signified to him of the Lord, that the Ecclesiasticall state of the church must be redressed *Per vim armorum*. i. by the sword, or force of armes. Many things also he prophecied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying that the king with some danger and difficulty, should passe that iourney, yet notwithstanding should ouercome it and escape, albeit his strength were neuer so slender: for God would safely conduct him in that iourney, and safely bring him home againe. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from iniurie, and from deuouring, therefore it should come to passe (said he) and that shortly, that some incommoditie or detriment should happen to the king: or if he should escape that danger of his sicknesse and recouer health, then if hee did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poore and miserable, God would shew mercy vnto him, &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Cominæus one of the kings counsellours, which was the writer of the story, and required him to

*Vide pag. 672. The prophecie of Hieronie Sauonarola.*

*Vide Phil. Cominæum de bello Neapol. lib. 5.*

What difference betweene moderate princes and them that were persecutors.

*Stow.*



to signifie the same vnto the king, which so did, and hee moreouer himselfe comming to the presence of the king, declared no lesse.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king being but easily accompanied with a small power, entred into Italie, where first he came to Asta, then to Genua, and to Pisæ, from thence prosecuted to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medices the duke, who had bled great tyrannie vpon the subiectes. From thence he remooued toward Rome, where a great part of the citie wall at the comming of the French king, fell downe.

Afterward when the king was entred into the citie and the pope (who then tooke part with Alphonsius king of Neapolis against the French king) had vnmured himselfe within the mount of Anion, the wall of the Castell fell downe of it selfe, whereby, when the king was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his Captaines to inuade the Pope, and to depose him, and to reforme the Church of Rome, (which he might then easily haue done, as it hath pleased him) yet all these occasions offered so opportunely of God mooued not the king to doe his dutie, and to helpe the poore Church of Christ: wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Neapolis, either the same yeare or the nert yeare following, he was stroken with a sodaine sickenesse at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at tennis, & that in the stinckingest place in all the Castle, where he fell downe and died within 12. houres, according to the forewarning of Pictoninus, who wrote vnto him a little before, both of his sodaine death and of his time, which was about the yeare of our Lord 1498. Ex Philip. Cominæo. Lib. 5.

*De bello Neapolitano, lib. 5.*

The death of K. Henry 7.

Like examples we haue many here also in this our realme of England. So long as king John kept out of the realme the popes authoritie and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles: but so soone as he brought the realme vnder tribute and subiection to that forreine Bishop, God stirred vp his nobles against him, whereby hee had much disquiet and trouble, and soone thereupon deceased.

Of all the kings of England, from William Conquerour, to this king Henry 7. were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, then king Henry the second, king Henry the third, king Edward the first, king Edward the third, of whom the first, how stout hee was in withstanding Thomas Becket and pope Alexander the 3. is sufficiently before comprehended, pag. 201.

Couentry newes perfourned.

The second, which was sonne of king John, albeit through the wretchednesse of that time his power was not sufficient to repulse the popes vsurped iurisdiction out of the realme, yet his will was good: at least he so defended and prouided for his subiects, that they tooke no great wrong at the popes handes: who reigned one yeare longer then Augustus Cæsar, which hath not commonly beene seene in any Prince.

Examples of Kings of England, which were blessed of God with long prosperitie being enemies to the bishops of Rome.

Augustus reigned 55. yeares.

The third, which was king Edward the first, so diligently behaued himselfe for the publicke commodities and safetie of his people, that hee defended them from all forraine power and hostilitie both of the Scottes (then our enemies, now our friendes) and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against vs, as may appeare aboue, pag. 311. Furthermore of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of Parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the popes subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop Pecham for standing with the pope, reade pag. 320.

*Vide supra pag. 311.*

*Vide supra pag. 320.*

Now as touching king Edward the third, how little he regarded, how princely he with his nobles likewise resisted the popes reseruations and prouisions, how he bridled the Archbishop John Stratford, and reiected the vaine authoritie of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subiectes, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realme of France, reade pag. 346.

*Vide supra pag. 346.*

Not that I doe here affirme or define, as in a generall rule, that vnciuile incestie and vnpolycie of life alwaies followeth the goodnes, which we see rather to be giuen more often to the wicked sort: but speaking of the dutie of Princes, I note and obserue by examples of histories, that such Princes as haue most defended the church of Christ committed to their gouernance, from iniurie & violence of the Bishop of Rome, haue not lacked at Gods hand great blessing and felicitie: whereas contrariwise they which either themselues haue been persecutors of Christes members, or haue not shielded them by their protection from forraine tyrannie and iniuries, haue lacked at Gods hand that protection, which the other had, as may appeare by king Edward the second, Richard the third, king Henry the fourth, king Henrie the fift, king Henry the first, &c. who because either negligently they haue suffered, or cruelly caused such persecuting lawes to be made, and so much Christian blood inuriously to be deuoured: therefore haue they been the lesse prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not halfe the time of the other kinges before named.

And therefore, as the state of the common wealth doth commonly follow the state of the Church, as ye heard before: so it had been to be wished, that this king Henry the vij. being otherwise a prudent and temperate Prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the popes clergie so much to haue their willes ouer the poore flocke of Christ, as then they had: according as by these persecutions aboue mentioned may appeare. The which king Henry vij. albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now raigned 24. yeares, yet notwithstanding here commeth the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before: that when the Church of Christ beginneth to be iniured with violence, and to goe to wracke through misorder and negligence, the state of the common wealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and broile of Gods correction. But howsoeuer this marke is to be taken, thus lieth the storie: that after the burning and bering of these poore seruants of Christ aboue recited, when the persecution began now in the Church to be hote, God called away the king, the same yeare aboue mentioned, which was 1509. after he had raigned the terme of yeares, 24. Who if he had adioyned a little more pitifull respect, in protecting Christes poore members, from the fire of the popes tyranny, to his other great vertues of singular wisedome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugalitie: so much had hee been comparable with the best of those Princes aboue comprehended, as he had been inferiour but to a fewe: but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord) by his posteritie succeeding after him. Of whom in the next volume following (Christ thereunto assisting vs) we haue to speake more at large.

Among manie other things incident in the reigne of this king Henry 7. I haue ouerpassed the historie of certaine godly persons perfecuted in the Diocelle of Couentry and Lichfield, as we finde them in the registers of the Diocelle recorded, here following.

The yeare of our Lord 1485. March 9. amongst diuers and sundry other good men in Couentry, these vi. hereunder named were examined before Iohn Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, in S. Michaels Church, vpon these articles, following in order.

J. Blomstone.

FIrst, Iohn Blamston was openly and publikely infamed, accused, reported, and appeached, that he was a very heretiche, because hee had preached, taught, holden and affirmed, that the power attributed to S. Peter in the Church of God, by our Sauiour Iesus Christ immediatly did not slit, or passe from him, to remaine with his successors.

The power of Peter limited not to his successors.

Item, that there was as much vertue in an herbe as in the Image of the virgin Marie.

Item, that prayer and almes auaile not the dead, for incontinent after death, he goeth either to heauen or hell, whereupon he concludeth, there is no purgatorie.

Purgatorie denied.

Item, that it was folishnesse to goe on pilgrimage to the image of our Ladie of Dancaster, Walsingham, or of the tower of the citie of Couentrie: for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire side in the kitchen, as in the foresaid places, and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin, when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images, because they be no more but dead flocks and stones.

Images not to be worshipped.

Item, that hee said in English with a frowning countenance, as it appeared: a vengeance on all such hoison priests, for they haue great enuie that a poore man should get his liuing among them.

RIchard Hegham of the same citie was accused, &c. to be a very heretiche, because he did hold & that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his owne works good and ill, and submit him to the mercie of God.

Richard Hegham. Heresies condemned.

Item, that it was fondnesse to worship the Images of our Ladie of tower in the foresaid citie, or of other Saints, for they are but stockes and stones.

Item, that if the image of our Ladie of tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

Images strut. Fuell to be burned, then be worshipped.

Item, that if it were better to deale monie vnto poore folks then to offer to the images of Christ and other Saints, which are but dead stockes and stones.

RObert Crowther of the same citie was accused, that hee was an heretiche, because he did hold, that who so receiueth the Sacrament of the altar in deadly sinne, or out of charitie, receiueth nothing but bread and wine.

Robert Crowther.

Item, that neither bishop, nor priests or curats of Churches, haue power in the market of periance to bind and lose.

Item, that pilgrimage to the image of our Ladie of tower is folishnesse, for it is but a stocke or a stone.

Against Pilgrimage.

IOhn Smith was accused to bee a very heretiche, because he did hold that euery man is bound to know the Lords prayer, and the Crede in English, if he might for these false priests.

John Smith.

Item, that who so beleeued as the Church then did beleeue, beleeued ill: and that a man had need to frequent the Schooles a good while, ere that he can attaine to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

The Lordes prayer to be in English.

Item, that no Priest hath power to assoile a man in the market of penance, from his sinnes.

Roger Brown. Against Pilgrimage.

ROger Brown of the same citie, was also accused to be an hereticke, because he did hold that no man ought to worship the Image of our Ladie of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hailes, but rather God almightie, who would giue him whatsoeuer he would aske.

Item, that he held not vp his handes, nor looked vp, at the elevation of the Eucharist.

Item, that he promised one to shew him certaine bookes of herselie, if he would sweare that hee would not vtter them, and if he would credite them.

Flesh eating in Lent.

Item, that he did eate flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

Item, if anie man were not shriuen his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and confesse not, if he had no more but contrition onlie, hee should passe to ioy without Purgatorie: And if hee were confessed of anie sinne, and were enioyned onlie to say for Penance one Pater noster, if he thought he should haue anie punishment in Purgatorie for that sinne, he would neuer be confessed for anie sinne.

Item, because hee said all is lost that is giuen to Priestes.

Item, that there was no Purgatorie, that would pardon all sinnes without confession and satisfaction.

Against Purgatorie and confession auricular.

Against confession and satisfaction.

The Butler.

THomas Butler of the same citie, was likewise openlie accused to be a verie hereticke, because he did hold that there were but two waies, that is to say, to heauen, and to Hell.

Against Purgatorie.

Item, that no faithfull man houlde abide any paine after the death of Christ, for any sinne, because Christ died for our sinnes.

Against merites.

Item, that there was no purgatorie, for euerie man immediatly after death passeth either to heauen, or hell.

John Falkes.

Item, that whosoeuer departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoeuer he hath liued, shall be saued.

Against Images.

Item, that praiers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and auaile not to purchase heauen.

IOhn Falkes was accused to be a verie hereticke, because he did affirme that it was a foolish thing to offer to the Image of our Lady, saying, her head shall be hoare or I offer to her, what is it but a blocke? If it could speake to me I would giue it an halfepenny worth of ale.

Item, that when the Priest carrieth to the sicke the bodie of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ?

Item, that he did eate cole milke vpon the first Sunday of Lent.

He is heretike to say a stone is a stone, and a blocke is a blocke.

Item, that the Image of our Ladie was but a stone or a blocke.

Rich Hilmin.

RIchard Hilmin was accused that hee was a verie hereticke, because he did say and maintaine that it was better to depart with money to the poore, then to giue tithes to Priestes, or to offer to the images of our Ladie, and that it were better to offer to Images made by God, then to the Images of God painted.

Scripture in English.

Item that he had the Lords praier and the Salutation of the Angell and the Creed in English, and another booke did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them would he liue, and thereby be serued to be saued.

Item, that no Prince speaketh better in the Pulpit then that booke.

Item, that the Sacrament of the aultar is but bread, and that the Priestes make it to blinde the people.

Item, that a Priest whiles he is at Masse, is a Priest, and after one masse done, till the beginning of another Masse, he is no more then a lay man, and hath no more power then a meere lay man.

¶ After they were enforced to recant, they were alloyed and put to penance.

Purgery Sept.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1488. the third of April, Margery Sept, wife of Iames Sept of Alburne, was brought before the foresaid Iohn Bishop of Couentry and Lichfield, who was there accused that the saide, that that which the Priests sit ouer their heades at Masse, was not the true and verie bodie of Christ: For if it were so, the Priestes could not breake it so lightly into foure partes, and swallowe it as they doe: for the Lordes bodie hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the Priestes receiue.

Against the Sacrament of the aultar.

Item, that Priestes buying Leakes for a halfepenny, and shewing them to the people and saying, that of euery of them they make the body of Christ, doe nothing but deceiue the people and enrich themselues.

Item, seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

¶ This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was the assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought here good to insert, touching these foresaid men of Couentry, especiallie for this purpose, because our cauilling aduersaries be wont to obiect against vs the newnesse of Churches old and ancient religion. To the intent therefore they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here obiected against these foresaid persons, as is aboue premised.

Picus Mirandula Earle.

I should also in the same reigne of king Henry 7. haue introduced that historie of Ioannes Picus Earle of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before, pag. 660. This Picus Earle of Mirandula being but a young man, was so excellently witted, & so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latine, Greeke, Hebrew, Chaldey, and Araby, that comming to Rome booted & spurred, he set vp 90. conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendome, whosoeuer would come against him. Of which conclusions diuers were touching the matter of the Sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, priuily and in corners certaine of the Popes Clergie, Prelates, Lawyers and Friers, by the Pope appointed, consulted togither to enquire vpon his conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspition of herselie. And thus the vnlearned clergie of Rome priuily circumuented & entangled this learned Earle in their snares of herselie, against whom they neuer durst openly dispute. He died being of the age of 32. yeeres, of such wit and towardnesse, as is hard to say, whether euer Italie breede vp a better. In his sicknesse Charles the 8. the French king moued with the fame of his learning, came to visite him. The furniture of his bookes cost him 7000. florens. A little before his death his mind was to giue all away, and to take a coule, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His storie requireth a long tractation, which if place doe serue, we will not peraduenture forget. With two Popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander 6. he had much deration.

¶ The names of the archbishops of Canturburie in this fiue booke contained.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 62 | John Stratford. | 8 |
| 63 | John Kempe. | 3 |
| 64 | Thomas Bourchier. | 33 |
| 65 | John Morton. | 14 |
| 66 | Thomas Langhton. | |
| 67 | Henry Dene. | 2 |
| | Guliel. Warham. | 28 |

This Thomas Langhton was elected archbishop, but died before he was confirmed.

## Here endeth the sixth Booke, and the first Tome.

### A briefe note of Ecclesiasticall lawes ordained *by ancient kings in this realme.*

Ecclesiasticall lawes ordained by ancient kings of this Realme.

FOrsomuch as it is, and hath bene a persuasion long gendered in the heades of many that the bishops of Rome be the vniuersall heades of the whole militant Church of Christ in earth, and haue alwaies so continued from the beginning of the primitiue time: And that no Prince, King, nor Emperour in his owne realme hath any interest to intermeddle with matters and lawes Ecclesiasticall, but onlie the said bishops of Rome: to refell and remoue that opinion out of the heades of all Englishmen, as a thing most false, and contrary both to histories of time, and examples of ancient kinges and gouernors of this realme, I thought to fill vp a little end of paper here left, with some such briefe rehearsall of lawes deuised and appointed by kinges and rulers of this land, for the ordering of the Church, and causes Ecclesiasticall, to the intent that all the world may see the gouernment of Christes Church here in earth vnder Christ, hath not depended onely of the Pope from ancient time, but hath beene rather directed by such kinges and princes as God here had placed vnder him to gouerne the people of this Realme of England, as followeth here in this present table to be noted.

☞ *A briefe recapitulation of ancient Ecclesiastical lawes,* by sundrie kings of this Realme ordained, for gouernement of the Church, before the Conquest.

### ¶ *Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Inas, or Ina.*

Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Ina.

1. FIrst king Inas who reigned in this land the yere of our Lord. DCCvii. commanded the ministers should frame their conuersation of life according to the forme in lawes prescribed.
2. That infants should be baptised within 30. daies.
3. Item that no man lay or spirituall, free or bond, should labor vpon the Sunday.
4. Item, he established immunitie of churches & Sanctuary. Also he toke order for the true paiment of Church duties, and of



of the first fruites of all that was sowne to be paid at the day of S. Martin.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of king *Alured, or Alfred.*

King Alureds lawes.

1. KIng Alured, after he had ordeined diuers iudicial punishments for violating the holie precepts of God commanded by Moses, he also confirmed and enlarged the priuiledge of Sanctuaries: he laid double paine vpon such as committed offences in the solemnities of certaine feastes: Also against them that committed sacrilege.
2. He made a law against pitifelles committing murther.
3. Also he made a law against whoredome, aduiterie, and fornication.
4. He appointed daies of fasting and ceasing from labour.
5. Item, he set order for making and keeping bowes.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Edward the elder *and Gythrum the Dane king.*

King Edwards lawes.

1. FIrst, they agreed vpon the Sanctuary: they forbad Gentilisme and Paganisme: they laid punishment vpon the clergie committing theft, periurie, or murther, fornication, or anie capitall crime.
2. They punished pitefles, that pretermitted their office in pronouncing festiuall, or fasting daies.
3. They made a lawe against all labour, buying and selling vpon the Sabbath: also for keeping of feastes. Item, for no execution to be done on the Sunday. Also against witches and sorcerers, &c.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Ethelstane.

King Ethelstanes lawes.

1. KIng Ethelstan, who raigned the yeere of our Lord, 924 commanded that euery village of his owne, should giue a monethly contribute to a poore person.
2. That 50. Psalmes should be sung dayly in the Church, for the king, &c.
3. He also ordeined punishment for witches, and sorcerers, &c.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Edmund.

K. Edmundes lawes.

1. AFter king Ethelstane followed king Edmund about the yeare of our Lord, 940. who established and prouided lawes against the vnchast liuing of churchmen.
2. Item, he made lawes concerning tithes, with first fruits of euerie mans crop, and almes money duely to be paid.
3. Item, he enacted that bishops of their owne proper charges should repaire Churches, and should also admonish the king for the furnishing of the same.
4. For periury also, and for fighting within the Church, hee set lawes and paines.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of king Edgar.

King Edgars lawes.

1. KIng Edgar, who began his reigne about the yeare of our Lord, 959. amongst other constitutions Ecclesiasticall, ordeined, that the Sunday should be kept holie from Saturday at noone till Sunday in the morning.
2. Item, he ordeined and decreed concerning liberties and freedomes of the church, for tithes also, and first fruites of come, and paying of Peterpence.
3. Item, for holy daies and fasting daies.
4. Item, that assemblies or Synodes should be kept twise euery yeare, wherein as well the Bishop of the Diocesse should be present, as the ciuill Magistrate.

### King Ethelredes lawes, Anno 979.

K. Ethelredes lawes.

KIng Ethelrede also which succeeded after Edgar and Edward, appointed diuers lawes for publicke regiment, whereof we finde but fewe touching matters Ecclesiasticall, for tithes, lightes, feastes and nothing els, and therefore we passe further to the lawes of Canutus.

### Ecclesiasticall lawes of King Canutus.

King Canutus lawes.

CAnutus the Dane king began to reigne in this land in the yeare of our Lord 1016. The saide Canutus (as Ethelrede had done before) diuided his lawes into Ecclesiasticall and temporall.

1. That ecclesiasticall persons being accused of fighting, murder, or anie other offence; should purge themselues thereof.
2. That Priests should be degraded for periury, and put in sureties of good behauiour.
3. He praieth pitefles, that they will liue chast, and commanded other Religious.
4. He limited the degrees of mariage.
5. Item, he commanded celebration of the Sabbath from Saturday at noone till Sunday morning, as Edgar had done before, forbidding markets, huntings, labours, and Court keepings during the said space.
6. He ordained che christian man to come to the housell thrise yearelie at the least: That they search and inquire after Gods law, and his commandements.
7. That euery christian man vnderstand the pointes of his faith, and that at the least he learne perfectly the Lordes praier, and the Creede, and that whosoeuer cannot the same, shall be excluded from the Eucharist, and shall not be receiued to vndertake for others in Baptisme.
8. That Bishops and Priestes should do their duties: that they cry out and warne their flocks, when the wolfe commeth.
9. That at the court of euerie shire, the bishop of the Diocese shall be present with the sheriffe, and that the one shal teach them Gods lawe, and the other mans lawe, as ye heard in king Edgars lawes before.

Kings of England before the Conquest gouerned as well in causes Ecclesiasticall as temporall.

Many other lawes both Ecclesiasticall and temporall beside these were enacted by these and other kinges here in England before the Conquest: but these be sufficient to giue the vnderstanding reader to consider, how the authoritie of the Bishops of Rome, all this while, extended not so farre to prescribe lawes for gouernment of the Church, but that kinges and princes of the Realme, as they be now, so were then full gouernours here vnder Christ, as well in causes Ecclesiasticall, as temporall, both in directing orders, instituting lawes, in calling of Synodes, and also in conferring Bishoprickes and benefices, without any leaue of the Romish Bishops. Thus Odo, Dunstane, Oswold, Ethelwold, Adelmus, and Lanckrancus, although they set their palles afterward from Rome, yet were they made bishops and archbishops by kings onlie, not by popes.

When kinges of England came first vnder the popes subiection.

And thus stoode the gouernment of this Realme of England all the time before the conquest, til Pope Hildebrand through the setting on of the Saxons, began first to bring the Emperour (which was Henry 4.) vnder foot. Then followed the subduing of other Emperours, kings, and subiects after that, as namely here in England, when Lanckrancus, Anselmus, and Becket, went to complaine of their kinges, and gouernours, then brought they the popes iudiciall authoritie first from Rome, ouer this land, both ouer kings and subiects: which euer since hath continued, till these latter yeares. Albeit the said kings of this Realme of England being prudent Princes, and seeing right well the ambitious presumption of those Romish Bishops, did what they couldc to shake off the yoke of their supremacie, as appeareth by the lawes and actes of their parliaments, both in K. Edward the thirds time, king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. aboue in their parliament notes specified: yet for feare of other forreine princes, and the blinde opinion of their subiects, such was then the calamitie of that time, that neither they could nor durst compasse that, which faine they would: till at last, the time of their iniquitie being complete, through the Lords wonderfull working, their pride had a fall, as in the volume ensuing (the Lord so graunting) shall by processe of historie be declared.



The



## The proud primacie of Popes painted out in Tables, in order of their rising vp by little and little, from faithfull Bishops and Martyrs, to become Lords and gouernours ouer kings and kingdomes, exalting themselues in the Temple of God, aboue all that is called god, &c. 2. Thessal. 2.

The martyrdome of good bishops vnder wicked Emperours in the primitive Church.

IN the Table of the primitiue Church afore described, hath beene (gentle Reader) set forth and exhibited before thine eies the grieuous afflictions and sorrowfull torments, which through Gods secret sufferance, fell vpon the true Saints and members of Christs Church in that time, especially vpon the good Bishops, Ministers, and Teachers of the flocke: of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eies put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed: which dates of wofull calamitie continued (as is foreshewed) neere the space of CCC. yeares. During which time, the deare spouse and elect Church of God, being sharply assaulted on euery side, had small rest, no toy, nor outward safetie in this present world, but in much bitternesse of heart, in continuall teares and mourning vnder the crosse passed ouer their dates, being spoiled, imprisoned, consumed, reuiled, famished, tormented and martyred cruelie where they neither durst well tarrie at home for feare & dread, and much lesse durst come abroad for the enemies, but onelie by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing Psalmes and Hymnes together. In all which their dreadfull dangers, and sorowfull afflictions, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the Lord left them not desolate: but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound: and the farther off they seemed from the ioyes of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude to confirme and reioyce their soules. And though their possessions and riches in this world were left and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heauenly gifts and treasures from aboue an hundreth fold. Then was true religion truely felt in heart. Then was Christianitie not in outward appearance shewed, but in inward affection receiued, and the true image of the Church not in outward shewe pretended, but in her perfect state effectuall. Then was the name and feare of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was feruent, zeale ardent, prayer not swimming in the lips, but groned out to God from the bottome of the spirit. Then was no pride in the Church, no; leisure to seeke riches, nor time to keepe them. Contention for trifles was then so farre from Christians, that well were they when they could meete to prate together against the diuell, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole Church of Christ Iesus, with all the members therof, the farther it was from the type and shape of this world, the neerer it was to the blessed respect of Gods fauour and supportation.

The true riches of the church described.

### ¶ The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.

AFter this long time of trouble, it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to looke vpon the Saints and seruants of his sonne, to release their captiuitie, to release their miserie, and to bind vp the old Dragon the Diuell, which so long bereaued them, whereby the church began to aspire to some more libertie: and the Bishops, which before were as abiects, bitterly contemned of Emperours, through the prouidence of God (which disposeth all things in his time after his owne will) began now of Emperours to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as Emperours grew more in deuotion, so the Bishops more and more were exalted, not onely in fauour, but also preferred vnto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter masters, but rather halfe Emperours with Emperours.

The riches of the Church ruines to worldly riches. *Ex libro Sereni. Discipuli.*

After this in processe of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergie, and that the diuell had powred his sorrome into the Church (as the voice was heard the same time ouer Constantinople) so true humilitie began to decay, and pride to set in his foote, till at last they plaied as the Iuy doth with the Oke tree, which first beginning with a goodly greene theiue, imbraceth him so long, till at length it ouergroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his roote fast in his barke, till at last it both stifleth the stocke and killeth the branches, and so commeth to be a nest for Owles and all vncleane birds. Not vntruely therefore it was said of Augustine: Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem. i. Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother. The veritie whereof notoriously may appeare aboue all other in the church of Rome, and the Bishops of the same. For after that the church of Rome, through fauour of Emperours, was indued with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the Bishops thereof feeling the smacke of wealth, ease, and prosperitie, began to swell in pompe and pride: the more they flourished in this world, the more Gods holy spirit forsooke them, till at last the said Bishops, who at the first were poore, creeping low vpon the ground, and were persecuted long time, euery man treading vpon them in this world now of persecuted people, began to be persecutors of others, and to treade vpon the necks euen of Emperours, and to bring the heads of kings and princes vnder their girdle. And not onely that, but furthermore through pride and

Lookes Tyndall in his booke of the practise of Prelates.





and riches, they were so farre gone from all religion, that in the verie end they became the great aduersary of God (whom we call Antichrist) prophecied of so long before by the spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we reade in the Epistle of Paul, 2. Thess. 2. where he saith: We beseech you brethren, by the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ, & by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moued in your minde, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word nor letter, as it were from vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceiue you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sinne be reuealed, euen the sonne of perdition, that aduersarie which exalteth himselfe aboue all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himselfe as he were God, &c.

The great aduersarie called Antichrist described by S. Paul, 2. Thess. 2.

A declaration of S. Pauls words.

By which words of S. Paul we haue diuers things to vnderstand: First, that the day of the Lords coming was not then neere at hand. Secondly, the Apostle giuing vs a token before, to know when that day shall approch, bideth vs looke for an aduersarie first to be reuealed. Thirdly, to shew what aduersary this shalbe, he expresseth him not to be as a common aduersarie, such as were then in his time: For although Herode, Annas and Caiphas, the high Priests and Pharises, Tertullus, Alexander the Coppersmith, Elymas and Simon Magus, and Nero the Emperour in Pauls time were great aduersaries yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater then all the rest, not such a one as should be like to Priest, King or Emperour, but such as farre exceeding the state of all kings, priests and emperours, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoope, and should tread vpon the necke of Emperours, and make them to kisse his feete. Moreouer, where the Apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God, thereby is meant, not the personall sitting of the Pope in the citie of Rome, but the authoritie and iurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole vniuersall Church, equall with God himselfe. For let men giue to the pope that which he in his lawes, decrees, and in his pontificall requireth, and what difference is there betweene God and the pope? If God set lawes and ordinances, so doth he. If God haue his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of Gods commandements be punished, much more he his. God hath his Religion, the pope also hath his, yea for Gods one religion, he hath an hundred. God hath set vp one Aduocate, he hath an hundred. God hath instituted but a few holydaies: for Gods one, he hath instituted xl. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be simplex, the feast that the pope appointeth is duplex & triplex. Christ is the head of the Church: so is the pope. Christ giueth influence to his bodie: so doth the pope. Christ forgiueth sinne, the pope doth no lesse. Christ expelleth euill spirits by his power: so

The pope matching himselfe euen with God.

pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot vpon the bare ground: thee with his golden shoes is carried on mens shoulders. And where Christ was called Sanctus Sanctorum: he is called Sanctorum Sanctissimus. Christ neuer practised but only the spirituall sworde: hee claimeth both spirituall and temporall. Christ bought the Church: he both buieth and selleth the Church. And if it be necessarie to beleeue Christ to be the Sauiour of the world: so is it necessarie to beleeue the pope to be the head of the Church. Christ paied tribute vnto Cæsar: hee maketh Cæsar pay tribute vnto him. Finally, the crowne of Christ was of sharpe thorne: the pope hath three crownes of golde vpon his head, so farre exceeding Christ the sonne of God in glorie of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glorie of heauen. The image and paterne of whole intollerable pride and exaltation, according as S. Paul both describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we haue here set forth, not onely in these tables to be seene, and by his owne facts to be noted, but also in his own words and Regifleros, Clementines, Extrauagants, and Pontificals, expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

### ¶ The exaltation of popes aboue kings *and emperours out of histories.*

FIrst, after that Italie and the Citie of Rome were ouerrunne by the Gothes and Vandales, so that the seate of the Empire was remoued to Constantinople, then began Ioannes Patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himselfe and would needes be called vniuersall Bishop of the worlde: but the Bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the Emperours deputie, and exarch of Rauenna to rule Italie: but the Bishop of Rome through aide of the king of Lombards soone quailed him.

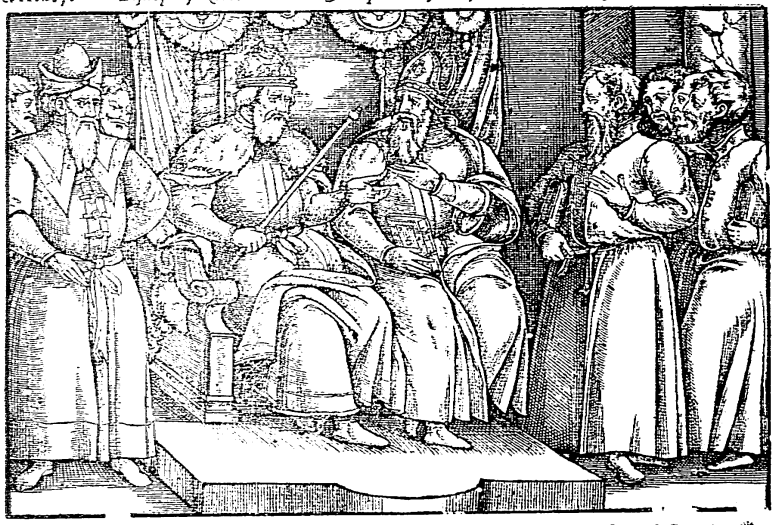
John Patriarch of Constantinople subdued by the bishop of Rome.

The Emperour lieutenant of Rauenna subdued by the Lombards and Romane Bishops.

Not long after, about the yeare of our Lord 500. came Phocas the murderer, who slue the Emperour of Constantinople his master Mauritius and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their preheminence, to be crowned the head bishops ouer the whole Church, and so together with the Lombards began to rule the citie of Rome. Afterwards when the Lombards would not yeeld vnto him, in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needes require of the bishop the said citie of Rome; he stirred vp Pipinus, but first deposed Childericus the king of France, and so thrusting him into an Abbay, set vp in his place Pipinus and his son Carolus Magnus to put downe the said king of Lombards called Aistulphus. And so translated the Empire from Constantinople into France, diuiding the spoile betweene him and them: so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the Empire, and he to receiue of them the quiet possessio of the citie of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge vn-

Pope Zacharie pulleth Childerike the French king and setteth Pipinus in his place.

Pipinus and Carolus Magnus set vp by Pope Zacharie. How the Bishops of Rome came first to be the patrons of the Church.



to them vnder the name of S. Peters patrimonie, which they falsly afferue to that donation of Constantinus the great.

Donation of Constantine a thing false and forged.

Pope Gregorie 5. vsurpeth with the Germaines to reduce the Empire to Otto the first of that name Duke of Saxonie.

Otho first Germaine Emperour.

Emperours brought to stoupe vnto the popes feete. Henr. 4. accursed, maketh barefoote popes gate at Rome. Rodulphus, made Emperour by the popes meanes fighteth against Henr. 4. Henr. 4. dieth before pag. 160. Pope Alexander 2. excommunicateth vpon the necke of Frederick the Emperour. Pope Celestine 3. causeth Henrie 6. Emperour with his Dutches and both his feete vpon the crowne from his head a litle.

Pope Alexander 3. excommunicateth Frederick Barbarossa.

Pope Innocent 3. vsurpeth ouer the Emperour.

Pope Gregorie 9. excommunicateth Frederick 2. Emperour.

Pope Innocent 4. excommunicateth Frederick 2. Emperour.

Pope Boniface 8. excommunicateth Philip the French king.

Pope Alexander 3. excommunicateth king Henry 2.

Pope Innocent 3. excommunicateth king John.

Following then in proces of time, after the dates of Pipinus, Carolus and Ludouicus (who had indued these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions) when the kings of France were not so appliable to their becke, to aid and maintaine them against the Princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongfull vsurped goods, they practised with the Germaines to reduce the Empire to Otho first of that name Duke of Spaine, referring the election thereof to 7. princes Electours of Germane, which was about an. 1002. notwithstanding referring still in his hands the negatiue voyce, thinking thereby to enioy that they had, in quietnesse and securitie, and so did for a good space.

At length when some of these Germaine Emperours also after Otho began a little to spurne against the said bishops and popes of Rome, some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed other in their possessions.

So was Henricus 4. by these bishops accursed, the Emperour himselfe forced with his wife and childe to wait attendance vpon the popes pleasure three daies and three nights in winter at the gates of Canossus. Reade before pag. 162. Besides all this the said pope raised vp Rodulphus to be Emperour against him: who being slaine in warre, then the said pope Gregorie 7. not resting thus, stirred vp his owne sonne Henricus 5. to fight against his owne naturall father and to depose him, which Henricus the 5. was also himselfe afterward accursed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set vp vnthe b. bishops to fight against him.

After this the Emperours began to be somewhat calmed and more quiet, suffering the bishops to reigne as they listed: till Fredericke the first called Barbarossa came, and began to three coales against them. Howbeit they hampered both him, and his sonne Henry in such sort, that they brought first the necke of Fredericke, in the church of Venice, vnder their feete to tread vpon: and after the said bishops crowning Henricus his sonne in the Church of S. Peter, set his crowne on his head with their feete, and with their feete spurned it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crowne Emperours, and depose them again. Where of read before pag. 185. 1. 50. 221. 2. 62.

Then followed Philippus brother to Henry aforesaid, whom also the popes accursed, about the yeare of our Lord 1198. and set vp Otho Duke of Saxonie. But when the said Otho began to be so saucie to dispossesse the bishops of their cities and lands (which they had inuocked into their hands, they could not beare that, but incontinent they put him besides the cushion. The like also fell vpon Otho the 4. that followed after Philip who was suffered no longer then foure yeares to raigne, about the yeare of our Lord 1209.

At this time Fredericus 2. the sonne of Fredericus Barbarossa aboue mentioned, was but young, whom the bishops of Rome supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, aduanced to be Emperour after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he perceiuing the immoderate pompe and pride of the Romane bishops, which he could in no case abide, so netled them and cut their combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extripe their tyrannie and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitiue Church againe, putting some of them to slight, and pilloning some of their cardinals, that of three popes, one after another he was accursed, circumuented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned, and at last forsaken and died.

After this Fredericke followed his sonne Conradus, whom the aforesaid bishops for his disobedience soone dispatched, exciting against him in mortall warre the Lantgraue of Thuring, whereby he was at length driuen into his kingdome of Naples, and there deceased.

Marre raised against Conradus, by the Bishops of Rome.

This Conradus had a sonne called Conradinus duke and prince of Suevia. When this Conradinus after the decease of his father came to enioy his kingdome of Naples, the said bishops stirred vp against him Charles the French kings brother, in such sort, that through craftie conueiance, both Conradinus (which descended of the blood of so many Emperors, and also Fredericke Duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable imbarance vnlesoming to their state, at length were both brought vnder the axe by the popes procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the imperiall stocke of Fredericke the first, surnamed Barbarossa.

Ex Auentino.

The like as happened to Fredericke the Emperor, had almost also fal'n vpon Philip the French king, by pope Boniface the 8. who because he could not laue his commodities and reuenewes out of France after his will, cast out his Bulles and letters patents to displace king Philip aforesaid, and to possesse Albertus king of Romans in his roome.

The insolence of Pope Boniface 8. against Philip the French king.

And thus hitherto in forreine stories. Now touching our countrey Princes here in England, to speake somewhat likewise of them: did not pope Alexander the third presumptuously taking vpon him where he had nothing to doe to intermeddle with the kings subiects, for the death of Becket thereby, albeit the king sufficiently cleared himselfe thereof: yet notwithstanding did hee not wrongfully bring the said king Henry 2. to such penance as it pleased him to enioyne, and also violently constrained him to sweare obedience to the see of Rome? pag. 206. The like also was shewed before in this story to happen to king Johnthis sonne. For when the said king like a valiant prince had held out the tyrannie of those Bishops seuen yeares together, were not all the Churches in England barred vp, and his inheritance with all his dominions

The tyrannous iniuries of bishops of Rome against kings of England.

Pope Alexander 3. against king Henry 2. Pope Innocent 3. against king John.





minions giuen away by pope Innocent the third, to Ludouicus the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himselfe, and to make his whole realme feodatarie to the bishops of Rome, and moreouer the king himselfe driuen also to surrender his crowne to Pandulphus the popes Legat, and so continued as a priuate person fiue daies, standing at the popes courtesie whether to receiue it againe at his hands or no: And when the nobles of the realme rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then faine to seeke and sue to the foresaid pope for succour, as by his owne letter, taken out of the publike rolles, may appeare.

King Henr's the third his kissing the kings of the popes Legat.

King Johns supplication to pope Innocent
*the third.*

Ex Rotulo patent. Dean. Regni Reg. Ioannis 8.

REuerendiſc. Domino ſuo & Patri ſanctiſ. Innocentio Dei gratia, Ioan. eadem gratia R. Angliæ, &c. Cum Comites & Barones Angliæ nobis deuoti eſſent, antequam nos & noſtram terram Dominio veſtro ſubiacere curaſſemus, ex tunc in nos ſpecialiter ob hoc, ſicut publice dicunt, violenter inſurgunt. Nos verò præter Deum, vos ſpecialem dominum & patronum habentes, defenſionem noſtram & totius Regni, quod veſtrum eſſe credimus, veſtræ paternitati commiſſam, & nos quantum in nobis eſt, curam & ſolicitudinem iſtam veſtræ reſignamus dominationi, deuotius ſupplicantes quatenus in negotijs noſtris, quæ veſtra ſunt, conſilium & auxilium efficax apponatis, prout melius videritis expedire, latores præſentium, &c. Teſte meipſo apud Dour. 18. Septemb. 6.

King Johns supplication to pope Innocent 3.

And yet all this notwithſtanding that the ſaid king Iohn did ſo yeeld to the pope, he was both purſued by his nobles, and alſo in the end was poiſoned by a ſubiect of the popes owne religion, a monke of Swinſted: As I haue ſufficiently to proue, not only by William Caxton aboue in my ſtorie alleaged, pag. 233. but alſo haue teſtimonie of the moſt part of chronicles for the ſame (a few only excepted:) as of Thomas Gray in his French chronicle: Alſo of another French chronicle in meeter, of Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis: Thomas Rudburne alſo doth witneſſe the ſame: So doth Richard Rede in nouo Chronico ad tempora Henr. 6. Thyeltke alſo doth the chronicle called Eulogium Monachi Cant. The words of Walter Gisborne an ancient hiſtoriographer be plaine. So leſſe is to be found in Ioan. Maior, De geſtis Scotorum: Libr. 4. cap. 2. fol. 56. where he not only maketh mention of the monke and of the poyſon, but alſo of the abbat, of his abſolution, and of the three monkes ſeuerie day ſinging for the ſaid monkes ſoule. To theſe I could alſo anner diuers other writers both Engliſh and Latin, without name, which witneſſe that king John was poyſoned; one beginning thus: Heere beginneth a booke in the English tongue, called Brute, &c. another beginneth: Becauſe this booke is made to tell what time any thing notable, &c. The third in Engliſh beginneth: The reigne of Britaine that now is called England, &c. Of Latine bookes which haue no name, one beginneth thus: Britannia, quæ & Anglia dicitur, à Bruto nomen eſt ſortita, &c. another hath this beginning: Adam pater generis humani, &c.

William Caxton. Thomas Gray. French chronicle in meeter. Ranulph. Ceſtrenſis. Thō. Rudburn. Rich. Redus. Eulogium. Walterus Giſburne. Ioan. Maior.

Beſides this king Henrie the ſecond, and king John his ſonne, what kings haue heere raigned in England ſince their time, vntill the raigne of king Henrie the eight; who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in prouiding againſt the proud domination of theſe bishops, were forced at length for againſt their wils, for feare to ſubiect themſelues together with their ſubiects vnder their vſurped authoritie, in ſo much as ſome of them (as Matth. Paris witneth by king Henrie the third) were faine to ſtoope and kiſſe their Legats linee.

Writers in English and Latine without name.

¶ The Image of Antichriſt, exalting himſelfe in the Temple of God, aboue all that is named God, out of his *owne Decrees, Decretals, Extrauagants, Pontificals, &c. word for word as it is out of the ſaid bookes heere alleaged and quoted.*

Ex D. Paulo, 2. Theſſ. 2.

1. FOr as much as it ſtandeth vpon neceſſitie of ſaluation, for euery humane creature to be ſubiect vnto me the pope of Rome, it ſhall be therefore requiſit and neceſſarie for all men that will be ſaued, to learne and know the dignitie of my ſee, and excellencie of my domination, as heere is ſet forth according to the truth and very words of mine owne lawes, in ſtile as followeth. 2. Firſt my inſtitution began in the old Teſtament, and was conſummate and finiſhed in the new, in that my primacie ſhould was preſigured by the ſons of Aaron that were vnder him. 3. Neither is it to be thought that my church of Rome hath bin preferred by any generall councell, but obtained the pinnacle only by the voice of the Goſpell, and the mouth of the Sauiour. 4. And hath in it neither ſpot nor wrinkle, nor any ſuch like thing. 5. Wherefore as other ſeats be all inferiour to me, and as they cannot abſolue me: ſo haue they no power to bind me nor to ſtand againſt me, no more then the are hath power to ſtand or preſume aboue him that ſitteth with it, or the law to preſume aboue him that ruleth it. 6. This is the holy and Apoſtolike mother church of all other churches of Chriſt. 7. From whoſe rules it is not meet that any perſon or perſons ſhould decline, but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, ſo muſt you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the Church of Rome. 8. And if any other perſon or perſons ſhall erre from the ſaid church, either let them be admoniſhed, or elſe their names taken, to be knowne who they be that ſwarue from the cuſtomes of Rome. 9. Thus then for as much as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am gouernour, is ſet vp to the whole world for a glaſſe or example, reaſon would what thing ſoeuer the ſaid Church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be receiued of all men for a ge-

1. Pope Boniface 8 Extra. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam.
2. Diſtinct. 22. cap. Decretis.
3. Pope Pelagius. Diſtinct. 21 c. Quamuis.
4. Pelagius ibidem.
5. Pope Nicolaus. Diſt 21. cap. Inferi. 1.
6. Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. ca. Recta.
7. Pope Gelaſius. Liſt. 12. ca. Non decet.
8. Pope Innocentius.
9. Pope Stephan. Diſt. 19. cap Emmuers.



10. Pope Boniface. 8. Extrauag. c. vnam sanctam. Item pope Iohannes 22. Extrauag. cap. Super gentes.

11. Pope Innocent. 3. ar. de maior. & obed. Solite.

12. Pope Gelasius. Dist. 96. cap. Duo.

13. Ibidem.

14. Innocentius De Maior. & obed. c. Solitæ.

15. Glossa, Ibidem.

16. Ibidem.

17. Innocentius, ibidem.

18. Pope Clement 5. Clement de iureiurando, c. Romani.

19. Pope Ioannes dist. 96. c. Nunquam.

20. Pope Clement 5. Clement de Sententi. & de reiudi. pastoralis.

nerall and a perpetuall rule for euer. 10. Whereupon we se it now verified in this church, that was forprophecied by Ieremie, saying: Behold I haue set thee vp ouer nations and kingdomes to plucke vp and to breake downe, to build and to plant, &c. 11. Who so vnderstandeth not the peroratiue of this my priesthood, let him take vp to the firmament, where he may se two great lights, the Sunne and the Mone: one ruling ouer the day, the other ouer the night. So in the firmament of the vniuersall church, 12. God hath set two great dignities, the authoritie of the Pope, and of the Emperour. Of the which two this our dignitie is so much more waighter, as we haue the greater charge to giue account to God for kings of the earth, and the lawes of men. 13. Wherefore be it knowne to you Emperours, which know it also right well, that you depend vpon the iudgement of vs: we must not be brought and reduced to your will. 14. For (as I said) looke what difference there is betwixt the Sunne and the Mone, so great is the power of the pope ruling ouer the day, that is, ouer the spirituall: aboue emperours and kings ruling ouer the night, that is, ouer the lattie. 15. Now seeing then the Earth is seuen times bigger then the Mone, and the Sunne eight times greater then the Earth, it followeth that the popes dignitie fifty se times doth surmount the estate of the emperours. 16. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce that Constantine the emperour did naught in setting the Patriarch of Constantinople at his feete on his left hand. 17. And although the said emperour wrote to me, alleaging the words of Saint Peter, commanding vs to submit our selues to euerie humane creature, as to kings, dukes, and other for the cause of God, &c. 1. Peter 2. yet in answering againe in my Decretall, I expounded the mind and the words of Saint Peter to pertaine to his subiects, and not his successors, willing the said emperour to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make vs bridelings to euerie humane creature, then euerie Iacke might haue dominion ouer prelats: which maketh against the example of Christ, setting vp the order of priesthood to beare dominion ouer kings, according to the saying of Jeremie: Behold I haue set thee vpouer kings and nations, &c. 18. And as I feared not then to write this boldly vnto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperours, that they receiuing of me their approbation, vnction, consecration, and crowne imperiall, must not disdaine to submit their heads vnder me, and sweare vnto me the r allegeance. 19. For so you read in the Decree of Pope Iohn, how that princes heretofore haue been wont to bow and submit their heads vnto bishops, and not to proceed in iudgement against the heads of bishops. 20. If this reuerence and submission was wont to be giuen to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me being superiour, not onely to kings, but Emperours: and that for two causes: First for my title of succession that I Pope of Rome haue to the Empire, the roome standing vacant: also for the fulnesse of power that Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords hath giuen to me though vnworthie in the person of Peter. 21. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man but of God, who by his celestiall providence hath set me ouer his whole vniuersall Church master and gouernour, it belongeth therefore to my office to looke vpon euerie mortall sinne of euerie Christian man: 22. Whereby all criminall offences as well of kings as all other, be subiect to my censure, 23. in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any matter of person at any time either before the sentence giuen or after shall appeale to me, it shall be lawfull for him so to do. 24. Neither must kings and princes thinke it much to submit themselues to my iudgement: for so did Valentianus the worthie emperour, so did Theodosius, and also Carolus. 25. Thus you see all must be iudged by me, and I of no man. Yea and though I pope of Rome, by my negligence or euill demeanour be found vnprofitable, or hurtfull, either to my selfe or others: yea if I should draw with me innumerable soules by heapes to hell, yet no mortall man be so hardie, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprone me, 26. or say to me: Domine cur ita facis: that is, Sir why do you so? 27. For although you reade that Balaam was rebuked of his asse, by the which asse our subiects, by Balaam the prelats are signified: yet that ought to be no example to our subiects to rebuke vs. 28 And though we reade in the Scripture, that Peter, vpo receiued power of the kingdome, and being chiefe of the Apostles, might by vertue of his office controll all other, was content to come and giue answere before his inferiours, obiecting to him his going to the Gentiles, yet other inferiours must not learne by this example to be checkmate with their prelats, because that Peter so tooke it at their hands, shewing thereby rather a dispensation of humilitie, then the power of his office: by the which power he might haue said to them againe in this wise: It becommeth not thee, nor belongeth to their office to accuse their shepheard, &c. 29. For else why was Dioscorus Patriarch of Alexandria condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedone? not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome: for who is he that hath authoritie to accuse the seate of Saint Peter? 30 Albeit I am not ignorant what Saint Jerome writeth, that Paul would not haue reprehended Peter, vnlesse he had thought himselfe equall vnto him. 31. Yet Hierome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equalitie betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in the office of dignitie, but in parenesse of conuersation. 32. For who gaue Paul his license to preach but Peter, and that by the authoritie of God, saying: Separate to me Paul and Barnabas? &c. 33. Therefore be it knowen to all men, ỹ my church of Rome is

21. Pope Innocent 3. De iudiciis, c. Nouit.

22. Ibidem.

23. Pope Marcellus causa.

24. Innocent. Nouit ille.

25. Bonifacius martyr. dist. 40. cap. Si papa.

26. Glossa. Extrauag. de sede vacant. Ad apostolatus.

27. Pope Leo, caus. 3. q. 7. c. Nos.

28. Gregor. 2. q. 7. c. Petrus.

29. Pope Nicolaus. dist. 21. cap. In tantum.

30. Hier. caus. 3. q. 7. c. 2. Paulus.

31. Glossa Gratiani ibidem.

32. Glossa in dist. 11. cap. Quite.

33. Caus. 3. q. 7. cap. beati.



34. Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. c. omnes.

35. Pope Anacletus, Dist. 22. c. Sacrosancte.

36. Pope Pelagius, Dist. 21. quamuis.

37. Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 21. cap. Denique.

38. Pope Step. Dist. 19. Enimuero.

39. Pope Lucius 24. q. 1. c. 1 et 8.

40. pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. omnes.

41. Pope Gregorius, dist. 81. cap. Si qui.

42. Pope Leo Caus. 3. q. 6. cap. Malum.

43. Dist. 20. Decretales.

44. Pope Iulius, Caus. 2. q. 6. quisq.

45. Caus. 2. q. 6. Argute Item, c. Ad Romanam. Caus. 2. q. 6. cap. placuit. Glossa. Gratiani, Nisi.

46 Pope Gelasi. 25. q. 1. cap. sanctissimus.

47. Pope Vrbanus 25. q. 1. cap. Sunt.

Pope Pelagius 25. q. 2. cap. postequam.

48. Bulla Donationis, dist. 96. c. Constant.

49. Pope Paschalis, dist. 63. c. Ego.

50. Pope Clement 5. Clement c. Romani Glossa.

51. Pope Bonifac. proem. Sext. Decretal. ib. Sacrosancta. 54. Anacletus dist. 22. cap. Sacrosancta.

52. Pope Bonifacius 4. Sext. De sent. de pœnit. & remiss. cap. 5. Glossa. Item Alexander 4. Sext. Decret. c. 4. in Glossa.

53. Pope Hilarius 25. q. 1. Nulli. 57. Sixt. Decret. cap. Ab arbitrii. Glossa.

58. pope Bonifac. Sext. Decret. de sonsti. cap. licet.

59. pope Innocentius 3. De transl. c. Quanto.

60. Prohem. Clement. Glossa. Papa Stupor mundi, &c. Nec Deus os nec homo, quasi neuter inter vtrumque.

61. Pope Bonifacius Extrauag. de Maiorit. & obed. cap. vnam.

Item dist. 22. cap. Omnes 62. Sext. Decret. De sententi. & re. c. Ad apostolicæ. Item in Glossa. Ibid. 63. Pope Nicolaus, dist. 22. cap. Omnes.



is prince and head of all nations, 34. the mother of the faith, 35. the foundation cardinall: whereupon all Churches do depend as the doze doth depend by the hinges, 36. the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish, 37. Ladie, mistresse and instructour of all Churches, 38. a glasse and spectacle vnto all men, to bee followed in all what soeuer she obserueth, 39. Which was neuer found yet to slide or decline from the path of apostolicke tradition, or to bee intangled with any heresie of heretike. 40. Against which Church of Rome whosoeuer speaketh any euill, is forthwith an heretike, 41. yea, a very Pagan, a witch, and an Idolater or Infidell. 42. hauing fulnesse of power onelie in her owne bands in ruling, 43. deciding, absoluing, condemning, casting out, or receiuing in, 44. albeit I denie not but other Churches be partakers with her in labozing & carying. 45. To the which Church of Rome it is lawfull to appeale for remedie, from all other Churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the generall councell of Sardinia, that no man should appeale ouer the sea vnder paine of excommunication, yet my glosse conneth in here with an exception: Nisi forte Romanum sedem appellauerint. 46. Except the appeale be to the sea of Rome, &c. 46. By the authoritie of which church of Rome, all tyrannous, and decrees of councels stand confirmed. 47. And hath alwaies full authoritie in her hands to make new lawes and decrements: And to alter statutes, priuiledges, rights or documents of churches: To separate things ioyned, and to ioyne things separated vpon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally, or generally, 48. Of the which church of Rome, I am head as a king is ouer his iudges, 49. the vicar of S. Peter, 50. yea not the vicar of Peter properlie, but the vicar of Christ properlie, and successour of Peter. 51. Vicar of Iesus Christ, 52. Rector of the vniuersall church: director of the Lords vniuersall flocke, 53. Chiefe magistrate of the whole world, 54. Cephas, i. caput, the head and chiefe of the apostolick church, 55. vniuersall pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as euery bishop is in places not exempt, 56. most mightie priest, 57. Lex animata in terris. i. 58. a liuing law in the earth iudged to haue al lawes in the cheft of my brest, 59. bearing the roome of no pure man, 60. being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both, 61. Hauing both twoords in my power, both of the spirituall and temporall iurisdiction, 62. so farre surmounting the authoritie of the emperour, that I of mine owne power alone without a councell haue authoritie to depose him, or to transferre his kingdome and to giue a new election, as I did to Frederiche and diuers other, 63. What power then or potestate in all the world is comparable to me: who haue authoritie to bind and lose both in heauen and earth? 64. That is, who haue power both of heauenly things, and also of temporall things, 65. To whom emperors and kings be more inferior, then lead is inferiour to gold, 66. For doe you not se the necks of great kings and princes bend vnder our knees, yea and thinke themselues happie and well deferred, if they may kisse our hands? 67. Wherefore the fauntiesse of Honorius the emperour is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laitie would take vpon him to intermeddle, not onlie with the temporall order, but also with matters ecclesiasticall and election of the pope. 68. But here perase some will obiect the examples and words of Christ, saying, that his kingdome is not of this world, and where hee being required to diuide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no preiudice to my power, 69. For if Peter, and I in Peter, if we I say, haue power to bind and lose in heauen, how much more then is it to bee thought, that we haue power in earth to lose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else so euer no: tall men may haue, and to giue them where we will? 70. And if we haue authoritie ouer Angels, which bee the gouernors of princes, what then may we doe vpon their inferiors and seruants? 71. And so that you shall not marueil that I say, Angels be subiect to vs, you shall heare what my blessed clerke Antonius writeth of the matter, saying, that our power, of Peter and me, is greater then the angels in foure things: In iurisdiction, 2. in administration of sacraments, 3. in knowledge, 4. and in reward, &c. 72. And againe in Bulla Clementis, doe I not there command in my bull, the Angels of Paradise to absolue the soule of man out of Purgatorie, and to bring it into the glorie of Paradise? 73. And now besides my heauenly power, to speake of mine earthlie iurisdiction, who did first translate the empire from the Grecbes to the Almaines, but I? 74. And not onelie in the empire an Emperour, the place being emptie, but in all Ecclesiasticall benefices haue full right and power to giue, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement, 75. Did not I Zacharias put downe Childerick the old king of France, and set vp Pipinus? 76. Did not I Gregorius bring him gainst his enemies, 79. yet did not I Gregorius bring him ceremonies, and made him stand at my gate 3 daies and three nights barefoot and bareleg with his wife and child, in the deepe of winter, both in frost and snow, intreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice excommunicated in my daies? 80. Againe, did not I Paschalis after Gregorie, set vp the sonne of the said Henricus, against his father in warre, to possesse the empire, and to put downe his father, and so he did? 81. Item, did not I pope Alexander bring vnder Henrie the second king of England, for the

64. Glossa. Ibidem.

65. Pope Gelasius. Dist. 96. c. Duo.

66. Pope Gelasius, Ibidem.

67. dist. 96. c. Ibid.

68. Ex circulonat Hiero. Marij.

69. Pope Hildebrandus, alias Gregorius 7. Ex Platina in vita Gregorij.

70. Hildebrandus Ibidem.

71. Antoninus, in tertia parte Summæ in historia.

72. Pope Innocent de celebrate c. Venerabilem.

73. Bulla Clementis.

74. Extrau de prabend. & dig. c. Execrabilis.

75. pope Zacharias. Caus. 15. q. 6. c. Alius.

76 pope Hildebrand. vt ex Gregorius the 7. set vp Robert Wyscard, and make him king of Sicilia and duke of Capua? &c. 77. Did not I the same Gregorius also set vp Rodulphus against Henry the 4. Emperour? 78. And though this Henricus was an emperour of most stout courage, who stood 62. times in open field against his enemies, 79. yet did not I Gregorius bring him to my gate 3 daies and three nights barefoot and bareleg with his wife and child, in the deepe of winter, both in frost and snow, intreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again, so that he was twice excommunicated in my daies? 80. Againe, did not I Paschalis after Gregorie, set vp the sonne of the said Henricus, against his father in warre, to possesse the empire, and to put downe his father, and so he did? 81. Item, did not I pope Alexander bring vnder Henrie the second king of England, for the

77. Ex Gestis Hildebrandi.

78. Baptista Egnatius.

79. Platina, Bennio, Naucletus.

80 Platina, Egnatius, Bennio.

81. Polydor. Virgil. Historia Britannica de rebus Anglorum.



the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to goe barefoot to his tombe at Canturburie with bleeding feet? 82. Did not I Innocentius the third, cause king John to kneele downe at the feet of Pandulphus my legat, and offer by his crowne to his hands: also to kisse the feet of Stephen Langton bishop of Canturburie, and besides mearsed him in a thousand marks by pœne? 83. Did not I Urbanus the second, put downe Hugo earle in Italie, discharging his subiects from their oth and obedience to him? 84. Did not I Paschalis excommunicate also his sonne Henry 5. and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spirituall promotions? Did not I Celestus 2. bring the captaine Cintius vnder, vnto the kissing of my feet? And after Celestus, did not I Calixtus 2. quaile the foresaid emperour Henricus 5. and also bring in subiection Gregorie, whom the said emperour had set vp against me to be pope, bringing him into Rome vpon a Camell, his face to the hoole taile, making him to hold the hoole taile in his hand in stead of a bridle? 85. Further, did not I Innocentius 2. set vp and make Lotharius to bee emperour for driuing out pope Anacletus out of Rome? 86. Did not I the said Innocentius take the dukedome of Sicile from the empire, and make Roger to bee king thereof, whereby afterward the king downe became the patrimonie of S. Peter? 87. Did not I Alexander 3. suspend all the realme and churches of England for the kings marriage? an. 1159. 88. But what boe I speake of kings? did not I the said Alexander bring the valiant emperour Fredericke the first to Venice, by reason of his sonne Otho there taken prisoner, and there in S. Markes Church made him fall downe flat vpon the ground while I set my foot vpon his necke, saying the verse of the Psalme; Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis? &c. 89. Did not I Adrianus pope, an Englishman borne, excommunicate William king of Sicile, and refuse his peace, which he offered? and had not hee ouercome me in plaine field, I would haue shaken him out of his kingdoome of Sicile, and dukedome of Apulia. 90. Also did not I the said Adrianus, controle and correct the foresaid Fredericus emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse when he should haue holden the right? 91. and afterward did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucie to set his owne name in writing afore mine? 92. And although a pope die afterward ouercame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoope. 93. Did not I Innocentius 3. detect Philippus, brother to Fredericus, from the Imperiall crowne, being elected without my leaue, and after set him vp againe? & also set vp Otho of Brunswicke, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same 4. pères, setting vp the French king to war against him. 94. Then was Fredericus 2. by me set vp and raigned 27. pères; and yet 5. pères before he died. 95. Did not I Honorius interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? 96. Whom also Gregorius 9. did excommunicate twice together, and raiset vp the Venetians against him. 97. And at length Innocentius spoken him of his Empire: after that he caused him to bee poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfredus, and did excommunicate his sonne Conradus after him, not onely depriuing him of his right inheritance, but also caused him with Fredericke duke of Austria to be beheaded. 98. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depose all these emperours in order? Henricus 4. Henricus 5. Fredericus 2. Philippus Otho 4. Fredericus 2. and Conradus his sonne? 99. Did not I interdict king Henry the 8. 100. and all his kingdom of England? 101. And had not his prudence and power preuented my practise, I had displaced him from his kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatnesse of my power and of my seat? 102. For by me onely generall councels take their force and confirmation, 103. and the interpretation of the said councels, and of all other causes hard and doubtfull, ought to be referred and stand to my determination; 104. By me the workes of all writers, what soeuer they bee, either bee reproued or allowed: 105. Then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all other? 106. Insomuch that my letters and epistles decretall be equivalent with generall councels: 107. And where as God hath ordained all causes of men, to be iudged by men, he hath only reserued me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, vnto his owne iudgement: 108. And therefore where all other creatures be vnder their Iudge, onely I which in earth am the iudge of all, can bee iudged of none, either of emperour, nor the whole clergie, nor of kings, nor of the people. 109. For who hath power to iudge vpon his iudge? 110. This iudge am I, and that alone, without any other assistance of any councel ioyned to mee. For I haue power vpon councels, councels haue no power vpon me. But if the councell determine amisse, it is in my authority alone to interrupt it, or to condemn them I lust without any councell: 111. And all for the preheminence of my predecessour blessed Saint Peter, which by the voice of the Lord, hee receiued, and euer shall retaine. 112. Further more, and whereas all other sentences and iudgements both of councels, person or persons, may and ought to bee examined, 113. for that they may be corrupted soure waies, by feare, by gifts, by hatred, by fauour: onely my sentence and iudgement must stand, 114. as giuen out of heauen by the mouth of Peter himselfe, which no man must, 115. breake, nor retract, 116. For man must dispute of doubt of, 117. But if my iudgement, Statute, or yoke seeme scarcely tollerable, yet for reuerence of S. Peter it must be humbly obaied. 118. Yea and moreouer obedience is to be giuen, not onely to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedome, but also to such as I doe foresee and commit to writing before I be pope. 119. And although it be thought by some writers, to be giuen to all men to erre, and to be deceiued. 120. yet neither am I a pure man, 121. and again, the sentence of my apostolicke seat is alwaies

97. Pope Innocent 4. Hieronymus Marius. Petrus de Vineis

98. Ex Chronic. Carionis.

99. Hist. Anglor. 100. Ibidem.

101. Ibidem.

102. Pope Marc. Pasilius, Dist. 17. & Synodum.

103. Dist. 20. Decretales.

104. Pope Nicolaus, dist. 19. si Romanorum.

105. Ibidem.

106. Dist. 20. Decretales.

107. Symmachus Pope 9. q. 3. Aliorum.

108. Pope Innocentius 3. q. 1. ca. Nemo.

109. Ibidem.

110. Pope Celestin. 9. q. 3. cap. Cuncta.

111. Ibidem: 112. Anastasius Patriarch. D. 9. q. cap. antiquis. 113. Pope Greg. 9. 11. Quinem.

114. Pope Agatho, Dist. 19. cap. Sic oportet.

115. P. Nicolas. 9. q. 3. Parce.

116. Pope Innocent. 3. L. 1. c. 17. q. 4. Si quis.

117. Ibidem. 118. Sext. Decret. Tit. 7. De censu. Cyprian. Glossa.

119. Ostiens. 120. Glossa. Extra. De verb. signif. cap. Ad.

121. Pope Grego. Caus. 11. q. 3. Apostolicæ





conceiued with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and prudence, and deliuered out with such grauitie of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessarie to be altered or retracted, 122. Wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holie bishops, that the dignitie of this my seat is to be reuerenced thorough the whole world, in that all the faithfull submit themselues to it as to the head of the whole bodie, 123. Wherefore it is spoken to mee by the Prophet, speaking of the arke: If this be bumbled, whither shal you run for succour, and where shall your glorie become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy bishops and scriptures doe witnesse with me, what shall we say then to such as will take vpon them to iudge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me to whom all other are subiect? 124. Against the first text the Scripture speaketh, Deut. Thou oughtest not to put thy sithe into another mans corne. thing to attempt against me, that is it but plaine sacrilege? Which 125. According to my canons, which thus define sacrilege to consist in three things, either when a mã iudgeth of his princes iudgement: or when the holy day is prophaned, or when reuerence is not giuen to lawes and canons, 126. Against the second text maketh the place of the booke of Kings, where we read the arke of God was brought from Gaba to Hierusalem, and in the way the arke inclining by reason of the vnrulie Oren, Dzias the Leuit put to his hand to helpe, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By this arke is signified the prelates: by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelats, 127. which also be signified by the angels that Iacob did see going vp and comming downe the ladder: 128. Also by the Prophet where he saith: Hee bowed downe the heauens and came downe, &c. By Dzias, and by the vnrulie Oren are meant our subiects, 129. Then like as Dzias was stricken for putting his hand to the arke inclining, no more must subiects rebuke their prelats going awry, 130. Albeit heere may be answered againe, that all be not prelates which so be called: for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life, 131. Against the third text of such as would bring vs vnder the tribute and oracions of secular men, maketh the new Testament, where Peter was bidde giue the groate in the fishes mouth, but not the head nor the bodie of the fish: No more is the head or bodie of the Church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the externe things of the Church. And yet nor they neither, 132. For so wee read in the book of Gen. that Pharao in time of dearth subdued all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he ministred to the priests, so that he toke neither their possessions from them, nor their libertie. If then the prelats of the Church must be neither iudged, nor reprehended, nor oraced, how much more ought I to be free from the same? 133. Which am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelats, 134. For it is not to bee thought that the case betwixt mee and other prelates: betwixt my sea and other Churches, bee

122. Pope Symmachus. Caus. 9. q. 3. Aliorum.

123. Ibidem.

124. Pope Greg. 6. q. 3. Scripta sit.

126 Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg. Glossa.

125. q. 7. cap. Plærumque Glossema Gratiani. ¶ Item.

127. Ibidem.

128. Ibidem.

129. Ibidem.

130. Ibidem. ¶ Hinc ia.

131. Pope Valentinus 23. q. 5. Tributum.

Quamuis.

132. Ibidem. ¶

133. Pope Benedict. Extr. De aut. & vsu. pallij c. Sancti.

134. Pope Stephanus Dist. 19. Ecumenico.

135. Pope Felagius Dist. 22. Quamuis.

136. Dist. 21. Decretis.

137. Pope Anacletus. Dist. 21. In nouo.

138. Pope Bonifacius 8. Greg. Dist. 89. Ad hoc.

139. Ibidem.

140. Dist. 89. cap. Singuli.

141. Ex itatione Isidi decret. 5. iter. 3.

142. Decretis Archipresbyrin Glossa.

143

144. Ex. 3. parte summæ maioris b. Antonini.

145. Pope Innocent. 3. De Ecclesia ædificanda. Quiveniste.

146. P. Nicolas. Dist. 22. cap. omnes.

147. Pope Clemens 1. 2. In libris.

148. P. Anacletus. dist. 21. c. Sacrosancta.

149. Ibidem. Quasi vero Petrus non a Petro, sed a Christo vocatus sit.

150. Dist. 21. cap. 1. Item.

151. Ibidem.

152. Dist. 21. cap. Decretis.



is giuen to Peter, 153. and to me in Peter, being his successor, 154. who is he then in all the world that ought not to bee subiect to my decrees which haue such power, in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quicke and also the dead? 155. commanding and granting in my bull of lead sent to Vienna, vnto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the paine of hell should not touch them: And also that all such as take the holy crosse vpon them, should euery one at his request not only bee deliuered himselfe, but also deliuer three or foure soules whomsoeuer he would, out of purgatorie: 156. Againe, hauing such promise and assurance that my faith shall not faile, who then will not beleeue my doctrine? For did not Christ himselfe first pray for Peter that his faith should not faile? 157. Also haue I not a sure promise of Pauls owne mouth, writing to my Church by these words: God is my witnesse whom I serue in my spirit, in the Gospell of his sonne, that without ceasing I make mention of you alwaies in my prayers? Rom. 1. 158. Wherefore as I condemne all such worthily, which will not obay my decrees to be dispossessed of all their honour, without restitution, 159. So will they that beleeue not my doctrine, or stand against the priuiledge of the church, especially the church of Rome, I pronounce them heretickes: 160. And as the other before is to bee called Iudah, so this man is to bee called an heretike: 161. For whosoeuer goeth against the faith which goeth against her, she is the mother of faith: 162. But here may rise perease a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continuall prayer of S. Paul: whether is it true, or is to be granted that any other should excell me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy scripture: 163. For looke whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words shall seeme to be of more authoritie, 164. Wherunto I answer and grant, that many there be and haue been more abundantly indued with fuller grace of the holy Ghost and greater excellencie of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Hierome and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of diuers popes: yet I saw in determination of causes, because they haue not the vertue and height of that authoritie, which is giuen to me; therefore in expounding of scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferiour to my authoritie. 165. By vertue of which authoritie, 165. both they themselues bee alleaged for doctors, and their workes approoued, and also all other matters bee rul'd through the power of the keies which is giuen to me in the vicarie of Christ. Although I denie not but the same keies bee also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, 166. yet it is one thing to haue the keies, another thing to haue the vse of the keies: 167. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keies, after the minde of my schoole doctors: one key which is called Clauis ordinis, hauing authoritie to bind and lose, but not ouer the persons whom they bind and loose, and this authoritie they take not immediatlie of Christ, but mediatlie by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called Clauis iurisdictionis, which I the vicar of Christ take immediately of him, hauing not onlie authoritie to bind and loose, but also dominion ouer them on whom this key is exercised. By the iurisdiction of which key, the fulnesse of my power is so great, that whereas all other are subiects, 168. yea and emperours themselues ought to subdue their executions to me: Onelie I am subiect to no creature, 169. no not to my selfe, except I list, in foro penitentiæ, to my ghostlie father submitting my selfe as a sinner, but not as pope: So that my papall maiestie euer remaineth vnminished. Superiour to all men, 170. whom all persons ought to obay, 171. and follow, 172. whom no man must iudge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adulterie, simonie, or such like, 173. No man depose, but I my selfe, 174. No man can excommunicate me, yea though I communicat with the excommunicate, for no canon bindeth me. Whom no man must lie to, 175. For he that lieth to me is a Church robber, 176. And who obayeth not me is an heretike, and an excommunicate person, 177. For like as all the Iewes were commanded to obay the high priest of the Leuiticall order, of what state or condition so euer they were; so are all Christian men more and lesse bound to obay mee Christs lieutenant in earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom, we haue in Deu. 17. 178. Where the common Glosse saith, that he who denieth to the hie priest Obedience, lieth vnder the sentence of condemnation, as much as hee that denieth to God his Omnipotentiam. Thus then appeareth, that the greatnes of my priesthood, 179. begun in Melchisedech, solemnized in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, perfectionated in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the vniuersall iurisdiction, and manifested in Siluester, &c. So that through this Preheminence of my priesthood, hauing all things subiect to me, 180. it may seeme well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, Psal. 8. Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, oues & boues, & vniuersa pecora campi. Volucres cœli & pisces maris, &c. Thou hast subdued all things vnder his feet, sheepe and oxen, and all cattell of the field, the birds of heauen, and fish of the sea, &c. 181. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Iewes and heretikes, by cattell of the field, Pagans bee signified. For although as yet they bee out of the vse of my keies of binding and losing, yet they be not out of the iurisdiction of my keies, but if they returne I may absolue them, 182. By sheep and al cattell, are meant al Christian men both great and lesse, whether they bee emperours, princes, prelats or other. By birds of the aire you may vnderstand the angels and potestates of heauen, who be all subiect to me, in that I am greater then the angels, and that in foure things as is afore declared: and haue power to bind and lose in heauen, 182. and to giue heauen to them that fight in my warres. 184. Lastlie, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the soules departed in paine

03

168. Dist. 95. cap. Imperator.
169. Gabriel. lib. 4 Dist. 19.
170 Pope Nicol. Dist. 19 cap 8i Romanorum in Glosse.
171. Item 24 q. 1. Haec est.
172. Dist. 40. cap. si Papa.
173 24 q. 3. Nos si; in Glosse.
174. Extrauag. Decimo Innocent.
175 De penitentia. dist. 1. cæterum in Glosse.
176. Dist. 19. cap. Nulli.
177. August. de Ancho.
178. Glosa Ordinar.
179. Antoninus.
180. Antoninus Summæ maioris 3 part. Dist. 22.
181. Ibidem.
182. Ibidem.
183. 24 q. 3. cap. Omnium.
184. Idem Antoninus ibid.





185. Ibidem.

Antoninus. August. de Ancho. 3 Parte 4.

August. de Ancho. An papa possit tonum purgatorium expoliare. Ibidem. Absoluta iurisdictio.

Doctors agree in purgatorie. August. de Ancho. Antoninus. Ordinata executio. Diuina acceptatio.

A
Antoninus in 3 Summis.
Augustinus de Ancho in Decret. Alexandrum Modoetia.
B
Baptista de Salvinis. Inquisitionis Bonauenturæ.
C
Campensis lib. Controuersiarum. Cochræus.
D
Durandus in speculo.

or in purgatorie, as Gregorie by his prayer deliuered the soule of Traianus out of hell, and I haue power to deliuer out of purgatorie whom I please, 185. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified such as be in purgatorie: inasmuch that they stand in need and necessitie of other mens helpe, and yet bee in their iourny Viatores, & de foro Papæ. i. passengers and belonging to the court of the pope: therefore they may be releeued out of the storehouse of the Church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some doe obiect that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter: What soeuer thou shalt loose vpon earth; and therefore seeing they are not vpon earth, they cannot bee losed of me: Here I answer againe by my doctors, that this word Super terram, &c. i. vpon the earth, may be referred two manner of waies: first to him that is the looser, so that he which shall lose shall be vpon the earth. And so I graunt that the pope being dead can loose no man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whatsoeuer is loosed must be vpon the earth, or about the earth. And so the soules in purgatorie may be losed, which albeit they are not vpon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at least they be not in heauen. And because oftentimes one question may rise vpon another, and the heads of men now adaies are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliuer out of purgatorie, will aske here a question; Whether I be able also to empticie all purgatorie at once, or not. To whom my Canonist August. de Ancho. doth answere by a triple diffinction: Quantum ad absolutam meam iurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad diuinam acceptationem. First, touching my absolute iurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatorie together, for as many as be vnder my iurisdiction, as all be, except only infants vnbaptised. In Limbo dwell men departed onely, Cum baptismo flaminis, that is, with the baptisme of the spirit: and such as haue no friends to doe for them that wherefore pardons be giuen: these onely excepted. For all other besides, the pope (he saith) hath power to release all purgatorie at once, as touching his absolute iurisdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquine, part 4. denieth the same, forsomuch as Christ himselfe (hee saith) when hee came downe, did not vtterly at once release all purgatorie. As touching my ordinarie execution they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to doe it. Thirdly, as concerning the diuine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is vnknowne vnto them, and to euery creature, yea, and to the pope himselfe.

And to the intent I would all men to see and vnderstand that I lacke not witnesses moe besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall heare the whole quire of my diuine clergie brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalfe, in their bookes, tractations, distinctions, titles, Glosses, and Summaries, as by their owne words here followeth. The pope (say they) being the vicar of Jesus Christ thorough the whole

Dreido de eccles. Scripturis & dogmat.
B
Edwardus Prack Iurisp. Anglus contra Lutet.
Eschius in Enchirid.
F
Franciscus Pelgu.
G
Gabriel Biel. Spica. Gaspar. Grassaua in Decretis. Gerson de origine Plumin. ultimus ecclesiastica potestate.
H
Hugo Cardinalis in 3. Dist. Hostiensis. Holkot. Hosius.
I
Ioannes Andreæ. Innocentius. Ioan. de Turre Cremata de ecclesia lumina.
L
Lanfrancus contra Wiclef. Lilius Histericus Anglus. Lapus. Laurentius.
M
Magister Sententiarum.
N
Nicolaus.
O
Ockam in dialogo, parte 1. lib. 3. Oytanus.
P
Petrus de Paludo. Petrus de Theta. Per ui de Alisso. Panormitanus. Alexander de Ales.
R
Raymundus in summa de casibus. Richardus. Rabanus super Matth. cap. 16. Rupertus Iustiniensis.



soeuer this my sée shall enact, appoynte or dispoose, all men ought to appeale or repeale the same, without either iudging, disputing, doubting or retracting. Such is the priuiledge giuen of Christ in the behalfe of Peter, to the Church of Rome, 186. that what soeuerie Sacer, Burgoone or prouince, chusing to themselues bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christs faithfull people in the name of Iesu, that is in faith and charitie, beleeuing in the same God, and in Christ his true son, and in the holy Ghost, hauing also the same Creed: the same Euangelists and Scriptures of the Apostles: yet not withstanding vnlesse their bishops and ministers take their origine and ordination from this apostolicall seate, they are to bee counted not of the Church. So that succession of faith onlie is not sufficient to make a Church, except the ministers take their ordination by them which haue their succession from the Apostles. So their faith, supremacie, the chaire of Peter, keies of heauen, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome: so that it is to be presumed, that God alwaies prouiding, and saint Peter helping the bishopriche and diocese of Rome, shall neuer fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the bishop of that Church, is alwaies good and holy. Yea, and though he be not alwaies good, or be destitute of his owne merits, yet the merits of Saint Peter, predecessour of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetuall dowrie of merits, with inheritance of innocencie to his posteritie, 187. yea, though hee fall into homicide or adulterie, hee may sinne, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Sampson, the thefts of the Hebrues, the adulterie of Iacob, 188. And likewise, if any of his clergie should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarches. In his primacie, hee is Abel: In gouernment, the arke of Noe: In patriarchdome, Abraham: In order, Melchisedech: In dignitie, Aaron: In authoritie, Moses: In seate iudiciall, Samuell: In zeale, Helias: In meekenesse, Dauid: In power, Peter: In vnction, Christ. (Say thou art Ant christ) By power (they say) is greater then all the saints. For whom I confirme, no man may infirme: I may fauour and spare whom I please, 189. to take from one, and to giue to another. And if I be enemie to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarie and looke vnto I bid them so to do. All the earth is my diocese, and I the Ordinarie of all men, hauing the authoritie of the king of all kings vpon subiects. I am all in all, and aboue all, 190. so that God himselfe and I the vicar of God haue both one Consistorie, 191. and am able to doe almost all that God can doe, Clause non errante, 192. Item, it is said of me, that I haue an heauenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, Substantialia vnius applicando alteri, and of nothing to make things to be: and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect: In all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense aboue the law, and of wrong to make iustice, in correcting lawes and changing them. You haue heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall heare greater things out of mine owne decrees, 193. Reade there Dist. 96. Satis, 194 Also 12. Cauf. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus, 195. Also 12. q. 1. cap. Futurum. Doe you not find there expressed, how Constantinus the emperour sitting in the generall councell of Nice, called vs prelates of the Church, all Gods? 196. Againe, reade my canon Decretal. De transl. Episc. cap. Quanto. Do you not see there manifestlie expressed, how not man, but God alone separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolue and separate? Wherefore if those things that I doe be said to be done not of man, but of God: What can you make me but God? Againe, if prelates of the Church be called and counted of Constantinus for gods, I then being aboue all prelats, seeme by this reason to bee aboue all Gods. Wherefore no marueil, if it bee in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate lawes, to dispense with all things, yea with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ bidden Peter put vp his sword, monished his disciples not to vse any outward force in reuenging themselues, 197. Do not I pope Nicolaus writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to drain out their materiall swords in purlining their enemies, and recouering their possessions, setting against the precept of Christ, the prophet saying: Dissolue colligationes impietatis, &c? Item, where Christ was present himselfe at the marriage in Cana Galilea, 198. doe not I pope Martinus in my distinction inhibite the spirituall clergie to be present at mariage feasts, and also to marry themselues? Item where matrimonie by Christ, cannot be loosed but onlie for whordome, 199. do not I pope Gregorius Iunior, writing ad Bonifacium permit the same to bee broken for impotencie or infirmitie of bodie? 200. Item, against the expresse caution of the Gospel, doth not Innocentius the fourth, permit vim vi repellere? 201. Likewise against the old testament. I doe dispense in not giuing tithes, 202. Item, against the new testament in sweating and that in these 6. causes, 203. Pax, fama, fides, reuerentia, cautio damni, Defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna cauere.

Wherein two thos of othes are to bee noted. Whereof same be promissoria, same bee assertoria, &c. 204. Item, in bowes, and that ex toto voto, whereas other prelates cannot dispense ex toto à voto, I can deliuer ex toto à voto, like God himselfe, 205. Item in periurie if I absolue, my absolution stondeth, 206. Where also note, that in all sweating alwaies the authoritie of the superiour is excepted. 207. Moreouer, where Christ bidden to lend without hope of gaine, doe not

Semper dicitur Sedulius.
Thomas Aquin.
Wiclifius.
Walterus confessionis & sacramentis.
Ioan Dimlo. De sacramentis.

184. Hoc in glossa vt ix. q. 4. c. Non licet. 185 Glossa in cauf. 11. q. 1. cap. Adest.

189. Glos. in c. 11. q. 3. Inimicos.

190. Hostiensis in cap. Quinto de transl. prælat.
191. Ex summa casuum sanctæ Sophiæ.
192. Ex Clarione Henr. hostiensis de sensu literali Genes. Prima.

Semper citatis ce Iacobi Anderæ, 3 diuersis Hostiensibus. Item ex Marsilio Adsit. 2. Dist.
193. P. Nicolaus Dist. 96. c. Satis.
194. 12. q. 1. Sacerdotibus.
195. 12. q. 1. sobrenam.
196. Decretal De Transl. episc. cap. Quanto.
They permeg see it translated, that S. Paul prophesieth of the Antechriste sitting in the temple as God, and boasting himselfe aboue all that is named God. 2. Thess.
197. P. Nicolaus Cauſa 15. q. 6. c. Auctoritatem.
198. Pope Martin Dist. 34. c. Ecclesiæ.
199. Pope Greg. Iunior. 32. q. 7. c. Quod propositis.
200. Pope Inno. 4. Sext. Decretal. de sententia excom. cap. Dilecto.
201. Pope Alexander 3. De desponsis ca. Ex parte.
202. P. Nicolaus. 16. q. 6. Autoritatem.
203. De elect. & elect. potestate Significasti in Glossa.
204. Baptista de Salis in Summa casuum ex Panormitano.
205. Ext. De Iureiurando cap. Volentes.
Item Dist. De Electi Significasti in Glos.
206. P. Martinus 1. Extrav. ca. Regimini Vniuersalis ecclesiæ.





not I pope Martinus giue dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the councell of Theron enacted the contrarie, yet with two Bulls I disanulled that decreement, 208. What should I speake of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicate, 209. Likewise against the lawe of nature, 210. Item, against the apostle, 211. Also against the Canons of the Apostles: I can and doe dispense. For where they in their canon commaund a priest for fornication to be deposed. I through the authoritie of Syluester doe alter the rigour of that constitution, 212. considering the minds and bodies also of men now to be weaker then they were then, 213. Wherfore, against the vniuersall state of the Church I haue dispensation, scilicet quando status ecclesiæ non decoloratur: And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinitie, In collateralibus æquali linea, that is, betweene the brethrens children: although not inæquali linia, so that the vncle may not marrie his neece, vnlesse for an vrgent and weightie cause. As for all such contracts betwixt partie and partie, where that matrimony is not yet consummat by carnall copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withall. In summa, if yee list briefly to heare the whole number of all such cases as properlie do appertaine to my papall dispensation, which come to the number of one and fiftie points, that no man may meddle withall but onely I my selfe alone, I will recite them first in Latine, then in English, as they be set forth in my canonicall doctors.

208. pope Vrbanus 2. Cauſ. 23. q. 3. c. Excommunicatorum.
209. P. Nicolaus Cauſ. 15. q. 6. Auctoritatem.
210. Ibidem.
211. dist. 82. 1. presbyter.
212. pope Pelagius. Dist. 14. cap. Fraternitatis.
213. Baptista de Salis. fol.
214. Ibidem.

## Casus Papales 51. apud Fratrem Astesanum siue de Aſt. Doctorem solemnem in summa confessionis. Item apud Hostiensem, De offic. legat. reperti & his versibus comprehensi.

Si sit Catholicus, Papam non iudicat vllus,
Erigit & subdit Cathedras: Diuidit, vnit,
i. votum terræ sanctæ. i. degradatos. i. episcopos & alios.
Mutat vota crucis. Restituit. Eximit. Ad se
Maiores causæ referuntur. Legitimatque,
i. insufficientes. i. intrantes religionem.
Promouet, appellare vetat, Prohibet profiteri.
i. defectum regi vacante regno.
Deponit, transfert, suppletque, Renunciat illi
Syrõnia, Iuramentum, Excommunicatio à Papa facta.
Præsul, & exemptus. Simon, Iurans, Anathema,
tam Papa quam legati.
Vel proprium, vel legati, vel lex vtriusque.
i. soluitur papa.
Tum neque participans: Etsi quam sponte salutat,
Quem canon damnat, sibi soli quando reseruat,
qui irregularitatem incurrit.
Soluitur à papa nec non quem regula damnat.
scilicet addas.

Addas suspensum, Causam, cum fertur ad ipsum.
i. addas. i. pluralitatem beneficiorum.
Rescriptum, fidei dubium: Confer bona plura.
Irritat infectum, Legem condit generalem.
i. imperatorem.
Approbat imperium, firmat, deponit, & vngit.
canonizat.
Concilium generale facit. Sacrat quoque sanctos.
de aliquo facit nihil. de nihilo aliquid.
Ens non esse facit: non ens, fore. Pallia semper
Portat, Concedit, Legi non subiacet vllt.
i. immediate.
Appellatur ad hunc medio fine, Iudiciumque
De monacho non monachum facit.
Est pro lege suum. Monachum reuocat renuentem.
i. incestum, &c.
Malus adulterio soluit generaliter, Arctat
i. impedimentum matrimoniale.
Et laxat quicquid sponsis nocet. Ordinat extra
i. extra. 4. tempora.
Tempora dando sacrum, promotum promouet idem.
Ordinat atque diecesa conseeratur & ipse,
i. sacerdotium confert nondum vacans.
Viuentisque locum concedit, iureque priuat.
insignia Episcopalia concedit. i. decanis. i. presbytero concedit
infantes vngere.
Insignit. Laico sacro donat; Chrisma ministro.
Summa sede sedet, plenusque vicarius extat.
Si sit catholicus papam non iudicat vllus.

## Cases Papale, to the number of one and fiftie, wherein the pope hath power onelie to dispense and none else besides, except by speciall licence from him.

First determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith. 24. q. 1. Quoties.
Translation of a bishop elect, or confirmed: Likewise of abbats exempted. Extr. de translat. c. Inter.
Deposition of bishops. 3. q. 6. Quemuis. 9. q. 1. Denique. 16. q. 1. Frater.
The taking of resignation of bishops.
Exemptions of bishops, not to be vnder archbishops. 9. q. 1. Frater.
Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.
The iudicial definition, or interpretation of his owne priuiledges. 2. q. 6. Ideo. Extr. De celebr. ca. cum venit. 74. q. 1. tempora.
Changing of bishoprickes, or diminution of couents, &c. 16. q. 1. Fratres.
New correction of bishops seats, or institution of new religions. 16. q. 1. Et Christ ista.
Subiection or diuision of one bishoprick vnder another. Extr. de voto, Emitta.
Dispensation for vowing to goe to the holy land. Extr. de statu monachi, c. cum ad.
Dispensation for the vow of chastitie, or of Religion, or of holie orders.

Dis-

Extr. de iuramento cap. Veniens.
Extra. de iudicio c. Accusati.

Dispensation against a lawfull oth, or bond made.
Dispensation against diuers irregularities, as in crimes greater then adulterie, and in such as bee suspended for simonie.

Extr. de Bigamis, nuper.

Dispensation in receiuing into orders him that had two wiues.

Extr. de clerico non ord. ministrante.

Dispensing with such as being within orders, doe that which is aboue their order, as if a deacon should say masse, being not yet priest.

Extr. de corpore vitiato & dist. 55.

To receiue into orders such as be blemished or maimed in bodie.

D. 8. 50. Minor.

Dispensation with murder, or with such as willingly cut off any member of mans body.

Extr. de sententia & excomm. cum illorum.

Dispensation to giue orders to such as haue been vnder the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.

Ibidem.

Dispensation with such as being suspended with the greater curse, doe minister in any holie order.

Extr. de filijs presbyt. c. Iesus.

Dispensation with such as being vnlawfullie borne, to receiue orders or benefices.

Extr. de prebend. c. De multis.

Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.

Extr. de elect. cap. Cum olim.

Dispensation to make a man bishop before he be thirtie yeere old.

Extr. de aetate & qualit. Generalem. Dist. 55. per totum.

Dispensation to giue orders vnder age.

The pope onely hath power to make and call a generall councell.

7. q. 3. Per principale.

The pope onely hath power to depriue an ecclesiasticall person, and giue away his benefice being not vacant.

De elect. cap. Venerabilem.

The pope alone is able to absolue him that is excommunicat by name.

Extr. De officio legati c. Quæsitum.

The pope onelie is able to absolue him whom his Legat hath excommunicate.

7. q. 1. Alorum.

The pope both iudgeth in the causes of them that appeale vnto him, and where he iudgeth none may appeale from him.

Extr. De sempl. ordine. c. Cum in diuersis.

Onely hee hath authoritie to make deacon, and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either vpon sundaies, or vpon other festis.

Extr. De vsu palij. cap. Ad honorem.

Onely the pope and none else, at all times and in all places weareth the palle.

Extr. De elect. c. Dudum.

The pope onelie dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being vnworthie to be made bishop.

Extr. De elec. c. venerabilem.

Hee onlie either confirmeth, or deposeth the emperour when he is chosen.

Tract. tu. De censuris.

A man being excommunicate, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolue that man but the pope alone.

Extr. de elect. c. Innotuit.

The same hath authoritie in any election, before it bee made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.

Extr. de religione & veneratione sanct. cap. 1.

He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.

Extra. de prebend. cap. de multis.

Dispensation to haue many dignities and personages in one Church, and without charge and cure of soule, belongeth onely to the pope.

Extr. Qui fil. sint leg. cap. Veatis.

To make that effectuall which is of no effect, and contrarinise, belongeth onely to the pope.

9. q. 1. cap. Vltimo. Extr. De sententia & re Iudic. c. In causis.

To pluche a monke out of his cloister both against his owne will and the abbats, pertaineth only to the pope.

Extr. De elect. cap. Quod Scut.

His sentence maketh a law.

Extr. De restit. spo. Literas.

The same day in which the pope is consecrate, hee may giue orders.

Extra. Quæsiti sint legit. c. per venerabilem. Petrus de Palude, lib. 4.

He dispenseth in degrees of consanguinitie and affinitie.

Hee is able to abolish lawes, quoad vtrumque forum, that is, both ciuill and canon, where danger is of the soule.

Thomas.

It is in his dispensation to giue generall indulgences to certaine places or persons.

Item, to legitimate what persons soeuer he please, as touching spiritualties: in all places, as touching temporalties, as honors, inheritance, &c.

To erect new religions, to approue or reprooue rules, or ordinances, and ceremonies in the Church.

Secundum Thomam in 4. 5. q. 3. Per principalem. Dist. 40. Si Papa.

He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the Church.

Item, to dispense and to discharge any subiect from the bond of allegeance or oth made to any manner person.

No man may accuse him of any crime, vnlesse of heresie, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.

The same is also free from al lawes, so that he cannot incurre into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularitie, or into the penaltie of any crime, but into the note of crime he may well.

Ibidem.

Finallie, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants: also to giue lower orders, and to hallow Churches and virgins, &c.

Dist. 32 cap. graue hæc. Verum.

These be the cases wherein I only haue power to dispense, and no man else, neither bishop, nor metropolitane, nor Legat, without a licence from me.

After that I haue now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heauen, and in purgatorie, how great it is, and what is the fulnesse thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing, and vndoing, &c. I will intreat now a little of my riches likewise and great possessions, that euery man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my fishes, my purple miters, crownes, gold, siluer, pearles and gemmes, lands and lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his vicar on the earth. For to mee pertaineth first the imperiall citie of Rome, the pallace of Laterane, the kingdome of Cicile is propper to me, Apulia and Capua, bee mine. Also the kingdome of England and Ireland, bee they not or ought to be tributaries to me? 214. To these I adioyne also, besides other prouinces and countries both in the Occident and Orient, from the North to the South, these dominions by name, 215. as Surrianum, Montembordon, & Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ regnum, Paruam Mantuam, Montenselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Rauennæ, Fauentiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornularian, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montum ferretum, Montem Capitiiæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforij, Robin, Eugubin, Virbin, forti Sempronij, Galli, & Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusij, Vrbenetam, & Tudertum, Castrum Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneuenti, Selernum, Sorrenti insulam, Cardiniam insulam, Anciæ insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territorum prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram fundan, Terram vegetan, Terram Claudian, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Ciuitatem Aquinensem, Ciuitatem lamentū, & Sufforariam, Ciuitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Ferertum, Citernam, Neapolim, Caliopolim, with diuers other mo, 216. which Constantinus the emperour gaue vnto mee, not that they were not mine before he did giue them, 217. For in that I take them of him, I take them not as a gift as is afore mentioned) but as a restitution. And that I rendered them againe to Otho, I did it not for any dutie to him, but onlie for peace sake. What should I speake here of my bailie reuenues, of my first fruits, annats, palles, indulgences, bulles, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, priuiledges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small masse of money? Insomuch, that for one pall to the archbishop of Spentz, which was wont to be giuen for ten thousand 218. Florence, now it is growne to xxvj. thousand Florence, which I receiued of Iacobus the archbishop not long before Basill councell: Besides the fruits of other bishoprickes in Germany, comming to the number of fiftie, wherebp what bantage commeth vnto my coffers, it may partly be coniectured. But what should I speak of Germany, 219. when the whole world is my diocesse, as my canonists doe say, and all men are bound to beleeue, 220. except they will imagine (as the Manichies doe) two beginnings, which is false and hereticall. For Moses saith: In the beginning God made heauen and earth, and not in the beginnings, 221. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand vpon necessitie of saluation, for euerie humane creature to bee subiect to me.

214. Dist. 96. Constantinus.

215. Ex Commentarijs Theodorici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo testium fol. 218.

216. Dist. 96. Constantinus.

217. Antoninus in Summa Maiorcs 3. Part.

218 Eckius Germanicus de nominum natiosis Germaniæ. Above fiftie bishoppickes in Germanie. Æneas Syluius.

219. Scat Decret. De penit. cap. Felicia in Gloss. Item de priuilegijs c. Auctoritatem in Gloss.

220. pope Bonifacius 8. Extr. de Maiorit. & obed. c. Vnam sanctam.

221. Ibidem.

The end of the first Volume of the Booke of Martyrs.